

# ENEMY ARCHIVES

Soviet Counterinsurgency Operations  
and the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement

*Selections from the Secret Police Archives*

*Edited by*

VOLODYMYR VIATROVYCH

*and* LUBOMYR LUCIUK



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Translated by Marta Daria Olynyk

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## Acknowledgments

Over a decade ago, we laid out a series of questions addressing what we felt were the most critical issues associated with academic and public debates over the “words and deeds” of the Ukrainian nationalist movement before, during, and in the aftermath of the Second World War. For reasons that need not be detailed here, the ensuing project took many years to complete, a frustrating delay that, nevertheless, if quite unexpectedly, proved beneficial – for who could have foreseen that, on 24 February 2022, Vladimir Putin would launch the armed forces of the Russian Federation against Ukraine? The genocidal agenda of his legions, seeking the erasure of Ukraine and Ukrainians, was justified as being necessary to ensure the country’s “de-Nazification,” meaning the elimination of “extreme nationalists,” specifically Banderivtsi. While Soviet-era propaganda, as is documented in the following pages, routinely portrayed members of the Ukrainian nationalist movement as war criminals, Nazi collaborators, fascists, and so on, a trope regurgitated regularly by the Russian Federation from the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 to the present, we did not anticipate this overworked disinformation being deployed as an excuse for starting a large-scale war in twenty-first-century Europe. It now appears as though Putin actually believed the ahistorical notion that Ukrainians are really Russians, coaxed away from some supposedly primordial “Russian world” by the mendacious machinations of proselytizing Ukrainian nationalists, allegedly carried out at the behest and in the interests of the West. Putin’s adherence to this delusional *idée fixe*, and the consequences of his war of aggression, has created a world in which the rules-based international order has been destabilized and the geopolitical architecture of the post-Cold War era irrevocably undermined. Worse, from the Ukrainian perspective, is how Ukraine’s infrastructure has suffered catastrophic damage, with millions of people forcibly displaced, even as undeniable evidence of ethnic cleansing, war crimes, and crimes against humanity perpetrated by the Russian invaders



exposes their unconscionable goals. Yet, if there can be any hopeful outcome from the horrors of this war, it lies in the fact that not only were Putin's troops not welcomed but also, quite dramatically, their incursion was bluntly thwarted by a united Ukrainian nation, one whose tenacious defiance and resistance to Russian imperialism belies the fiction that Ukrainians and Russians are the same people. Careful historians always knew this to be true, but the general public, and particularly elites in the art world, having been inundated with centuries of messaging about a supposedly "Great Russian" culture, scarcely bothered to consider those differences or how they had been systematically obfuscated by the settler colonial regime that Russia imposed in Ukraine. Now, given the outrages perpetrated by the invasion of Ukraine, the world has a much better understanding of the fact that Ukrainians never were, are not now, and never will be Russians, no matter what mother tongue they speak, their faith or heritage, or where they might live in Ukraine. What is also evident, and of considerable interest to those who delve into this volume, is just how much the worldview of the Ukrainian nationalists of the mid-twentieth century inspired many of those engaged in a "just war," defending their shared Ukrainian motherland. Tellingly, this struggle is being waged against a modern-day variant of the very same foe the men and women of the OUN and the UPA challenged decades ago. We never could have predicted just how much contemporary salience our project would acquire – ironically, because of the geopolitical fantasies of the KGB man in the Kremlin.

Many people, institutions, and foundations contributed to our efforts over the years. This project was launched when Dr Viatrovykh served as director of the Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance, in Kyiv, where his research was greatly assisted by Volodymyr Birchak, Oleksandr Ishchuk, Ruslana Zabiloho, and Professor Ivan Patryliak. In North America we are particularly grateful to Professor Paul Robert Magocsi of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto for his always helpful counsel, cartographic acumen, and unfaltering support of our initiative. We are honoured to be listed among the Fellows of the Chair. We are also most thankful to Marta Daria Olynyk who took on the monumental task of translating hundreds of pages of Soviet-era documents into English, making these primary source materials finally accessible to a much wider audience than ever before, a labour with which she diligently engaged.

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Finally, we are grateful to our partners, Katharine Wowk and Yaryna Yasynevych – over the years we devoted ourselves to this work they made it easier by their encouragement and understanding.

We dedicate this book to the men and women who sacrificed themselves, and still do, for an independent Ukraine in Europe.

*Слава Україні! Героям слава!*

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## Translator's Note

All Ukrainian personal names and geographic place names are rendered in their Ukrainian form, including in the translations of official Russian-language documents, where they are Russified to the point of distortion. In these cases, the correct Ukrainian place name is added within square brackets. So as not to clutter up the texts of the translated documents unduly with square brackets enclosing supplied letters of various Ukrainian abbreviations, the full English versions of these words are given, “k-r” (*komandyr*) = commander; “s.” (*selo*) = village; “m.” (*misto*) = city or town. Ungrammatical or syntactically incomplete fragments of the Russian-language documents, which were produced by frequently semi-literate members of the Soviet secret services, have been left intact and are indicated here and there by [*sic*]. In cases where the meaning is not clear, the supplied word or words appear within square brackets. Numbering and lettering within documents have been left intact, even where they are inconsistent or obviously inaccurate. Missing or indecipherable words are indicated by a note to this effect enclosed within square brackets.



ENEMY ARCHIVES



## Introduction

The ideology, wartime behaviour, and legacy of the Ukrainian nationalist movement in the twentieth century remain contentious. This dissonance is reflected not only in academic debates about past atrocities but perhaps more significantly in contemporary exchanges over how historical memory has been or is being manipulated to shape Ukraine's post-Soviet future. There are contending recollections of who these nationalists were: members of a national liberation movement representative of the better elements of a people struggling against foreign invaders and various colonial-settler regimes – whether under the Hungarian, Polish, Nazi, or Soviet occupations – or a rag-tag assemblage of fascist collaborators, bandits, war criminals, and the like, an extremist minority of predominantly right-wing fanatics whose overall record of words and deeds must be condemned.

Generally speaking, the latter view was broadly promulgated by Soviet historians and, more recently, has again been taken up by agents of the Russian Federation and its allies. This negative portrayal has also experienced a resurgence among a coterie of academics who share a distaste for nationalism. This negative perspective has been challenged, primarily by representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora, whose ranks have been augmented in recent years by a new generation of scholars working in post-Soviet Ukraine. Among the latter, a far more nuanced and dispassionate re-evaluation of the nationalist episode has emerged, compared with what was generally promulgated earlier by the diaspora's advocates of, and apologists for, Ukrainian nationalism.

The literature about the Ukrainian liberation movement ranges from Soviet-generated pamphlets branding all Ukrainian nationalists as traitors, Nazi hirelings, and killers, to Polish accounts denouncing wartime massacres perpetrated against their fellow citizens in Volyn and in lands described as Poland's eastern *kresy*, to searing denunciations of the complicity of some Ukrainian



nationalists in the Holocaust. Ranged against the volume of such negative materials are a relatively few, and more serious, academic works (both sympathetic and otherwise). Not surprisingly, there are also a number of mythopoetic publications written by defenders of Ukrainian nationalism. Among this latter constituency the Ukrainian nationalist movement was heroic, self-sacrificial, unbowed, and inspiring, a continuation of a historic armed struggle for Ukraine's liberation and independence. Much of the literature of the latter kind was produced by adherents of the Bandera faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUNb), the largest, most engaged, and influential segment of the postwar Ukrainian nationalist diaspora. Accordingly, it was the *Banderivtsi*, as they came to be known, who became the principal target of Soviet and Russian Federation disinformation campaigns, long after the actual nationalist resistance in western Ukraine had been all but suppressed – the counterinsurgency operations were essentially concluded by the mid-1950s. Since then, however, a “memory war” has been joined, starting in the immediate postwar period, at a time when fighting still continued in western Ukraine, and echoing forward to the present day.

Understanding who the Ukrainian nationalists were, what they fought for and whom they fought against, what they believed in, and what they achieved needs to begin with an exploration of primary source materials pertaining to this movement. To understand is not to claim that Ukrainians committed no atrocities, whether willingly or under duress – be it against innocent Poles, Jews, or even Ukrainian collaborators and renegades. Some did. However, although there were Ukrainians who did awful things, some even claiming that they did so under the banner of their nation's struggle for independence, such individuals were by no means unique – the prejudiced, turncoats, wrongdoers, opportunists, and murderers would emerge from within every community, every faith group, every minority, and every nation across Europe during the war years and afterwards.

A key collection of such primary sources is found in the fonds of the very same Soviet secret police organs (e.g., NKVD, MGB, MVD, KGB) who were once mandated to contain and eradicate the nationalists. While these archives include documents infused with typical Soviet-era labels identifying the nationalists as “bandits,” “fascists,” “Nazi collaborators,” and the like, the operational imperatives associated with orchestrating a successful counterinsurgency obliged these Soviet practitioners and their allies to collect, analyze as accurately as possible, and work hard to understand who their opponents were, to assess whence they drew their support, and to determine their ideological orientation – all requisite steps for planning a viable strategy aimed at effectively thwarting, discrediting, undermining, and, ultimately, liquidating this concerted Ukrainian nationalist opposition to Soviet rule.

Whether the Soviets accomplished their mission by the mid-1950s, or only appeared to have done so, can certainly be debated. Regardless of how this question is answered, what is certain is that Soviet internal security forces tasked with this chore set out to collect tens of thousands of documents from their foes, thus acquiring their enemy's archives, materials thereafter studied very carefully as Moscow's people and their supporters set about trying to expunge this insurgency.

Presented in the pages that follow is a selection of these documents, extracted from an enormous cache of captured insurgent materials, coupled with operational analyses and reports drafted by these Soviet organs, most provided in English translation for the first time. Making available the documentation the Soviets seized and used in their efforts to suppress the Ukrainian nationalists, all secured during the years when this very uneven contest was under way, offers more credible insight into who the nationalists were and what they did, into their words and deeds, than do secondary or oral historical sources compiled years or even decades later.

Most of the materials captured by the Soviets and their allies were generated by the OUNb and its supporters, including those who made up the majority of the men and women of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Undeniably, it was these Banderivtsi who comprised the very core of the Ukrainian national liberation movement not only in the eyes of the opposing Soviets and their allies but also in the collective memory of several postwar diasporas. The "enemy archives" presented here underscore this reality. While other Ukrainians certainly resisted Polish, Hungarian, Soviet, and Nazi German rule, and not only in the ranks of various nationalist movements, it was those whom the Soviets branded as "Banderivtsi" (and their supporters) who would become the major targets of counterinsurgency and disinformation campaigns during and after the Second World War – an effort continuing to the present.

The following questions provided an informal working template for selecting the documents eventually included in this collection:

- 1 Was the ideology of the OUN and/or the UPA in any way "fascist," "pro-Nazi," or antisemitic?
- 2 Did the OUN and/or the UPA participate in "ethnic cleansing" – particularly in collaboration with the Nazis (in the summer of 1941 and thereafter)?
- 3 Did the UPA participate in "ethnic cleansing" in Volyn, or elsewhere, during or after the Second World War?
- 4 Did the OUN and/or the UPA fight against the Nazi occupation, and what evidence is there of this (how extensive was OUN and UPA anti-Nazi resistance and when did it begin)?

- 5 Did the OUN and/or the UPA persecute Ukrainians who did not subscribe to their worldview/ideology/goals?
- 6 Did the OUN and/or the UPA rescue, shelter, or otherwise help save Jews from the Nazis during the Holocaust?
- 7 Did the OUN and/or the UPA have within their ranks Jews and other ethnic minorities and, if so, to what extent?
- 8 When did the OUN and/or the UPA begin resistance to Soviet rule (e.g., did the OUN conduct operations against the first Soviet occupation of western Ukraine or did its anti-Soviet work begin only after the Soviet forces returned to Ukraine in 1944)?
- 9 How long did the OUN and/or the UPA resistance to Soviet rule endure?
- 10 Did the OUN and/or the UPA receive any Western assistance and/or did these nationalist formations work for Western intelligence services during the Cold War?
- 11 Did the OUN and/or the UPA veterans sent to the GULAG organize resistance there, and, if so, where and when?
- 12 Did the OUN and/or the UPA ideology truly change during the course of the war?
- 13 Did the OUN and/or the UPA units commit what might today be referred to as “war crimes”?
- 14 Did Soviet counterinsurgent operations involve crimes against humanity or war crimes? (See part 3.)
- 15 To what extent did Soviet (and allied) forces manage to contain or liquidate the OUN and the UPA, how long did it take them, using what means, and with what commitment of forces, including the military, police, and secret police? To what degree were the OUN and the UPA penetrated by double agents, traitors, and other pro-Soviet individuals?
- 16 What can be learned about the nature, goals, aspirations, and hopes of the OUN and the UPA from interrogations of captured members of those formations?
- 17 To what degree did the UPA base itself upon the OUN (and, in particular, the OUNb)?
- 18 To what degree was the UHVR a governing or directing body with respect to the national liberation movement?
- 19 Did the OUN and/or the UPA enjoy the support of the population of Ukraine or were there regional differences and, if so, to what extent and why?
- 20 Did the OUN and/or the UPA have any significant presence during or after the war in central or eastern Ukraine?
- 21 Do surviving documents paint a picture of the OUN and/or of the UPA as genuine national liberation movements that enjoyed widespread

support among the people, particularly as compared to or contrasted with that given to “Red” or other partisan forces operating in wartime and postwar Ukraine?

- 22 What disinformation efforts were made by the Soviet Union’s internal security and police forces, and their Eastern European allies, to discredit or defame veterans of the Ukrainian nationalist movement(s) in Canada and elsewhere in the diaspora?

Addressing all of these themes in depth proved to be too ambitious a task. However, the documents included in this collection *do* offer relevant insights into how the various questions cited above can be answered. Although discussed in more detail in the following section, which describes the context, importance, and provenance of the materials compiled in this volume, it bears underscoring that they constitute only a *small selection* of a much larger trove of primary source materials, drawn exclusively from files 372, 376, and 398, found in fond 13 of the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (HDA SBU).

There are other archives in which more problematic materials about the deeds of some Ukrainian nationalists can be found. We considered supplementing this collection by mining such repositories but instead decided to include only documents found in the particular files cited above. By doing so we ensured we would be presenting readers with a documentary collection that mirrors only and *exactly* what these Soviet counterinsurgency organs learned about their nationalist opponents at the time they fought each other. While counterinsurgency experts did employ the language of propagandists, once engaged in actually carrying out their missions they were more intent on gathering and piecing together as much intelligence as they could, analyzing and understanding who their enemies were, rather than on calling their protagonists names. Defeating, or at least suppressing, the Ukrainian nationalist movement was, in other words, their principal aim, requiring battlefield realism to take precedence over polemics and pamphleteering. The Soviets were interested only in breaking the Ukrainian nationalists. While they certainly also used derogatory descriptors to name their foes, that was never the primary function of the NKVD or of the various other counterinsurgency forces deployed against the nationalists. And so we believe an accurate and inclusive picture of who these nationalists were and what they fought for emerges from what the Soviets captured, collated, and learned about their opponents in the documents we have chosen for inclusion.

This is not to suggest that these materials always present an especially sympathetic portrait of the nationalist underground, of any faction. These fighters, along with their home front support networks, were, after all, engaged

in an often brutal insurgency, one asymmetrically ranging them against the much larger armies and counterinsurgency forces of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union as well as the client states of those authoritarian regimes, other inimical partisan movements, and even other Ukrainians. In the course of this uneven struggle the Ukrainian insurgents suffered significant casualties and inflicted noticeable losses on their opponents. Not all of the Ukrainian underground's members or supporters endured the enervation associated with this protracted struggle. As these files show, there were traitors and scoundrels, villains and innocent victims, enablers, bystanders, and perpetrators among them – but there were also men and women who truly believed Ukraine's independence would only be secured through their armed struggle. The documents address issues that remain emotionally poignant and politically relevant today, such as the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians in Volyn and elsewhere and the resulting civilian and military casualties suffered by both sides, the factional and debilitating fighting within the ranks of the nationalists, and the meaning and legacy of this nationalist insurgency for twenty-first-century Ukrainian society. They also reveal the remarkable resilience, fortitude, and self-sacrifice of so many of those who supported or fought in the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). We trust this collection will contribute to a careful and considered reassessment of Ukraine's twentieth-century nationalist movement.

ENEMY ARCHIVES:  
THE PROVENANCE OF THE KGB CACHE

Unsurprisingly, given the clandestine nature of the Ukrainian underground, the active circulation or retention of documents pertaining to its activities was discouraged for obvious security reasons. Yet a rich trove of archival evidence regarding its operations has survived. While many documents were indeed destroyed by members of the underground, thousands of OUNb and UPA documents, reflecting various aspects of the activities of both organizations, ended up being preserved, intentionally or otherwise. In some cases this was because members of the liberation movement consciously, thoroughly, and carefully secreted information about their struggle, being of the view that leaving behind a record of it was an important, in fact an essential, component of their duty to the nation, particularly to following generations. Especially after it became evident that their resistance to Soviet rule would not succeed, preserving evidence about what they had attempted to achieve came to be understood as a crucial obligation. Not only would the gathered information encapsulate valuable and hard-won lessons about how to

organize clandestine operations but it would also document atrocities perpetrated by the Soviet occupation against Ukrainians. Such caches were also intended to leave for future generations of Ukraine's freedom fighters primary archival evidence relating to who the members of the OUNb and the UPA really were. Despite the risk of their discovery, such OUNb and UPA archives were scrupulously hidden and safeguarded, some in the homeland while others were spirited to the West by courier, to be preserved by the Ukrainian diaspora as evidence for posterity.<sup>1</sup>

In Ukraine, such document repositories were often sealed in metal canisters and buried, the hiding places known only to select members of the OUN's Security Service who were charged with safeguarding them. Since 1991, a number of these time capsules have been discovered, accidentally or as a result of concerted searches, providing additional primary source information about the Ukrainian national liberation movement.<sup>2</sup>

Of course the Soviets, during and after their struggle against the Ukrainian nationalist underground, were intent on seizing and studying the papers of the OUN and the UPA since such documentation would be a valuable source of intelligence regarding this movement's activities, tactics, leadership, and strength. For this reason, Soviet operational activities included quite deliberate searches for the nationalist movement's paperwork. Indeed, among the first orders issued in 1944 by the NKVD Command in connection with the struggle against the OUN and the UPA was this explicit instruction: "Commanders of military formations are strictly ordered to preserve all literature and correspondence issued by the UPA and the OUN, confiscated during the implementation of operations, and to forward them for processing to the head of the NKVD Directorate."<sup>3</sup>

For more than a decade, Soviet security organs were therefore specifically tasked with finding and recovering the "words" – namely, the records and documents – of the OUN and the UPA. Dutifully, they collected tens of thousands of pages of such material, which then made their way into the official archives of the NKVD-MGB-KGB (at both the oblast level and in the central archives in Kyiv). Carefully preserved because of their immediate tactical value in helping to conduct counterinsurgency operations, these papers would be retained

1 The publication of the documentary series *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoï Armii* [Chronicle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army] was launched in 1973 in Toronto, Canada. As of today, this (ongoing) series contains some one hundred volumes.

2 The archive of the Center for Research on the Liberation Movement in Lviv contains several such collections. For an example of a photographic collection found on 24 June 1999 near the Hutsul village of Yavoriv, see Vasyl Humeniuk and Lubomyr Luciuk, *Their Just War: Images of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army*, trans. Marta D. Olynyk (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2007).

3 See document 127.

even after the struggle ended, kept as teaching materials for succeeding generations of the Soviet secret police.

The idea to systematize this collection emerged in Soviet circles in the late 1950s. On 28 August 1959 the head of the KGB for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Vitalii Nikitchenko, announced that a working group of twenty-four persons was being formed to determine how best to organize and catalogue these materials.<sup>4</sup> His group's composition signalled the serious intent behind this project: its membership was comprised of fifteen colonels and lieutenant colonels and three majors, all of whom had held leading positions in the Soviet security organs in western Ukraine during the 1940s and 1950s – in other words, practitioners who had had direct experience with and an understanding of their enemies in the Ukrainian national liberation movement. These latter-day compilers of archival materials were veterans who had participated in and directed the underground's liquidation.

Why did senior levels within the KGB decide to embark on this large-scale project? Several reasons suggest themselves. The first was practical – a need to review and to systematize hard-won experience in a major counterinsurgency operation. Another, no less important reason was that these materials were intended for use as key tools in the information war being fought between the Soviet government and the Ukrainian diaspora. After the Second World War many active figures and leaders of the liberation movement, OUN members from both factions and UPA veterans alike, ended up in the West, particularly in Europe and North America. During the Cold War they sought to direct the international community's attention to the situation in Ukraine, reporting about the anti-Soviet insurgency that had existed there from the 1940s into the 1950s. As part of this effort, they had managed to publish several books on the UPA, some documentary collections about the Ukrainian underground, and more than a few memoirs.<sup>5</sup> Given the diaspora's anti-Soviet activity it became

4 On the history of the creation of files containing Ukrainian underground documents, see O. Ishchuk, "Uzahalennia orhanamy KDB URSR dosvidu borotby z pidpilliam OUN ta UPA: Do stvorennia vidomchoi kolektsii tematychnoi kolektsii arkhivnykh dokumentiv (1959–1964 rr.)," *Z arkhiviv VUChK-GPU-NKVD-KGB*, 1 (2009): 87–120; V. Viatrovych, "Pamiatnyk vorohu, abo iak KGB pysav istoriiu UPA," in *Istoriia z hryfom sekretno: Taiemnytsi ukrainskoho mynuloho z arkhiviv KGB* (Kyiv-Lviv: Tsentri doslidzhen vyzvolnoho rukhu, 2011), 73–82.

5 M. Lebed, *UPA: Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia, ii henezha, rist i dii u vyzvolnii borotbi ukrainskoho narodu za Ukrainsku Samostiinu Sobornu Derzhavu* (Rome: Vydannia presovoho Biura UHVR, 1946); P. Mirchuk, *Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia, 1942–1952* (Munich: Cicero, 1953); L. Shankovskiy, "Ukrainska Povstancha Armiia," in *Istoriia ukrainskoho viiska*, ed. I. Tyktor (Winnipeg: Kliub Pryiateliv Ukrainskoi Knysshhky, 1953); *UPA v svitli dokumentiv z borotby za Ukrainsku Samostiinu Sobornu Derzhavu, 1942–1950* (n.p.: Vydannia Zakordonnykh Chastyh Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv, 1957); *V riadakh UPA: Zbirka spomyniv*, ed. P. Mirchuk (New York: Tovarystvo buvshykh Voiakiv UPA v ZDA, 1957).

evident that the propaganda pamphlets the Soviets and their supporters had relied upon to that period were insufficient. Therefore the KGB decided to prepare a number of its own documentary publications, based on its extensive collections of captured materials. These would, in the Soviet view, compromise both the OUN and the UPA. And, not surprisingly, there was a third reason these compilations were seen as important. The compilers were, as noted above, many of the very same men who had been personally involved in the anti-insurgent struggle. While they had been duly rewarded with titles, promotions, and pensions, they were unable to speak publicly or write memoirs about their wartime deeds and postwar involvement in the suppression of the national liberation movement in Ukraine. The Soviet government was definitely not anxious to offer any information that might confirm the geographical extent, intensity, or duration of this conflict. It was only after Stalin's death in March 1953, and the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev, that a gradual disclosure of selected information was permitted. It was then that these men, these participants in the anti-insurgent struggle, who had by that time come to occupy rather high ranks in the KGB hierarchy, decided to take advantage of the times in which they were living. They hoped to produce accounts that would, in effect, laud them for their deeds and secure them public recognition.

According to the instructions that were issued at this time, all KGB oblast archives, and those held in Kyiv, were reviewed to identify information about the nature, structure, tactics, and activities of the Ukrainian underground, along with the specific features of the NKVD's struggle against them. Special emphasis was placed on agentura work, particularly on the role played by agentura fighting groups, as these were deemed to represent the acme of Soviet operational skill in combating the Ukrainian nationalists.

In order to further the work of collecting these documents, the KGB chief of Soviet Ukraine, Nikitchenko, issued a directive ordering staff members from the western directorates to come to work in Kyiv, while enlisting individuals who had actually taken part in the fighting to support this effort. The sum of ten thousand karbovantsi (a significant amount at the time) was allocated from the KGB's budget for this project. For his part, Nikitchenko reported directly to his immediate superior, Aleksandr Shelepin, the head of the KGB of the USSR, regarding the progress of this work.<sup>6</sup>

The first stage was completed in early 1962, resulting in the creation of file 372, which has the lengthy title "Collection of Documents about the Structure and Character of the Anti-Soviet Activities of the 'Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists' – the OUN – and the 'Ukrainian Insurgent Army' – the UPA; about the Methods and Measures of the Agentura-Operational Work of the

6 Ishchuk, "Uzahalennia," 112.



Organs of State Security of Ukraine in Connection with the Liquidation of the Organized OUN Underground and Armed UPA Gangs on the Territory of the Republic in the Period 1943–1954.” This file consisted of ninety-eight volumes, including a total of 36,647 pages.

While this accomplishment officially marked the end of the archival project, some researchers were so taken by their work that they continued searching out and systematizing documents until the end of 1963. As a result, two more files were created, file 376 and file 398, comprised of documents seized from the Ukrainian insurgents. Some were materials used in criminal cases against arrested members of the underground.

As a result of these efforts, the largest existing repository of documentary evidence concerning the Ukrainian underground was accumulated, organized chronologically by subject, and included the following themes: “The Origins of Ukrainian Nationalism,” “Official Documents of the OUN,” “Materials and Documents of the UHVR,” “The Upbringing and Teaching of Leading Activists and Rank-and-File Membership of the OUN,” “Periodical Publications of the OUN,” “Polish-Ukrainian Relations,” “Pamphlets of the OUN,” “Materials of the Security Service of the OUN,” “Materials and Documents of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army,” and so on.<sup>7</sup>

Currently, this documentary collection, compiled by the KGB, consists of 242 volumes (file 372 contains 103 volumes, file 376 has 88 volumes, and file 398 has 51 volumes). Included among them are ten volumes copied from collections maintained by the communist security services of Poland, focused on the struggle against the Ukrainian underground in *Zakerzonnia* and preserved only due to the fact that they were forwarded to Kyiv, as many other materials were destroyed.

Among the materials lost forever, having been deliberately weeded out of the archives in keeping with Order No. 00150 (1990), are the “Berloga” operational-search files on the OUN leadership in Ukraine (only eight of thirty volumes were held back), most of those relating to Roman Shukhevych (only one volume out of thirty was spared).<sup>8</sup> Fortunately, some materials once thought to be lost were found, as copies, in file 372. The latter also harboured a unique collection of photographs, numbering several thousand, kept together in fifteen volumes, along with a complete selection of the graphics of the distinguished insurgent artist Nil Khasevych. Also saved were photographic negatives, a collection of real and counterfeit seals used by various Soviet agencies found in insurgent hands, and varieties of lino-type used by insurgent printing houses.

7 Opys dokumentiv spravy: Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby bezpeky Ukrainy (HDA SBU), fond 13, file 376, vols. 85–6.

8 For more details on the fate of the documents held in the KGB archives in Ukraine, see V. Viatrovych, *Dokumenty komunistychnykh orhaniv bezpeky v Ukraini: Pravo na pravdu – Praktychnyi poradyk iz dostupu do arkhiviv* (Lviv: Chasopys, 2012), 23–33.



Ukraine: geographic features



Territorial structure of the OUN(b), 1941-42



Territorial structure of the UPA, 1944



Territorial structure of the UPA, 1945



UPA raids, 1943-45

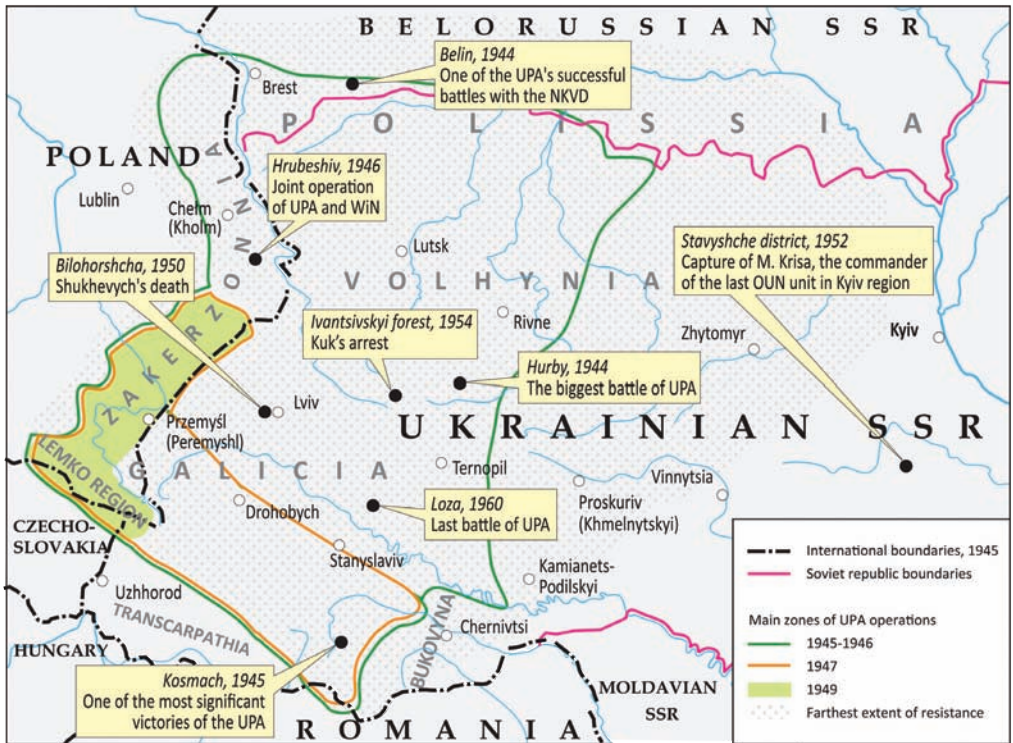


San military district, 1945–47



UPA raids beyond Ukraine, 1945-47





Anti-Soviet resistance, 1944–60

The catalogued archives assembled by these Soviet veterans would become the source for a number of publications produced by specialized KGB printing houses, used as instructional materials for students attending the Felix Dzerzhinsky Higher KGB School.<sup>9</sup>

Despite the original plan, however, these materials were never made more widely available, frustrating the veterans of these counterinsurgency operations who had wanted to broadcast their stories before what they presumed would be an admiring and grateful Soviet public. After the advent of Leonid Brezhnev to power in 1964, a reversal in the less restrictive policies of his predecessor was imposed, one of the consequences of this being that openly detailing the struggle against Ukrainian nationalism was once again placed under a strict ideological taboo.

This situation prevailed until the collapse of the USSR in 1991. Inadvertently, the self-styled “Chekists,” who worked hard to collect and catalogue materials about the history of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, including the evidence about their concerted efforts to repress it and how that was done, left an archival monument to their bitter foes. Our selection from their trove constitutes this documentary collection, which we feel fittingly deserves the title: *Enemy Archives*.

Documents chosen from file 372 and file 376, stored in fond 13 of the Branch State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (HDA SBU), are included in this volume.<sup>10</sup> Those dealing with the struggle against the OUN and the UPA are drawn largely from the first file, while materials generated by the Ukrainian underground itself are found in the second.<sup>11</sup>

The first thematic group of materials focuses on the Ukrainian nationalist movement’s ideological and programmatic principles and includes the official resolutions of all three OUN assemblies (1929, 1941, and 1943) as well as decisions made by the nationalist leadership at its conferences of 1942, 1943,

9 I. Khamaziuk and A. Komlev, *Razlozhenie zarubezhnykh antisovetskikh organizatsii* (Moscow: Vysshaya shkola KGB, 1962); B. Shulzhenko, I. Khamaziuk, and V. Danko, *Ukrainskie burzhuaiznye natsionalisty* (Moscow: Vysshaya shkola KGB, 1963); M. Maiorov, *Nekotorye osobennosti rassledovaniia gosudarstvennykh prestuplenii, sovershaemykh burzhuaiznymi natsionalistami* (Moscow: Vysshaya shkola KGB, 1964); *Sbornik materialov ob osnovnykh ideologicheskikh tsentrakh protivnika i zarubezhnykh natsionalisticheskikh organizatsiakh, vedushchykh rabotu protiv SSSR i, v chastnosti, Ukrainskoi SSR* (Kyiv: Vysshaya shkola KGB, 1969); *Borba organov gosbezopasnosti s podryvnoi deiatelnostiu ukrainskikh burzhuaiznykh natsionalistov* (Kyiv: Vysshaya shkola KGB, 1978).

10 For more detailed information about the fonds of this archive and the documents contained therein, see *Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv SBU: Putivnyk* (Kharkiv: Prava liudyny, 2009).

11 A considerable number of documents from these files have been scanned and are now available at [www.avr.org.ua](http://www.avr.org.ua) (Electronic Archive of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement).

and 1945–52.<sup>12</sup> These texts expose both the goals of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and its understanding of the political situation in Ukraine and in the world during and after the Second World War. This section includes a comprehensive list of the OUN's programmatic documents, as those were issued between 1929 and 1950.

The other thematic chapters, in contrast, generally include only a few documents each, selected to illuminate a specific issue or theme along the lines of the original research questions listed above. Including all the documents available would have required an impractical, multi-volume publishing effort. Thus chapter 2 contains the most pertinent documents relating to the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the UPA, its ruling bodies, territorial and support structures (e.g., Ukrainian Red Cross, Military Field Gendarmerie), training system for soldiers, fundamentals of insurgent combat tactics, and the relationship of the UPA to the OUN. Chapter 3 deals with the administrative duties and functions performed by the UPA in areas liberated from foreign occupation. Several documents illustrate the tasks and instructions given to the OUN's Security Service. Chapters 7, 8, and 9 episodically treat the insurgent struggle on three fronts during the Second World War – the anti-German, the anti-Polish, and the anti-Soviet. Most of the documents in this section pertain to the latter effort since the UPA's efforts were most doggedly aimed at the Soviet regime, both during and after the war. Chapter 10 contains several examples of insurgent leaflets, the UPA's chief propaganda instrument for use among the Ukrainian population and abroad. It also contains the instructions issued by the Main Propaganda and Information Centre (a body organized to coordinate the leadership's informational work) with regard to boycotting the 1946 Soviet elections. The last two documents featured in chapter 10 are reports from UPA units on the efficacy of the UPA's "propaganda raids" beyond the borders of Ukraine, in 1947 and 1949, respectively. Chapter 11 details how the UPA's Supreme Command analyzed what the nationalist movement had achieved after a decade of struggle, including its order regarding how the resistance would thereafter be continued in the political underground.

The final chapter of this volume includes thirty-two documents produced by various Soviet punitive and counterinsurgency organs. These documents show how the main stages of the anti-insurgent effort evolved in western Ukraine between 1944 and 1954. They contain information on the large-scale NKVD-MGB operations that were staged as well as on the more focused efforts made to target the leaders of the Ukrainian underground. The final document in this chapter, from 1955, summarizes, from the Soviet point of

12 The resolutions passed at the First Conference of the OUN leadership in September 1941 have not been recovered.

view, the nature and consequences of their ten-year-long struggle against the Ukrainian underground.

As is mentioned above, the documentary materials in this collection are supplemented by photographs found within these same KGB archives. Most were collected into several albums included in file 398 (vols. 37–50); in file 372 the photo album is vol. 7. Some photographs were found in archived criminal cases against individual members of the underground, stored in special envelopes as material evidence. Unfortunately, a considerable number of these photographs were not captioned: underground members did not sign them for fear of exposure, and their Soviet interrogators were not always able to identify those shown in these collected photographs. Nevertheless, these images provide a glimpse into the daily lives and travails of these insurgents. Additional illustrations include layouts of insurgent hiding places and bunkers, drafted or drawn by NKVD specialists, as well as leaflets and graphic works created by the artists of the Ukrainian underground, especially the most famous of their number, Nil Khasevych.

Few of these documents are known outside Ukraine, and most have never been made available in English. The goal of this volume is to address that deficit and to make it possible for a more objective, balanced, and complete understanding of what the Ukrainian national liberation movement was, what its men and women hoped for, and why. Reflecting on what they fought for also helps us to better understand why that struggle echoes to the present day.

\* \* \*

The most important Ukrainian underground nationalist journal, *Idea and Deed*, was published between 1942 and 1946. Taking a cue from this title we here bring together a number of primary source materials culled from the archives of the Soviet secret police. As readers will note, these documents confirm an evolution in the program and ideological principles of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, particularly during and just after the Second World War. These archives also provide detailed information about some of the deeds of this nationalist insurgency as it engaged in a struggle against the Nazi occupation, Soviet partisans, the Polish underground, and, most concertedly, against Soviet security forces, whom these nationalists would battle well into the mid-1950s.<sup>13</sup>

The focus of this collection is deliberate. In the twentieth century the Ukrainian nationalist movement achieved its most significant geopolitical

13 For all reprints of the underground journal, see *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstans'koi Armii*, vol. 24: *Ideia i chyn: Orhan Provodu OUN, 1942–1946* (Toronto/Lviv: Litopys UPA, 1995).

influence, encompassed the largest number of members and supporters, and refined its guiding tenets particularly during the 1940s and early 1950s as its forces were engaged in a desperately uneven struggle.<sup>14</sup>

While this Ukrainian nationalist movement had much in common with other Eastern and Central European anti-communist insurgencies, the Ukrainian case was unique, inherently weaker than many others for not being able to rely on prewar state structures, as was the case, for example, in neighbouring Poland or Lithuania.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, the Ukrainian insurgents did have considerable experience with clandestine operations, dating from the early 1920s. In consequence, this introduction and the documents we selected to constitute the core of this book cover a much broader time-frame than just the war and immediate postwar years, allowing readers to better appreciate just how dynamic the character of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was over the course of its history, from its emergence just after the First World War to its suppression by Soviet security organs in the mid-1950s. Accordingly, this collection begins with the *Resolutions of the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists*, a foundational document upon which

14 Ivan Patryliak, “*Vstan i borys! Slukhai i vir...*”: *Ukrainske natsionalistychne pidpillia ta povstanskyi rukh 1939–1960 rr.* (Lviv: Chasopys, 2012); Stanislav Kulchitsky, ed., *Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv i Ukrainska povstanska armii: Istorychni narysy* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 2005); Aleksandr [Alexander] Gogun, *Mezhdū Gitlerom i Stalinym: Ukrainskie povstantsy* (St Petersburg: Izdatielskiy dom „Nieva,” 2004); Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzanka 1942–1960* (Warsaw: Rytm, 2006). Two classic English-language works devoted to the OUN are John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 3rd ed. (Colorado: Columbia University Press, 1963); Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919–1929*, East European Monograph Series No. 65 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature, 1929–1956* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 2015) is a careful, balanced recent reassessment of the movement and the development of (and changes in) its ideology. Readers who want a more detailed overview of the history of the movement than is provided in this introduction will find it in Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, especially chapters 1 to 4. Note as well Trevor Erlacher, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the Age of Extremes: An Intellectual Biography of Dmytro Dontsov* (Harvard, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2021).

15 In Ukrainian historiography, the first survey of OUN and UPA activities is the monograph by Anatolii Rusnachenko, *Narod zburenyi: Natsionalno-vyzvolnyi rukh v Ukraini i natsionalni rukhy oporu v Bilorusii, Lytvi, Latvii, Estonii u 1940–50-kh rokakh* (Kyiv: Universytetske vydavnytstvo “Pulsary,” 2002). For a similar survey of the Polish underground, see *Polskie podziemie niepodległościowe na tle konspiracji antykomunistycznych w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1944–1956*, ed. Sławomir Poleszak (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2008). For a generalized assessment of anti-communist movements in Central and Eastern Europe, see G. Motyka, R. Wnuk, T. Stryjek, and A. Baran, *Wojna po wojnie: Antysowieckie podziemie w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w latach 1944–1953* (Gdansk/Warsaw: Scholar, 2012); Rafał Wnuk, *Lesni bracia: Podziemie antykomunistyczne na Litwie, Lotwie i w Estonii 1944–1956* (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej; Warsaw: Bellona, 2018).

the program of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) would be erected.

The OUN is the main focus of this book. It constituted the critical mass around which other groups within the Ukrainian national liberation movement, specifically the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), would eventually coalesce. They would become thoroughly, if not entirely, infused with the worldview of the OUN.

This Ukrainian underground was involved not only in an armed struggle but also in a propaganda campaign. Both were grounded in nationalist ideology and directed against the colonial and imperial pretensions of foreign powers vying for control over Ukrainian lands. Regardless of faction, all members of the OUN consistently emphasized that their principal goal was to secure an independent, sovereign, and united Ukrainian state. In this sense their efforts were the logical continuation of an earlier period of conflict – the Ukrainian Revolution of 1917–21, which had been defeated by force of arms – and, partly, a precursor to the non-violent resistance of the Ukrainian dissident movement that emerged by the late 1950s and continued well into the late 1980s. Viewed from the perspective of the early twenty-first century, the Ukrainian liberation struggle can therefore be seen as a manifestation of just one of the many anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist movements that arose not only in Europe but also in Africa, Asia, and Latin America throughout the twentieth century as once-captive nations fought for national self-determination.

#### FROM MYSTICISM TO POLITICS: THE OUN'S IDEOLOGICAL PROGRAM

“Everything begins with mysticism and ends in politics,” wrote Dmytro Dontsov, the most prominent ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism. And, indeed, this represents a rather succinct characterization of the evolution of the OUN's ideological and political principles.

The formative process of the OUN's ideology began in the early 1920s as the term “Ukrainian nationalism” began to enter Ukrainian discourse. Among the earliest works on this theme are Stepan Rudnytsky's *The Foundations of Ukrainian Nationalism* (1921), Volodymyr Starosolsky's *Theory of Nation* (1922), and Yulian Okhrymovych's *The Development of Ukrainian National and Political Thought in the Nineteenth Century* (1922). However, it was Dontsov's book, simply entitled *Nationalism* (1926), that gained the broadest readership and support, particularly among the younger generation that came to constitute the core of the liberation movement in succeeding decades.

The ideas of these nationalistic writers and ideologues were also expressed in deeds. In 1925 the Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists was formed, the first

Ukrainian organization to use the term “nationalism” to self-define and categorize itself. From that point forward Ukrainian nationalism would begin a process of consolidation, reform, and ongoing evolution, culminating in 1950 with the *Resolutions* introduced at the OUN’s Third Extraordinary General Assembly, which confirmed the tenets and platform of the liberation movement. Those have essentially remained unchanged ever since.

Between the 1920s and 1950, three distinct stages may be identified in the history of the nationalist movement. The philosophical worldview of the nationalist movement coalesced in the early 1920s. From 1929, when the OUN came into being, and until the early 1940s, its ideological program was tested against the exigencies of daily life and experience, reaching its apogee with the crafting of the OUN, UPA, and UHVR programs, beginning in the mid-1940s and continuing into the 1950s.

A remarkable consistency is evident over those decades, although the development of a program appealing to the entire nation was, for a time, stalled. Indeed, what we might refer to as an “all-Ukrainian perspective” was generally absent in the 1930s and did not emerge until the 1940s, laying the groundwork for the programmatic *Resolutions* incorporated into the Third Extraordinary General Assembly.<sup>16</sup> While each successive stage did not cancel the preceding one, it is clear the nationalist movement adapted to the circumstances within which it operated, with perspectives that had not stood the test of time or that proved to be doctrinaire rather than practical being rejected. While staying true to their cause – the need to establish an independent, united, and sovereign Ukrainian state – the OUN’s ideologists repeatedly demonstrated how theirs was a dynamic rather than a dogmatic worldview.<sup>17</sup>

A significant influence over the formation of the nationalist movement’s worldview emerged from the widespread belief that the failure of the struggle in 1917–21 had much to do with the lack of a unifying political concept: divisive party politics, it was felt, had undermined prospects for a united effort, enfeebling the national liberation movement and contributing to its eventual defeat. Accordingly, a major emphasis in the interwar period involved putting the

16 See document 10 in this collection.

17 An example of the accelerated formation of a political program not based on the requisite, practical political experience can be found in the resolutions of the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN (1939), which were never implemented and very quickly lost currency. See “Politychna Prohrama Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Ukhvaleno II Velykym Zborom ukrainskykh natsionalistiv u serpni 1939)”, in *Tysiacha rokiv ukrainskoi suspilno-politychnoi dumky*, vol. 7 (Kyiv: Dnipro, 2001), 376–88. The same applies to the draft of the constitution prepared by Mykola Stsiborsky, one of the leading OUN members in the interwar period. See “Narys proiektu osnovnykh zakoniv (konstytutsii) Ukrainskoi Derzhavy,” in *Dokumenty i materialy Orhanizatsii ukrainskykh natsionalistiv*, vol. 7, *Dokumenty komisii derzhavnoho planuvannia OUN (KPD OUN)* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo imeni Oleny Telihy, 2002), 8–23.

cause of national liberation above party politics. In consequence, Ukrainian nationalists tended to largely ignore social and economic questions, believing any focus on such matters would serve only to splinter the liberation movement into opposing socialist, monarchist, conservative, republican, and revolutionary factions. Their preference was for formulating the broadest possible and most unifying platform and so to ensure that the maximum effort would be directed towards their primary goals – national liberation and independent statehood. Addressing socioeconomic issues, they believed, could wait.

The cadres that constituted the early rank and file of the nationalist movement included veterans of various military formations from the period of the Great War and Ukrainian Revolution, of whom more than a few would become involved in the clandestine Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). Allied with them were various patriotic youth associations. In consequence, the liberation movement took on two particular qualities – it was infused with the discipline or authoritarianism associated with a military hierarchy coupled with the revolutionary zeal associated with youth. Bolstering these tendencies were the pan-European currents of the interwar period, an era when notions of self-sacrifice, irrationalism, and anti-democratic sentiment were common, from Britain to Poland, from France to Italy. Not surprisingly, within such a broad European context, many Ukrainians shared the view that the existing geopolitical status quo was unacceptable; that only revolutionary upheaval, war, and conflict could provide them with an opportunity to free Ukraine; and that they needed a strong leader, someone who would have to be obeyed without hesitation, to guide them on the way to that goal.

In the 1920s, however, the ideology of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was still quite tentative, indistinct, even if its philosophical foundations and worldview were coalescing more or less in concert with other European intellectual and political currents challenging the prevailing order. Thus the UVO's cadres, most of them veterans of the fighting of 1917–21, were largely indifferent to ideological questions, keeping their focus on furthering the armed struggle against the Polish and Soviet occupations. Membership in their ranks was quite selective and very secretive, a man's proven commitment to the struggle deemed to be the most telling indicator of his worth. It was only towards the end of the 1920s that the UVO's members began engaging in ideological debate, the apparent successes of Ukrainization policies in Soviet Ukraine provoking something of a schism in their ranks, resulting in the formation of the Western Ukrainian Popular Revolutionary Organization even as other UVO members adopted the nationalist ideology just then emerging as a popular force within Ukrainian political and social circles.

As this stage, Ukrainian nationalism was still in its formative period, and its principles would be discussed, sometimes heatedly, within the ranks of those



involved whether they belonged to youth, cultural, or even literary clubs. Indeed, it is worth remembering that Dontsov, the leading nationalist ideologue of the time, was not a political figure as such but, rather, a literary critic.<sup>18</sup> In other words, the platform that came to constitute the early ideology of the Ukrainian national liberation movement was shaped more by the public arena than by a particular organizational structure or political party. Not surprisingly, given this evolutionary history, nationalist ideological works at this time were characterized by emotive language and terminology, sometimes resembling religious epistles more than political ones, replete with the use of terms such as “soul,” “mysticism,” and “will.”

Reflecting on why earlier liberation struggles had been unsuccessful, the nationalist intelligentsia of the day identified the root cause as being a lack of resolve on the part of Ukrainians – if independence were ever to be achieved, then Ukrainians as a people had to be transformed from being “soft-bodied, sentimental *Provençals*”<sup>19</sup> into being “fanatically committed soldiers.” The adoption of such a hard-line position fundamentally shaped this movement as a generation of younger revolutionaries came to the fore and fanatically devoted their lives to the struggle for Ukrainian independence. This cause took priority above all else; indeed, it shaped their psyches.

The nurturing and growth of a critical mass of such recruits took time to occur. A suitable vessel for rallying them to their common purpose only emerged with the founding, in 1929, of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>20</sup> The OUN’s creation allowed for the uniting of as yet uncoordinated nationalist forces into one over-arching political structure based on a clear-cut ideological vision. From its inception the OUN was, in contrast to the UVO, a political rather than a military organization. Its first program, although not lacking evocative passages reminiscent of earlier periods in the evolution of Ukrainian

18 Mykhailo Sosnovsky, *Dmytro Dontsov: Politychnyi portret: Z istorii rozvytku ideolohii ukrainskoho natsionalizmu* (New York/Toronto: Trident International, 1974); Serhii Kvit, *Dmytro Dontsov: Ideolohichniy portret; monohrafiia* (Kyiv: VTs “Kyivskiy universytet,” 2000); Oleksandr Zaitsev, *Natsionalist u dobi fashyzmu: Lvivskiy period Dmytra Dontsova 1922–1939* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2019); and Trevor Erlacher, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the Age of Extremes: An Intellectual Biography of Dmytro Dontsov* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2021).

19 A phrase coined by Dmytro Dontsov to define individuals possessing limited national self-awareness, prepared to fight for the preservation of certain ethnographic features of their nation but not for its political rights.

20 For the history of the founding of the OUN, see Petro Mirchuk, *Narys istorii OUN: 1920–1939 roky*, 3rd exp. ed. (Kyiv: ADEF-Ukraina, 2007); Roman Wysocki, *Organizacja ukraińskich nacjonalistów w Polsce w latach 1929–1939: Geneza, struktura, program, ideologia* (Lublin: Wydawn. Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2003); Oleksandr Zaitsev, *Ukrainskyi intehrnyi natsionalizm (1920–1930): Narys intelektualnoi istorii* (Kyiv: Krytyka, 2013).

nationalism, began defining the nationalist movement's positions on social, economic, and cultural issues, proposing bases upon which a future Ukrainian state's external and domestic policies would be laid, even enumerating specific features of how that state would be organized.<sup>21</sup>

The first program of the OUN, and indeed all subsequent renditions, contained nothing suggesting the Ukrainian nationalist movement advocated the construction of a totalitarian state, of a country intended "for Ukrainians only." Instead, the 1920 program revealed that it was expected that the form of the Ukrainian state would change, a process occurring over three stages, defined as the periods of liberation, consolidation, and development. A national dictatorship was considered crucial, but only during first stage of liberation. Subsequently, it was anticipated that the established state would witness a division of power into legislative (elected) and executive (subordinated to the head of state and the legislative body) branches. The development of local self-government was also contemplated.

This second stage in the development of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was characterized by considerable dialogue and debate among ideologists, who came to occupy a leading role within the OUN's structure. A specialized publication, *The Building of the Nation (Rozbudova natsii)*, began appearing from 1928. Given the critical need to create a powerful and consolidated organization as an instrument for the liberation struggle, considerable attention was afforded to the education of the membership. Accordingly, instructions were promulgated, intended to provide rank-and-file members with simple yet stirring precepts as to how they should conduct themselves as exponents of the Ukrainian nationalist movement (e.g., *Decalogue of the Ukrainian Nationalist; Twelve Character Traits of the Ukrainian Nationalist; Forty-Four Rules of the Ukrainian Nationalist*). In form and content, these tracts were often characterized by an almost religious sentiment as OUN ideologists hoped to transform Ukrainian nationalism into a kind of secular faith – something that of course led inevitably to friction with various church and religious organizations.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout the 1930s, the OUN recognized the importance of popularizing the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism within the broader society, while continuing armed resistance against Ukraine's occupiers. From the perspective of the latter, this Ukrainian nationalist resistance was regarded as nothing other than terrorism.

One of the basic postulates of nationalist doctrine – "reliance on one's own forces" – obliged the OUN to actively and widely promote its worldview

21 See document 1.

22 O. Zaitsev, O. Behen, and V. Stefaniv, *Natsionalizm i relihiia: Hreko-katolytska Tserkva ta ukrainskyi natsionalistychnyi rukh u Halychyni (1920–1930-ti roky)* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Ukrainskoho katolytskoho universytetu, 2011).

to expand its base of popular support. Simultaneously, its members participated in military and ideological training anticipating that, someday soon, they would have sufficient forces ready and would be able to join in an armed struggle to secure Ukrainian statehood.<sup>23</sup> As in the preceding period, a critical attitude towards democratic principles and a penchant for authoritarian models, common to many a national movement dissatisfied with the existing geopolitical order of interwar Europe, left a distinct imprint on the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism. This was further exacerbated by the clandestine existence of the OUN and the methods of asymmetrical warfare its cadres deployed, limiting possibilities for contemplating other leadership principles or adopting democratic norms and rules of behaviour. As elsewhere in Europe so, too, in Ukraine, charismatic leaders were exalted and a cult of Ukraine's heroic past was prescribed, as would be reflected in the construction of mythopoetic imagery about Ukrainian nationalist leaders like Yevhen Konovalets and, later, Stepan Bandera.

This stage in the OUN's growth ended in 1940 with a schism that split its ranks into two factions. Reflecting long-standing tensions within the organization, this break marked the start of a new and vigorous stage in ideological reformulation, particularly so within the dynamic and more youthful wing of the movement that coalesced around Stepan Bandera. In contrast, the opposing side, largely representing an older generation under the leadership of Colonel Andrii Melnyk, the OUNm, or Melnykivtsi, remained wedded to earlier attitudes and familiar stratagems. While the political program of the OUNm would also change, and certainly had by the latter years of the Second World War and early postwar period, its somewhat belated evolution occurred more in response to external circumstances than as a consequence of any internal growth or maturation. While the OUNm was never entirely displaced, in Ukraine or in the diaspora, the Ukrainian nationalist movement in both would come to be dominated, numerically and structurally, by Banderivtsi, and, eventually, it was they who would become the principal target of the most concerted Soviet counterinsurgency operations and misinformation campaigns.

The first manifesto of the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN, the official name adopted by the OUNb, appeared in December 1940. It highlighted a new understanding of the organization's role in what was happening not only on Ukrainian lands but also in the wider world.<sup>24</sup> This document set forth a number of major programmatic notions around which the Ukrainian nationalist movement would situate itself throughout the 1940s and 1950s, particularly its key principle: that its struggle was aimed at securing the freedom of nations and

23 Mykola Posivnych, *Voienno-politychna diialnist OUN u 1929–1939 rokakh* (Lviv: Afisha, 2010).

24 See document 2.

the freedom of the individual. These basic goals of the Ukrainian nationalist movement are clearly set forth in the resolutions of the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN, held in April 1941.<sup>25</sup> Here, as will be seen, significant attention was also devoted to questions about the internal political organization of the future Ukrainian state and its social character. Considering that this document was drafted on the very eve of the Soviet-German war, it is not surprising that considerable attention was given over to the organization's external relations. This, too, set the younger generation of nationalists apart from those in the OUNm, for whom the solution to the "Ukrainian Question" was possible only in cooperation with Germany.<sup>26</sup> For those within OUNb ranks, their efforts, as noted in the manifesto, were aimed at rallying together all nations enslaved by the Soviet regime. As for Nazi Germany, with which both wings of the OUN were at that time cooperating, the OUNb proclaimed: "With all its efforts, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists will continue the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian people regardless of all territorial and political changes that arise on the territory of Eastern Europe."<sup>27</sup> In other words, the struggle for the creation of an independent, united, and sovereign Ukrainian state was the end goal of these Ukrainian nationalists, regardless of German attitudes or plans. Not surprisingly, this uncompromising attitude set the OUNb on a collision course with Nazi Germany's occupation regime in Ukraine.

As suggested above, the schism within the OUN proved to be an important catalyst for the development of nationalist ideology. To gain members, legitimize their actions, and distinguish themselves from the former leadership of the movement, the OUNb "schismatics" had to demonstrate how they were different, how theirs was a movement based on something more than just a revolt against a particular individual and his circle. The emergence of the OUNb also paved the way for a younger generation of ideologists whose voices had previously been somewhat muted by older authority figures in the nationalist movement. So the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism evolved further, in particular moving away from elevating Andrii Melnyk as a leader (*vozhda*) to a more critical attitude towards authoritarianism. The 1941 arrests of some of the more charismatic of the younger generation of leaders, above all Stepan Bandera, also played a role in this, with the upper ranks of the movement being repopulated with a new elite, cadres more specialist and strategic in their behaviour, including Roman Shukhevych, Vasyl Kuk, Petro Kravchuk, and others.

25 See document 3.

26 "Memorandum Provodu Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (PUN) pid provodom Andriia Melnyka," in *Ukraina v Druhii svitovii viini u dokumentakh: Zbirnyk nimetskykh arkhivnykh materialiv*, comp. Volodymyr Kosyk, 4 vols. (Lviv: In-t ukrainoznavstva NAN Ukrainy, 1997–), 1:17–29.

27 See document 3.

The most significant factor promoting a qualitatively new level in the ideological evolution of the nationalist movement's platform was the realization that it was necessary to affirm its precepts, making clear what Ukrainian nationalists stood for within the context of war. This was a period when the liberation movement expanded geographically, spreading far beyond the confines of western Ukraine and, finally, being obliged to test its strength as an all-Ukrainian force. Particularly in the wake of the first Soviet occupation of western Ukraine, which began in late September 1939, and which would witness extensive purges of leading cultural, religious, and social community leaders, the OUNb found itself taking on the role of being a political structure striving to represent the interests of the entire nation. The movement's ideologists thus found it imperative to focus on hitherto largely ignored socioeconomic questions. Between 1941 and 1943, in parallel with the growth of an armed resistance, the movement's program thus matured even more. As noted above, in August 1943 the Resolutions of the OUN's Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly were proclaimed.<sup>28</sup> Active in drafting this document were new contributors, some recruited from central and eastern Ukraine; not surprisingly, the resulting resolutions came to reflect an essentially social-democratic worldview. It could not have been otherwise, for the OUN was faced with the task of fighting for the national and social freedom of Ukrainians, most of whom belonged to oppressed social strata. The assembly's resolutions therefore focused on the need for state support for welfare, economic growth, and personal freedom, underscoring economic principles that would, it was hoped, secure popular support for the liberation struggle.

The implementation of these programmatic clauses continued between 1943 and 1946. During this period the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created, various insurgent republics were established, and a two-front struggle began against both the Nazi and the Soviet invaders of Ukraine. The document "What Is the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Fighting For?" – published in a large print run in 1943 – was, in essence, a reiteration of the key clauses of the OUNb program adopted at the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly.<sup>29</sup> That it was not revised at this time can be explained by the simple fact that the movement's resources and attention were geared towards the military struggle – for the ideologists this meant focusing on the political training of the insurgent army and developing the propaganda structures and related publishing arms of the liberation movement.<sup>30</sup>

It was also at this time that a clandestine parliament, known as the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, was established. The emergence of this ruling

28 See document 4.

29 See document 5.

30 See document 36.

body for the liberation movement, outside the OUNb leadership, signalled the need for moving beyond a purely nationalist framework and crafting a more national one. The resulting programmatic documents of the UHVR – the *Universal* (so titled to link this new entity with its historic predecessor, the Ukrainian Central Rada of 1917–18) and its *Platform* – are evidence of this.<sup>31</sup> The all-national format of the armed struggle was recognized not only by the OUNb leaders but also by some of their former opponents who now joined the liberation movement, notably Vasyl Mudry, the head of what had been the largest legal Ukrainian party in interwar Poland, the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO), and himself once a vice-marshal of the Polish *Sejm*. In 1944, Mudry would become the UHVR's vice-president.

At the same time, the Ukrainian liberation movement sought to go beyond the national framework, both ideologically and practically. An energetic propaganda campaign was launched, aimed at enlisting the other “captive nations” of the Soviet Empire, bringing them into a joint struggle for national self-determination.<sup>32</sup> In November 1943 the Conference of Enslaved Nations was convened for this very purpose,<sup>33</sup> calling for an anti-totalitarian, national-democratic revolution of the peoples of Eastern Europe.<sup>34</sup> For the ideologists of the Ukrainian national liberation movement it was evident that their opposition to communism needed to be taken further, into the international arena.

It was after 1946, as the liberation movement once again began reverting to a more clandestine struggle, and as the scope of insurgent combat operations was gradually scaled down, with resistance to the Soviet occupation regrouping to the ideological plane, that even more effort was given over to the refinement and reconsideration of the movement's worldview. Leading OUN ideologists and journalists, including Petro Fedun, Osyp Diakiv, Yaroslav Starukh, and Vasyl Halasa, published fundamental works in this period detailing their visions of the future order in an independent Ukraine and world.<sup>35</sup> Thus, while this underground published over thirty works between 1941 and

31 See documents 6–8.

32 See documents 107–9.

33 *ABN v svitli postanov Konferentsii ta inshykh materialiv z diialnosti, 1941–1956* (n.p.: Vydannia Zakordonnykh Chastyn Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv, 1956), 15–23.

34 Volodymyr Viatrovych, “UPA i realizatsiia kontseptsii antytotitarnoi natsionalno-demokratychnoi revoliutsii narodiv Tsentralno-Skhidnoi levropy,” in *Ukraina: Kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist; Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia v borotbi proty totalitarnykh rezhymiv* (Lviv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypiakevycha NAN Ukrainy, 2004), 78–92. UPA propaganda raids were one of the methods of implementing this concept – see documents 118, 120.

35 For the texts of these authors, see *Political Thought of the Ukrainian Underground, 1943–1951*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj and Yevhen Shtendera (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1986).

1946, in the five years after 1946 nearly one hundred such treatises appeared,<sup>36</sup> despite the circumscribed and obviously trying conditions under which these underground printing houses laboured. Quite probably the very conditions in which they found themselves, involving lengthy periods concealed in bunkers, time spent engaging in ideological training, debate, and reflection, proved conducive to even more ideological evolution.

Internally, having become a nationwide and mass organization rather than simply a movement reflecting an alliance between military veterans and intellectuals, both the OUNb and the UPA increasingly adopted a practical program rooted in the needs and interests of the Ukrainian nation as a whole. Externally, the mandate of the OUNb's ideologists was to shape a counterweight to the Bolshevik paradigm. Accordingly, much attention was given over to the study of Marxist-Leninist and Bolshevik thought, even to the extent that certain of the latter's propositions were adopted.

The defeat of Nazi Germany, and the repudiation of totalitarian trends around the world, was clearly reflected both in the practical activities of the OUNb and on the ideological plane. In May 1943, a bureau of the leadership was established for the OUNb, a collective ruling body replacing the organizing principle of a powerful and dominating *vozhd*, or leader. Ideologically, however, OUNb writers were still disinclined to embrace the use of the term "democracy," even as late as the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly, despite the fact that the organization's democratic course was ratified there. This fact was addressed candidly, in 1950, through addenda attached to the assembly's resolutions. These noted that: "the question of the state order in the Ukrainian Independent United State was not properly reflected in the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly. Nevertheless, the entire spirit of the Programmatic Resolutions clearly showed that the OUN is fighting for a democratic order in the future Ukrainian Independent United State, and the whole array of paragraphs in the Programmatic Resolutions ... delineated the concrete principle of the future democratic order."<sup>37</sup> Thus, in 1950, the Ukrainian national liberation movement's ideological and political evolution reached an end point – with subsequent works adding no qualitatively different ideas but, rather, serving only to expand or elaborate upon previously formulated propositions.

In summary, the ideological and programmatic principles of the Ukrainian liberation movement evolved dynamically, over a period of several decades, moving from the "mysticism" of the 1920s to the concrete political platform

36 This figure was reached on the basis of a catalogue of publications included in a monograph by O. Stasiuk, *Vydavnycho-propahandyvna diialnist OUN (1941–1953 rr.)* (Lviv: Tsentr doslidzhen vyzvolnoho rukhu, 2006).

37 See document 10.

of 1950 and beyond. Remarkably, a single generation put forward, revised, propagated, and matured these governing tenets, which evolved even as their creators and bearers dealt with the realities they faced daily in their ongoing political and military struggle for Ukrainian independence. Engaged, responsive, and creative, these Ukrainian nationalists secured a leading place for their movement within the liberation struggle from the 1920s to the 1950s. Understanding this ideological evolution helps to place, and to explain, the importance of the OUNb's struggle within the context of Ukrainian and world history.

#### FROM CLANDESTINE GROUP TO UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

As noted above, the emergence in the twentieth century of an organized nationalist movement was, in essence, a reaction to the defeat suffered by Ukrainians during the revolutionary and war years between 1917 and 1921. Unlike other Central and East European nations that managed to restore or acquire independent statehood in the wake of the Great War and the collapse of the Tsarist Russian, German, Ottoman, and Austro-Hungarian Empires, Ukrainian attempts were repeatedly thwarted and finally undermined. The shock of this defeat stimulated important changes in the nature of Ukrainian society's elites – the elders of the nationalist movement, mainly representatives of the socialist camp, largely receded into the background even as those who had been engaged in Ukraine's military struggles during the First World War came to the forefront. Many of the latter refused to reconcile themselves to this loss, blaming this defeat on Ukrainian politicians for their lack of resolve and leadership. Determined to reverse this setback, they adapted clandestine means, forming the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) in 1920. Tied originally to the émigré government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic, the UVO's members saw themselves as the latter's combat arm, continuing an armed resistance to foreign occupation. After the government-in-exile's efforts to assert western Ukraine's independence were rejected by the Council of Ambassadors (1923), the UVO gradually began to reconstitute itself as an independent force, adopting Ukrainian nationalism as its ideology, linking itself with student groups in western Ukraine and in the emigration, leading eventually to the creation of the OUN. Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, who had served with the Sich Sharpshooters in the Great War, led the OUN until his assassination by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam in 1938. Even under his leadership, however, the 1930s were a period during which the cadres of the OUN came to be dominated by a younger generation of nationalists throughout western Ukraine. Eventually, it was they who would take over the OUN's leadership, breaking with Colonel Andrii Melnyk in 1940.



Born at the start of the twentieth century (for the most part between 1900 and 1920) these younger people would become the main leaders and membership of the liberation movement during the 1940s and 1950s. Before then many were active participants in various civic organizations, and more than a few had undergone ideological and even military training, acquiring hard-won knowledge of the demands of conspiratorial resistance in the anti-Polish underground and in Polish jails. When the Second World War broke out, these young men and women were mostly between twenty and thirty years of age, had some paramilitary experience, and were ready and willing to seize arms and champion their cause. Between 1939 and 1941, they would utilize their knowledge and experience by taking part in combat operations in Carpatho-Ukraine (March 1939), organizing anti-Polish actions in September 1939, and staging an anti-Soviet revolt in late June 1941.

The OUN was targeted for suppression by the forces of the Polish Republic in the interwar period. It also became one of the main targets for Soviet punitive and repressive organs following the forced incorporation of western Ukraine into the USSR after the September 1939 dismemberment of Poland by the collaborating forces of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union.<sup>38</sup> Over eight thousand Ukrainian nationalists were arrested by the NKVD, many of whom were condemned to death.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, thousands of other Ukrainian patriots and community activists were also detained or purged, including leaders of various political parties and civic organizations, intellectuals, and clergy, the overall effect being the decimation of Ukrainian society. While the OUN certainly suffered significant losses at this time it managed to survive, primarily because its pre-existing underground structure provided some shelter against these Soviet measures. The OUN thus retained an ability to recruit new members and slowly was able to rebuild itself into what would eventually become an all-national Ukrainian movement.

At the outbreak of the war between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, 22 June 1941, the OUNb was in a position to stage anti-Soviet rebellions and,<sup>40</sup>

38 *Radianski orhany derzhavnoi bezpeky u 1939–chervni 1941: Dokumenty HDA SBU*, comp. V. Danylenko and S. Kokin (Kyiv: Vydavnychiy dim “Kyievo-Mohylianska akademiya,” 2009).

39 Patryliak, “*Vstan i borys!*,” 83, 97. This figure appears in NKVD reports and may not be accurate because not all of those arrested admitted to being members of the OUN, knowing full well the likely consequences of doing so. On the other hand, the NKVD may have unjustifiably included some arrestees in its reports.

40 See document 11, one of the instructions governing the actions of OUN members in the first days of the German-Soviet War. This document, which contains guidelines on the possible liquidation of disloyal members of national minorities, is frequently cited as evidence that the Ukrainian nationalists sought to create a totalitarian, “Ukrainian-only” state. However, these instructions concerned only the period of rebellion, and they defined the order and functions of the organization during this particular phase. They did not define either the

despite heavy losses, eventually operated on the territory of seventy raions in the following oblasts: Lviv, Drohobych, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, Volyn, Rivne, Chernivtsi, and Zhytomyr. In several places these Ukrainian insurgents were able to seize power locally, until the Germans arrived.<sup>41</sup> The principal territories on which these groups raised the banner of revolt were, more or less, the same lands on which the UPA would later coalesce.

In assessing the strength of the OUN at this time, one can rely on a report drawn up by Ivan Klymiv (“Lehenda”), who led the OUNb in Soviet-occupied western Ukraine between 1939 and 1941. According to him, the OUNb had upward of 20,000 members as of late July 1941, with 5,000 in Volyn, 500 in Bukovyna, and more than 14,000 in Galicia (*Halychyna*).<sup>42</sup> Possessing such a large cadre allowed the OUNb to assert itself quickly, most dramatically through the Act of 30 June 1941, which proclaimed the restoration of a Ukrainian state.<sup>43</sup> Over a period of several weeks, a fledgling Ukrainian administration was established on the territories of 187 out of two hundred districts throughout western Ukraine. Furthermore, expeditionary groups of Ukrainian nationalists headed east, where, with the participation of the local Ukrainian populations, they promulgated this declaration of Ukrainian independence, creating a number of sympathetic governing councils in Zhytomyr, Proskuriv, Kamianets-Podilsky, Kryvy Rih, Nykopol, Mykolaiv, and Dnipropetrovsk.<sup>44</sup>

Despite intense German pressure to rescind the Act of 30 June, the Ukrainian nationalists refused to do so, resulting in the arrest of the OUNb leader, Stepan Bandera, along with the premier of the newly created government, Yaroslav Stetsko. Mass arrests of Ukrainian nationalists were carried out throughout German-controlled lands not only in Ukraine but also in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Germany, starting on 15 September 1941.<sup>45</sup> More than fifteen hundred OUN members were jailed, many of whom were individuals who had been working legally to foster the re-emergence of national life across Ukraine. On 25 November 1941, the Sicherheitsdienst (SD), the security service

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vision of the further development of the revived Ukrainian state or the place of national minorities within it.

41 Ivan Patryliak, “Taktyka i stratehiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv na pochatkovomu etapi Druhoi svitovoi viiny,” in *Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv i Ukrainska povstanska armii*, 48.

42 *Ukrainske derzhavotvorennia: Akt 30 chervnia 1941; Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Lviv: Instytut ukrajinskoji arkhieographiji ta dzhereloznavstva imeni Hrushevskoho, 2001), 212.

43 For information on this proclamation, see document 12.

44 See the documents published in the above cited collection, 243–357.

45 V. Kosyk, *Ukraina i Nimechchyna v Druhii svitovii viini* (Paris/New York/Lviv: Naukove tovarystvo im. T. Shevchenka, 1994), 188.

of the Third Reich, ordered the immediate arrest of all OUN members on the grounds that they were preparing an uprising.<sup>46</sup>

In consequence, according to Myroslav Prokop, a leading figure in the movement, by late 1941 the Ukrainian underground was reduced to some twelve thousand members and seven thousand youth members, with almost all of the leading OUNb activists incarcerated.<sup>47</sup> Under the leadership of Mykola Lebed, the OUNb was yet again obliged to reconstitute itself, with a new network of younger members joining or taking on leadership roles, replacing the more experienced members who had either been captured or killed.

Under these circumstances, the movement's leaders resolved to bide their time: they confined themselves, at first, to disseminating anti-German propaganda while preparing new cadres for action once Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union had exhausted themselves militarily. Soon small fighting groups were formed to protect the underground and population, and by the summer of 1942 these groups had begun resistance and sabotage operations against the German occupation.<sup>48</sup> These actions were not expanded by the leadership into a broader-based insurgent movement;<sup>49</sup> instead, amassing weapons, preparing the membership for the most opportune moment for a nationwide uprising, and expanding the underground network were given priority at this time.

This stance proved untenable given the increasing despoliation of Ukraine throughout the *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, which provoked a radicalization of the population accompanied by anti-German actions. In Volyn and Polissia, partisans under the command of Taras Borovets ("Bulba") began a resistance, competing for influence with the OUNb.<sup>50</sup> And, by late 1942, Soviet partisans had also started operating in these territories. These developments forced the hand of the OUNb leadership in Volyn, who, despite the officially adopted position about biding their time, were obliged by local circumstances to form their own armed forces, deploying them against the Germans and asserting control within their territory while also securing the support of their soldiers. By August–October 1942, the first large combat units of the OUNb, directed by the chief of the Military Section in the Rivne area, Serhii Kachynsky ("Ostap"),

46 See "Nakaz nimetskoj politsii bezpeky (SD) znyshchuvaty banderivtsiv bez sudu, 25 lystopada 1941 r.," in *Ukraina v Druhii svitovii viini u dokumentakh*, 1:365.

47 M. Prokop, "Zhurnal 'Ideia i Chyn' (Informatsii ta otsinky redaktora)," in *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoj Armii*, vol. 24, *Ideia i chyn: Orhan Provodu OUN, 1942–1946* (Toronto/Lviv: Litopys UPA, 1995).

48 The best survey of the activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement in 1942, especially the preparations for an armed struggle, is found in I. Patryliak, "Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh u 1942 rotsi," in *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh*, ed. V. Viatrovych, vol. 7 (Lviv: MS, 2006), 208–31.

49 See document 14.

50 For a collection of KGB archival documents about him, see *Taras Bulba-Borovets: Dokumenty, statti, lysty*, ed. V. Serhiichuk (Kyiv: P.P. Serhijchuk M., 2011).

aided by Hryhorii Perehyniak (“Korobka”), went into action. Overall, they operated under the command of the OUNb krai leader for Volyn and Polissia, Dmytro Kliachkivsky (“Klym Savur”). It would be several months before the Volyn leadership’s decision to take up arms was formally approved by the OUNb leadership, and a build-up of a larger armed force was agreed.<sup>51</sup>

The winter of 1942 and spring of 1943 saw the expansion of this armed struggle in Volyn. The formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) involved taking action against the German occupation and a concurrent struggle against Soviet partisans in the region. In late 1942, and for the first half of 1943, a Polish-Ukrainian conflict also erupted, first in the Kholm region, later in Volyn and Galicia. Involved were the underground movements of both nations, each vying to establish control over western Ukrainian lands. This conflict escalated until it became a rural-based war, with massive loss of life suffered by the civilian populations on both sides.<sup>52</sup> The fighting in this region dragged on for several years, ending only in 1947 after forced and large-scale population transfers were initiated by the Soviet Union and its Eastern European proxies.

The spring and summer of 1943 were also marked by conflict among the various political forces found within the Ukrainian liberation movement. The OUNb would emerge as the dominant movement because of its extensive clandestine network and broad-based support. Within a short period of time other political forces, such as the OUNm and the supporters of Borovets-“Bulba,” were either forced to quit the field or merge with the OUNb-led insurgency. This unity within the Ukrainian insurgency was soon secured through both negotiation and intimidation.

During the first half of 1943, anti-German actions were still relatively uncommon in Galicia for German policy towards the Ukrainians in the Generalgouvernement was generally less repressive than in the other parts of

51 First, at the military conference held in October 1942 (for the resolutions of this conference as recapitulated by an NKVD agent, see *Polshcha ta Ukraina u trydtsiatykh–sorokovykh rokakh XX stolittia: Nevidomi dokumenty z arkhiviv spetsialnykh sluzhb* [Warsaw/Kyiv: Instytut Pam’ienci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji RP Państwowe Archiwum Służby Bezpieczeństwa Ukrainy Instytut Badań Politycznych i Narodowościowych Narodowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy, 2005], vol. 4: *Poliaky i ukraintsi mizh dvoma totalitarnymy systemamy, 1942–1945*, ed. Ie. Tukholsky, Iu. Shapoval et al., pt. 1, 208), and then at the Third Conference of the OUN leadership held in February 1943 (see document 15).

52 See V. Viatrovych, *Druha polsko-ukrainska viina, 1942–1947* (Kyiv: Vydavnychyj dim Kyievo-Mohylianska akademija, 2011). An English-language translation is now available, *The Gordian Knot: The Second Polish-Ukrainian War, 1942–1947* (Toronto: Horner Press, 2020). See also the documentary collections, *Polshcha ta Ukraina*, vol. 4, pts. 1–2, and *Polsko-ukrainski stosunki v 1942–1947 rokakh u dokumentakh OUN ta UPA: u 2 t.*, ed. and comp. V. Viatrovych (Lviv: Livivskij natsionalnyj universytet imeni Franka, Centr doslidzheh vyzvolnoho rushing, 2011).

occupied Ukraine. Even so, the OUNb began preparing armed units in this region as well, in part because of German efforts to mobilize the “Galicia Division,” whose recruitment would, it was thought, seriously reduce the pool of potential candidates for the insurgency. Furthermore, the “Great Carpathian Raid” of August 1943, carried out by a detachment of Red partisans under the command of Sydir Kovpak, whose goal was to establish a foothold in the Carpathian Mountains, presented a serious challenge to the Ukrainian nationalists.

In order to disorient the Germans, these new OUNb-inspired formations were, for a short time, described only as Ukrainian People’s Self-Defence (UNS) units, commanded by First Lieutenant Oleksander Lutsky (“Andriienko”). In December 1943 they were renamed as UPA-West. By 1944, the Ukrainian nationalist insurgency had spread even farther, encompassing all the lands of the Nadsianna and Kholm regions, described in their documents as *Zakerzonnia*, eventually becoming part of the UPA Military okruha known as *Sian*.<sup>53</sup>

The UPA’s territorial structure came to include the lands of the (current) Ukrainian oblasts of Volyn, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Khmelnytsky, Vinnytsia, Ternopil, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, and Zakarpattia; the eastern lands of Poland’s *voivodeships* (provinces) of Subcarpathia and Lublin; and the southern parts of Belarus’s Brest and Pinsk oblasts. By 1944 the total area of operations for the insurgency was nearly 150,000 square kilometres, including a population of approximately 15 million people.

A number of important structural characteristics of the Ukrainian national liberation movement are notable. For the entire span of its existence, the movement’s core was constituted by the OUNb, whose members held key positions in rear-line services (the “home front” that provided material support and intelligence to the underground),<sup>54</sup> in the UPA, and in the UHVR, the latter coming into being in July 1944 as a governing body overseeing the armed forces of the UPA and the lands under its control.<sup>55</sup> While the OUNb’s dominance is certain, the movement was by no means homogeneous. For example, the UHVR’s first president, Kyrylo Osmak, was a native of Poltava who had been a prominent figure in the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917–18. Having this veteran participate in the UHVR was unambiguously intended to symbolize a link between the struggle for independence of the First World War period and that of the Second World War as well as the all-Ukrainian character of this effort.

53 Today this territory lies in southeastern Poland. At the time these lands were inhabited mostly by ethnic Ukrainians.

54 H. Starodubets, *Heneza ukrainskoho povstanskoho zapillia* (Ternopil: Pidruchnyky i posibnyky, 2008).

55 See documents 6–8.

Furthermore, the OUNb did not seek to dominate every aspect of the liberation movement. In the early stages of the UPA's creation in Volyn, for example, the insurgent army proclaimed itself as the highest authority in these liberated territories, even to the extent of assuming some of the civilian and political functions that had earlier been within the OUNb's purview.<sup>56</sup> This occurred not only because the OUNb was relatively weakly developed in this region but also because the creation of this insurgent army had occurred despite the OUNb's original reluctance to sanction this development. A balance between these two groups was only achieved in late 1943, with the creation of the Supreme Command and the Supreme Military Headquarters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, headed by the chief of the OUNb's Leadership Bureau and, from July 1944, by the head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, Roman Shukhevych. It was only then that the direction of all of the structures of the liberation movement came to be concentrated in the same hands. In order to secure the maximum political advantage, the OUNb insisted the UPA and the UHVR were independent forces, yet, undeniably, OUNb influence over these two other structures was pervasive and steadily increased. It was only in late 1944, after the External Representation of the UHVR was dispatched to the West, and following the capture of its president, Kyrylo Osmak,<sup>57</sup> that the OUNb's domination of the UHVR's leadership ended.

By 1945, therefore, the UPA came under dual subordination – to its military command as well as to the relevant OUNb territorial leadership. By 1946 this process was carried forward, with military subunits being progressively disbanded, their members redeployed into the OUNb's clandestine network.<sup>58</sup> The territorial and functional structure of the home front nearly always coincided with the OUNb structure, save for a brief period, in 1941 and again in 1943, when efforts were made to create a civilian administration parallel to the underground network.

Of course, the OUNb never controlled the home front in its entirety even if the majority of the population, not themselves members of the OUNb, nevertheless generally supported it. Determining how many members the Ukrainian national liberation movement had is not possible, nor is tallying the number of those on the home front who provided logistical support or intelligence. Such support was situational rather than systematic, and no record-keeping about the number of people involved was ever attempted. Nor were any records on the membership of the OUNb kept: the only available figures are those dating from July 1941, when the OUNb was operating more openly than ever before,

56 See documents 40–2.

57 See document 146.

58 See documents 54, 55.

or thereafter. There are, however, fragmentary datasets from the late 1940s–early 1950s for individual regions. These allow for some insight into OUNb losses in those years.

The only formation whose numerical strength can be estimated with rather more certainty is the UPA in as much as its ranks expanded more or less stably, according to the number of soldiers needed for its units. If we take the number of all existing UPA companies (the company was the UPA's main tactical unit) and multiply this figure by 150 (the average number of soldiers in a UPA company was between 120 and 180), the probable number of UPA soldiers can be determined, although even this method of calculation is problematic since the process of gathering information about the existence and activities of insurgent units continues to the present day. Nevertheless, based on the information at hand, it is likely the UPA deployed between twenty-three thousand and thirty thousand soldiers in the first half of 1944, the peak of its numerical strength.<sup>59</sup> German documents suggest a figure twice as large: sixty thousand,<sup>60</sup> likely the result of adding UPA soldiers together with members of the OUNb network.

Overall, the total number of soldiers in the ranks of the UPA was, of course, several times larger for their ranks had to be replenished regularly as insurgents were either killed, captured, or otherwise lost. A rank-and-file insurgent was active, on average, for two years before suffering such a fate. Insurgent commanders had an even shorter lifespan, generally less than a year. Given these realities, it is likely that, over the course of its existence, the UPA fielded as many as 100,000 combatants.

The only other source of information on the number of participants in the Ukrainian national liberation movement is what was generated by the punitive and counterinsurgent structures of the Soviet regime. These data are also only approximate for, during the first years of anti-Soviet resistance (1944–46), many victims of the reoccupation of western Ukraine had no direct connection with the liberation movement but suffered nonetheless. As well, a certain number of the underground's members and their sympathizers managed to evade detection and punishment. Even so, by Soviet estimates, between 1944 and 1952 nearly half a million people were repressed (not including victims of the anti-German struggle). Of that number, 134,000 were arrested, 153,000 were executed, and 203,000 were deported from Ukraine.<sup>61</sup>

59 Patryliak, "Vstan i borys!," 235; P. Sodol, *Ukrainska Povstancha Armiia, 1943–1949: Dovidnyk* (New York: Proloh, 1994), 47.

60 Kosyk, *Ukraina i Nimechchyna u druhii svitovii viini*, 445.

61 Iu. Shapoval, "Viina pislia viiny," in *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstanskoi Armii*, n.s., vol. 3, *Borotba proty UPA i natsionalistychnoho pidpillia: Dyrektyvni dokumenty TsK Kompartii Ukrainy* (Kyiv/Toronto: Litopys UPA, 2001), 40. See also document 161.

Most of the UPA's soldiers were residents of rural areas who operated largely within the same districts from which they were drawn,<sup>62</sup> and all were volunteers, with only a few also being members of the OUNb. Generally between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight, with an elementary or incomplete high school education, they would go into combat without the benefit of much, if any, prior military experience. In contrast, most of the UPA's command elements were between thirty and thirty-five years of age, drawn from Ukraine's urban centres, members of the OUNb who had some experience of civic activism in youth, scouting, or paramilitary organizations such as Plast, Sokil, and Luh, and even in the military – namely, the Legion of Ukrainian Nationalists or the Polish and Soviet armies.<sup>63</sup>

During the 1940s and 1950s, the activities of the Ukrainian national liberation movement went through several stages. The first entailed the consolidation and expansion of the insurgent army and occurred from late 1942 until 1944, during which time the overall structure of the UPA was shaped on the basis of the OUNb's military cadres and enlisted specialists. This entailed setting up a headquarters and officers' schools; confirming military titles, ranks, and a system for recognizing service through medals and other distinctions; and mobilizing the population.<sup>64</sup> The political task of the movement in this same period focused on preparing the nation for an armed rising, which it was thought should occur only after the conflict between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany had weakened both. Combat operations took on a large-scale character only from 1944, with significant forces being deployed to seize control over wide swaths of territory, expanding with insurgent raids into central and eastern Ukraine. So-called "insurgent republics" were established at this time in areas cleared of occupation forces. The UPA command even went so far as to issue directives concerning the creation of local administrations, land

62 Ivan Patryliak created a detailed "collective portrait" of the UPA soldier after examining nearly fifteen hundred questionnaires of insurgents who fought in the Volyn region. See his "Vstan i borys!," 257–84. His conclusions can be reliably extrapolated to insurgents who fought in other UPA operational areas. Most members of the anti-communist movement in the Baltic republics in the postwar period were also peasants, although individuals from wealthier peasant families predominated, which was not the case with the Ukrainian movement. See Alexander Statiev, *The Soviet Counterinsurgency in the Western Borderlands* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 97–105.

63 For sample biographies of commanders in one of the UPA's Tactical Sectors, see M. Andrusiak, *Komandyry viddiliv 21-oho Kolomyiskoho Taktychnoho vidtynka UPA "Hutsulshchyna"* (Kolomyia: Vydavnycho-polihrafichne tovarystvo "Vik," 2005). For biographies of other UPA commanders, see Sodol, *Ukrainska povstancha armiiia* (1994); P. Sodol, *Ukrainska Povstancha Armiiia: Dovidnyk II* (New York: Vydavnytstvo "Proloh," 1995).

64 See documents 28, 29, 31–4.



distribution among the peasants, and the beginning of the school year, as well as instructions pertaining to the functioning of power.<sup>65</sup>

The second stage began as the eastern front shifted in 1944, and it would end in mid-1945. The main task in this period was preserving the structures and combat capacity of the movement while also impeding the establishment of a Soviet administration on Ukrainian lands. The Battle of Hurby, the largest battle in the UPA's history, was fought in the Rivne region on 22–25 April 1944, with nearly 30,000 NKVD Interior Troops deployed against some 4,000 to 5,000 insurgents. Despite the former's numerical superiority, the Soviets proved unable to destroy the UPA's units, many of which eventually succeeded in escaping their attempted encirclement.<sup>66</sup> It was during this period that the UPA engaged in offensive actions, storming raion centres and doing whatever it could to hamper and destabilize Soviet attempts to establish administrative control, while also demonstrating to the general populace that the UPA's struggle was continuing, despite the war's end.<sup>67</sup>

The large number of losses suffered by the insurgents and by their supporters on the home front during this period finally compelled the leadership of the liberation movement to reorganize its armed forces, a process that began in the second half of 1945 and continued into 1946. It was in the winter of 1945–46 that the Soviets conducted their largest counterinsurgency operation to date, which came to be known as the Great Blockade.<sup>68</sup> Timed to coincide with elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, announced for February 1946, and which the insurgents had tried to disrupt, this Soviet internal security measure involved more than half a million troops deploying into the western oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.<sup>69</sup> As a result of the blockading of populated areas, coupled with "combing" operations in the forests, the underground suffered grievous losses, with between 40 and 60 percent of their personnel either killed or captured. The liquidation of the home front was simultaneously undertaken through the widespread deportation of civilians between 1946 and 1948, coupled with the crisis provoked through the forcible collectivization of western Ukrainian villages.

After 1946 the insurgent army continued to function only in the Carpathian Mountains and in Zakerzonnia; in the latter region they still operated in the form of large combat units – that is, UPA companies. The deportation of practically the entire Ukrainian population of this region, Operation Vistula (1947), effectively eliminated the insurgents' rear-line services, striking a decisive and

65 See documents 40–2.

66 See document 95.

67 See document 99.

68 See document 143.

69 See document 114.

ultimately fatal blow. Thereafter, military operations were reduced to smaller units,<sup>70</sup> even if the UPA's structures remained somewhat active until 1949 and kept functioning in the forlorn hope that a third world war would break out between the West and the Soviet bloc, providing another chance for the Ukrainian nation to raise an army and secure independence.<sup>71</sup>

Between 1946 and 1949, the UPA also carried out propaganda actions, in the form of so-called "raids" into Poland, Slovakia, and Romania. Intending to inspire local anti-communist movements, establish links with them, and disseminate information about the Ukrainian liberation movement to the world, these excursions succeeded only in this latter mission: with the advent of the Cold War the activities of Ukrainian insurgents would be publicized, especially after several UPA units made their way to the American Zone of Occupation in Germany in the autumn of 1947.<sup>72</sup> One other concrete success occurred when the UPA was able to arrange a truce with elements of the Polish underground, for a time joining forces with the latter in anti-Soviet and anti-communist combat operations.<sup>73</sup>

From September 1949, the UPA began demobilizing its larger combat elements and, with the exception of the Supreme Military Headquarters, its subordinate command structures, with many UPA soldiers entering the ranks of the OUNb's underground network.<sup>74</sup> As the prospect of a third world war faded, the leadership yet again switched its tactics.<sup>75</sup> The chief task of the movement became promoting the ideology of national liberation. This was when the OUNb's Propaganda Section came to the fore, becoming one of the movement's most important departments. Indeed, according to data compiled by Soviet security forces, fifteen underground print shops that issued thirty-eight leaflets and brochures were exposed and liquidated in 1951 alone.<sup>76</sup> It was also at this time that the OUNb Security Service (SB), whose function was to protect the organization's clandestine network while mobilizing resistance to the

70 For reports of the underground for 1947–48, see documents 105, 106.

71 For the resolutions of the conference of the OUN leadership for 1945–48, see documents 16, 17, 19–21, 23. On the preparations for the possible outbreak of a third world war, see documents 18, 24.

72 V. Viatrovych, "Ukrainska Povstanska Armiiia u svitli zakhidnoi presy 1946–1947 rr.," in *Ukraina: Kulturna spadshchyna, natsionalna svidomist, derzhavnist; Zbirnyk na poshanu profesora Iuriiia Slyvky* (Lviv: Instytut ukrajinoznavstva imeni Krypjakevych, 2000), 7:471–88. See also document 118.

73 See document 58. See also the monograph by Grzegorz Motyka and Rafał Wnuk, *Pany i rezuny: Współpraca AK-WiN i UPA, 1945–1947* (Warsaw: Volumen, 1997).

74 See document 22.

75 For the resolutions of the conference of the OUN leadership for the years 1949 to 1952, see documents 21, 23, 25, and 26.

76 See document 158.

repressive organs of Soviet state power, also became more evident and assertive.<sup>77</sup> To further shield its remaining cadres from the Soviets, and to spread its ideas throughout Ukraine, the underground leadership also launched what was known as the Orlyk plan, a redeployment of members to central and eastern Ukraine. By relocating members away from where they were being sought to presumably safer places where they would not be known, it was hoped these cadres would be able to perpetuate the liberation struggle by other means.

It remains difficult to determine exactly when the Ukrainian underground terminated its activities. Certainly, we know that the last commander of the UPA, Vasyl Kuk, who had coordinated and maintained links between still active individual units, was captured only in 1954.<sup>78</sup> Thereafter, Anatolii Maievsky (“Ulian”), OUN krai leader of the northwestern lands (PZUZ), continued the struggle, relying on increasingly circumscribed underground structures then still in existence. His death in 1955 may be considered the end of the organized struggle, although isolated incidents of resistance would be recorded later – for example, in 1956, when some insurgents were released from the GULAG and returned to western Ukraine.<sup>79</sup> The final combat action carried out by the Ukrainian underground seems to have occurred on 12 April 1960, in the Pidhaitsi area.<sup>80</sup> And even after that a few insurgents remained in hiding for several more decades, surfacing only following the collapse of the Soviet Union, when Ukraine again became an independent state in Europe.<sup>81</sup>

#### SOVIET COUNTERINSURGENCY OPERATIONS

The principal goal of the Ukrainian national liberation movement from the 1920s until the 1950s was the creation of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state encompassing all Ukrainian ethnographic territories. Throughout this period, the struggle was most actively carried out by the OUNb in western Ukraine. Every occupation regime imposed upon western

77 On the activities of the OUN Security Service, see documents 43–50.

78 See document 160.

79 “Lyst sekretaria TsK KPU M. Pidhornoho TsK KPRS pro nebazhanist povernennia zvilnennykh z uviaznennia kolyshnykh uchasnykiv OUN i UPA ta chleniv ikh rodyn na postiine mistse prozhyvannia v zakhidnii Ukrainy,” in *Litopys UPA*, n.s. vol. 7, *Borotba proty UPA i natsionalistychnoho pidpillia: Informatsiini dokumenty TsK KP(b)U, obkomiv partii, NKVS-MVS, MDB-KDB 1949–1959* (Kyiv/Toronto: Litopys UPA, 2003), 550–3.

80 G. Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942–1960: Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, RYTM, 2006), 647–8.

81 *Armiia bezsmertnykh: Povstanski svitlyny*, ed. V. Viatrovych and V. Moroz (Lviv: Ms, 2002), 205. See also Vasyl Humeniuk and Lubomyr Luciuk, eds, *Their Just War: Images of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2007).

Ukraine, from the Polish to the Soviet to the Nazi, and then again the Soviet, was resisted, with the USSR perceived as being the chief enemy of Ukrainian independence. For that reason the conflict with Soviet forces and their collaborators occurred on a significantly larger scale, and for a longer period of time, than did the struggle against the Polish administration of the interwar period, or even the German occupation in the war years. Obviously, the Ukrainian insurgency also reached the height of its power and geographical extent while fighting against the Soviets, who regarded the Ukrainian insurgency as one of the greatest challenges to their rule in postwar Europe. As John A. Armstrong noted: “If one takes into account the duration, geographical extent, and intensity of activity, the UPA very probably is the most important example of forceful resistance to an established communist regime prior to the decade of fierce Afghan resistance beginning in 1979.”<sup>82</sup>

The first clashes between Soviet units and the OUN occurred during the first occupation of western Ukraine, between 1939 and 1941, and these would continue during the German occupation, when the newly created Ukrainian insurgent forces fought Soviet partisan units. A full-scale Soviet war against the Ukrainian underground began a few days after the Red Army had moved through the region in the wake of the retreating Germans.<sup>83</sup>

According to the plans of the Soviet leadership, the speedy liquidation of armed Ukrainian resistance was given high priority, with significant Red

82 Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 223.

83 Shapoval, “Viina pislia viiny,” 9–43; P. Potichnyi [Peter J. Potichnyj], “Borotba proty pidpillia v Zakhidnii Ukraini, 1944–1959,” in *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoi Armii*, vol. 38, *Arkhitektura rezystansu: Kryivky ta bunkry UPA v radianskykh dokumentakh* (Toronto/Lviv: Litopys UPA, 2002), 7–27; P. Potichnyi, “Pacification of Ukraine: Soviet Counterinsurgency, 1944–1956,” in *Ukraine: The Challenges of World War II*, ed. Taras Hunczak and Dmytro Shtohryn (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003), 171–200; O.Ie. Lysenko, “Borotba zbroinykh viddiliv OUN i UPA z radianskym karalno-represyvnym aparatom,” in Kulchytsky, *Orhanizatsiia ukrainskykh natsionalistiv*, 303–93; A.V. Kentii, “Antykomunistychnyi opir OUN i UPA u pisliavoiennyi period,” in Kulchytsky, *Orhanizatsiia*, 394–444; A. Gogun, “Voina posle voiny,” in his *Mezhdu Gitlerom i Stalinym*, 191–318; V. Hrynevych, “Stalinska imperiia v borotbi z ukrainskym povstanskym rukhom,” in “*Osoby papki*” *Stalina i Molotova pro natsionalno-vyzvolnu borotbu v Zakhidnii Ukraini u 1944–1948 rr.*; *Zbirnyk dokumentiv*, comp. Ia. Dashkevych and V. Kuk (Lviv: Instytut ukrainskoji arkhieographiji ta dzhereloznavstva imeni Hrushevskoho, 2010), 5–45; Statiev, *Soviet Counterinsurgency*. See also various collections of documents on this topic: I. Bilas, *Represyvo-karalna systema v Ukraini, 1917–1953 rr.*: 2 vols. (Kyiv: Lybid, Vijsko Ukrainy, 1994); V. Serhiichuk, *Desiat buremnykh lit: Zakhidnoukrainski zemli u 1944–1953 rr.*; *Novi dokumenty ta materialy* (Kyiv: P.P. Serhijchuk M., 1998); *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoi Armii*, n.s., vols. 3–7 (Kyiv/Toronto: Litopys UPA, 2001–13); *NKVD-MVD SSSR v borbe s banditizmom i vooruzhennym natsionalisticheskim podpoiem na Zapadnoi Ukraini, v Zapadnoi Belorussii i Pribaltike (1939–1956)* (Moscow: Obedinennaia redaktsiia MVD Rossii, 2008).

Army troop deployments being dedicated to the extermination of the UPA and the destruction of its rear-line services. Frequently, entire villages deemed supportive of the insurgent movement were destroyed.<sup>84</sup> Although some successes were achieved, regular Red Army troops proved ill-suited to waging counterinsurgent warfare, particularly as the UPA, following the classic precepts of guerrilla movements everywhere, avoided frontal assaults against superior forces, preferring instead to set ambushes and engage in hit-and-run tactics. Additionally, as numerous eyewitness reports confirm, Red Army soldiers, among whom there were many Ukrainians, had little or no desire to fight their countrypeople. Possibly their reluctance reflected the efficacy of the UPA propaganda work aimed at Soviet soldiers, which encouraged them to join the resistance or at least not fight against it.<sup>85</sup>

At first the Soviet government relied upon NKVD units who had hitherto been tasked with securing the Soviet rear areas to combat the insurgents. Later, NKVD Interior Troops, who were generally deployed behind front-line units to ensure the latter's compliance and provide rear-guard security, were deployed. During the postwar period these internal security units, reorganized and renamed several times, from NKVD to MGB to MVD and, finally, in 1954, to KGB – and their auxiliary units – became the main instrument utilized against the Ukrainian underground. They were directed by the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine and, after 1952, by what came to be known as the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. Between 1944 and 1959, the Central Committee would issue nearly two hundred decisions, resolutions, and other directives with respect to the struggle against the OUNb and the UPA.<sup>86</sup> These documents had both an ideological dimension and a practical character as they described the methods needed for ensuring the elimination of the insurgents. Practically all of the Soviet government's organs in western Ukraine (such as local soviets, the militia, and regional branches of the Communist Party) were enlisted in this eradication campaign, including various guard and local self-defence groups and specially created “search-and-destroy” battalions (*istrebitelnye batalony*, popularly referred to as the *strybky*), which included locally recruited people. From the perspective of the Soviet administration, this tactic would pit insurgents against other local residents, thought to be a useful technique for undermining the former's currency with the latter.

The anti-nationalist struggle throughout western Ukraine was only one of the measures taken in this region to consolidate Soviet power. Closely

84 Hrynevych, “Stalinska imperiia,” 29–30.

85 See documents 109–111.

86 See *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoi Armii*, n.s., vol. 3.

intertwined with this counterinsurgency effort were other political actions, including the collectivization of agriculture, which began in 1947 and would basically be completed by June 1950, making it very difficult for the peasantry to sustain the underground.<sup>87</sup> The erasure of the independent Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in 1946 further deprived the resistance of an important ally in the struggle against Soviet power.

Immediately following the return of Soviet forces to western Ukraine, the mass deportation of the population, originally begun between 1939 and 1941, was resumed. Packed into special trains heading east were those deemed or even suspected of being hostile to Soviet rule, along with persons considered to be “socially alien” to communism, above all, well-to-do peasants, intellectuals, and priests. One of the largest of these deportations, code-named Operation Zapad (the Russian word for “West”), was carried out on 21 October 1947, with 76,192 people transported from western Ukraine over a twenty-four-hour period.<sup>88</sup> As noted above, between 1944 and 1953, no fewer than 203,000 people, described as having abetted the OUNb, were removed. These deportations further limited the remaining population’s ability to sustain the underground. Moreover, to further weaken the resistance, the People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs, Lavrentiy Beria, issued a decree in March 1944 ordering “all adult members of families of convicted OUN members as well as active insurgents, both those arrested and those killed in clashes, to be sent to the outlying districts of Krasnoiarsk *krai*, Omsk, Novosibirsk, and Irkutsk oblasts, and their property confiscated.”<sup>89</sup> This measure further undercut insurgent morale for now every member of their families would suffer for the choice they had made as individuals when they took up arms against the Soviet regime.

Crushing the insurgent movement required a coordinated effort carried out on three planes – the political, the military, and that of the secret intelligence – with each supplementing and overlapping the others. In addition to the general methods of Sovietization, informational and propaganda tools were actively used to misinform the public about who the Ukrainian nationalists were and what they were fighting for. Even before Ukraine was completely liberated from the German occupation, the Central Committee of the All-Ukrainian Communist Party (Bolshevik) had issued a special resolution “On the Shortcomings in the Political Work among the Population of the Western oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.”<sup>90</sup> Subsequently, many addi-

87 Mass collectivization in Ukraine’s western regions was launched in 1947, and it developed at a rather rapid pace. By 1948, 10 percent of all farms were collectivized; by 1949, 49 percent; and by June 1950, 96 percent. See Statiev, *Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 159.

88 See document 145.

89 See document 126.

90 *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstanskoi Armii*, n.s., 3:90–103.

tional directives were approved by the communist leadership, demonstrating the serious attention devoted to the propaganda efforts directed against the Ukrainian nationalists.

The main thrust of Soviet propaganda was shaped around allegations of OUNb and UPA collaboration with the Nazis. Members of the Ukrainian liberation movement were characterized officially as “Ukrainian-German bourgeois nationalists,” and this branding was repeated in dozens of leaflets and tracts distributed widely and in large quantities, and during public lectures given in rural clubs and other venues throughout western Ukraine.<sup>91</sup> Intended to convince the population to reject these “traitors,” this device was complemented with another propaganda tool – the proclamation of an amnesty – aimed directly at members of the underground. The first such appeal, issued in the name of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, urged members of the insurgency to surrender voluntarily. The amnesty was announced using leaflets, often dropped from airplanes flown over “districts infected by banditry,” even before the front shifted in February 1944.<sup>92</sup> The first such document, and several subsequent versions, were generally issued in connection with various symbolic dates: for example, October and November 1944, commemorating Ukraine’s liberation from the Nazis; May 1945, marking the victory over Nazi Germany; and February 1946, in connection with the elections to the Supreme Soviet of Soviet Ukraine. In total, eighteen such appeals would be issued, the last of them in 1956, each promising a pardon to insurgents who gave themselves up with their weapons. Many did.<sup>93</sup> Intriguingly, the liberation movement’s leadership also exploited these amnesty offers, using the opportunities so presented to bring some of their members out of the underground and legalize them. Expectations that accepting an amnesty would guarantee those taking the offer a peaceful life, however, often proved false. Former members of the underground sometimes found themselves press-ganged into serving as members of so-called agentura-fighting groups, false-flag bands of provocateurs used to discredit the OUN and the UPA by perpetrating atrocities against civilian populations.<sup>94</sup>

Another propaganda tool designed to influence public opinion against the liberation movement consisted of public trials of captured members of

91 See D. Manuilskyi, *Ukrainsko-nimetski natsionalisty na sluzhbi u fashystskoi Nimechchyni* (Kyiv, 1945).

92 “Zvernennia Prezydii Verkhovnoi rady i Rady narodnykh komisariv URSSR,” in *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstanskoii Armii*, n.s., 3:80–85.

93 The first amnesties produced the most results for the Soviet government: according to Soviet data, by March 1945, 18,917 people had surrendered voluntarily. See Statiev, *Soviet Counterinsurgency*, 201.

94 See document 131.

the underground. These were held in accordance with a special resolution of the Politburo of the CC CP(B) Ukraine, issued in September 1949: "On Holding Open Trials in the Western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR of Individual Members of Bandit-Terroristic Groups."<sup>95</sup>

These propaganda efforts were designed to further, and yet also to disguise, the fact that they coincided with a vigorous escalation in military measures against the UPA and nationalist underground. Deployed against the latter were paramilitary formations operated by pro-Soviet rural activists, destruction battalions, the militia, Border Troops, and the NKVD, complemented after the war's end with regular units from the Subcarpathian Military District. These large-scale efforts, known as "Chekist-Military" operations because of the mixed character of their personnel, were tasked with eliminating any large insurgent formations. In the first such operation, occurring in the Volyn region in April–May 1944, two infantry divisions, one tank brigade, two NKVD brigades, two border troop regiments, supplemented by Red partisans, were ranged against the Ukrainian underground. The next operation, which occurred in October, involved over twenty thousand soldiers.<sup>96</sup>

Despite the massive blows suffered by the UPA as a result of these manoeuvres, the eradication of the insurgent army was not fully accomplished, and so another "ultimate liquidation" effort was scheduled for the winter of 1944–45, when weather conditions restricted the mobility and prospects of the underground. Deciding the insurgency must be eliminated by 15 March 1945, the Central Committee ordered the deployment of fifteen NKVD brigades to Galicia. By October 1944, the number of NKVD Interior Troops engaged in this anti-insurgent fighting totalled 26,304 men. These troops inflicted serious losses on the UPA, particularly in areas where the latter had concentrated significant forces around important insurgent bases. Even so, it became evident that, despite its combat losses, the UPA was not undone – indeed, the pace of the insurgency's combat activities even accelerated during this time period.

The next round of counterinsurgency operations was launched in the spring/summer of 1945 and included frontline soldiers being brought back from the war in Europe. However, this deployment of regular army units proved unsatisfactory. Frontline units had little experience with, and even less desire to conduct, counterinsurgency operations. Fearful that some would even succumb to the anti-Soviet propaganda of the insurgents, the government quickly removed these units from western Ukraine.

Nevertheless, the Soviet government's ability to deploy large numbers of soldiers rapidly, to blockade significant portions of territory, and then to sweep

<sup>95</sup> *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstanskoï Armii*, n.s., 3: 375–8.

<sup>96</sup> See document 127.



through these territories, thereby “combing out” the insurgents, proved effective as a stratagem for uncovering and liquidating those in the underground.

In addition to this type of operation, other methods were utilized:

1. In pursuit of detected large and small gangs, military detachments were assigned the task of relentlessly pursuing them all the way to their complete annihilation.
2. Individual military groups were stationed on possible routes of the gangs’ movement with the goal of intercepting and destroying them.
3. At night concealed ambushes were set up, and the inspection of populated areas was repeated.
4. The process of combing mountain slopes covered with forests and shrubbery was carried out simultaneously from top to bottom along the diagonal of both slopes leading to valleys.
5. For the purposes of having an effect on the bandits, during all stages of the operation military commanders disseminated an order demanding voluntary surrender and the repressions that were applied to bandits, their families, and the bandits’ accomplices.<sup>97</sup>

In response to these Soviet tactics, the underground changed its own operational doctrine. From the first half of 1945, UPA units began operating in ever smaller groups, avoiding large-scale battles to undermine the numerical and logistical superiority of their NKVD opponents.

In turn, and also during the spring of 1945, the Soviets modified their counterinsurgency tactics, carrying out operations far more systematically and giving up the practice of encircling large tracts of land, including villages that would then be “combed out.” Instead, well-trained and smaller intelligence and search groups were established, supplied with dogs, signalling pistols, excavation equipment, gas masks, and other tools required for locating and eliminating the bunkers and support services of the insurgency.

A further reorganization of the NKVD troops deployed against the UPA took place throughout October and November 1945. These forces were combined into four divisions (each consisting of four regiments), with a detached motorized infantry regiment. Two additional divisions, a cavalry regiment, and eight armoured trains were also brought in from the east. All these measures were taken in preparation for the most important political event of this period: elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, scheduled to take place in February 1946. From the Soviet point of view, these elections would legitimize the communist regime, and so great attention was

<sup>97</sup> See document 132.

paid to ensuring their success. The Central Committee publicized several resolutions concerning this election process in western Ukraine, the last on 6 February 1946, only four days before the elections: "On Increasing Vigilance and Intensifying the Struggle against the Ukrainian-German Nationalists in the Western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in Connection with the Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR."

As a result, in the first quarter of 1946, the main task of the NKVD was designated to be "ensuring the normal course of the pre-election campaign and the elections themselves to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, protecting the population, election activists, and facilities of voting districts from all kinds of aggression from the OUN bandits."<sup>98</sup> These election preparations were combined with another campaign aimed at the "ultimate liquidation" of the OUN, the above-referenced Great Blockade. More than half a million Soviet soldiers took part in this latter operation, which lasted until June 1946.

This Great Blockade was divided into three stages. The first began in January 1946, when the troops designated to participate in this operation were billeted in nearly every populated area of western Ukraine simultaneously, in garrisons housing between twenty-five and one hundred soldiers. In addition, Soviet troops seized control of all highways and bridges, specialized intelligence gathering and search and destroy groups went into action, and agents were sent out to the villages and adjacent forests, charged with locating insurgents and identifying their local sympathizers. Meanwhile, the garrisoned troops were ordered to ensure the security of the elections to Soviet Ukraine's Supreme Soviet, which occurred on 10 February 1946, their presence intended to counteract any UPA efforts to disrupt it.

After the elections were held, the second phase of the Great Blockade began, with the garrison troops remaining in their stations but repeatedly sallying forth to systematically search for, capture, or liquidate the OUN and the UPA leadership and their fighting groups.

The third stage of the blockade began in April and lasted until late June 1946. During this period the NKVD troops rotated their garrisons and inflicted yet another series of heavy blows against the UPA and its underground support structures. As a result of the substantial losses suffered in this period, making further large-scale offensive actions impossible, the UPA command ordered a partial demobilization and disbanding of its units, many of which were then brought into the armed underground. Thereafter the insurgents concentrated on propaganda work while still targeting the enemy's administration and security forces, deploying mobile fighting groups of between five and twenty insurgents for this purpose, as they strengthened their own clandestine efforts.

98 See document 139.

That the underground experienced crippling losses is clear, yet the Soviets were still unable to destroy the Ukrainian liberation movement. In order to disguise their failure to eradicate the Ukrainian underground, Communist Party documents changed their tone by the second half of 1946, referring to the insurgents as “remnants of the Ukrainian-German nationalists in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.”<sup>99</sup> Significantly, as even official Soviet documents confirm, the struggle against these “remnants” lasted until at least 1953 and probably for a few more years after that.

The underground’s adaptability forced the Soviet authorities to change their approach to the anti-insurgent struggle once again. To that end, they removed their garrisons from most populated areas, leaving behind only destruction battalions, each headed by an operational leader, devoting even more resources and effort to intelligence-gathering and search-and-destroy groups. This intensification of the agentura’s struggle against the underground would become a major priority for the Soviet government.<sup>100</sup> The latter’s task was to gather information about the location of underground members, to determine their plans, and, whenever possible, to place informants in the insurgency’s ranks, destabilizing and liquidating it from within, while compromising it in the eyes of the local population. The number of agents utilized as informants, penetration agents, and the like increased significantly – documents dating from October 1945 record 13,076 such agents; three months later, by January

99 This term appears in the following resolutions issued by the Politburo of the CC CP(B)U: “On the State of the Struggle against the Remnants of the Ukrainian-German Nationalists in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (4 October 1946); “On the Measures to Intensify the Struggle against the Remnants of the OUN Underground in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (1 June 1948); “On the Measures to Intensify the Struggle against the Remnants of the OUN Underground in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (22 March 1950); “On the Intensification of the Struggle for the Ultimate Liquidation of the Remnants of Gangs of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (24 April 1952); “On the Further Intensification of the Struggle for the Ultimate Liquidation of Remnants of the Gangs of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (9 May 1952); “On the Measures Adopted by the Members of the [Polit]Buro of the CC CP of Ukraine Concerning the Rendering of Assistance to Local Party and Soviet Organs of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in the Liquidation of the Remnants of the OUN Underground” (17 January 1953); in a resolution handed down by the Presidium of the CC CPU “On the State of the Liquidation of the Remnants of Gangs of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR” (31 December 1953); and other documents. For the texts of these resolutions, see *Litopys Ukrainskoi Povstanskoï Armii*, n.s., vol. 3.

100 For a discussion of this topic, see Jeffrey Burds, “AGENTURA: Soviet Informants’ Network and the Ukrainian Rebel Underground in Galicia, 1944–1948,” *East European Politics and Societies* 11, no. 1 (1997): 89–130; Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944–1948*, Carl Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies, no. 1505 (Pittsburgh, PA: 2001); Dzheffri Burds [Jeffrey Burds], *Sovetskaia agentura: Ocherki istorii SSSR u poslevoennye gody (1944–48)* (Moscow/New York: “Sovremennaia istoriia,” 2006).

1946, their number had risen to 14,210.<sup>101</sup> By the second half of 1946, when intelligence-gathering accomplished by these secret agents became the main instrument in the Soviet struggle against the Ukrainian underground, this figure rose even higher. In order to conceal their methods, the Soviets resorted to issuing summons to entire communities, obliging everyone to appear for “conversations” with NKVD operatives, thereby disorienting the underground and rendering it unable to distinguish whether a summoned individual was collaborating with the regime or not.

Alongside these individual agents this period witnessed the formation and deployment of so-called *agentura* fighting groups, numbering from several individuals to several dozen. Sometimes these groups included former insurgents recruited by the Soviets after accepting offers of amnesty. Others were veterans of Soviet partisan groups, experienced in waging guerrilla warfare, while many were NKVD personnel. These groups mimicked the activities of the UPA in order to discredit it, while also tasked with the mission of destroying individual leaders and the support structures of the underground.<sup>102</sup> As of 1 October 1945, there were 156 such groups (1,783 individuals in total) operating on the territories of western Ukraine.

Intent on the complete destruction of the liberation movement, the Soviet authorities paid particular attention to killing or capturing its leaders. A special search operation, code-named “Berloga,” was created, targeting members of the OUNb leadership. In August 1946, a designated search group was created for this purpose under the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Soviet Ukraine.<sup>103</sup> By 1950, no fewer than 132 agents were engaged in a concerted effort to locate and eliminate the OUNb leadership, specifically Roman Shukhevych, Vasyl Kuk, and Roman Kravchuk.<sup>104</sup>

This group’s first major success was the elimination of Mykola Arsenych, head of the OUNb’s Security Service, on 21 January 1947.<sup>105</sup> Tracked down as a result of the capture and recruitment of his courier, “Natalka,” he found himself surrounded. Refusing to surrender, Arsenych committed suicide.

The Soviets proved very capable at exploiting captured leaders of the underground. For example, following her failed suicide attempt, Artemisia Halytska, head of the Bukovynian underground, continued to refuse to reveal any useful information to her NKVD interrogators. To fool her into giving up the intelligence they were after, her captors resorted to organizing her “escape” from custody – a method called the *bochka* (barrel) – which involved members of

101 See documents 137, 138.

102 See documents 131, 154.

103 See document 147.

104 See document 151.

105 See document 144.

an agentura fighting group liberating her from captivity. Halytska, believing herself free and in the company of comrades-in-arms, unwittingly revealed information that ended up exposing some six hundred OUNb members, of whom more than two hundred would be liquidated.<sup>106</sup>

Technological means were also used in the Soviet struggle against the Ukrainian underground. Secret agents who established contact with the underground had special signalling devices called *trevoga* (the Russian word for “alarm”) installed in their homes that could be used to alert nearby NKVD garrisons about the presence of insurgents in the area, giving them forewarning and so an advantage. Chemical weapons targeting the insurgents included a specially formulated compound known as Neptune-47, a sleep-inducing paralytic chemical added to food that allowed Soviet agents to capture leaders and section heads of the underground without their being able to resist. A gas agent, known as Neptune 7/93, was also used against insurgent bunkers. And, in the early 1950s, a fast-acting soporific, known as Typhoon, would be released to overcome resistance from inside UPA hideouts.

These counterinsurgency methods would, eventually, prove successful. In March 1950 Roman Shukhevych, head of the OUNb in Ukraine and supreme commander of the UPA, was killed in action.<sup>107</sup> His successor, Vasyl Kuk, evaded the Soviets for another four years but was captured in May 1954.<sup>108</sup> His arrest effectively brought the organized struggle to an end, although, according to KGB data, sixty-eight members of the underground were killed in 1955.<sup>109</sup> The last recorded clash between Soviet security forces and the underground occurred on 12 April 1960.

106 See document 136.

107 See document 152.

108 See document 160.

109 See document 161.

PART ONE

The Programmatic  
Principles of the Ukrainian  
Liberation Movement and the  
Political Decisions of  
the Leadership



# The Ideological Evolution of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), 1929–50

## DOCUMENT 1: RESOLUTIONS OF THE FIRST CONGRESS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (FEBRUARY 1929)

### *Resolutions of the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists (1929)<sup>1</sup> General Outlines*

1. Ukrainian nationalism is a spiritual and political movement born out of the inner nature of the Ukrainian Nation during its arduous struggle for the foundations and goals of its creative existence.
2. The Ukrainian Nation is the foundational principle of every act and the end-goal of the continuous progress of Ukrainian Nationalism.
3. Nationalism's organic connection with the nation is a naturally ordered fact and the complete understanding of the nation's essence is based on it.
4. The nation is the highest type of organic human community, which, along with its greatest psychological and social diversity, has its own internal form created on the basis of a similar natural principle, shared experience of historical destiny, and unrelenting aspiration to realize itself in the entirety of its powerful struggle.
5. The internal form of the nation is the fundamental factor of its dynamic creation and, at the same time, the principle of synthetic formation, which endows the life of the nation throughout its historical development with a single social, spiritual definition expressed in its various concrete and individual

1 The founding Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) took place in Vienna, 28 January to 3 February 1929, preceded by conferences held 3–7 November 1927 in Berlin and 8–9 April 1928 in Prague. A nine-member council, the Provid, or leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists (PUN), was organized under the direction of Colonel Yevhen Konovalts (born 14 June 1891, Zashkiv, Galicia, assassinated by a Soviet agent in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 23 May 1938). See Pavel Sudoplatov, *Special Tasks: The Memoirs of an Unwanted Witness – A Soviet Spymaster* (New York: Little, Brown and Company, 1994).



manifestations. In this sense, the internal form is the idea of the nation, which brings into being and facilitates its historical rise.

6. The historical rise – this manifest expression of the continuous relevance of the national idea – points to the passionate ideal of the nation, which lies in its strivings to maintain itself within the system of global reality in the role of a directly acting subject with the broadest sphere of influence on its environment.

7. On the path towards its self-realization in the form of a national intensity of historical importance, the nation numerically increases its biophysical forces on an expanded and simultaneously territorial base. In this respect, there takes place within it a process of the continuous refashioning of various ethnic elements into a synthesis of organic national unity. From the standpoint of this action, the nation is always in a state of growth.

8. The most important engine powering the nation's growth is its spiritual steadfastness, deriving its meaning from formed cultural values, which, on the one hand, reinforce the internal cohesion of the nation, and, on the other, pave the way from indirect influence on the environment. Culture is not simply a factor of national separateness and its resistance to the outside world, but the first of many factors that have a direct impact on the environment of the nation's spiritual strength, which is followed with ever-increasing success by its civilizational, economic, and political mastery of it.

9. The prerequisite that ensures the nation's permanent and active participation in the world is a political organization that is most suited to the all-encompassing interests of national life, and which is the sovereign state.

10. The state is the external form of this mutual action of all the nation's active forces, which meets its basic qualities, thereby enabling its normal development in all possible manifestations. The state is a condition of the nation's permanent delineation, a form of the organized interaction of forces enclosed within an organic whole – a system demarcated from the outside, like an independent, collective whole.

11. Through the state the nation becomes a full-fledged member of world history, for only in the state form of its own life does it possess all the internal and external features of a subject of history.

12. The state form of life most clearly reinforces the concrete content of the active nature of the national idea; therefore, the nation's first natural aspiration is to expand the limits of its state executive functioning with the entire landscape of its ethnic territorial spread in order, therefore, to shape its entire physical organism – this most crucial, vital foundation of its future – in state form.

13. The primary postulate of Ukrainians in the condition of their political enslavement is the creation of a political-legal organization, which is the Ukrainian Independent United State.

14. The fundamental prerequisite for the creation, consolidation, and

development of the state is: in order for the state to be the expression of the national being in the most creative manner of expression of all the nation's component bodies – meaning that it will demonstrate a system of their organized interaction on the principle of the integrality of social forces, with the rights and duties that correspond to their importance in the entirety of national life.

15. Ukrainian nationalism bases itself on the leading principles of the state organization of practical tasks preparatory to the realization of the state ideal through the united efforts of Ukrainian independentists, organized according to the principles of: active idealism, moral legitimacy, and individual initiative.

16. The starting point and beneficiary of the tasks of Ukrainian nationalism is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, called to life by the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, which is constructed on the principles of: all-Ukrainianness, a supra-party stance, and democratism.

## *2. The State System*

1. The form of Ukrainian state power will conform to the consecutive stages of the state building of Ukraine, to wit: national liberation, state consolidation, and development.

2. During the period of the liberation struggle a national dictatorship, created during the course of the national revolution, will be to ensure the internal strength of the Ukrainian nation and its most powerful resistance to outside forces.

3. The age of its internal ordering and switch to a state of a monopolistic state body will ensue only after the restoration of statehood. During this transitional period the task of the head of state will be to prepare the groundwork for the creation of the highest legislative bodies on the principle of the representation of all organized social strata, taking into consideration the distinguishing features of the individual lands that will become part of the Ukrainian state.

4. Called upon by the representative body to head the structured state will be the head of state, who will appoint the executive power, which will be responsible to it and to the supreme executive body.

5. The foundation of the administrative set-up of the Ukrainian state will be local self-rule. In particular, every territory will have its own representative legislative body, appointed by local, organized social strata, and its own executive power.

## *3. Socioeconomic Resolutions*

1. The Ukrainian state will seek to achieve economic self-sufficiency for the nation, increase national property, and ensure the material well-being of the population by building up all branches of the national economy.

2. The country's economic life will be constructed on the basis of the state's mutual aid, cooperation, and private capital. Individual sectors of the national economy will be distributed among them. They will become the object of their simultaneous and equal activities, made contingent upon the benefit of this to the entire national economy and to the state's interests.

#### *4. Agrarian Policies*

1. The existence and development of agriculture corresponds to the interests of Ukraine's national economy.
2. The state government will legally validate the expropriation without compensation of landowners' lands, which was carried out during the time of the Revolution in Eastern Ukraine, whose validity will extend to all the lands of the Ukrainian state.
3. The state government will introduce correctives to the distribution of land in the east of Ukraine, which are crucially necessary in view of the spontaneous and chaotic nature of the distribution of landowners' lands during the Revolution.
4. The state will be concerned with the development of agricultural production and with ensuring the well-being of the peasantry by supporting middle-peasant homesteads.
5. Agriculture will be constructed on the right to private ownership of land, limited state regulation of the free trade and purchase of land with the goal of preventing the excessive reduction or increase of land plots.
6. The state government will provide comprehensive assistance for the intensification of rural farms and their adaptation to markets; it will support the development of a system of agricultural cooperatives, provide inexpensive production loans to agriculture, and will be concerned with agricultural and agro-educational issues, and with providing state security for farming production.
7. Forested tracts will be expropriated without compensation and transferred to the state or to self-ruling bodies. Only small tracts that are unsuited to nationalization and municipalization will remain in the hands of private owners.
8. Agrarian overpopulation will be regulated by moving the excess peasant population into the national production and in keeping with the completed colonization.
9. Urban lands and real estate will remain in the hands of private owners. The state and self-ruling body will regulate urban construction and will eliminate housing crises and land speculation by concentrating the relevant regulated land reserves.

#### *3. Industrial Policies*

1. With the goal of creating an independent national economy and its comprehensive development, which is dictated in particular by the requirements of

state defence and the crucial need to provide employment for the surplus rural population, the state will facilitate the industrialization of the country.

2. Enterprises in those branches of industry that are vital to the country's existence and defence will be nationalized. Other enterprises will remain as the private capital of individual persons and associations on the basis of free competition and private initiative. In cases stipulated by law, the state will have the right of priority, before private capital, in acquiring co-ownership of private enterprises.

3. The state will be concerned with the implementation of rationalization in all types of industry, particularly their equipping with machines, and with the training of cadres of specialists and technical workers, which would meet the demands of modern technology.

4. In order to increase the well-being of the rural population and to train specialized workers for heavy industry, the state will assist the development of agricultural industry in forms of industrial cooperation.

5. The state will take pains to organize manufacturing and selling craftsmen's cooperatives, sustaining craftsmanship within limits that meet the contemporary character of production and markets.

#### *4. Trade Policies*

1. Trading operations, both in the domestic and foreign markets, will be divided among private capital, cooperatives, and the state, the latter of which takes over trade by means of products produced by nationalized industry and the main types of shipment.

2. Keeping in mind the normal domestic process of exchange and distribution, the state will also take pains to offer Ukrainian products and manufactured goods the most advantageous conditions for selling on world markets, and for the external protection of the national economy it will utilize the method of a protective and facilitating character, as well as the protectionist method, which will be applied in the form of customs duties and trade agreements.

#### *5. Financial Policies*

1. The taxation system will be based on the principle of a single, equal, gradual, and direct tax, in addition to a restricted number of indirect taxes.

2. The state will take care of the development of banking in all branches of economic life. An emissions bank will be an institution that is most independent of strictly political factors and will be subordinated to the control of the executive power and the citizenry.

3. The issue of the forgiveness of debts that the Ukrainian state will incur as part of the debts of the occupying states will be arranged according to the principles of fairness and within the framework of economic ability.

#### *6. Social Policies*

1. The regulation of relations among social groups, particularly the right to final arbitrage in matters pertaining to social contracts, will belong to the state, which will take care of cooperation among the producing strata of the Ukrainian nation.

2. Members of all social groups will have the right to form a coalition, on the basis of which they will unite in professional organizations with the right of syndicalization according to the territorial principle and once branches of production acquire their own representation in state government bodies.

3. Employers and employees will have the right to personal and collective agreements on all matters that concern mutual interests within the legislative framework and under the state's control.

4. In private and state industrial enterprises workers' Councils will be established, comprised of representatives of entrepreneurs, directors, and workers, with the right of oversight and control over the technology of production.

5. Workers' Councils as representative bodies that will deal with workers issues in their relations with professional unions, employers, and the state will be formed in agricultural, industrial, and trade enterprises. In particular, they will draft collective agreements either by themselves or in accord with professional organizations, and in industrial enterprises they will take part in production Councils.

6. Employers and employees will have the right to resolve mutual disputes through courts of arbitration. In the event that agreement is not reached, they have the right to hold strikes and lockouts. The final resolution of conflicts will belong to state arbitration bureaus.

7. The normal workday will be the eight-hour workday, with the proviso that, circumstances allowing, the state will shorten it.

8. Fundamentally recognizing the right to choose one's work, the state will ensure work productivity, on the one hand, by passing a law that will define the conditions of qualified work and concession activities, and will standardize the internal regulation of enterprises, especially work distribution and technical processes, on the other, with the aid of controlling bodies and state institutions.

9. Being the state department of labour and controlling private bureaus of labour mediation, the state will ensure the provision of material assistance to the unemployed, which it will allot through the mediation of professional organizations and funds collected from employees and employers, and in

exceptional cases as stipulated by the law, from relief funds of communities and the state.

10. The state will establish a single universal insurance organization equally for all social strata, at the same time taking on the obligation to support all citizens over the age of sixty with no means of support.

#### *4. Foreign Policies*

1. The implementation of the postulate of Ukrainian statehood stipulates the activation of the Ukrainian people's domestic political life, manifested externally in order to indicate the Ukrainian cause as the decisive factor in the question of the Eastern European political situation.

2. The complete expulsion of all occupiers from the Ukrainian lands, which will take place during the process of the Ukrainian revolution and will open the way for the development of the Ukrainian nation within the borders of its own state, will be guaranteed only by a system of military armaments and a wise policy pertaining to allies.

3. Rejecting in principle the traditional methods of the Ukrainian policy of orienting ourselves on the liberation struggle against one of the historical enemies of the Ukrainian nation, Ukrainian foreign policy will implement its tasks by means of allied relations with those peoples who are hostile to Ukraine's occupiers, as well as by means of the appropriate use of international relations in order to achieve the role of Ukraine as a subject of international politics.

4. In its foreign policy capacity the Ukrainian state will aspire to achieving the most defensible borders, which will encompass all Ukrainian ethnographic lands and ensure their proper economic self-sufficiency.

#### *5. Military Policies*

1. The organization of the Ukrainian Armed Forces will develop steadily, and its forms will change in keeping with three conditions of Ukraine's political situation: foreign occupation, national revolution, and state consolidation.

2. In the conditions of foreign occupations a separate military centre will take over the training of the Ukrainian popular masses for an armed struggle and, in particular, the training of organizers and training leaders.

3. Only a military force that will rely on an armed people ready to fight doggedly and bravely for its rights will be able to liberate Ukraine from the occupiers and will facilitate the well-ordered organization of the Ukrainian state. The defence of the ordered state will be taken over by a single, regular, supra-class national army and navy, which, together with territorial Cossack units, will be constructed on the basis of general military service.

### *6. Culture and Art*

1. The Ukrainian state will aspire to raising the level of culture and civilization in Ukraine, harmonizing the cultural process built on the foundation of freedom of cultural creativity with the spiritual nature of the Ukrainian people, their historical traditions and demands of modernity, and eradicating the unfortunate consequences of foreign national enslavement in the sphere of the people's culture and psyche.
2. Only the development of that cultural creativity and those artistic currents that are linked to healthy manifestations in the Ukrainian nation's past and to the cult of knighthood and a determinedly creative attitude to life will be able to build the nation's healthy passion towards strength and might.

### *7. School Policies*

1. Control over and care for the school system as a method for raising the popular masses in the national-state spirit and the creation of a school system that would raise the education of the Ukrainian people to the proper level of development will belong to the state.
2. The foundation of public education will be a single Ukrainian state, a mandatory school system that will ensure the comprehensive, harmonious development of the individual and will also include practical, specialist-professional training.
3. Private educational institutions and foreign-language instruction will be permitted with the state's sanction in each individual case and will be subject to the control of state factors.

### *8. Religious Policies*

1. Considering religious feeling to be the internal matter of every individual, the Ukrainian state in this respect will occupy the position of complete freedom of religious conscience.
2. Fundamentally accepting the division of church and state, the government, while retaining crucial control over church organizations, will cooperate with Ukrainian clergymen of various confessions on matters pertaining to the moral upbringing of the nation.
3. Schools will allow the study of religion of those confessions that will not demonstrate denationalizing tendencies.
4. The Ukrainian state will facilitate the development of the Ukrainian national church independent of foreign patriarchates, and the Ukrainization of religious denominations that will be operating in Ukraine.

*9. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

1. Taking the idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State as the basis of its political activity and refusing to recognize all those international acts, agreements, and institutions that created and reinforced the condition of the Ukrainian national-state collapse, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists places itself in categorical opposition to all those forces, both domestic and foreign, that will oppose, actively or passively, this position of the Ukrainian nationalists, and will counteract all political measures of individuals and collectives that will be manifested as deviations from the above principles.

2. Without restricting itself in its activity in one territory or another, but striving to gain control over the Ukrainian national reality in all the Ukrainian lands and foreign territories populated by Ukrainians, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists will pursue an all-Ukrainian policy of statehood without assigning to it a Party, class, or social-based character, and by means of direct continuity will oppose groupings with their methods of political work.

3. Relying on the creative elements of Ukrainian citizens and uniting them around the Ukrainian national-state ideal, the OUN sets itself the task to restore healthy relations within the nation, to bring out state-building efforts among the Ukrainian people, to unfold the Ukrainian national force in all its breadth, and thereby to ensure the great Ukrainian nation a fitting place among the other nation-states of the world.

[handwritten inscription]: Took place on 28.1–2.2.1929.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 2–6.



DOCUMENT 2: MANIFESTO OF THE REVOLUTIONARY  
LEADERSHIP OF THE OUN (DECEMBER 1940)

*Manifesto of the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN*  
(December 1940)

The existing political structure of forces in the world, which is violently crushing valuable and viable peoples, is collapsing from their liberating blows.

Today the Muscovite Empire – the USSR – is a key component of that structure.<sup>2</sup>

We, Ukrainians, are raising the flag of our struggle for the freedom of nations and individuals.

In smashing for all time the horrible prison of nations – the Muscovite Empire – we are creating a new, just order and laying the foundations of a new political structure in the world.

1. We are fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and all peoples enslaved by Moscow.

We are fighting against all types of Muscovite imperialism, especially against Bolshevism, which has brought national-political, religious, cultural, social, and economic oppression to the extreme limits.

2. We are bringing a new order to Eastern Europe and Muscovite-ruled Asia

We are bringing all the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow the freedom to create their own life in their native land according to their own free will.

We are bringing security to all peoples endangered by Moscow.

3. We are appealing to the revolutionaries of all nations enslaved by Moscow to join the common struggle and cooperation with Ukrainian revolutionaries-nationalists.

Ukraine alone is the true ally of all the peoples that are enslaved and endangered by Moscow in their struggle against Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism.

4. By the force of objective circumstances, Ukrainians are the avant-garde of all the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow in their struggle for complete liberation.

Ukrainians in the lands of nations enslaved by Moscow are joining the front ranks of their revolutionary struggle.

<sup>2</sup> The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR or Soviet Union) was formally established on 30 December 1922 and collapsed on 26 December 1991. Vladimir Ulyanov, known by his revolutionary pseudonym of “Lenin” (born 22 April 1870, died 21 January 1922), led the Bolshevik faction of the Marxist Russian Social Democratic Labour Party, formed in Minsk, Belarus, in 1898, a forerunner of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). In 1940 Joseph Vissarionovich Dzhugashvili, known as “Stalin” (born 18 December 1878, died 5 March 1953) was the CPSU’s general secretary, serving from 3 April 1922 to 5 March 1953.

We call on all Ukrainians – wherever they may be – to join the fighting ranks of the front of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

5. In Ukraine we are creating a single common front of the struggle of all peasants, workers, and the working intelligentsia against Muscovite-Bolshevik oppression and exploitation.<sup>3</sup>

For our power, for land, for human life.

6. We are fighting:

Against the extreme abasement of the individual at work and at home.

Against the theft of all of life's joys from him/her.

Against the general impoverishment of citizens.

Against burdening women with the most difficult duties under the mendacious cloak of "equal rights."

Against the criminal deadening of the minds of children and youth through mendacious Bolshevik "education," newspapers, cinema, radio, theatre, meetings, and all the absurd propaganda system of the Stalinist regime.

We are fighting:

For the dignity and freedom of the individual, for the right to proclaim our convictions openly, for freedom of all religious confessions, for complete freedom of conscience.

7. We are fighting:

Against the tyranny and terror of the Bolshevik clique, against the horrific NKVD regime on collective farms, in factories, plants, the army, navy, Party, Komsomol, in schools and homes.<sup>4</sup>

We are fighting:

For the right of working people to express their political convictions freely in spoken word and in print, to attend public meetings freely, and to create their

<sup>3</sup> Historically, the word "Muscovite" identified a person from Moscow or Muscovy or, more simply, a Russian. Depending on context, the description can also have a derogatory meaning, as in "Muscovite-Bolshevism."

<sup>4</sup> On 7 December 1917 a secret political police force, known as the Cheka, was set up in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR) under the leadership of Felix Dzerzhinsky. The Joint State Political Police Directorate (OGPU) served as a secret police force from 1923 to 1934 and organized the Gulag (an acronym for Main Administration of Camps, the Soviet forced-labour and concentration camp system established under Lenin). The NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs) was responsible for international espionage and political repression within the USSR. The NKVD was led by Genrikh Yagoda (1934–36), Nikolai Yezhov (1936–38), Lavrentiy Beria (1938–45), and Sergei Kruglov (1945–46). The MGB (Ministry for State Security) assumed responsibility for dealing with internal and external security issues from 1946 to 1953, led by Viktor Abakumov (18 October 1946–14 July 1951), Sergei Ogoltsov (14 July 1951–9 August 1951), and Semyon Ignatyev (9 August 1951–55 and March 1953). The MGB's Second Main Directorate focused on domestic counter-intelligence. The Fourth Directorate was tasked with combating anti-Soviet nationalists. On 13 March 1954 the KGB (Committee for State Security) became the main security agency of the Soviet Union, functioning until 1991.

own political, civic, and professional organizations.

8. We are fighting:

Against the economic looting of Ukraine and all peoples enslaved by Moscow.  
Against the slavery on collective farms, Soviet collective farms, factories, and plants.

Against the theft of citizens' miserable gains from their difficult labour.

Against the forcible deportation from their native lands.

We are fighting so that every nation enslaved by Moscow can take full advantage of the riches of its own land and the results of its daily work.

\* \* \*

We believe and we know that the time is nigh when the cherished dream of our parents will come true, and the fire of the people's oppression will burst into flames from the blood of a long line of heroic generations.

Ukraine will rise up and dispel the darkness of slavery!

And only through the utter disintegration of the Muscovite Empire and by means of the Ukrainian National Revolution and armed uprisings of all the peoples that are enslaved by Moscow will we build a Ukrainian State and liberate the nations enslaved by Moscow.

Ukrainians and all peoples oppressed by Moscow!

Join the merciless struggle against Muscovite-Bolshevik oppression!

Tear down the Muscovite prison of nations!

Freedom for all those who are enslaved!

[handwritten notation:] December 1940

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 17-18.

DOCUMENT 3: RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECOND GRAND  
ASSEMBLY OF THE OUN (APRIL 1941)

*Resolutions of the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization  
of Ukrainian Nationalists*

(April 1941)

In our century the idea of the Independent United Ukrainian State has become the foundation of a Ukrainian world perception and new political movement, a nationalist movement, which, in the flames of the struggle against invaders, was formed into a separate political organization – the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

The first attempts to provide the Ukrainian nationalist movement with organized forms reach back to 1900, when Mykola Mikhnovsky began to establish the first nationalist groups in Left-Bank Ukraine for the struggle for the state-political liberation of Ukraine from the yoke of tsarist Russia. Mikhnovsky's nationalist groups were harbingers of an organized nationalist force.<sup>5</sup>

After the collapse of the Ukrainian State in 1920, Colonel Yevhen Konovalets laid the foundations of the nationalist-liberation organization, forming and building up the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and, later, at the First Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists in 1929, founding a broader organization – the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

The OUN expanded revolutionary action spatially to all the Ukrainian lands and began waging a struggle against all invaders, particularly in the Western Ukrainian lands. The OUN, with the help of a broad organizational network, carried out all mass and all individual anti-Polish [actions] and after the fall of Poland – anti-Moscow actions. The main differences of the conditions of revolutionary work in the eastern Ukrainian lands did not allow the Organization to achieve the kind of external-political success that the OUN gained in the struggle against Poland. Just like in the Ukrainian lands under Romanian occupation, the Organization's main attention was focused on the issue of creating and enrooting an organizational network. In Transcarpathia the OUN's task was the struggle for the Ukrainian State, the Act proclaiming Independence in 1939, and armed defence against the Hungarian invaders.<sup>6</sup>

5 Mykola Mikhnovsky (born in Turivka, Poltava province, 31 March 1873, died in Kyiv, 3 May 1924) was a lawyer and ideologue of Ukrainian nationalism, author of the influential pamphlet, *Independent Ukraine*.

6 Following the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia by Nazi Germany and its allies in March 1939, the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine (Transcarpathia; Ukr. Zakarpattia) was established under the leadership of a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Avhustyn Voloshyn (born 17 March 1874, died 19 July 1945, Butyrka prison, Moscow). Despite the armed resistance

The revolutionary liberation struggle for the liberation of all the Ukrainian lands and for their unification into a single United and Independent State was waged by the OUN, relying on the forces of the Ukrainian people and rejecting in principle an orientation towards foreign powers, particularly Ukraine's historical enemies.

The result of this was that, in various areas of the expansive Ukrainian land and during the various years of the unequal struggle of the disarmed Ukrainian people, with the superiority of multinational foreign powers, one unbreakable and undying desire grew and became more intense: to achieve power in our land through our own efforts.

During the twenty years of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nationalist underground, that awareness has become the possession of broad strata of the Ukrainian people. Foreign rule has completely validated the correctness of the nationalist claim that a Ukrainian has no life without his own state: "You will attain a Ukrainian State or you will die in the struggle for it!"

To the present day the second success of our revolutionary struggle against four occupying states is the organization of a real human force that is ready and able to struggle for the goals of Ukrainian nationalism. Amidst the successes and failures of the revolutionary struggle against the enemies of Ukraine, in enemy prisons and partisans' forests, throughout the cities and villages of Ukraine, a new generation of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalists grew up, became hardened, and acquired combat experience. It has now headed the political liberation movement of the entire Ukrainian people as the sole political organization that is carrying its fighting flags time and again under all kinds of conditions.

The path of struggle and the political guidelines of the revolutionary liberation action for those nationalist strongholds of the Ukrainian underground are defined by the supreme institution of the OUN – the Grand Assembly of the OUN.<sup>7</sup>

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of the Carpathian *Sich*, invading Hungarian forces conquered all of Carpatho-Ukraine by 18 March 1939. In 2002, the Right Reverend Voloshyn was posthumously awarded the title "Hero of Ukraine" by Ukraine's president, Leonid Kuchma.

7 The First Grand Assembly of the OUN was held in Vienna, 28 January–3 February 1939. The Second Grand Assembly was held in Rome on 27 August 1939, electing Colonel Andrii Melnyk as the OUN's leader (born in Drohobych, 12 December 1890, died in Luxembourg, 1 November 1964). Challenged by the supporters of Stepan Bandera (born 1 January 1909, Stary Uhryniv, Galicia, assassinated in Munich, West Germany, by a KGB agent, Bohdan Stashynsky, 15 October 1959), the OUN split into rival movements, known as the "Melnykites" (Melnykivtsi, OUNm or OUNs – OUN Solidarists) and "Banderites" (Banderivtsi, OUNb or OUNr – OUN Revolutionaries). The OUNb and its supporters held their own Second Grand Assembly, in April 1941, repudiating their rivals (see Document 3). In July 1944 the Ukrainian

The First Grand Assembly took place in 1929. It spurred the creation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists headed by Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, and in his resolutions he identified the general world-perceptual theses, political guidelines, and structural forms of the OUN.

The Second Grand Assembly took place twelve years later, in 1941. During that time the OUN became a highly regarded and even leading factor in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, having victoriously endured all the rabid efforts of enemies to wipe the Organization off the face of the earth.

The heaviest blow that the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists experienced during that period was the death of the OUN leader, Colonel Yevhen Konovalets, at the hands of an agent of Moscow in 1938, on the eve of events that were decisive for Ukraine. This blow caused a profound shock and sparked various internal difficulties in the OUN but did not destroy or weaken the Organization's strength. On the third anniversary of the leader's death, the OUN's forces are many times larger than during his lifetime. Where hundreds once perished, thousands have laid down their lives.

The last few years brought a fundamental change to the political situation of the Ukrainian people and launched far-reaching transformations in the Ukrainian lands. The fall of the Polish state and the Romanian occupation in the western and northwestern Ukrainian lands, and their temporary inclusion in the USSR and the rollback of Carpatho-Ukraine by Hungary, on the one

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Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was established, dominated by members of the OUNb. The nationalist movement's military arm, known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), was commanded by General Roman Shukhevych, whose nom-de-guerre was "Taras Chuprynka" (born 30 June 1907 in Lviv, died in battle, Bilohorshcha, 5 March 1950). In August 1944, Mykola Lebed (born 11 January 1909 in Novi Strilyshcha, near Lviv, died in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 18 July 1998) was despatched to Western Europe, resettling eventually in New York. Ideological differences between the UHVR's Foreign Representation (ZP/UHVR) and the OUNb led to a further split in the nationalist movement, in July 1953, by which time the underground had largely been suppressed by Soviet-organized counterinsurgency operations. The OUN's structure was subdivided into administrative units, namely: stanytsia – kushch – raion – nadraion – okruh – krai. Each had its *provid* (leadership) that regulated the work of executive officers (responsible leader, section head) in different sectors (e.g., medical, security service, economical, propagandist, mobilization). The leadership of the OUN was its main authority. On the worldview and wartime history of the nationalist movement, see John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism, 1939–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963); and Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature, 1929–1956* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); the gestation of the nationalist movement is well covered in Alexander J. Motyl, *The Turn to the Right: The Ideological Origins and Development of Ukrainian Nationalism, 1919–1929* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). See also Andrew Wilson, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the 1990s: A Minority Faith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). On the assassination of Bandera, see Serhii Plokhyy, *The Man with the Poison Gun: A Cold War Spy Story* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).

hand, and, on the other, the Napoleonic-scale European war, the exceptionally swift and far-reaching change of the political face of the entire European continent, and, particularly, the direct proximity of the final days of the war, decisive to Ukraine's destiny – these are the general political reasons that led to the urgent need to convene the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN, to verify the current political positions of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, to decide on and confirm the guidelines of liberation policies in the face of impending events, and to adapt the methods and tactics of the struggle to the new, changed political situation.

The internal-organizational complications and the long-lasting state of temporariness that emerged in the Organization after the leader's death also required an authoritative and ultimate resolution. Taking advantage of the transitional state – namely, that after the murder of the leader there was no legal power in the Organization – some opportunistic elements, in league with a Polish provocateur, seized power in the OUN and proclaimed one of their people, the engineer Andrii Melnyk, as the “leader.” In order to bestow simulated forms of legality on this fact, in 1939 they convened a congress, which, in violation of the binding Order, they called the Second Grand Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists, and, at that congress, they confirmed their fait accompli. The Organization was endangered by the threat of opportunism and disintegration. The second task of the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN in 1941 was to put an end to the state of temporariness within the Organization and to the threat of collapse.

On the path of our struggle the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN of 1941 is the start of a new stage on the road to the same supreme and unchanging ideas of Ukrainian nationalism for which we have fought all this time. The second stage of the struggle does not mean a contradiction and cancellation of the first one. This is a crucial step forward. Without the experience of the past struggle, it would not be possible. The new political thesis, the different conditions of revolutionary work, and the far-reaching results of our work require additional political arming and the most feasible tactics for the struggle.

From the perspective of those demands the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN issues its resolutions.

### *Programmatic Resolutions*

1. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists recognizes that: The struggle for the strength and welfare of the Ukrainian nation is the foundation of our world perception. Our supreme goal is the all-encompassing growth, strength, health, and well-being of the Ukrainian people.
2. Only a fully Independent Ukrainian State can guarantee the Ukrainian people a free life and completely all-encompassing development of all its forces.

3. Only by means of a revolutionary struggle against the invaders will the Ukrainian people attain their state.

4. Only a just nationalist socialist order will be the foundation of the strength of the Ukrainian State and the basis of the free life of the entire Ukrainian people.

*Therefore, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is struggling:*

1. For the Independent United Ukrainian State, for the rule of the Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian land.

2. For the organization of the Ukrainian State on the foundations of strong rule, a strong national army and navy, and sole political organization consisting of leading national activists.

3. For the planned organization of all economic and social life in the Ukrainian State on these foundations:

a) Equal rights and obligations of all Ukrainians vis-à-vis the nation and the state

b) Division into various activities and specialties and, accordingly, production and professional organizations built on the principle of production solidarity and equality of all working people

c) The owner of all the land and waters, underground and above-ground riches, industry, and means of communication is the Ukrainian people and its State

d) Ukrainian land for Ukrainian peasants; factories and plants for Ukrainian workers; Ukrainian grain for the Ukrainian people; free initiative, free people, universal and complete right of ownership of the products of their labour; limited private, cooperative, and joint right of ownership to working the land and workbenches for those who work at them; state ownership of heavy industry and transport; free trade of lower degrees; legal restrictions on profits; the elimination of all kinds of speculation and arbitrariness and negligence in the economic sphere; intensive development of all branches of the national economy so that it will become the foundation of the might of the Ukrainian state, the linkage in all life – citizens' free, creative initiative, labour, and property – with the state's initiative, planned nature, organized nature, and control – into a single, indivisible whole.

e) The legal participation of workers in the management and profits of enterprises, a better wage for better work, a legally guaranteed minimum wage for labour, which is sufficient for completely supporting a worker and his family; guaranteed safe working conditions in mines, factories, workbenches, and all workplaces; guaranteed paid vacations and the satisfaction of all health and cultural needs.

f) Universal and complete support for all citizens in old age and cases of crippling and incapacity.

g) The foundation of the people's wealth is, first and foremost, the talents and labour of all members of the national community. Only work and its



productivity are the measure of value of each individual and the basis of its social standing.

*The OUN is struggling:*

4. For the planned organization of Ukrainian state control of public health, growth, and firmness of the Ukrainian race by means of:

a) Universal, compulsory, free medical care and the exploitation of all the gains of scientific studies and treatment facilities for all.

b) Assistance for large families.

c) Care and protection for mothers and children.

d) To raise the level of public nutrition, housing, and living standards.

e) The promotion of the people's physical health.

5. For the organization of schooling on the basis of universal, free education for all young Ukrainians and special education for gifted children; for the re-education of the entire Ukrainian people in the spirit of the glorious traditions of Ukrainian history; for the elimination of foreign, corruptive influences. For a new, heroic content of Ukrainian culture.

6. For freedom of conscience and religious confessions that are not detrimental to the moral fibre of the nation and the interests of the Ukrainian State.

7. The OUN is fighting against the communist world perception, against internationalism and capitalism, and against all views and currents that convey enervation of the people's life forces

The OUN is fighting for the destruction of slavery, for the disintegration of the Muscovite prison of nations, for the destruction of the entire communist system, for the destruction of all privileges, divisions, and class distinctions, and all other holdovers and prejudices.

8. The OUN is fighting for freedom for all nations enslaved by Moscow and their right to their own state life.

9. The OUN is striving for the unification of all Ukrainians in one liberation front of the Ukrainian National Revolution and is organizing and creating a political-military liberating force capable of carrying out a sudden armed rising to attain a Ukrainian State and to rule it.

10. The OUN is carrying out a struggle to carry out the testament of the Great Prophet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, by means of Konovalts's revolutionary path, the path of Sviatoslav, St Volodymyr the Great, Khmelnytsky, Mikhnovsky, and Petliura, the path of struggle for the glory and grandeur of the Golden Trident.<sup>8</sup>

8 Symon Petliura, born 10 May 1879, in Poltava, was assassinated by a Soviet agent in Paris, 25 May 1926. A journalist and political activist, he would serve as supreme commander of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic and as president of the UNR's Directory in 1918–19. On Ukrainian independence movements during and just after the First World War, see John S. Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917–1920* (New York: Arno Press, 1972); and

*Political Resolutions*

1. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for the Independent United Ukrainian State, for the liberation of the peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, enslaved by Moscow, for a new, just order on the ruins of the Muscovite Empire, the USSR. With all its might the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists will continue the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian people regardless of all territorial and political changes that would take place on the territory of Eastern Europe.
2. The only path to attaining our goals is the Ukrainian Revolution in the Muscovite Empire of the USSR – together with the liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by Moscow under the slogan: “Freedom for nations and people!”
3. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is placing itself at the forefront of those Ukrainian revolutionary currents and cooperates with those revolutionary movements of peoples enslaved by Moscow and with those states that are fighting for the complete disintegration of the USSR. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists recognizes as Ukraine’s allies all states and political groupings and forces that have an interest in the collapse of the USSR and in the creation of the Independent United Ukrainian State. The OUN’s attitude to states and political movements is determined by their anti-Moscow stance and not by their greater or lesser political consonance with the Ukrainian nationalist movement.
4. The USSR is a modern-day form of Muscovite imperialism that is leading enslaved peoples and countries to national, cultural, and economic stagnation and ruin. Only the state independence of the peoples of Europe and Asia that are enslaved by Moscow, and open cooperation among them, will lead to all-encompassing development.
5. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is struggling against all varieties of Muscovite imperialism and, therefore, fights against all those anti-regime organizations and movements inside and outside the USSR, which are striving for the preservation of the Muscovite Empire in any kind of form and for the renewed enslavement of the non-Muscovite peoples.

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Taras Hunczak, ed., *The Ukraine, 1917–1921: A Study in Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977). On Petliura, see Henry Abramson, *A Prayer for the Government: Ukrainians and Jews in Revolutionary Times, 1917–1920*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2018); David Engel, ed., *The Assassination of Symon Petliura and the Trial of Scholem Schwarzbard, 1926–1927: A Selection of Documents* (New York: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2016); Taras Hunczak, *Symon Petliura and the Jews: A Reappraisal* (New York: Ukrainian Historical Association, 2008); Israel Kleiner, *From Nationalism to Universalism: Vladimir Jabotinsky and the Ukrainian Question* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 2000); and Arnold D. Margolin, *From a Political Diary: Russia, the Ukraine and America, 1905–1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1946).

6. Moscow's occupation of the western Ukrainian lands, Bukovyna, and Bessarabia in 1939–40 and the expansion of Moscow's rule on the territory of the Baltic nations (Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, and Belarus) are reinforcing the anti-Moscow revolutionary forces in the USSR.

7. Because of Moscow's occupation of Polissia, Volyn, Galicia, Bukovyna, and Bessarabia, the national activists of those lands have joined a single anti-Moscow front of the struggle. The nationally conscious activists of western Ukraine, which have been politically tested and are free of the consequences of Moscow's corruptive policies, are strengthening the revolutionary forces of *Naddniprianshchyna* [Ukrainian lands along the Dnipro River]. The future of western Ukraine is permanently connected with the national liberation movement of the entire Ukrainian people. Therefore, the OUN is fighting to overcome an idea that is harmful to the liberation cause: the idea of the possibility of the separate resolution of western Ukraine's fate.

8. The basis of our work and struggle in Ukraine and in the entire USSR is the Ukrainian people's revolutionary liberation struggle against Moscow for the Independent United Ukrainian State and the platform of a joint struggle of enslaved peoples against Muscovite imperialism. In the process of creating a single anti-Moscow revolutionary liberation front of the struggle, it is political feasibility above all that is the decisive factor, not world-perceptual, ideological, and programmatic differences.

9. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is striving to master all of public life with its influences. The OUN will carry out its actions on all the lands and in all cells and institutions of public life. The prerequisite of the success of our struggle is a type of member who is a social warrior, an organizer.

10. The popular masses' current dissatisfaction and hostile attitude to the regime are a blind, elemental force incapable of achieving any political goals. It will play an immense role in our struggle only when the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists masters it with its political slogans and includes [them] in the organized, planned struggle, which alone leads to the final victory. Therefore, the task of the Ukrainian revolutionaries and the revolutionaries of other nations enslaved by Moscow is to organize social activists into an organized revolutionary force aware of its tasks, which will direct the struggle of the common masses and at the appropriate moment will lead them to the ultimate armed reprisal against the invader.

11. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting against both Muscovite-Bolshevik state capitalism and the return of the liberal capitalist order.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting against the forcible collective farm system, for the abolition of collective farms, and so that Ukrainian peasants themselves will organize their own farms and manage them in accordance with the good of working people and the entire Ukrainian

nation, for the right of private land ownership for peasants within the framework of labour standards, without the right to engage in land speculation. In keeping with conditions, the OUN will also wage a struggle on the territory of collective farms and under these slogans:

a) Against servitude on collective farms, against the economic exploitation of collective farmers, and against the Bolshevik system of agricultural taxation

b) Against the dictatorship on collective farms of appointees of the Muscovite-Bolshevik power – communists and activists

c) For full self-management and economic freedom of agricultural cooperatives

d) For the release of private plots and their relief from taxes. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is against the destruction of collective farms during the period of the revolutionary rising.

During the revolutionary upheaval, control of the collective farms will be taken over by elected revolutionary committees. The reconstruction of Bolshevik, slave-like farming into free farming of the Ukrainian people will take place gradually and systematically, as permitted by the economic and political interest of the Ukrainian nation, which will be looked after by the Ukrainian State and not by means of arbitrary, urgent methods that would threaten farming with ruin.

12. In industrial centres the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is waging a struggle under the slogans of the state's comprehensive care for workers, for just wages, for the worker's personal freedom, for workers' self-management in open professional unions.

13. The mass, active offensive and ultimate armed clash between the Ukrainian popular masses and the invader depend on the creation of a strong political organization, the state of the ideological and political mastery of the popular masses by leading revolutionary activists, the domestic situation of the USSR, and the international situation. The popular masses rise to the ultimate reprisal against the invaders will come at a moment when the regime is weakened and destabilized by the growing revolutionary forces and the struggle itself. The USSR's entry into the new imperialist war will hasten this moment. Then, the importance of the mobilized Ukrainian element and other peoples enslaved by Moscow will increase in the Red Army. A simultaneous increase will be seen in the specific weight of those workers and peasants who will remain at their workplaces. Then, the struggle of the civilian population against the regime will strike stronger blows at it than would be possible in peacetime. Administrative and technical anarchy, which will grow as a result of the technical and organizational insufficiency of transport during the conveying of the millions-strong mobilized masses and materiel, will weaken the possibility of control and mastery of the population by the Muscovite-Bolshevik power. This

will enable us to expand our work on a broad scale. The upheavals caused by the war will impel the population against the weakened Muscovite-Bolshevik state apparatus. This will lead to mass protests of the populace and the army against the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime. The time will come for the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which will intensify and organize this disintegration, to impel the masses towards a final armed clash with the invader.

14. The Comintern, the communist parties in individual countries outside the USSR, and the organizations that are subordinated to it are the secret services of Muscovite imperialism.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, the OUN includes anti-communist action within the framework of its anti-Moscow actions abroad.

15. The task of the Ukrainians in the USSR outside the Ukrainian ethnographic lands is to organize and intensify the struggle against Muscovite imperialism and the regime among those peoples and the populace living among them, and to establish cooperation with them and assist them.

16. The OUN is fighting against the actions of those Polish groupings that are seeking to restore the Polish occupation of the Ukrainian lands. The liquidation of anti-Ukrainian actions on the part of the Poles is the prerequisite for normalizing relations between the Ukrainian and Polish nations.

17. Jews in the USSR are the most devoted supporters of the ruling Bolshevik regime and the avant-garde of Muscovite imperialism in Ukraine. The anti-Jewish moods of the Ukrainian masses are being exploited by the Muscovite-Bolshevik government in order to distract their attention from the true cause of the hardship and to direct them to carry out pogroms against the Jews. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is struggling against the Jews as props of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime, at the same time making the popular masses aware that Moscow is the main enemy.

18. During the period of Ukraine's liberation struggles opportunistic Ukrainian parties demonstrated their utter inability to direct the affairs of the struggle of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian State. The events of the last twenty years have shown the harmful role of opportunistic actions in our struggle and have brought them to complete political bankruptcy. The OUN is struggling to overcome all opportunistic trends in the USSR that do not support a complete rift with Moscow but are hoping for partial concessions from Moscow and occupying the position of a gradual reconstruction of the USSR by means of evolutionary changes. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists seeks to defeat all opportunistic parties and émigré groups, particularly the petty-bourgeois group of fellow travellers of nationalism of A. Melnyk, Ukrainian National-Democrats, the Front of National Unity (FNY), radicals, clerics, and

9 The Comintern (Communist International) was founded by Lenin on 2 March 1919 and dissolved officially by Stalin on 15 May 1943. Its main goal was to promote the spread of communism worldwide.

all others who are breaking up the single front of the Ukrainian people's struggle and are making the Ukrainian cause dependent exclusively on external, so-called favourable, conditions.

19. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is striving to enlist the Ukrainian emigration in our struggle and its unification apart from the corruptive influences of Ukrainian opportunistic groups.

20. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the western borderlands of the Ukrainian lands is striving for the strengthening of the Ukrainian character of those lands by means independent of circumstances and political feasibility, and for their incorporation into the Ukrainian State, not the Polish lands.

21. In Transcarpathian Ukraine [Carpatho-Ukraine] the OUN is striving to build up the political strength of the Ukrainian people and for the incorporation of Transcarpathia into the Ukrainian State.

### *Military Resolutions*

1. In order to realize its goals, the OUN is organizing and training its own military force.

2. The task of the OUN's military force is:

a) To organize and carry out the OUN's armed struggle for the victory of the Ukrainian National Republic and the attainment of a Ukrainian Independent State.

b) To be a first-line force and bulwark of the OUN in its entire struggle.

c) To be the nucleus of the Ukrainian Army in the Ukrainian State.

3. In the period of political enslavement the OUN is organizing military centres with the assistance of the Military Headquarters of the OUN in all the Ukrainian lands and abroad; educating and training military leaders, organizers, and military specialists; organizing and training military cadres; directing and coordinating all military work; and drafting military plans, at all times taking the political situation into consideration.

With the assistance of those centres and cadres, it [the OUN] is exerting influence on Ukrainian public opinion, promoting its military idea among [the public], organizing self-taught military courses, etc.

4. The task of the Military Headquarters and the military centres of the OUN during the period of the rising is to organize an armed force of the Revolution and to lead military actions in the lands.

5. In the armed rising the OUN is organizing and leading to the struggle all Ukrainians irrespective of their political convictions.

6. The Ukrainian Army will strive to raise citizen warriors. Instilling in [them], during the period of the entire military service and non-army rearing, feelings of unity, of a great calling, responsibility, heroism, and dedication, along

with iron discipline and solid military training, will unite Ukrainians in all the lands into one national monolith.

7. The Ukrainian military doctrine, based on an analysis of the Ukrainians' spiritual traits, historical traditions, Ukraine's geopolitical conditions, and taking into consideration modern military means, is to provide the Ukrainian Army with its own Ukrainian strategy and organization, which in turn will facilitate the best and most feasible use of the entire power force of the Ukrainian Nation.

8. The entire upsurge of the great ideas of Ukrainian nationalism and the entire force of the dynamics of the Ukrainian Revolution will find their embodiment in the Ukrainian revolutionary army, which will emerge in the struggle of the entire armed people, give it strength and victory, and carry the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution – freedom for nations – beyond the borders of the Native Land.

#### *Training-Educational Guidelines*

1. The strength of the Organization, followed by the successful completion of its tasks, is directly dependent on the worth of its members, who must be simultaneously fighters and organizers of liberation and state building.

2. Departing from that principle, in the past the OUN laid strong emphasis on upbringing and training in its ranks, which resulted in skilled cadres of leaders.

3. In the conditions of today's changed reality all organizational cells must carry out basic training of their membership, raising a full-fledged type of sociopolitical activist.

At the same time, attention must be directed to the fact that, with respect to training, balance must be maintained between revolutionary-fighting preparation and aggression, which characterizes the fighter, and the sociopolitical and state-building training that is crucial to organizing civic-political life.

4. Crucial to the issue of proper training is the creation of a main training centre whose task will be to develop a fundamental set of problems, develop training materials, train instructors, set up courses, lead the entire training work of the OUN, and introduce a planned, single-goal, and systematic training of the entire membership of the OUN.

5. The content of the training must entail, first and foremost, the formation and foundation of a world perception, political formation and knowledge (especially of the Soviet reality), and civic organizing training for all members.

6. As part of a member's basic training it is crucial to systematize training materials in the form of clearly designated grades and gear them towards a single goal.

7. While emphasizing the need for training, we should not neglect the issue of preparedness, of which there can never be enough. Especially now, when

the OUN is facing a new and possibly decisive challenge, it will be the most important component of success. The proper configuration of instruction is the guarantee of this.

8. One's upbringing is the result of the strivings of our surroundings. Therefore, a living example, direct influence, a constructive atmosphere of all organizational relations, as well as an emphasis on creative thought on the part of leading cadres, are a key component of upbringing, which must take place only in work and the struggle.

9. Only the complete unfolding of the prospects for our struggle, a clear and vital designation of our goals, method, and hierarchy of tasks will enable members to include the growth of their own individuality and character in the OUN's rising, which, as an emanation of the Ukrainian milieu, is simultaneously the rising of Ukraine.

Only faith in the higher mission of the Organization and its members will spur [members] to place high demands on themselves and to fulfill the designated tasks.

### *Propaganda Guidelines*

#### *I. General Propositions*

1. The main task of our propaganda is to disseminate the ideas and political program of Ukrainian Nationalism among the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people. To mobilize them to the struggle for the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution, to reject hostile propaganda and the *overt* and cloaked offensive of hostile policies, and also to enlist non-Ukrainian forces in the anti-Moscow struggle.

2. The broad launch of intensive propaganda work is one of the most important tasks of the Organization in the current state of its struggle. The entirety of propaganda work must be centralized and made independent of the Organization's political tactics.

3. Our propaganda, its content, methods, tactics, and organization, are divided into sections:

a) Anti-Bolshevik propaganda aimed at Ukrainians in Ukraine and throughout the USSR.

b) Propaganda aimed at Ukrainians outside Muscovite occupation.

c) Propaganda aimed at the nations that are enslaved and threatened by Moscow.

d) External propaganda aimed at foreigners.

4. To concentrate the main propaganda attention on issues that are most important to the liberation struggle, and not to diffuse it excessively throughout various areas and human milieux that have a secondary bearing on matters relating to the liberation struggle.



## *II. Anti-Moscow Propaganda*

### *A. For Ukrainians:*

1. The main task of Ukrainian revolutionary propaganda is to disseminate the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism among the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and everywhere that Ukrainians live, and to marshal the entire body of activists around the political program of the Ukrainian National Revolution.
2. The Ukrainian masses' negative attitude to the Bolshevik regime is to be reinforced by a hostile attitude to Moscow and to provide them with a positive program of national liberation. Demoralizing, anti-regime propaganda has full value for the cause of our revolution, in as much as it goes hand in hand with the propaganda of our positive slogans.
3. In counteracting all local particularisms and petty concerns, to strengthen awareness that the destiny of all the Ukrainian lands depends only on the will of Kyiv.
4. To demonstrate to the broadest circles of the populace the weakness of the Kremlin regime and the possibility of its collapse, and to liberate them from the psychosis of fear, awakening belief in the people's own strength.
5. In gaining control over all Ukrainian locales, our propaganda must pay special attention to young people in the Red Army and workers in view of their role and influence in the revolutionary struggle.

### *B. For nations enslaved by Moscow:*

In addition to the anti-regime front, our propaganda for the nations enslaved by Moscow must also be powerfully aimed against Moscow's rule, generally [promoting] the national awareness of each nation, the right of each nation to be the sovereign owner of its own land and the master of its destiny, by demonstrating the commonality of interests between the peoples enslaved by Moscow and Ukraine in one front of the struggle.

### *C. For the entire population of the Muscovite prison of nations:*

The field of operations of Ukrainian revolutionary propaganda continues to be the entire Muscovite Empire within its current borders. Among all Muscovites, Russified elements of enslaved cadres and the communist rank and file, our propaganda is aimed above all at the regime, demonstrating the absence of political and personal freedom, economic and social oppression, the persecution of religion, the harmfulness of imperialism, the delusion of internationalism, the entire lie-ridden state of the whole regime, and the dominance of the Kremlin clique over the party, of the party and its stooges over millions of citizens. In general, special attention must be paid to the Red Army and the larger industrial centres.

## *III. Propaganda Aimed Outside Muscovite Occupation*

1. OUN propaganda outside Moscow's zone of occupation must be closely and indissolubly linked with the entirety of the liberation struggle that the OUN is waging in the Ukrainian lands under Muscovite occupation.

2. To mobilize all healthy elements of Ukrainian society around the struggle against the invader and comprehensive assistance to our revolutionary struggle in Ukraine under enemy occupations. To promote, as the sole liberation conception to counterbalance the unrealistic hopes for a spontaneous overthrow of Bolshevism, the creation of a Ukrainian political and military power, first and foremost in the Ukrainian lands.
3. To mobilize the émigré elements of other nations that are enslaved by Moscow to the joint struggle with a common enemy – Moscow.
4. To marshal friendly public opinion around the Ukrainian revolution among the nations that are threatened by Muscovite imperialism and generally in foreign circles around the Ukrainian revolution, and to demonstrate the commonality of interests with our struggle.
5. Counteracting Bolshevik propaganda, to unmask the violent, exploitative, anti-cultural, anti-progressive, reactionary character of Muscovite imperialism in general, and Bolshevism in its current manifestation, particularly among Ukrainians, the émigrés of other nations that are enslaved by Moscow, and foreigners.
6. To unmask the false and tendentious Polish, Hungarian, and other propagandas that are hostile to the Ukrainian cause.
7. To fight against Ukrainian non-revolutionary, opportunistic Masonic organizations, groups, and currents; to expose their harmful work and to unmask them everywhere they appear.
8. To unmask all those groups and currents which, even though they oppose the current Bolshevik regime, are in reality concealed Muscovite imperialists and, as such, are enemies of the liberation of Ukraine and nations enslaved by Moscow.
9. Our propaganda must focus its main attention on winning the hearts and minds of young people and workers' centres.
10. The propaganda task in Transcarpathian Ukraine is: general educational work, political propaganda against the Hungarian and Muscovite occupiers, and the dissemination of ideas and slogans (particularly unity).

#### *IV. Separate Resolutions*

Until now, the external forms that have been used in the Organization were not harmonized in a uniform and compulsory fashion. Several more accurate confirmations and changes related to external symbols and the organizational greeting are therefore being introduced.

1. Only the all-national Trident of Volodymyr the Great, in the form in which it was introduced by the Central Rada, is mandatory for the Organization.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Volodymyr the Great was the ruler of Kyivan Rus' from 980 to 1015. In 988 he accepted baptism into the Orthodox Christian faith of the Byzantine Empire. His symbol was the *tryzub*

The practice of using the trident with a sword as the Organization's insignia is abolished.

2. The OUN uses its separate Organizational black-and-red flag. The design and mandatory proportions will be approved by a separate commission.
3. The Organizational greeting consists of extending the right arm at a right angle above the head. The obligatory words of the full greeting are: "Glory to Ukraine!" The response is: "Glory to the Heroes!" A shortened version of the greeting is permissible: "Glory! – Glory!"
4. The official organizational holidays are: Unity Day on 22 January, Heroes of the Revolution Day on 23 May, and the Day of the Struggle on 31 August. All other anniversaries celebrated by the members of the Organization are commemorative days that have no general binding force in all the territories and for all members.

*Resolutions Pertaining to the A. Melnyk (engineer) Sabotage Case*

The Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, after examining the activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists from the moment of the death of the leader, Yevhen Konovalets, of hallowed memory, that is, from 1938 right up until the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (i.e., until 1941), confirms the following:

1. After the death of Colonel Yevhen Konovalets of hallowed memory, the reins of control over the OUN abroad ended up in the hands of people who were acting to the detriment of the OUN.
2. The participation of saboteurs in governing the affairs of the OUN was a danger to the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement.
3. The duty of the Organization's leading activists responsible for the fate of the OUN was to mend relations in the leading circles of the OUN abroad.
4. Colonel Andrii Melnyk demonstrated neither understanding nor goodwill in the matter of mending relations in the leading circles of the OUN abroad without external upheavals, and the leading Organizational activists' cooperation with Colonel Andrii Melnyk could not bring any benefit to the OUN.
5. Colonel Andrii Melnyk demonstrated a complete inability to lead the revolutionary movement.
6. Colonel Andrii Melnyk opposed the healthy initiatives of OUN activists, stood clearly on the side of traitors and saboteurs of the Organization, and led their harmful work.
7. The action of Colonel Andrii Melnyk and his comrades is an act of sabotage against the OUN, and it seeks to smash the united liberation front of the Ukrainian people.

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(trident), adopted by the Central Rada of the Ukrainian People's Republic (25 February 1918) and more recently recognized officially as the Coat of Arms of Ukraine, 19 February 1992.

8. The nomination by the select leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists for Colonel Andrii Melnyk to become the head of the PUN [leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists], which Yaroslav Baranovsky announced on 14 October 1938, has absolutely no legal validity in the OUN's legal order, and therefore cannot be binding for the OUN.
9. Colonel Andrii Melnyk ended up at the head of the OUN in an illegal manner, contrary to the clear-cut directives of the Structure of the OUN, which, according to the law governing nominations for the head of the PUN is granted solely and exclusively by the Assembly of Ukrainian Nationalists, and not the select leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists.
10. The Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists that took place on 27 August 1939 did not meet the demands of the OUN Structure's directives concerning the ZUN [Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad]; this congress was not convened in an official manner and the number of authorized members of the ZUN, as required by the Structure of the OUN, did not participate in it.
11. The Resolutions of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, dated 27 August 1939, which were issued in the form of the ZUN's resolutions, and all the acts that were approved by Colonel Andrii Melnyk acting as the head of the PUN are unlawful and devoid of all legal consequences.
12. Colonel Konovalets of hallowed memory did not leave a Testament concerning the nomination of his successor in the person of Colonel Andrii Melnyk.
13. Omelian Senyk's claim that Colonel Yevhen Konovalets left a Testament about his successor is an invention of Omelian Senyk and Yaroslav Baranovsky, with the intention of creating a situation within the OUN that would assure Senyk and Baranovsky's seizure and consolidation of a key position in the OUN.<sup>11</sup>
14. In accordance with the resolutions of the Structure of the OUN, the leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists was created by the head as a decisive factor together with the other members of the PUN, which [the leadership] used only in an advisory capacity, and which ceased to exist legally upon the death of the late leader.
15. The official-legal point of departure for the remediation of relations in the leading circles of the OUN abroad is the legal state that came into being upon the death of the late leader, that is, 23 May 1938.
16. The sole legal path to mending relations was the removal of all destructive elements from leading OUN positions abroad.

11 Omelian Senyk was born 19 January 1891, in Yavoriv, and assassinated on 30 August 1941 in Zhytomyr. Senyk was a prominent member of the Ukrainian Military Organization and of the OUNm. Yaroslav Baranovsky was born 7 July 1906. A member of the Ukrainian Military Organization and the OUN, he escaped abroad in 1930 and served as secretary of the PUN in 1933. He was assassinated in Lviv, 11 May 1943.

17. The act of 10 February 1940, which resulted in the creation of the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN, was a historical necessity in the development of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, which the leading OUN activists carried out in accordance with the interests of the OUN and by the will of its members.

The Second VZOUN [Grand Assembly of the OUN] confirms that Colonel Andrii Melnyk shut his eyes to the treachery within the leadership of the Ukrainian Nationalists [and that he] acted to the detriment of the OUN and the Ukrainian cause. The Second VZOUN therefore expels Colonel Andrii Melnyk from the ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

All those members of the Organization who take part in Andrii Melnyk's action against the OUN after the proclamation of the resolutions of the Second VZOUN will also be subject to expulsion.

The Second VZOUN appeals to Colonel Andrii Melnyk to put a stop to any kind of action in the name of the OUN. The Organization will struggle against every deviation from that warning, considering it sabotage.

The Second VZOUN calls upon all those nationalists whom the Andrii Melnyk group dragged into sabotage against the OUN to break with it, subordinate themselves to the OUN leadership, and to take their places in the punitive ranks of the revolutionary-liberation movement of the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.

*Structure of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Approved by the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in 1941*

1. [*sic*] *Members*

1. Every Ukrainian man/woman who has completed the required test, reached the age of twenty-one, who, as a candidate, has completed the required training during the time designated for a given territory, and has demonstrated the required character traits, nationalist world perception, and political maturity may become a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In certain cases, a candidate under the age of twenty-one may be accepted as a member of the Organization.

A new member of the OUN swears the oath, whose content and form are designated by the book of regulations.

Competent organizational individuals are accepted as members of the OUN.

2. It is the duty of each OUN member to struggle for the realization of the Organization's goals, to carry out the leadership's orders, and to take upon themselves, in accordance with their capacities, responsibility for work even in the highest leading posts within the OUN hierarchy.

3. Membership in the OUN is for life. A member of the OUN may be expelled from the Organization or released at his own wish only along Organizational lines.

4. For failure to carry out duties, direct leaders subject their subordinates to disciplinary actions according to the method designated by the book of regulations.

5. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

## II. Organizational Structure

1, 2, 3. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

4. The work of individual Organizational units is managed by leaders who are appointed and dismissed by higher-ranking leaders of individual Organizational units.

5. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

## III. Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

1. The source of power in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and its supreme ruling body is the Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

2. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

3. The mandates of members of the VZOUN occupying Organizational posts last for the duration of their term in office.

4. An ordinary VZOUN is convened at least once every five years by the leader of the OUN, and an Extraordinary [Assembly] – by the Grand Council of the OUN.

5. A designated body informs the members of the VZOUN about the deadline and program of the VZOUN's meetings at least one month before the beginning of the session and the VZOUN. It opens the VZOUN and carries out the election of the VZOUN's presidium.

6. The Grand Assembly of the OUN:

a) Approves the basic laws of the OUN and its program.

b) Establishes the guidelines governing the OUN's activity.

c) Elects the leader of the OUN, the general judge of the OUN, and the chief controller of the OUN.

d) *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

e) Examines reports on the activity of the leader of the OUN, the main council of the OUN, the general judge, and the chief controller of the OUN.

7. The leader of the OUN, the general judge, and the chief controller swear an oath to the Grand Assembly of the OUN, which is taken by the head of the VZOUN.

8. The VZOUN issues its decisions in the form of resolutions, guidelines, and desiderata.

9. The VZOUN accepts its decisions with an ordinary majority of votes with a quorum of no less than half of the legal number of members of the VZOUN. The Grand Assembly of the OUN approves basic laws, the program of the OUN and guidelines governing its activity, and elects the leader of the OUN,

the general judge of the OUN, and the chief controller of the OUN with a quorum of no less than half of the legal number of members of the VZOUN and a two-thirds majority vote. [...]. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

10. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

The organization of the VZOUN's work and decisions is established by the convening body in such a way as to enable the manifestation of the will of the largest number of members of the VZOUN.

11. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

#### *IV. The Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

1. The activity of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is headed by the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. He is responsible to the Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

2. The leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is an auxiliary and executive body.

3. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

4. The leader of the OUN appoints and dismisses the members of the leadership, establishing their numbers and competencies in accordance with needs.

5. The members of the leadership are responsible for their activities to the leader of the OUN.

6. The leader of the OUN has the right to mete out and mitigate punishment.

The leader has the right to waive a sentence of the court, but only a single time per case.

7. The leader of the OUN makes a report to the Grand Council of the OUN about the leadership's work at least once a year.

#### *V. The Grand Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

1. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

2. The Grand Council functions during the period between two consecutive Grand Assemblies of the OUN.

3. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*

4. The members of the Grand Council perform their rights and duties on an individual basis.

5. The Grand Assembly of the OUN:

a) Hears the leader's reports.

b) Issues its opinion on matters submitted to it by the leader.

c) Has the right to propose work guidelines.

d) In cases where the leader is unable to carry out his ruling function, he appoints a temporary leader. In the event of the leader's death, the Grand Council is obliged to convene a VZOUN as soon as possible in order to elect a new leader.

e) In the event that the general judge or the chief controller are unable to carry out their duties, each of them designates his successor before the next VZOUN.

- f) Has the right to convene a VZOUN.
  - g) Proposes individuals to the leader for nomination to the VZOUN.
  - h) Confirms books of regulations.
  - i) Hears the reports of the chief controller.
6. The first session of the Grand Council is convened by the oldest member of the Grand Council of the OUN.
  7. The Grand Council is governed by a head elected by an ordinary majority of votes, who convenes it with the leader's knowledge not less often than once every half-year.
  8. The Grand Council issues its decisions with a majority of votes, with a quorum of no less than half the number of the Grand Council's members.

The Grand Council's legally binding decision with regard to the convening of a VZOUN requires the assent of at least half of all members of the Grand Council.

9. The members of the OUN leadership may be members of the Grand Council.
10. The members of the leadership have the right to participate and speak during meetings of the Grand Council.

#### *VI. General Judge of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

1. The general judge is obliged to uphold the basic laws, nationalist morale, and dimension of justice within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.
2. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*
3. The general judge convenes the Main Tribunal of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists [and] drafts its book of regulations, which is approved by the Grand Council.
4. The decisions of the Main Tribunal of the OUN are subject to confirmation by the general judge of the OUN.

#### *VII. Chief Controller of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

1. Oversight over the financial-economic affairs of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists belongs to the chief controller, who has the right at any time to examine the Organization's economic affairs.
2. *Omitted for conspiratorial reasons.*
3. The chief controller is obliged to submit a report on his activity to the Grand Council at least once a year.

#### *Oath of the Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

I swear to Ukraine that, as the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, I will fight for an Independent United Ukrainian State, with all my power I will implement the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution, which give the Ukrainian Nation strength and invincibility, and I will lead the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in such a way as required for the good of Ukraine.



*Designation of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Individual Decisions*

1. The Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists took place during the first-quarter of 1941 on the lawful basis

a) of the Structure of the OUN from 1929 (Chapter VII).

b) of the Resolution of the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN concerning the convening of the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN, dated 30 August 1940.

c) of the resolution of the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN concerning the creation of the Main Commission of the Grand Assembly of the OUN, dated 1 February 1941.

d) of the resolution of the Main Commission of the Grand Assembly of the OUN of 1941, comprised of thirty-six authorized members of the Assembly – representatives of lands (*krais*) and territories – concerning the form of holding the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN, who were present at the Second Grand Assembly; there were sixty-eight present at the Second Grand Assembly (including sixteen from the Ukrainian lands under Muscovite occupation).

Drafts of the resolutions of the Grand Assembly of the OUN were drawn up by Working Commissions.

These were: 1) the Political Commission with general and foreign policy sections; 2) the Ideological-Programmatic Commission; 3) the Organizational Commission with sections dealing with the Structure, the engineer Andrii Melnyk sabotage case, and two special sections; 4) the Military Commission; 5) the Propaganda Commissions with political and national-cultural propaganda sections; and 6) the Educational-Training Commission.

2. The Second Grand Assembly of the OUN, after accepting a report on the activity of the Revolutionary Leadership from the leader of the Revolutionary Leadership, Stepan Bandera, issued the following decisions:

The Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists considered the relations that existed within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists from the very moment of the death of the leader of hallowed memory, Colonel Yevhen Konovalts, until the present day, and on this basis it confirms the following:

1. The Act of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, dated 10 February 1940, which created the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN, was the sole legal resolution of that situation.

2. The Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists approves in its entirety the activity of the Revolutionary Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists from 10 February 1940 to the present day.

3. *The Second Grand Assembly of the OUN unanimously elects Stepan Bandera the Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.*

The Second Grand Assembly of the OUN also elected the general judge and the chief controller and designated an appropriate number of members of the Grand Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

At the conclusion of the meetings the newly elected leader swore his oath to the Grand Assembly of the OUN. Other newly elected organizational leaders also swore the oath.

4. On the occasion of its convocation the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist received a greeting from the revolutionary-liberation organizations of nations enslaved by Moscow.

The Second Grand Assembly sent the following greetings to Dmytro Dontsov;<sup>12</sup> the revolutionary-liberation organizations of nations enslaved by Moscow; the [North] American organizations ODVU [Organization for the State Rebirth of Ukraine] and UNO [Ukrainian National Federation];<sup>13</sup> the Far East *Sich*; Mrs Olha Konovalts, the wife of the Chief Otaman Symon Petliura of hallowed memory; Ukrainian revolutionary nationalists under Muscovite occupation; members of the Organization of Revolutionary Nationalists of Transcarpathia; and the families of revolutionaries who fell in the struggle against the invaders.

*The Presidium of the Second Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

*Billets, April 1941*

*Ukraine for the Ukrainians!*

\* \* \*

*A Ukrainian Government on Ukrainian Lands!*

\* \* \*

*Freedom for Nations!*

*Freedom for the Individual!*

\* \* \*

*The Commune Is an Enemy of the People!*

\* \* \*

*Down with Collective Farms and Serfdom!*

\* \* \*

*Deal with the Bolsheviks in a Bolshevik Manner!*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 23–49.

12 Dmytro Dontsov was born 29 August 1883 in Melitopol and died in Montreal, 30 March 1973. He was a journalist, lawyer, and ideologue, whose writings influenced the Ukrainian nationalist movement, although he was never a member of the OUN. See Trevor Erlacher, *Ukrainian Nationalism in the Age of Extremes: An Intellectual Biography of Dmytro Dontsov* (Harvard, MA: Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, 2021).

13 The Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine (ODVU) was founded in the United States in 1931, with the assistance of Omelian Senyk. The Ukrainian National Federation of Canada (UNF) was established in Edmonton, Alberta, on 17 July 1932 by a schoolteacher, Alexander Gregorovich. Both organizations would come to be dominated by the OUNm.

DOCUMENT 4: RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD  
EXTRAORDINARY GRAND ASSEMBLY OF THE OUN  
(AUGUST 1943)

*Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly  
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

August 1943

*Two Years of Struggle*

Critical changes during the course of military events took place in the spring of 1941, shortly after the conclusion of the sessions of the Second Grand Assembly of the OUN. After rejecting all diplomatic moves, German and Russian imperialisms entered into open military conflict. From the very outbreak of the German-Bolshevik war the point of gravity of international events shifted to the territories of Eastern Europe. Thus, Ukraine became not only the object of imperialistic encroachments but also the arena of the largest and most brutal battles in history. As a result of the German army's military successes in 1941–42, the entire Ukrainian territory fell under German occupation for some time.

With the arrival of the new occupier, important political changes took place in Ukraine. Of course, the very fact of political oppression, economic exploitation, and the physical destruction of the Ukrainian people did not change; only the forms changed. The completely undisguised Hitlerite program of enslavement and brutal colonial practice immediately placed the Ukrainian people in a very difficult situation.<sup>14</sup> The new reality compelled the entire people and each individual in particular to ponder their situation.

<sup>14</sup> The National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP) was formed on 24 February 1920 and dissolved on 10 October 1945. Commonly referred to in English as the Nazi Party, it was headed by Adolf Hitler, the Führer, until his suicide in Berlin, 30 April 1945.

On the Nazi occupation regime in general and Ukraine see, for example, Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004); Norman Davies, *Europe at War, 1939–1945: No Simple Victory* (London: Macmillan, 2006); Alex J. Kay, *Exploitation, Resettlement, Mass Murder: Political and Economic Planning for German Occupation Policy in the Soviet Union, 1940–1941* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006); Volodymyr Kosyk, *The Third Reich and the Ukrainian Question: Documents 1934–1944* (London: Ukrainian Central Information Service, 1991); George O. Liber, *Total Wars and the Making of Modern Ukraine, 1914–1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Gerald Reitlinger, *The House Built on Sand: The Conflicts of Germany Policy in Russia, 1939–1945* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1960); Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010); Timothy Snyder, *Black Earth: The Holocaust as History and Warning* (New York: Duggan Books, 2015); and several of the essays in Hans-Joachim Torke and John-Paul Himka, *German-Ukrainian Relations in Historical Perspective* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1994). See also Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaluk, *UPA Warfare in*

The German policy of plunder and violence created unique conditions for the growth of political consciousness among the broadest popular masses. If the USSR were destroyed and the Ukrainian people only faced the threat of the consolidation of German occupation, the development of their political consciousness would proceed along a direct line that logically and unswervingly leads to a clearly formulated national program in theory and a single front of all political forces in practice. However, the process of this political growth was complicated by the onslaught of Russian Bolshevik imperialism. The very fact of the USSR's existence constituted and constitutes a real danger of the return of the Bolshevik regime to Ukraine. Officially persecuting only individual strata of the population, for the rest of the people the Muscovite Bolshevik regime is creating a fiction of a peaceful and quiet life and a false prospect of happiness and prosperity in the future. The Bolshevik occupation system, in contrast to the German one, is hindering the political activation of the entire mass and the creation of a single front of all popular forces.

At the same time, what is characteristic is that the political offensive of German Hitlerism and Muscovite Bolshevism in the Ukrainian territory did not [lead] to them destroying each other in a mutual collision, and they did not even neutralize each other. Proceeding separately and pursuing their own distinct goals, they supplemented and facilitated each other's work. Part of the weak element, terrified by the spectre of the Bolsheviks return, saw deliverance in German power; another part, mercilessly kicked by the German colonial boot, opted for what it considered the lesser evil, that is, it expected deliverance from the Bolsheviks. In Ukraine today, as in the other countries of Eastern Europe, where part of the nation is still oriented towards the Bolsheviks, this may be credited in large measure to the German colonial system.

The dual German/Bolshevik onslaught created very difficult conditions for the spread of Ukrainian statehood thought. The issue was also complicated by the fact that, in 1941–42, the two occupiers of Ukraine constituted a huge military force. According to Mikhnovsky, to adopt the program of Ukrainian state independence in such conditions was “to believe in facts contrary to logic.” It appears that historically no enslaved nation has ever faced such a difficult and complex situation. It is only thanks to the colossal vital force of the Ukrainian people that it was possible to wait out this difficult period victoriously. This does not mean, however, that the crusade of Ukrainian revolutionary thought was easy, that political successes were achieved at a small cost. Now is not the time to reveal the practical review of Organizational work and all the difficulties connected with it. In the most difficult conditions, deep underground,

OUN cadres, hunted and pursued by the mighty apparatuses of the occupiers, at all times on the alert, in constant movement and action, held their positions, went on the offensive, and expanded them.

The completed two-year road is marked by great sacrifices. Dmytro Myron-Andrii, Ivan Klymiv-Lehenda, Serhii Sherstiuk, Lemyk, Shpansky, and hundreds and thousands of other political warriors perished in an unequal fight, with their blood confirming the people's unbreakable will to live freely in their land. The mass shootings near Zviahel, in Kyiv; in Yaholnytsia, near Chortkiv; in Rivne; the shootings in Zhytomyr, in Lviv, in Kryvy Rih, in Dzhankoi, and in other cities have covered Ukraine with new mass graves that, alongside Cossack [graves], will proclaim the indestructible heroism of a great people for all eternity.

During these difficult years the OUN defended more than just the moral positions of the Ukrainian National Republic. During this time the OUN was creating all the practical prerequisites in order to switch to the offensive and achieve ultimate victory. Along with propaganda and educational work, much time, energy, and attention were devoted to expanding Organizational networks. As a result of this organizing work, today the entire Ukrainian territory is covered by a solid Organizational network. Thus, the political leadership has in its hands a powerful executive apparatus that offers the possibility to carry out political actions and to implement plans on the entire territory of Ukraine.

In expanding its Organizational network, enlisting the more active element into organized ranks, the OUN leadership constantly kept its finger on the pulse of international political events. The period of relative stabilization on the fronts was used not only to expand the Organization. As an organized political force in all the Ukrainian lands, the leadership carefully scrutinized life in Ukraine and reacted to every event, as was demanded by the welfare of the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people. It could not have been otherwise because the organization was evolving from the very heart of the people; it was renewed by the finest and most active of its representatives. That is why the leadership, despite the sacrifices of its cadres, constantly kept them in a state of struggle with the enemy for the most basic rights of the people.

Two issues constituted the axis of the defence of the people from the occupiers' terror: the transport [of Ukrainians] to Germany for slave labour and the looting of grain. Assessing both these issues as the enemy's deliberate and planned action aimed at the physical annihilation of the nation, the OUN instantly responded with a decisive counteraction. The form and strength of the resistance depended on the strength of the organizational network as well as on the extent to which the population grasped the threat of enemy action and was psychologically prepared to initiate a struggle. That is why the practical results of the action differed in various territories. In this respect, the

greatest successes were seen in the northwestern lands of Volyn and Polissia, where the transports of the labour force were completely disrupted from the very beginning, that is, in the spring of 1942. The peasants in these territories also did not allow themselves to be looted of their foodstuffs.

Besides these two issues that were current throughout the entire territory of Ukraine, the program of self-defence and struggle also included other issues that were more or less urgent in individual territories.

In this way, in constant movement and struggle, the people became activated, and their organized political force – the OUN – developed and became stronger. New and increasingly more numerous units arrived in place of those who were killed in the struggle.

The active struggle brought only success for the broad popular masses. Resistance to the transport [of Ukrainians] to Germany for slave labour led to some sacrifices, but owing to those sacrifices young people remained in their homes in Ukraine. These sacrifices are minimal in comparison to those sacrifices that were experienced in those territories that did not heed the organization's appeal and passively submitted to the "recruitment." Every day the finest element in these territories – young people – is perishing from air raids and deliberately organized starvation and epidemics in German camps. That is why after a certain period of time the people grasped the correctness of the Organization's resolutions and heeded its latest appeals with utter trust.

Spring 1942 brought a notable levelling off in the process of unfolding the OUN's political campaigns. During the springtime efforts to recruit [Ukrainians] into German captivity the Germans encountered massive resistance in Volyn and Polissia, in Galicia and the Central and Eastern oblasts of Ukraine. Chyhyryn, Kryvy Rih, and Novomoskovske came to the forefront of solid and complete resistance. A similar situation exists with regard to the German plunder of grain.

Spring 1943 brought new changes to the configuration of the world's political forces. Great changes appeared specifically in the German and Russian imperialisms. In the last few years the process of the decline and destruction of the forces of the warring imperialisms proceeded systematically and relentlessly, but results appeared only during the spring months of 1943. The defeats of the German army on the fronts signalled a looming catastrophe. The harbingers of this catastrophe appeared not just at the front. At the very same time, the entire system of German imperialism began to crack and revealed many dangerous fissures. From that moment it has been constantly shuddering, and by the force of contradictions in its foundations it is heading for an inevitable collapse. This is precisely what has happened to the Bolsheviks. The Red Army command did not have the strength to take advantage of an unprecedented opportunity that was created after the utter collapse of the southern

part of the Germans' Eastern Front. It turned out that neither the Red Army nor the economic forces of the USSR any longer have the strength to launch serious military actions. Desperate shouting about the Allies' assistance in the form of a "second front" increased in volume, and from that time the so-called successes of the Red Army are merely the result of Germany's collapse, accelerated by the Allies' active offensive in Africa, and later in Sicily and the entire European airspace.

Once again life confirmed the correctness of our political thesis about the destructive nature of imperialism and about the contradictions within the empires that are bringing them to utter collapse during a more serious upheaval. The war became the shock that revealed the entire weakness of the German and Bolshevik Empires. The enslaved peoples obtained a real possibility to finish off with a blow from within that which creates criminal elements filled with a thirst for power and easy gain, in contrast to humanity's constructive tendencies. Our orientation towards the people's strength at the outset of the war seemed to be a utopia to the weaker element. To many, our constantly repeated thesis – that through revolutions the enslaved peoples will decide the end of the war and its ultimate result, that we will decide the fate of Ukraine and its future order – seemed to be a "faith that ran counter to hope." At the time both our enemies and some countrymen, blinded by the false shimmer of German and Bolshevik forces, called our practical political-organizational work belated-Don Quixotism. Events of the last two years and our political work have corroborated the accuracy of our fundamental political thesis with the aid of living facts. For us, the thesis of liberation through our own efforts was one of the most essential truths: it served as a signpost and rudder in our political crusade.

The correct political formulation – systematic and well-thought-out political campaigns, firm adherence to principle, and determined and consistent practical work – brought successes. Those successes began to escalate in such a large progression that in certain territories they exceeded all optimistic expectations by far.

For the eastern oblasts, the spring months of 1943 were turning points. The growth of political awareness and activism on the part of the broad masses accelerated at unprecedented tempos. Not just individuals but the entire population of the territories rallied to the idea of the Ukrainian Independent State.

At approximately this time the population of the northwestern oblasts of Volyn and Polissia began to demonstrate a readiness to engage in active military actions. During the Third Conference the OUN leadership weighed the situation of its internal forces and the enemy forces, studied the external political circumstances, and affirmed that the time was auspicious for military actions. After this, the first armed units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(UPA) appeared in the territories of Volyn and Polissia. From this time forth, the defence of the Ukrainian people in these territories was taken up by the UPA, which, in addition to self-defence tasks, also took upon itself the task of organizing cadres of the future regular Ukrainian National Army.

The news about the UPA – that is, about the armed defence and struggle – led to a sharp escalation of combat operations in all the Ukrainian lands. All chatter about the possibility or unfeasibility of building a Ukrainian State ground to a halt. Having repudiated doubts stemming from vacillation and discussions, the masses desire one thing: to fight actively, to launch an offensive. The Ukrainian giant shrugged its shoulders, and the spirit of revolution came wafting out.

The UPA movement quickly spread from Berestia, Pynske, Volyn, and Rivne oblasts to Kamianets-Podilsky, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, and Kyiv oblasts. In early July 1943 armed units of Galicia appeared under the name of the Ukrainian People's Self-Defence (UNS).<sup>15</sup> Like the UPA, the UNS was born out of the need to defend the people from the occupiers' terror, but it quickly began to form into cadre army units. Thus, as early as July 1943, twelve oblasts of Ukraine stepped onto the path of military struggle against the occupiers for the Independent United Ukrainian State. This fact introduced immense changes into the political struggle of the Ukrainian people. The struggle entered a new, higher, phase.

Besides radical tactical changes, life sparked the need for a change in the OUN's organizational structure and its program. Since the necessary changes go beyond the leadership's competence, the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was convened in August 1943.

15 The Gestapo was the secret state police of Nazi Germany set up by Hermann Göring, 26 April 1933. On 20 April 1934 it came under the administration of Heinrich Himmler, national leader of the Schutzstaffel (SS). Eventually, the Waffen-SS (Armed-SS) would recruit non-Germans into its ranks, including the 14th Waffen Grenadier Division of the SS (1st Galician) established 28 April 1943. It was renamed the 1st Division of the Ukrainian National Army 15 April 1945, under the command of General Pavlo Shandruk. For more on the Galicia Division, see Myroslav Shkandrij, *In the Maelstrom: The Waffen-SS "Galicia" Division and Its Legacy* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023); Wolf-Dietrich Heike, *The Ukrainian Division "Galicia" 1943–1945: A Memoir* (Toronto: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1988); and Michael J. Melnyk, *The History of the Galician Division of the Waffen SS*, vol. 1, *On the Eastern Front, April 1943–July 1944*, and vol. 2, *Stalin's Nemesis* (Fonthill Media, UK, 2016). See also the 1947 publication *Refugee Screening Report on Ukrainians in SEP Camp No. 374 Italy*, by D. Haldane Porter, reprinted in G.R.B. Panchuk, *Heroes of Their Day: The Reminiscences of Bohdan Panchuk* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society, 1983), 140–8. On the wartime behaviour of the Galicia Division, see the findings of the *Commission of Inquiry on War Criminals*, headed by the Honourable Mr Justice Jules Deschênes (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1986), 249–61, reprinted in Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Operation Payback: Soviet Disinformation and Alleged Nazi War Criminals in North America* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 2021), 177–91.



Thus ended the two-year period of political struggle, which, owing to its content and character, constitutes a separate era in the history of the OUN.

The presentation of reports and discussions revealed that during the reporting period the organization resolved many political questions. In this respect, the leading bodies of the OUN demonstrated shrewd flexibility and political judgment. The resolution of all questions was correct [as] it emerged from the spirit of the OUN's fundamental political and ideological theses.

The switch to a new tactic was dictated not by theoretical considerations but the demands of life itself. Practical experience succeeded in confirming the correctness of the new formulation of questions. The Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN acknowledged the previous tactic and recognized as correct its switch to armed forms of the struggle.

Life also propelled to the forefront many questions of a programmatic character. Three fundamental questions of an ideological character are connected with the program: the nation, society, and state.

Like the preceding ones, the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN takes as its foundation the living historical truth about the indestructibility and uniqueness of the nation. Therefore, we take the national principle as the foundation of the world political order.

Only that which is based not on doctrinaire theses but on the eternal laws of life is enduring and just. Systems of free peoples in independent states are the sole, and best, solution to the question of order in the world. Attempts to order the world on other foundations have not produced positive results. All multinational states-empires have turned out to be a factor of historical reaction and decline.

Hence, the OUN is championing the right of all peoples to independent life in their own states, to their full cultural and economic development, because only this way does humankind advance towards peace, progress, and happiness.

In struggling for the liberation of the Ukrainian people, already today the OUN is organizing political cooperation with other enslaved peoples, and in future it will cooperate as an equal with equals and as a free people with all free peoples that do not have imperialistic goals.

We want to accelerate the nation's historical revolution to a single monolith through the destruction of all economic and social inequalities. We believe that in the current historical era all necessary prerequisites exist for the construction of an economic system in which all citizens will have equal rights to work and a living wage. In destroying all forms of exploitation of one class by another and one individual by another, we will establish a just order in Ukraine. Only this kind of internal order will guarantee that the state power does not begin to serve a particular class but will be the organizing, planning, and leading centre of the entire people.

In such conditions the state itself will emerge from a mechanical-unifying form to become the supreme organization of the people.

*Opanas Bozhenko*

### *Programmatic Resolutions*

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting so that every nation will live a free life in its own independent state. The destruction of national enslavement and the exploitation of one nation by another [and] the system of free peoples in their own independent states are the only order that will provide a just resolution of the national and social question in the entire world.

The OUN is fighting against imperialists and empires because in them one ruling people culturally and politically enslaves and economically exploits other peoples. Therefore, the OUN is fighting against the USSR and against the German “New Europe.”

The OUN is struggling with all determination against internationalist and fascist-National Socialist programs and political conceptions because they are the instrument of the aggressive policies of the imperialists. Therefore, the OUN is against Russian Communist-Bolshevism and against German National Socialism.

The OUN is against one nation, in implementing its imperialistic goals, “liberating” other peoples, “taking [them] under its protection” and “care” because these crafty words conceal [the] hideous content of enslavement, violence, plunder. Therefore, we will fight against the Russian-Bolshevik and German aggressors until we cleanse Ukraine of all “guardians” and “liberators,” until we achieve the Ukrainian Independent United State, in which the peasant, worker, and intellectual will be able to live and develop freely, prosperously, and culturally.

The OUN is for the complete liberation of the Ukrainian people from the Muscovite-Bolshevik and German yoke, for the construction of the Ukrainian Independent State without landowners, capitalists, and without Bolshevik commissars, NKVD agents, and party parasites.

In the Ukrainian state the government will consider the interests of the people as its supreme duty. Without any predatory goals and enslaved countries and oppressed peoples within its state, the people’s government of Ukraine will not waste time, energy, and expense on creating an apparatus of oppression. The Ukrainian people’s government will direct all economic resources and all the people’s energy at the building of a new state order, a just social order, at the economic construction of the country and the cultural uplifting of the people.

In the ranks of the OUN, Ukrainian peasants, workers, [and] intellectuals are fighting against oppressors, for the Ukrainian Independent State – for national and social liberation, for a new state order and a new social order:

1a) For the destruction of the Bolshevik and German exploitative-enslaving systems in the organization of agriculture. Proceeding from the [idea] that the land belongs to the people, the Ukrainian state government will not impose a single form of land exploitation on the peasants. Thus, individual and collective land use, depending on the will of the peasants, will be permitted in the Ukrainian State.

b) For the free-of-cost transfer of all landowner, monastic, and church lands to the peasants of the western Ukrainian oblasts.

2a) For heavy industry to be national-state property, and small industry – cooperative-public.

b) For the participation of workers in the management of factories, for the professional, not the commissar-party, principle of management.

3a) For a universal eight-hour workday. Overtime work can only be free [i.e., voluntary], like all work in general, and the worker obtains a separate wage for it.

b) For just remuneration of work, for the participation of workers in the revenues of an enterprise. The worker will receive a wage that is necessary to meet the material and spiritual needs of his entire family. During annual reviews of the economic condition of an enterprise, each worker will receive a bonus (a portion of the annual revenues due to him) from economic-cooperative enterprises, and a premium – from national-state [enterprises].

c) For free work, free choice of profession, free choice of work.

d) For freedom of trade unions. For the destruction of Stakhanovism, socialist competition, the raising of quotas, and other methods of exploiting workers.<sup>16</sup>

4. For free trades, for the voluntary unification of workers in workshops, for the right of tradesmen to leave a workshop and to perform work individually, and to manage their earnings freely.

5. For the national-state organization of large-scale trade, for public-cooperative petty trade and for petty private trade, for free marketplaces.

6. For women's complete equality with men in all civic rights and duties; for women's free access to all schools, to all professions; for women's priority right to less arduous physical labour, so that a woman will not seek a living in mines, pits, and other heavy industries and, as a result of this, does not ruin her health. For state care for motherhood. In addition to his work wage, the father of a family will receive an additional payment for the support of his wife and underage children. Only in such conditions will a woman have the ability to carry out her important, respected, and responsible duty as a mother and as the person bringing up the younger generation.

<sup>16</sup> Stakhanovism was a movement intended to encourage increases in labour productivity. Organized at the start of the second Soviet Five-Year Plan in 1935, it took its name from a coal miner, Aleksei Stakhanov, who allegedly mined 102 tons of coal in under six hours.

7a) For mandatory high school education. For raising the education and culture of the broad popular masses through the expansion of the network of schools, publishing houses, libraries, museums, cinemas, theatres, etc.

b) For the expansion of higher and professional schooling, for the unceasing growth of highly qualified cadres in all spheres of life.

c) For young people's open access to all institutions of higher learning. For providing students with stipends, food, housing, and school supplies.

d) For the comprehensive, harmonious development of the younger generation – moral, intellectual, and physical. For free access to all the scholarly/scientific and cultural achievements of humanity.

8. For respect for the work of the intelligentsia. For the creation of the moral foundations of work such that the intellectual, being completely free of worry about the next day and about the fate of his family, can devote himself to culturally creative work, has the necessary conditions for work on himself, [can] constantly perfect his knowledge and raise his cultural level.

9a) For the complete upkeep of all working people in their old age and in the event of sickness or crippling.

b) For the widespread introduction of health care; for the expansion of the network of hospitals, sanatoriums, spas, and rest buildings; for the growth of physicians cadres. For the right of working people to cost-free access to all health establishments.

c) For the state's particular care for children and young people, for the expansion of a network of children's nurseries and kindergartens, sanatoriums, rest camps, and sports organizations. For providing all children and young people with state institutions that offer care and upbringing.

10a) For freedom of print, word, thought, conviction, faith, and world perception. Against the official imposition on society of doctrines and dogmas of world perception.

b) For open recognition and performance of religions that do not challenge public morality.

c) For the separation of church organizations from the state.

d) For cultural relations with other peoples, for the right of citizens to go abroad for studies, medical treatment, and to learn about the life and cultural achievements of other peoples.

11. For the full right of national minorities to foster their own national culture according to its form and content.

12. For equality of all citizens of Ukraine regardless of their nationality, state, and civic rights and duties, for equal right to work, a living wage, and rest.

13. For a free Ukrainian culture in form and content; for heroic spirituality [and] lofty morals; for civic solidarity, friendship, and discipline.

*Political Resolutions**A. Concerning the international situation*

1) The current war is a typical conflict between competing imperialisms for world domination according to a new division of material wealth, for the acquisition of new raw materials bases and sales markets, and for the exploitation of manpower.

2) The warring imperialisms are not bringing the world any progressive political or social ideas. In particular, the so-called German New Europe and the Muscovite Soviet Union are the negation of the rights of peoples to free political and cultural development within their own states, and they are bringing political and social enslavement to all peoples. Therefore, the victory over imperialism in the current war and the construction of the world on imperialistic principles would be only a fleeting respite in the war and quickly lead to new clashes between the imperialisms against the background of the division of military spoils and new disputes. On the other hand, the revolutionary liberation movements of the peoples that are enslaved by these imperialisms would become the germ of new conflicts and revolutions. Thus, victory over the imperialisms in the current war would lead to chaos, to further sufferings of the millions-strong masses of enslaved peoples.

3. At the present moment the current imperialistic war has entered a decisive stage, which is characterized by:

- a) The depletion of the strength of the imperial powers.
- b) The rise of contradictions between the imperial powers.
- c) The rise of the struggle of the enslaved peoples.

At the same time the current war is an external, auxiliary factor that is bringing the national and social revolutions of the enslaved peoples that much closer.

4. The reactionary and anti-people plans of racist German imperialism to enslave other peoples, the terroristic German methods in the occupied territories, and the struggle of the enslaved peoples against the so-called “New Europe” have accelerated the utter political failure of German imperialism. Now, Germany is also approaching inevitable military defeat from the blows of its imperialistic opponents and as a result of the revolutionary struggles of the enslaved peoples.

5. Moscow, ideologically and politically compromised and materially weakened, is taking advantage of the Germans’ terroristic policy in the occupied territories and the Allies’ deliveries in order to prolong the war.

Under the smokescreen of warmed-over Slavophilism – that is, the defence of the “fatherland” and pseudo-revolutionary communist phraseology – the Bolsheviks want to implement the goals of Muscovite imperialism – to conquer Europe and, later, the entire world. The springboard for the realization

of Moscow's imperialistic plans is Ukraine with its natural wealth. The other bases in the plans of Muscovite imperialism are the Balkans, the Baltic countries, and Scandinavia.

It is only the fear of German occupation and domestic Stalinist terror that is compelling the warriors to continue fighting. The immense losses of human life and military equipment are deepening the internal crisis of the Muscovite imperialistic regime. The country's acute food situation, the Allied landing in Europe, and the threats to the Bolsheviks' plans from that direction are forcing the Bolsheviks to speed up their offensive.

6. Apart from the differences that exist among the Allies, they are waging war for the destruction of their mutual competing opponents, first and foremost German imperialism. The Allies' next task is the destruction of Japanese imperialism. For the destruction of those opponents the Allies are making the most of Muscovite imperialism and will continue to try and exploit it as long as possible. At the same time, it is not in the Allies' interests for the Bolsheviks to gain control over Europe, and in the current war they are striving to weaken and, later, to smash Muscovite imperialism. The continuation of the war on the Eastern Front and the mutual destruction of the German and Muscovite imperialisms are proceeding according to Allied interests. The Allies' goal on the European continent, especially England, is to smash or at least to essentially weaken all the great states of Europe and to build an order that would ensure them a decisive voice in Europe and complete freedom for Anglo-Saxon political and economic influences. In order to realize these goals, the Allies are gaining control or are striving to gain control over the most important bases encircling Europe or in Europe itself (Sicily, the Apennine and Balkan peninsulas, Scandinavia, the Caucasus).

7. The enslaved peoples and their liberation struggles are one of the most important elements in the further development of the current political situation. At the present moment, the military superiority of the imperialisms is still hindering the manifestation of the forces of the enslaved peoples.

But the forces of the enslaved peoples are strengthening in proportion to the deepening military crisis, and the moment of national and social revolutions is approaching, and the enslaved peoples are becoming a new, decisive political factor. Only on the platform of a new political conception of the enslaved peoples, which is a counterweight to the conception of imperialism – guaranteeing all peoples the right to their own national state and ensuring social justice for them – can a just order be built and an enduring peace maintained among peoples.

8. Germany's imminent military collapse in the East and the complete ideological-political discreditation of Muscovite imperialism are placing before the enslaved peoples of the East the task of struggling against the imperialistic

persecutors in the name of the reconstruction of the East on new principles of the will of peoples and their self-determination in free, independent states and the liberation of people and individuals from political oppression and economic exploitation. Only through the national and social revolutions of the enslaved peoples of the East, which will take place under the flag of new, progressive ideas and the struggle of peoples against the imperialisms, will Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism be destroyed.

9. Ukraine stands at the centre of the current imperialistic war. The Muscovite and German imperialists are fighting for domination over Ukraine and its exploitation. At the same time Ukraine, as the bearer of progressive ideas among all the enslaved peoples, is becoming a decisive factor in the preparation of a revolution in the East. Ukraine was the first in the East to raise the flag of a decisive struggle of enslaved peoples against the imperialists, and it will launch a period of national and social revolutions. Bolshevism can only be smashed by the joint struggle of the Ukrainian people and other enslaved peoples of the East. The restoration of the Ukrainian State will ensure the restoration and enduring existence of the national states of the other peoples of Eastern, Southeastern, and Northern Europe and the enslaved peoples of Asia. Only the existence of the Ukrainian State can ensure the existence of those peoples, which in mutual understanding and cooperation based on the principles of the right of all peoples to their own state, on a just social order and economic independence, will be able to organize resistance to all encroachments of imperialisms that are inimical to them. Lasting peace and the peaceful national, social, and cultural development of those peoples can thus be ensured.

### *B. Concerning the domestic situations in the Ukrainian lands*

#### *1. External factors*

10. Regardless of the blows that Germany has thus far received on all the fronts, its policy in the occupied Ukrainian lands is still proceeding along the line of the complete political enslavement and merciless colonial-economic plunder of the Ukrainian people.

11. In spreading decay among the Ukrainian people, provoking the Germans' blows, and destroying the Ukrainian independence-seeking element, Bolshevik agents of Muscovite imperialism in the Ukrainian lands (the Bolshevik partisan struggle, the so-called "People's Guard") are preparing the occupation of all the Ukrainian lands by the Bolsheviks.

12. The remnants of White Russian imperialism (Vlasov, the Union of Russian Officers) do not constitute an independent political force. In serving foreign imperialists and seeking to restore the reactionary-landowner-capitalist order,

they do not have any political influence among the Ukrainian people, but they are propelling the Russian element towards Bolshevism.<sup>17</sup>

13. The Polish imperialistic leadership is the lackey of foreign imperialisms and an enemy of the will of the peoples. It seeks to harness the Polish minorities in the Ukrainian lands and the Polish popular masses to a struggle against the Ukrainian people, and is helping German and Muscovite imperialism to exterminate the Ukrainian people.

14. Ukraine's national minorities, conscious of their shared destiny with the Ukrainian people, are waging a struggle with them for the Ukrainian State.

### *II. The Domestic Ukrainian situation*

15. The current period of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle is marked by a great rise in national consciousness and political activism in all the lands, which are manifested in:

a) The connection between the popular masses and the revolutionary liberation program and tactic of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

b) The direct participation of the masses in the struggle, particularly in its new self-defence and military forms.

c) All attempts of the opportunistic camp to misdirect the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle for the Ukrainian State towards collaboration with the occupying imperialisms, and to join the Ukrainian liberation cause to the plans of those imperialisms, have been shattered against the decisive resistance of the Ukrainian popular masses.

17. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is the sole, completely independent, and free leader of the Ukrainian people's revolutionary liberation struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State.

### *C. Our Goals*

18. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for the Ukrainian Independent United State, for the right of all peoples to their independent state existence, for the liberation from imperialisms of the enslaved peoples, for the establishment of a just political and social order.

### *D. The Methods and Forms of Our Struggle*

19. The only path to the realization of our goals is the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and of all other enslaved peoples against the imperialisms of Berlin and Moscow, which will hasten the defeat of both imperialisms and

17 General Andrey Vlasov was the leader of the collaborationist Russian Army of National Liberation. He was hanged in Moscow's Lubyanka prison, 1 August 1946. See Catherine Andreyev, *Vlasov and the Russian Liberation Movement: Soviet Reality and Émigré Theories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).



lead to the restoration of their national states through the national revolutions of the enslaved peoples.

20. The Ukrainian people will achieve the Ukrainian Independent United State only through a common struggle. Therefore, our task is to recruit the broadest possible popular masses to the systematic, active struggle. In the current pre-revolutionary period the enlistment of the popular masses to the struggle is taking place in the form of their active participation:

- a) In political actions.
- b) In self-defence actions.
- c) In military actions.

21. In striving for the unification of the Ukrainian people, today we are orienting ourselves towards elements that are adept at revolutionary struggle. The unification of the Ukrainian people will be achieved only through a struggle.

22. The Ukrainian people's armed force is the basic prerequisite of victory in its struggle for the Ukrainian Independent State.

23. We will achieve our goals only by going beyond the borders of Ukraine and linking our struggle for the Ukrainian State with the struggle of other peoples that are enslaved or endangered by imperialisms, particularly the peoples of the East, the Baltic countries, and the Balkans, promoting and implementing our struggle of freedom for nations and people and the right of every nation to its independent national state, and opposing reactionary conceptions and plans of imperialisms.

24. The Ukrainian people's organized armed and political strength is the sole guarantee of our successes in the external sector of our struggle.

25. In waging a struggle against Ukraine's imperialistic oppressors, we are for the elimination of all secondary fronts. In our relations with neighbouring peoples we are relying on cooperation with their popular masses and with their revolutionary non-imperialistic elements, and we are combating all fellow travellers of imperialisms.

#### *E. Our Attitude to Territorial-Political Changes in the Ukrainian Lands*

26. The warring imperialisms in the East, Berlin and Moscow, are heading towards self-destruction. The territorial-political changes in the East and the shift of fronts and borders are now and will be only a sign of the temporary configuration of forces between the imperialisms, and they do not demonstrate the capacities of the imperialisms to establish long-term control over the East and to set it in order. The only organic and reliable force in the East is the forces of the enslaved peoples that are striving for national and social revolutions and for the restoration of their national states. Today their struggle is being directed at undermining the forces of Muscovite and Bolshevik imperialisms.

We will wage a struggle for the realization of our goals regardless of all possible territorial-political changes in the East.

We acknowledge the occupation of the Ukrainian lands by the Bolsheviks as a systematic, active struggle in all those forms that lead to the collapse of the state apparatus of Muscovite imperialism and facilitate the growth of the Ukrainian people's organized forces in their struggle for the Ukrainian Independent State. The organized and systematic participation of the popular masses in the active struggle under the new Bolshevik occupation is the sole method for safeguarding the Ukrainian people from physical extermination by the Bolsheviks and achieving the Ukrainian Independent State. We will be waging our struggle in all the Ukrainian lands occupied by the Bolsheviks, as well as beyond Ukraine's borders in close cooperation with other enslaved peoples.

Our attitude to all external forces is dependent on their attitude to the idea of Ukrainian statehood.

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HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 62-70.

## DOCUMENT 5: LEAFLET: WHAT THE UPA IS FIGHTING FOR

*What the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Is Fighting For*<sup>18</sup>

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is fighting for the Ukrainian Independent United State and for every nation to live a free life in its own independent state. The destruction of national enslavement and the exploitation of one nation by another, a system of free nations in their own independent state, is the only order that will provide a just solution to the national and social question in the entire world.

The UPA is fighting against imperialists and empires because in them one ruling nation enslaves other nations culturally and politically, and exploits [them] economically. Therefore, the UPA is fighting against the USSR and against the German New Europe.

The UPA is fighting with all determination against internationalist and fascist-national socialist programs and political conceptions because they are the tool of the imperialists' policies of conquest. That is why we are against Russian communo-Bolshevism and against German National Socialism.

The UPA is against one nation implementing imperialistic goals, "liberating, taking [other nations] under their protection, care," because these crafty words conceal a hideous content – enslavement, violence, robbery. Therefore, the UPA is fighting against the Russian-Bolsheviks and German invaders until such time as it will cleanse Ukraine of all "caretakers" and "liberators," until it attains the Ukrainian Independent United State, in which the peasant, worker, and intellectual will be able to live and develop in a free, prosperous, and civilized manner.

The UPA is for the Ukrainian people's total liberation from the Muscovite-Bolshevik yoke, for the construction of a USSD without landowners, capitalists, and without Bolshevik commissars, the NKVD, and party parasites.

In the Ukrainian State the government will regard the interests of the people as its supreme duty – without aggressive goals and the enslavement of countries and enslaved peoples in its state. The National Government of Ukraine will not expend time, energy, and funds on creating an apparatus of oppression. The National Government of Ukraine will channel all economic resources and all human energy to the building of a new state order, just social order, to the economic construction of the country and the cultural elevation of the people.

18 The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was established late in 1942, its symbolic founding date commemorated as 14 October 1942. Commanded by General Taras Chuprynka until his death in March 1950 and by Vasyl Kuk until his capture by the Soviets in 1954.

Ukrainian peasants, workers, and intellectuals are fighting in the ranks of the UPA against the oppressors, for the USSD, for national and social liberation, for a new state order and new social order:

1a) For the destruction of the Bolshevik exploitative system of serfdom in the organization of agriculture. Departing from the fact that the land belongs to the people, the Ukrainian State Government will not impose a single form of land exploitation on the peasants. Therefore, in the Ukrainian State the individual and collective use of land, dependent on the will of the peasants, will be permissible.

b) For the free transfer to the peasants in the western Ukrainian oblasts of all landowners, monastic, and church lands.

2a) For great industry to be national state property, and small industry – cooperatively public.

b) For the participation of workers in the management of plants, for the professional, not commissar Party, principle in management.

3a) For a general eight-hour workday. Overtime work can only be voluntary, like any work in general, and the worker will receive separate pay for it.

b) For a just work wage, for workers' participation in the enterprise's profits. The worker will receive a wage that is necessary for meeting the material and spiritual needs of his entire family.

During an enterprise's annual economic summaries, each worker will receive: a dividend in economic-cooperative enterprises and in national state [enterprises] – a bonus.

c) For free work, free choice of profession, free choice of workplace.

d) For freedom of trade unions. For the destruction of Stakhanovism, socialist competition, the raising of quotas, and other methods of exploiting workers.

4a) For free trades, for the voluntary unification of tradesmen in a workshop, for the right of a tradesman to leave a workshop and to carry out work individually and to dispose freely of his own income.

5) For the national-state organization of great trade, for public-cooperative petty trade, and for petty private trading, for free bazaars.

6) For women's complete equality with men with regard to all civic rights and duties; for women's free access to schools, to all professions; for women's priority right to physically light labour, so that a woman does not have to seek wages in mines, smelting houses, and other heavy industries, and as a result of this, ruin her health. For the state protection of motherhood. The father of a family will receive, in addition to his work wage, an additional payment to support his wife and underage children. Only in such conditions will a woman be able to carry out her important, honourable, and responsible duty as a mother and the person raising the younger generation.

7a) For mandatory secondary education. For the raising of the education and culture of the broad popular mass by expanding the network of schools, publishing houses, libraries, museums, cinemas, theatres, etc.

b) For the expansion of higher and specialist training, for the constant growth of highly qualified cadres of specialists in all spheres of life.

c) For young people's free access to higher educational institutions. For providing students with stipends, food, housing, and educational implements.

d) For the comprehensive, harmonious development of the younger generation – moral, intellectual, and physical. For free access to all of mankind's scientific and cultural achievements.

8a) For respect for the intelligentsia's work. For the creation of moral foundations of work such that an intellectual, being completely unconcerned about tomorrow and the fate of his family, can devote himself to culturally creative work and have the necessary conditions for [*sic*] develop himself, constantly enrich his knowledge, and raise his intellectual-cultural level.

9a) For the complete security of all working people in their old age and in the event of sickness or disability.

b) For the broad introduction of health care, for the expansion of the network of hospitals, sanatoriums, spas, and rest buildings. For the increase of physicians' cadres. For the right of working people to the free use of all health care institutions.

c) For special state care for children and young people; for the expansion of the network of nurseries and kindergartens, sanatoriums, rest camps; for encompassing all children and young people by state-legal care and upbringing.

10a) For freedom of print, work, thought, convictions, faith, and world perception. Against the official imposition on society of world perceptual doctrines and dogmas.

b) For the free recognition of cults [religions] that do not challenge public morals.

c) For the separation of church organizations from the state.

d) For cultural relations with other nations, for the right of citizens to go abroad for studies, medical treatment, and for learning about the life and cultural achievements of other nations.

11) For the complete right of national minorities to nurture their own culture, which is national in form and content.

12) For the equality of all citizens of Ukraine regardless of their nationality in terms of state and civic rights and duties, for the equal right to work, wages, and rest.

13) For a free culture that is Ukrainian in form and content, for heroic spirituality [and] high morals, for civic solidarity, friendship, and discipline.

### The Ukrainian Insurgent Army

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 1r–v.

DOCUMENT 6: PLATFORM OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME  
LIBERATION COUNCIL (UHVR)*Platform of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council*

July 1944

## I.

1. The Ukrainian national liberation movement, the creation of an Independent Ukrainian State, and the struggle for its consolidation in 1917–21 deepened national consciousness and intensified the political activism of the Ukrainian popular masses.

The collapse of the Ukrainian state as a result of foreign conquest, which was determined by the inadequate internal unification of the Ukrainian national forces, helped foreigners gain control over Ukraine. This domination was marked by unprecedented oppression, the mass plundering of the Ukrainian people, the reversion of the peasantry and workers to real serfdom accompanied by merciless exploitation and the destruction of millions of people by starvation and terror. This terrible and bloody period of troubled times taught the Ukrainian popular masses that no foreign political and social order will be to their benefit, and that only [*sic*] their own national sovereign state is the sole prerequisite and guarantee of normal life and the development of the nation and its culture, [and] the material and spiritual well-being of the popular masses.

2. The current war between the two total powers – Muscovite-Bolshevik and German-Hitlerite imperialisms – is being waged first and foremost in order to gain control over the Ukrainian lands as the springboard for ruling over Eastern and even all of Europe. Both of these powers are implacable foes of the idea of Ukrainian statehood. They occupy the positions of the total colonial exploitation of the Ukrainian lands and their populations. In wresting all the material and economic means of the country from the hands of the Ukrainian people, they are turning them into ignorant slaves. In pursuance of this goal they are mercilessly exterminating the national Ukrainian forces, destroying the national culture and the masses' national awareness, colonizing the land with a foreign population, and killing the Ukrainian population en masse or transporting it from Ukraine.

3. However, this war is also exhausting our enemies and leading them to social and political decay. This is creating favourable conditions for the liberation aspirations of enslaved peoples and will facilitate their ultimate victory.

4. Therefore, it is crucial:

a) in the vortex of the current all-out war, to preserve the Ukrainian people and their leading cadres from physical annihilation.

b) to lead them to a struggle for their liberation and their own sovereign state.

For the realization of these tasks, what is needed is a single, all-Ukrainian national front organized on the basis of the unification of all active national Ukrainian forces that seek a Ukrainian sovereign state.

Therefore, on the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was created during the process of the Ukrainian people's armed struggle against the occupiers' pillaging and violence against the Ukrainian civilian population, an all-Ukrainian leading centre was organized from among the representatives of all the Ukrainian lands and Ukrainian political milieux, under the name of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

### *II. The Goals and Tasks of the UHVR*

1. To unify and coordinate the actions of all the independentist-liberation forces of the Ukrainian people in all the lands of Ukraine and beyond them for the national liberation struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people, particularly against the Muscovite-Bolshevik and German-Hitlerite imperialisms, for the creation of the Ukrainian Independent United State (USSD).
2. To identify the ideological-programmatic guidelines of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle.
3. To direct the entire national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people all the way to the achievement of state independence and the creation of bodies of independent state power in Ukraine.
4. To represent, as the supreme all-Ukrainian centre, the current political struggle of the Ukrainian people in the land and abroad.
5. To create the first Ukrainian state government and to convene the first Ukrainian all-national representation.

### *III. The Main Ideological-Programmatic Principles*

The preservation of the life of the nation, national unity, and culture is the primary and highest goal of the entire healthy national organism.

The national sovereign state is the chief guarantee of the preservation of the life and normal development of the nation and the well-being of its citizens.

Therefore, at this time the Ukrainian nation should devote all its strength to achieving and consolidating its own state.

All politically active Ukrainian forces should consolidate themselves in the struggle for an independent Ukrainian state, eliminating all kinds of conflicting sociopolitical questions that, without the achievement of our own state, are not based on solid ground.

The struggle for a national independent state can be successful only on condition that it will be waged independently of the political influences of outside forces.

On that basis, the UHVR recognizes the following principles of its activity:

1. The UHVR aspires to the rebuilding of the Ukrainian Independent United State in all the lands of the Ukrainian people by means of a revolutionary struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people's state independence, particularly against the Bolshevik and German occupiers, and in cooperation with all supporters of such independence.
2. The UHVR is being created on the principle of the complete political independence of its aspirations from the influences of outside non-national forces and factors.
3. The UHVR unites all Ukrainian leading political elements independent of their ideological world perception and political-group affiliation, which occupy the position of the Ukrainian state's political sovereignty and political independence of Ukrainian political aspirations.
4. For the unification of the Ukrainian forces of national liberation in the struggle for the USSD, the UHVR adopts the following sociopolitical platform:
  - a) The safeguarding of the popular-democratic method of defining the political order in the Ukrainian state through general popular representation.
  - b) The safeguarding of freedom of thought, world perception, and faith.
  - c) The safeguarding of the development of Ukrainian national culture.
  - d) The safeguarding of a just social order in the Ukrainian state without class exploitation and oppression.
  - e) The safeguarding of genuine legality in the Ukrainian state and the equality of all citizens before the law.
  - f) The safeguarding of the civic rights of all national minorities in Ukraine.
  - g) The safeguarding of the right to equal opportunities for education for all citizens.
  - h) The safeguarding of free initiative in economic work activities for all citizens, regulated by the requirements and needs of the entire nation.
  - i) The safeguarding of a free form of land exploitation work, along with the designation of the minimum and maximum dimensions for individual land exploitation.
  - j) The socialization of Ukraine's main natural resources: lands, forests, waters, and underground wealth, with the transfer of free lands to working grain-producing farms for permanent use.
  - k) The nationalization of heavy industry and heavy transport, the transfer to cooperative associations of light and food industries, the right to broad, free cooperation among small producers.
  - l) The safeguarding of free trade within limits fixed by legislation.
  - m) The safeguarding of the free development of trades and the right to create individual tradesmen's shops and enterprises.
  - n) The safeguarding of the right to free work for manual and white-collar workers and the safeguarding by social legislation of the interests of peasants and workers.



5. The UHVR will wage its struggle for the USSR in alliance with all the enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia who are fighting for their liberation and recognize Ukraine's right to political independence.
6. The UHVR seeks understanding and peaceful coexistence with all of Ukraine's neighbours on the principle of the mutual recognition of the right to their own states in the ethnographic lands of each people.

June 1944 [*intentionally misdated for conspiratorial reasons*]

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 5, fols. 1-2v.

DOCUMENT 7: THE UNIVERSAL OF THE UKRAINIAN  
SUPREME LIBERATION COUNCIL*The Universal of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council**Ukrainian People!*

By means of the revolutionary rising [and] the weapons of your finest sons, in 1917–18, on the ruins of the then imperialisms that were enslaving you, you erected a Temple of Freedom, the Ukrainian State.

Harsh winds were fluttering your victorious flags above all the lands of Ukraine. The roar of Slavuta-Dnipro, the breakers of the Black Sea waves, the rustle of the steppe feather-grass, and the mysterious hum of the Carpathian and Polissian forests blended into a single symphony and sang a joyful song of Freedom's Victory. Your age-old foes destroyed this holy Temple of yours, but you, the Ukrainian people, preserved it in your soul as the sacred Idea of your forefathers.<sup>19</sup>

For two decades you championed your struggle courageously. For the freedom of the Ukrainian Land, for your own independent state. You suffered millions of losses.

For the fifth year in a row the storm of war is raging and rolling through the Ukrainian lands.<sup>20</sup> The Ukrainian earth is shuddering beneath the huge regiments of enemy troops. They are not waging this bloody and cruel massacre for your liberation, Ukrainian people, they are bringing you only destruction, enslavement, and death. But you did not surrender, but launched a bloody struggle against all of Ukraine's occupiers. On guard for its freedom, you arrayed armed cadres of your sons – the *Ukrainian Insurgent Army* – from the peaks of the Carpathians all the way to the Don River and the Caucasus.

*Ukrainian People!*

The era of the National Liberation Revolutions is nigh. In their never-ending revolutionary struggle the enslaved peoples of East and West await the moment to build a new, free life on the ruins of the enemy imperialisms.

19 The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was declared in February 1919 and admitted into the USSR on 30 December 1922. Soviet Ukraine incorporated western Ukrainian lands taken from the Republic of Poland on 15 November 1939, and was admitted to the United Nations as a founding member on 24 October 1945. Originally, Kharkiv was the capital city of Soviet Ukraine (from December 1919 until January 1934).

20 The Second World War began on 1 September 1939 and ended, in Europe, on 8 May 1945. Soviet literature references the "Great Patriotic War," which began with the Nazi invasion of the USSR on 22 June 1941 and ended on 9 May 1945.

The Ukrainian people are entering the decisive stage of their struggle. The moment is approaching, for which generations of Ukrainians have awaited for centuries, the moment when our fate will be decided.

The current generation of Ukrainians may be proud that they are the very ones who will complete the building of a Ukrainian state in the heroic struggle and realize their ancestral testament.

The gigantic task of the Ukrainian state demands even greater determination, ever more devotion to the cause, and, above all, the unification of all independent revolutionary forces under a single leadership.

In order to unite all the national liberation forces of the Ukrainian people so that a single centre will direct our liberation struggle, in order to represent the will of the Ukrainian people before the outside world, and in order to oppose the attempts of the enemies of the Ukrainian state to smash the sole independent Ukrainian front, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council is being formed, which from this day forward is taking upon itself the leadership of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle.

Within the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council are gathered all the representatives of all actively functioning revolutionary liberation forces of contemporary Ukraine and leading individuals from Ukrainian political milieux, which at the present moment have acknowledged the completely independent platform of the Ukrainian people's revolutionary struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State as the sole correct one and will be bringing it to life.

All the truly independence-seeking and free forces of Ukraine can belong to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council regardless of their world perceptual and political-group designation – those who are ready to fight for a *Sovereign Ukrainian State*.

The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council is the highest ruling body of the Ukrainian people in the period of the revolutionary struggle, until the creation of the government of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

We, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, swear to You, the Ukrainian people:

Our goal is the Ukrainian Independent United State in the Ukrainian ethnographic lands.

Our path is the revolutionary-liberation struggle against all occupiers and oppressors of the Ukrainian people.

We will fight in order for you, the Ukrainian people, to be the ruler in your land.

We will fight in order to ensure the participation of all the Ukrainian people in the designation of the future state order of the USSD and its Constitution.

We will fight for a just social order without oppression and exploitation.

On the altar of this struggle we place our work and our life.

We believe in your healthy forces, Ukrainian people: they are the guarantee of our victory.

We welcome the struggle of other enslaved peoples for their liberation. With them, especially with our neighbours, we desire to live in good-neighbourly relations and in a joint struggle, on condition that they respect the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

We appeal to all national minorities living in the Ukrainian lands to join the Ukrainian liberation struggle. We guarantee them full civic rights in the Ukrainian state.

*Ukrainian People!*

We are aware that the coming struggle will demand even more determination and heroism from you, and, above all, unshakeable faith in your *Truth*. We believe that you *Will Not Shame Your Land!*

We believe that you will be a worthy heir of the princely knights and Cossack glory!

*The Heroic Struggle of Your Forefathers for a Ukrainian State Is Your Command!*

Therefore, we appeal to you:

*Unite in Your Struggle. Gird Yourself in Your Faith!*

*Glory to Ukraine!*

The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council

*Billets*, July 1944

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 5, fol. 3r-v.

## DOCUMENT 8: THE UHVR'S STRUCTURE

*The Temporary Configuration of the UHVR*

July 1944

I. *The General Foundations of the UHVR*

1. The UHVR is the supreme body of the Ukrainian people in its revolutionary liberation struggle for the USSR.
2. The source of the UHVR's power is the destiny of the Ukrainian people, manifested in the independentist struggles of all the active forces of the people.
3. The UHVR:
  - a) consolidates the independentist sociopolitical elements.
  - b) coordinates the functioning of politically active milieux.
  - c) directs the liberation struggle, designates the course of Ukrainian statehood policy and directs it.
  - d) represents the Ukrainian nation and its struggle for statehood before the outside world.
4. A member of the UHVR may be a nationally active seeker of Ukrainian statehood with citizen status, who recognizes the political platform adopted by the Assembly of the UHVR and who is ready at all times to realize its program.
5. The UHVR consists of twenty-five members. The number of members may be enlarged by means of cooptation. Cooptation is carried out by:
  - a) The Grand Assembly of the UHVR .
  - b) The Presidium of the UHVR on a motion introduced by the General Secretariat.
6. An individual who voluntarily withdraws or is expelled by the UHVR is no longer a member of the UHVR.
7. A member of the UHVR may be expelled only by two-thirds of the UHVR. Between sessions of the Grand Assembly, the Presidium of the UHVR has the right to suspend a member's rights until such time as the earliest Grand Assembly resolves the question.
8. The UHVR functions through the following bodies:
  - a) the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.
  - b) the Presidium of the UHVR, headed by the president.
  - c) the General Secretariat, directed by the head.
  - d) the General Court headed by the general judge.
  - e) the Control Collegium headed by the general controller.
9. The UHVR also functions in the form of the Conference of the UHVR , which is conducted by the president of the UHVR .
10. The functioning of individual bodies of the UHVR will be fixed by internal

regulation books that are approved by the president in agreement with the general judge.

11. With regard to individual issues, all bodies of the UHVR may convene separate commissions, collegia, and bureaus.
12. The UHVR exists in the Ukrainian lands. It is to dispatch delegates abroad.

## *II. The Grand Assembly of the UHVR*

1. The supreme Ukrainian legislative power during the period of the revolutionary liberation struggle for the USSR is the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.
2. The Grand Assembly of the UHVR:
  - a) Adopts fundamental laws.
  - b) Considers and resolves basic political questions, designates the liberation policy line, establishes the program and tactics of the Ukrainian people's struggle.
  - c) Accepts reports on the activities of all UHVR bodies.
  - d) Establishes the directions of the functioning of all UHVR bodies.
  - e) Elects the President and seven members of the Presidium, the head of the General Secretariat, general judge, and the general controller.
  - f) Accepts the president's oath.
  - g) Co-opts new members and confirms those co-opted by the presidium.
  - h) Expels members.
3. The Ordinary Grand Assembly of the UHVR is convened by the president at least once a year.
4. The Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the UHVR is convened by the president:
  - a) On his own initiative.
  - b) On the proposal of the General Secretariat.
  - c) On the proposal of the general controller.
  - d) At the demand of one-third of the members of the UHVR.
5. The Assembly is opened by the president. The Assembly is led by an elected chairman of the Grand Assembly, who appoints additional members of the Presidium of the Assembly.
6. The legality of decisions of the Grand Assembly requires a quorum of at least one-half of the members of the UHVR.
7. All matters are decided by an ordinary majority of votes, but for expelling a member and approving a change to the structure, two-thirds of existing votes are required. To liquidate the UHVR, three-quarters of the votes of all active members of the UHVR are required.
8. In exceptional cases, the UHVR may also hand down a decision without convening an assembly according to the principle of individual voting.

## *III. The President and the Presidium of the UHVR*

1. The president heads the UHVR and represents it externally.

2. Competencies of the president of the UHVR:
  - a) He convenes and opens the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.
  - b) He conducts the Presidium of the UHVR and leads UHVR conferences.
  - c) He confirms the general secretaries, who are appointed by the head of the General Secretariat.
  - d) He confirms two members of the General Court, who are appointed by the general judge.
  - e) He confirms two members of the Control Collegium, who are appointed by the general controller.
  - f) He confirms the external delegates of the UHVR, who are proposed by the head of the General Secretariat, on the proposal of the general secretary of external affairs.
  - g) He dismisses secretaries from their posts on the proposal of the head of the General Secretariat.
  - h) He accepts the oath from the members of the Presidium, the Head of the General Secretariat, the general secretaries, the members of the General Court, and the members of the Control Collegium.
  - i) He has the right to dispense favours.
3. The President swears an oath before the Grand Assembly to the Presidium of the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.
4. The Presidium, headed by the president, is a body of the UHVR that functions between sessions of the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.
5. The Presidium consists of:
  - a) The president.
  - b) Three vice-presidents.
  - c) Four members of the Presidium.
6. The Presidium of the UHVR considers the political line, tactics, and practice of all the bodies of the UHVR and offers its assessment and proposals.
7. Competencies of the Presidium of the UHVR:
  - a) It issues proposals to convene an Assembly.
  - b) It co-opts new members of the UHVR on the proposal of the General Secretariat.
  - c) It suspends the member rights of UHVR members.
  - d) It accepts reports from the head of the General Secretariat, from individual general secretaries, from the General Court, and from the Control Collegium.

The time and manner of reporting is established by the Presidium by means of a separate arrangement in agreement with individual bodies of the UHVR.
8. The Presidium of the UHVR functions with a quorum of at least half the members of the Presidium, except for the president.
9. In the event of the Presidium's inactivity, its competencies and those of the

president himself are deferred to the earliest Grand Assembly of the UHVR, without the right of dismissing the head of the General Secretariat.

10. The Presidium issues its decision by means of an ordinary majority of votes. In the event of an even number of votes, the chairman has the deciding vote. In the event of a constitutional or political conflict, the Presidium has the right to demand the resignation of the head of the General Secretariat with a quorum of two-thirds of all members of the Presidium – three-quarters of the votes.

11. In the president's absence he is replaced by one of the appointed members of the Presidium, the next one according to the personal order, decided by the choice of the Grand Assembly. On the president's instruction he is replaced by a member of the Presidium, whom he designates.

12. In the event of resignation, death, or other long-term impediment to the performance of the president's functions, his competencies are transferred to the Presidium Collegium, which is formed automatically from the next three members of the Presidium of the UHVR.

13. The Presidium Collegium has a temporary character and is obliged to convene a Grand Assembly of the UHVR as early as possible.

14. The president and the Presidium of the UHVR are responsible to the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.

#### *IV. The General Secretariat of the UHVR*

1. The General Secretariat is the executive body of the UHVR.

2. The General Secretariat consists of:

- a) The head of the General Secretariat.
- b) The secretary of internal affairs.
- c) The secretary of external affairs.
- d) The secretary of military affairs and the commander of the Armed Forces.
- e) The secretary of financial-economic affairs.
- f) And other secretaries.

3. The Head of the General Secretariat is elected by the Grand Assembly of the UHVR.

4. General secretaries are appointed by the head of the General Secretariat and confirmed by the president of the UHVR.

5. The positions of general secretaries may be combined.

6. The General Secretariat prepares reports on its activities for the Presidium of the UHVR.

7. The General Secretariat and individual general secretaries are accountable to the Grand Assembly of the UHVR and report to it on its activities.

8. With regard to discipline, secretaries are accountable to the head of the General Secretariat and the president.

9. On the proposal of the head of the General Secretariat, the president dismisses secretaries from their positions.



10. The General Secretariat functions in a collegial fashion and decides by means of a majority of votes. In the event of an even number of votes, the head of the General Secretariat has the deciding vote.
11. The head may assign the temporary replacement in the functions of the head of the General Secretariat to one of the general secretaries.
12. In the event of resignation, death, or other long-term impediment to the performance of the functions of the head of the General Secretariat, the president and the Presidium, the general judge, the general controller, and the general secretaries elect a temporary head of the General Secretariat.
13. The legal force of lawful state acts is valid only with the signature of the president and the head of the General Secretariat.

#### *V. The General Court*

1. The legal-executive body of the UHVR for acting in its name is the General Court comprised of the general judge and two members of the General Court.
2. The general judge is elected by the Assembly of the UHVR. Two other members of the Court are appointed by the general judge and confirmed by the president of the UHVR.
3. The General Court is accountable to the Grand Assembly of the UHVR for carrying out its tasks.
4. In the event of resignation, death, or other long-term impediment to the performance of the general judge's functions, the president and the Presidium, the general controller, the head of the General Secretariat, and the members of the General Court elect a general judge.

#### *VI. The Control Collegium*

1. The control-executive body of the UHVR is the Control Collegium, comprised of the general controller and two members of the Control Collegium.
2. The general controller is elected by the Grand Assembly of the UHVR. Two other members of the Control Collegium are appointed by the general controller and are confirmed by the president of the UHVR.
3. The Control Collegium scrutinizes the financial and economic activities of all the bodies of the UHVR. In particular, it oversees the financial and economic policies of the General Secretariat.
4. In the event of resignation, death, or other long-term impediment to the performance of the general controller's functions, the president and the Presidium, the general judge, the head of the General Secretariat, and the members of the Control Collegium elect a general controller.

DOCUMENT 9: DECLARATION OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP AT  
THE END OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR IN EUROPE

*Declaration of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists at  
the End of the Second World War in Europe*

With the collapse of German imperialism of infamous memory and in connection with the end of the second imperialist war in Europe, which constitutes a separate historical period, and, further, in connection with the existing reality in the Ukrainian lands, which is marked by the armed struggle of the popular masses against the brutal Bolshevik occupation, as well as in connection with the outline of a new constellation in the international arena, which is manifesting symptoms of the next, third, world war, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), following an analysis of the international and domestic situation of the Ukrainian people and in full awareness of the gravity of the situation in which the Ukrainian people have found themselves, and aware of [the] historical responsibility that it is taking upon itself, hereby issues this declaration.

*I. Our Ideological-Political Foundations*

The values that became the sole unassailable truths of our (OUN) sixteen-year revolutionary liberation struggle were formed and tempered by fire, particularly in the Second World War. The main ones are:

1. The idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State, which is a clear-cut concept and cannot be replaced by any "Soviet Ukraines" or other types of examples of foreign imperialism.

2. The Ukrainian nation, which is the source of all actions and the end goal of all strivings. All attempts to place the Ukrainian people into a subordinate position with respect to such questions as class, race, or alliance of peoples lead, as a consequence, to imperialistic enslavement.

3. The political and military revolutionary organization, which in the liberation period forms the spine of the people and its leadership. Without such a force, based on the people and recognized by it, there is little point in talking about the nation's national and political maturity and in believing in the success of its striving to attain independence. The essence does not lie in the name of the organization, more or less acceptable to the wider world, but in the content, which organized Ukrainian society recognizes and the revolutionary liberation leadership implements. The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement was not and is not a concept equivalent to Italian fascism or German National Socialism because, in theory and in practice, it has placed itself in the position of an opponent of those doctrines.

4. Independent policies and orientation towards our own strength. A stateless people in a struggle for liberty can, and often must, have allies, but never imperialistic guardians. A political group that makes its liberation tactic dependent on the policies of a foreign state becomes harmful to the national liberation cause.

5. The revolutionary strategy and tactic of the liberation struggle, which alone has justified itself to this day in the Ukrainian reality. All efforts of Ukrainian Party factors to implement the liberation conception by a legal-opportunistic route have ended in complete failure. Even though the revolutionary camp has not achieved a state yet, through its actions and achievements it has clearly hastened the day of its rise, and today it has consistently implemented its chosen plan.

6. A progressive program that synthesizes all healthy social gains of the past and present, and bravely outlines directives that are organic for the people in the building of a new content of state life and a new classless society.

7. A common front of enslaved peoples against Russian Bolshevik imperialism as the sole, real international factor and ally in the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle.

8. An international system that will include free, independent states of all peoples without the individual supremacy of great states over small ones.

## *II. Summary of the Second European Imperialistic War*

1. The war that exploded in September 1939 and lasted until May 1945 was essentially waged between England and Germany for control over part of the world. England won this war. Meanwhile, conditions have emerged on the battlefield of Europe, which cast doubt on England's victory. In the place of imperialistic Germany has come a second European (Asian) imperialistic competitor, all the more fierce and dangerous for being swathed in the legend of the victory over Nazism and with the export of ideological-political baggage that finds a buyer also in the domestic markets of the British Empire. This is the new, restored Bolshevik Russia, which is successfully capitalizing on its victory on the ruins of Germany. Therefore, the war is not over for England, and the question of a third European war is arising before it in all its breadth.

2. On the ideological-political plane in this war, England formally opposed its democracy to German totalitarianism, and in the name of that democracy it appealed to the entire world to fight Hitler. It was joined by the USA (and other peoples), which defined its goals in the war in the existing Atlantic map. For the sake of that democracy's victory, England, followed by the USA, helped Bolshevik Russia in all ways to revive, thereby in fact leading to the victory of Bolshevik "democracy" in Europe, which is, in essence, Russian imperialistic totalitarianism, more reactionary and dangerous than German

[totalitarianism] because it cunningly masks itself with slogans from the democratic arsenal. Even today England is facing the task of consistently reinterpreting the very concept of democracy and, in future, [attempting] to de-Bolshevize Europe, which means an armed conflict with the USSR.

3. In this war England, followed by the USA, rose to the defence of their interests, opposing by armed means Hitler's attempts to create a pan-European system of the so-called "New Europe" under Berlin's hegemony. Today Stalin is liquidating the influences of England and the USA in individual European nations and, in fact, is preparing for the creation of a European alliance of Soviet republics under the hegemony of Moscow, as arrogant as Hitler's. And just like Hitler had Quisling, Laval ... and others, so Stalin has Groza, Tito ... and others.<sup>21</sup> The difference is only in name, not essence.

4. Although the war against German militarism led to its destruction, it created the grounds for the growth and completion of Russian militarism. In contrast to the first imperialistic war, when much was said about disarmament or about the reduction of arms, now the cult of military power is being blown up to unprecedented dimensions and huge armies armed to the teeth are being formed. Thus, the efforts to eliminate war as one of the methods of resolving international conflicts are but empty sound because, once each imperialism sets out on the rails of military super-production, it heads as a result towards a military showdown.

5. The creation of the United Nations international organization is not resolving in a positive spirit the vital cause of nations because the foundations on which this organization is based are unhealthy at their very root.<sup>22</sup> The transfer of the organization's permanent reins of power into the hands of three great states and the creation of inflexibility in its decisions through the process of voting, which precludes the weakening of the interests of any of the three great states, is ultimately the creation of a monopolistic trust with the goal of exploiting and assimilating small nations that are found within their spheres of

21 Vidkun Quisling headed the collaborationist Norwegian government under the Nazi occupation. He was executed on 24 October 1945. Pierre Jean-Marie Laval was a member of Marshal Philippe Pétain's collaborationist Vichy regime in France. He was executed on 15 October 1945. On 6 March 1945, Petru Groza became the first prime minister of a communist-dominated Romanian government established under Soviet occupation. Josip Broz Tito was a member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, commander of the Red partisans during the war, and president of Yugoslavia until his death in 1980.

22 The United Nations Conference on International Organization, commonly known as the San Francisco Conference, involved delegates from fifty Allied nations. It took place from 25 April 1945 to 26 June 1945 in San Francisco and resulted in the promulgation of the Charter of the United Nations and the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The Charter was signed by the USSR, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and the Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic.

influence. We do not doubt for a minute that this organization will not fulfill the role that it has declaratively assigned to itself.

6. Everything that is now taking place in the international arena reveals that many fundamental political problems remain unresolved in this war. Great ideas have become merchandise in the world's marketplaces, and the methods of German terror and enslavement have only been changed by [new] sign-boards. Once again, this proves that mankind is heading towards a new war, perhaps one that is even more brutal than before.

### *III. The Imperialistic Face of the USSR*

1. The most clearly defined imperialistic state in the world today is Bolshevik Russia. Under cover of "building socialism in one country," what has ensued is the forcible cementing of the populations of the nations in the USSR in the direction of creating the Russian nation through the introduction of a single language, culture, patriotism, messianism, and economic life. That is why Bolshevism today is in reality revived Russian nationalism with all its unhealthy imperialistic hallmarks.

2. As for the external world of Russian Bolshevik imperialism, it is manifested:

a) In the unilateral annexation of foreign lands (the territories of Finland, the Baltic states, and other lands) according to historical and strategic principles.

b) In the Bolshevik "democratization" of the European countries "liberated" by the Red Army, which, in fact, is preparation for their inclusion in the Muscovite colonial state as the next Union republics.

c) In interference in foreign internal affairs through the creation of Comintern-like trade unions and "societies of friendship with the USSR," which is, in fact, the creation of a fifth column in states that are drawn towards the centres of competing great states or at the centre of these great states.

d) In the promoting of the reactionary imperialistic ideas of Slavophilism and Orthodoxy in order to enlist individual countries culturally within the orbit of its influences on the basis of Slavic racism and religious centralism.

e) In the attempt to occupy, within the international organization of the United Nations, a permanent, leading position and, by means of the voting system and number of votes, to eliminate any kind of decision that is unacceptable to it.

f) In the more or less formal division of the world among the great states into individual spheres of influence.

3. Through his alliance with Hitler, Stalin obtained three European states (Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia) and expanded the territory of the USSR at the expense of three other states (Finland, Poland, and Romania). Through his alliance with England and the USA he obtained German and Austrian territories and firmly consolidated his positions in seven European states. This obvious attempt to expand territorially speaks for itself.

4. The concrete attempt to Bolshevize all of Europe is manifested in the Bolsheviks' undermining-sabotaging actions in Greece, France, Belgium, Italy, and other countries, where they take place under the slogans of social reconstruction, in the guise of workers' strikes, changes of governments, and the exploitation for their own interests of trials of war criminals, as well as in their relations with Spain, Portugal, and other neutral countries, which Moscow is seeking by all possible means to drive outside the framework of organized European life.

5. Today's USSR is a great military camp, in which everything functions in order to increase military potential through the further militarization of the country, arming and raising citizens in the spirit of conquest.

#### *IV. Anglo-Soviet Contradictions*

1. England was always against the strongest state in Europe. After the collapse of Germany the balance of power in Europe was disturbed, and Russia emerged as an unrivalled European power with all the hallmarks of an imperialistic state.

2. Bolshevik Russia is realizing itself and broadly promoting its socioeconomic system throughout the world, which system is diametrically opposite and self-excluding with respect to the socioeconomic system in England and generally in the West. The buildup of communist parties in European states is a grave warning for England.

3. Stalinist Russia takes advantage of every military respite for its grandiose armaments and the creation of its army because the terroristic and exploitative system of Bolshevik totalitarianism and dictatorship will enslave [its] population of 200 million to work for the next military Five-Year Plans. Neither England nor the USA, with their tolerance of strikes, the unemployment problem, and their liberal policies on internal affairs will be able to endure such a pace of armaments, and sooner or later they will be compelled to face the need for a military clash with the USSR.

4. The high tension areas in the English Empire are, above all, the Mediterranean Sea and India. Today in various ways Stalinist policies are reaching the Mediterranean Sea (Yugoslavia and, especially, the questions of Trieste, Greece, Turkey) and India (Molotov's declaration at the conference in San Francisco).<sup>23</sup>

5. On the other hand, to this day the English, together with the Americans, have succeeded in taking maximum advantage of the Bolsheviks to crush their

23 Vyacheslav Molotov served as the Soviet Union's minister for foreign affairs from 3 May 1939 to 4 March 1949 and again from 5 March 1953 to 1 June 1956. He signed the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact on 23 August 1939, providing for the invasion of Poland and distinct spheres of Nazi and Soviet influence in Eastern Europe. The Nazi-Soviet pact ended on 22 June 1941, when Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union.

German competitor and to make Stalin dependent on them through the system of loans and military shipments of weapons, ammunition, and food.

6. Today the English are hoping that the presence of the Bolsheviks in Europe will spark a dual process: 1) a reaction on the part of the “liberated” European countries to the Bolshevik occupation and b) the de-Bolshevization of Soviet citizens as a result of a direct encounter with Europe.

7. In the same way the Bolsheviks cannot long defer an armed reprisal against the bourgeois-capitalist Western great states because, first of all, Soviet citizens, who have been driven to the extreme limit of need and lawlessness, can refuse to obey (the revolutionary struggle of the enslaved peoples) and, second, the Bolsheviks know that each conclusion of a war in the democratic-bourgeois countries involves an economic crisis, and this is the best time for unfolding socialist revolutions – that is, a good background for the Red Army’s “liberating” mission.

8. As of the present day, harmony and friendship still exist formally between the Western Allies and the Bolsheviks, although even here minor conflicts are making themselves felt (in Poland, Argentina, Trieste) because the Anglo-Americans are still contemplating how to use the millions-strong Red Army troops in the struggle against Japan or in order not to be compelled to fight simultaneously against Japan and the USSR but to beat one after the other.

9. For England the international organization of the United Nations is essentially a tool of future action against the USSR, but for the USSR it is the hope that this tool will become a platform for its ideas in the struggle against the bourgeois-capitalist great states.

10. In socioeconomic questions we are against both the Bolshevik and the bourgeois-capitalist capitalists. We are interested in a possible war between the Western Allies and the USSR only in so far as it offers another opportunity for the enslaved peoples to liberate themselves from all manner of imperialism.

#### *V. The Front of Enslaved and Endangered Peoples*

1. The Bolshevik attempts to build a socially just and prosperous country of workers and peasants ended with the de facto creation of an oppressive system of state capitalism, and the workers and peasants were placed in conditions of destitution, exploitation, and lawlessness. With the goal of maintaining power in the hands of the Kremlin grandees, a process of creating a new ruling stratum began in the USSR, which is comprised of Stalinist overseers, medal-wearers, commissars, and political instructors, and, lately, military officers. Workers are forcibly attached to their work benches, and, by excessive work quotas, Stakhanovism, and socialist competition, they are exploited as slaves in conditions of horrible misery and police terror. A similar thing is happening to the peasants on collective farms, who work corvée-like workdays for an entire year for a piece of bread and, as a result, are starving.

2. Nothing remains of all the ideas of the past that were achieved at such a high cost during the period of the revolution. Fundamental democratic rights, like freedom of expression, publication, association, do not exist. Everything is controlled by the top Kremlin leadership through the mediation of the monopolistic Communist Party, thus creating a pure form of Party dictatorship.
3. The top Kremlin leadership has replaced the ideas of self-determination and separation of nations into independent states with administrative so-called "Union Republics," depriving individual nations of all political rights. All the latest innovations that have been introduced, for example, the creation of commissariats of defence and foreign affairs, serve only as a screen for duping foreigners and denationalized citizens.
4. Having adopted the position of "building socialism in one country," the Bolsheviks have completely switched to the tracks of Russian nationalism and imperialism. Russian or Russified imperialistic elements are guaranteed leading positions in all higher echelons of the party, administration, in the army, industry, and other areas. On the basis of the Russian language, Russian culture, patriotism, history, racism, and messianism, the Bolsheviks are seeking to create, out of all the nations and nationalities that live in today's USSR, a pure form of the new Soviet nation, which is essentially nothing more than the Russian nation.
5. Unleashed Stalinist imperialism, under the guise of the defence of the fatherland, of "liberation," Slavophilism, and pseudo-revolutionary phraseology, are propelling millions of Red Army soldiers towards the beacon of world revolution with the goal of disabling Europe, first of all, and later, the entire world, thickly covering its insane imperialistic path with the blood of fighters and the tears of the population.
6. The nations of the USSR, enslaved by the Stalinist dictatorial clique, are facing the entire breadth of the question of toppling the reactionary, anti-people regime through a revolutionary armed struggle and the creation of independent national states established according to ethnographic principles and the creation of an international order in keeping with the principles of just equality and neighbourly, friendly cooperation.
7. In the coming period the enslaved peoples of the USSR face the following tasks:
  - a) At every step to decode the imperialistic, reactionary, and oppressive nature of the Stalinist regime, and in particular to reveal the role of the Communist Party and the privileges of the ruling elite.
  - b) To organize revolutionary clandestine cells in all milieux of multifaceted life in the USSR.
  - c) To physically liquidate the most troublesome lackeys and agents of the Stalinist grandees.



d) To sabotage all “voluntary” loans, work that exceeds quotas, Stakhanovism, and socialist competition inspired or initiated by the party and the NKVD.

e) To counteract all political agitation work that the Communist Party and the government are conducting in workers, collective farm, and school milieux.

f) To create central leaderships of revolutionary liberation organizations within the framework of individual national milieux.

g) To merge with other similar clandestine-revolutionary organizations with the goal of creating a single front and implementing a single revolutionary strategy and tactic.

h) Following the example of Ukraine and other nations, to launch an armed struggle against the hateful Stalinist parasites in the name of the people’s self-defence and carry out an all-Union anti-Stalinist revolution.

8. The struggle of the enslaved peoples of the USSR will take place under the following revolutionary slogans:

– “For the destruction of Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism, which propels nations into succeeding wars.”

– “For the toppling of the dictatorship of the Stalinist Party clique.”

– “For the changeover of the oppressive Stalinist system and regime.”

– “For full democratization of state and social life.”

“For the establishment of national governments called to life by the free will of nations.”

– “For the realization of national-political self-determination and state separation.”

– “For the creation of a just international system that will be based on genuine friendship and cooperation under the slogan of ‘Freedom for nations and individuals.’”

9. Among the enslaved peoples of the USSR we also include the Russian nation. Imperialistic elements among the Russian people, which have entered the service of Stalin and his Party clique, have become in fact the enemies of their own people because they support a regime that has caused and is causing much grief to the Russian people, just like the imperialistic Nazi elements of the German nation brought their people to a tragic decline. Thus, all the nations of today’s USSR are marching in single file, without distinction of nationality, faith, and race, in the revolutionary liberation struggle against Stalinist-Bolshevik Russian imperialism.

10. The endangered peoples of Central and Southern Europe, recently “liberated” by the Red Army from German occupation, are being added to the front of enslaved peoples of the USSR. Those nations are facing the entire breadth of the question of an armed revolutionary defence against Stalin’s attempts to include them in the USSR. From the unification of these two fronts will arise a

bloc of enslaved and endangered nations that, as a result of their revolutionary actions, will cause the collapse of the [Soviet] Union's prison of nations and the creation of a free life on the ruins of Stalinist tyranny.

11. The enslaved and endangered nations and their revolutionary liberation struggle are one of the most important elements in the current situation. Tomorrow and in the future their importance will grow even more so that the international system will finally be changed to their own advantage.

#### *VI The Situation in Ukraine*

1. The Stalinist-Bolshevik policy of occupation in Ukraine is manifested in the following directions:

a) In the political enslavement of the Ukrainian nation, which generally boils down to the liquidation of Ukrainian independent statehood and the elimination of all kinds of independentist strivings and the reduction of the Ukrainian question to the level of a regional and administrative district of Russia.

b) In cultural assimilation, that is, above all, in the attempt to denationalize the Ukrainian people and later to Russify them by imposing the Russian language, culture, patriotism, traditionalism, racism, and messianism on the Ukrainian people with the goal of re-educating the people and creating a new Soviet mentality of a person – a robot – a slave.

c) In economic exploitation that is manifested in Ukraine's colonial situation in relation to the Muscovite colonial state, in the plunder of above-ground and underground riches, and in the individual exploitation of the labouring rank and file of Ukraine through excessive work and miserable wages.

d) In police terror, which, through collective, especially familial, responsibility; resettlement in the wilderness of Siberia and Kazakhstan; deportations to northern concentration camps, prisons, and executions; and then through roundups of people, blackmail, provocation, and secret denunciations crushes and paralyzes the people's attempts to free themselves from the hateful yoke.

2. In response to the brutal Bolshevik occupation, the Ukrainian people are waging a revolutionary liberation struggle that is manifested:

a) In a clandestine-revolutionary political struggle by organized national activists with the goal of preparing and carrying out an anti-Bolshevik national revolution.

b) In an armed revolutionary self-defence action of Ukrainian insurgent detachments, which, with the force of their weapons, are protecting the population from the terror of the NKVD guardsmen [*oprychnyky*] and paralyzing the occupier's efforts to implement his policy of occupation.

c) In the population's general resistance in connection with the forcible imposition of Bolshevik exploitative and anti-people social-state plans and experiments.

d) In the solidarity, mutual action, sacrifice, dedication, and heroism of all social strata in the struggle against the bloody aggressor.

3. For twenty-six years the Ukrainian nation has fought against the Russian Bolshevik occupier. On that heroic path it has suffered immense human losses, particularly among the leading national-political cadres. Leaders of the nation, scholars, writers, and poets have perished at the hands of the enemy; hundreds of thousands of the most nationally aware countrymen have perished or disappeared without a trace; millions of peasants, workers, and intellectuals have starved to death. A large bill of losses awaits its settlement.

4. In particular, the Muscovite Bolshevik occupiers have set about destroying the population of Ukraine's western oblasts by means of terror. Unable to affect the popular masses with their poisonous ideas, they sent thousands of their agents there, who began to convert [our] countrymen to their Bolshevik faith by means of the bloodiest terror. But the population of Ukraine's western oblasts has not broken but is superbly demonstrating its national and political maturity. Although it is making huge sacrifices in the unequal struggle, it is heading victoriously towards its goal.

#### *VII. Ukraine at the International Conference*

1. All this time, the Ukrainian people's efforts to emerge as a sovereign, equal player in the international arena have been paralyzed by the imperialistic aggressors, especially Bolshevik Russia, which destroyed Ukrainian state independence by force and pushed Ukraine into the status of a colony.

Today, the international conference in San Francisco has unanimously recognized Ukraine's right to participate in international life and, thereby, has unmasked Moscow's measures vis-à-vis Ukraine, even though today the Bolsheviks have risked Ukrainian [illegible word] for their own imperialistic advantages (number of votes). But we know that these calculations of Moscow will fail.

For us, facts are facts: Ukraine is in the international arena regardless of the direct reasons that were at work behind its invitation to San Francisco.

2. However, we protest most decisively against the representation of the Ukrainian people at the international conference by a delegation consisting of Stalinist-Bolshevik agents. If the foreign political world recognizes democratic principles, then to allow a Bolshevik delegation of secret agents as the sole representative of our people is the greatest violence against them and the Ukrainian people.

#### *VIII. In Response to Bolshevik Overtures*

1. In the struggle against the revolutionary liberation movement of the Ukrainian people the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers have also put in motion the tools of a huge propaganda-agitation apparatus, with which they have disseminated the following false accusations against it:

a) The lack of independence of the revolutionary liberation policy in the past and today.

b) Collaboration with the Germans during the German occupation, and German secret police activity today.

c) An anti-people attitude, fascism, and reaction.

2. Beginning with Hetman Mazepa, through the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, Moscow – White and Red – has always tarnished the liberation[ist], independentist Ukrainian policy with the accusation of being in the pay of foreign secret intelligence services and of venality: at one time it accused it of collaboration with the Swedes, then with the Poles, Turks, English, Austrians, and finally with the Germans. We know that in the past few centuries the Ukrainian national liberation policy was independent, and the accusation of being in the pay of foreign intelligence services should have been ascribed to those Ukrainian political factors that were oriented towards Russia. This does not mean that there were no people in Ukraine who were agents of foreign states, but the revolutionary camp, particularly in the last decades, did not have anything in common with them, and even less so today. Our revolutionary liberation policy was and is independent because basically we orient ourselves towards our own strength.

3. Already in the first days of the German occupation of the Ukrainian lands in 1941 the entire revolutionary Ukrainian camp ended up in the condition of a clandestine-conspiratorial struggle, and, with its uncompromising policy, it placed itself in the position of an enemy of German imperialism.<sup>24</sup> The direct preparation for an armed clash with the German occupier led to mass arrests and executions by shooting of the most distinguished members of the liberation movement. Not only did this not shake the fight-to-the-death attitude towards the Germans, it also led to the broad unfolding of an armed struggle. Beginning in 1942 until the final days of the German occupation in 1944, the UPA waged unequal battles against the Germans, protecting the population from the forcible transports to Germany and from the complete plunder of grain. We are decisively against our being placed in one line with all kinds of German lackeys, which, after all, are not lacking in any European nation today and, even more so, against accusations that we are in the pay of the German intelligence service.

<sup>24</sup> The Security Service (Sluzhba Bezpeky; SB) was established in 1940 by Stepan Bandera to serve as the secret service and counter-intelligence arm of the OUN. The SB's first commander was Mykola Lebed. The SB's development was led by Mykola Arsenych, its commander from 1941 until his death in 1947. On Soviet-era efforts to sow discord between the Jewish and Ukrainian diasporas, see Olga Bertelsen, "The KGB Operation 'Retribution' and John Demjanjuk," in *Russian Active Measures: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*, ed. Olga Bertelsen (Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2021), 93–136.

4. As a movement, we were born of the people, and we are heading towards our goal with the people. Our programmatic resolutions clearly state that we are fighting for a people's government, in which the interests of the people will occupy first place. In social reconstruction we will be aiming towards the construction of a classless society, wherefore we have stepped onto the most progressive path. We call ourselves revolutionary independentists because in the confrontation with Bolshevik internationalist doctrine and tactics we must clearly isolate our ideas and forms from the rotting Stalinist, reactionary world. For us, both fascism and Bolshevism are equally inimical, and thus it is no surprise that the Nazis called us Stalin's accomplices, and the Bolsheviks – Hitler's allies.

5. The luring of Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents to NKVD stations by offering promises to forgive "transgressions" is gross naiveté on the part of the Bolshevik party dictators. Whenever someone made the daring decision to join the struggle against the Stalinist regime, this was not done in order later to request favours from our fiercest enemies. And, after all, experience shows that those who believed Moscow and voluntarily surrendered their weapons perished physically or morally sooner or later.

#### *IX. What Next?*

1. We are aware that our liberation struggle is entering its most difficult period. On the great, sacred path of an enslaved nation's liberation struggle there are days of triumph and decline, and we should not make our actions dependent on a future settlement. As an active generation of the people, we are fulfilling our honourable duty regardless of whether we are given a crown of thorns or a laurel wreath. We believe in the strength and resurrection of Ukraine, and we know that with our actions we are hastening the approach of the day of national and social liberation. Even if we were to fall, our blood and deeds will give rise to succeeding fighters, who will continue the deed that has been initiated, just as we are continuing the labour and work of our parents. And we know and believe that the day of our victory is already at hand.

2. Although the war in Europe has ended, we affirm on the basis of the above analysis of the internal and international situations that events are developing in the direction of a successful conclusion of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle. However, several different conditions of the military respite have emerged, in which:

a) We need and must continue to wage an armed revolutionary struggle in the name of protecting the people from physical and moral destruction.

b) We have to be prepared for the worst in order to protect others and ourselves from destruction.

c) We must safeguard and build up a maximum of revolutionary forces until the next decisive moment.

d) We must launch a new peacetime, postwar style of revolutionary work and begin operating towards the long-term goal.

e) We must be where the fires of the revolutionary struggle are growing and must expand them.

f) We must raise new revolutionary cadres, young people who will gaze into the future with faith.

g) We must switch from mass forms of clandestine work to narrower, individual forms of conspiracy, from quantity to quality, from extensive to intensive work, deeply not widely.

h) We need skilful conspiracy, precision in clandestine work, clandestine-revolutionary art because then we will successfully go through the difficult period of the struggle.

i) We need to liquidate secondary fronts and minor misunderstandings with other harmonious forces in the name of a joint and protracted struggle against the common enemy.

3. The period of unforgettable revolutionary liberation struggles is behind us. We are proud of this mighty, heroic effort, for this desperate, courageous stance in the struggle against the Nazi and Stalinist tyrannies. The entire nation is rejoicing at the restoration of our armed revolutionary force, our Insurgent Army, which was born and is operating in such difficult conditions. Finally, we are proud of the immeasurable nationwide sacrifice for the Cause, for the friendly solidarity of all the strata and lands of Ukraine, for the earnest consolidation of the liberation-independentist forces, for the great advances of the Ukrainian National Revolution.

4. An immortal legend of the fighting, enslaved nation, which burns with a fiery torch in the hearts and minds of the people and lights the way into the future, has risen from the blood of those who fell on the battlefield in defence of their homes, families, and population, in the offensive against Gestapo and NKVD nests and detachments, in individual hand-to-hand combat during conspiratorial clandestine work, [and] from the blood of those who were tortured to death in prisons and camps. Ukraine lives and fights and is achieving victory by force of arms. May the glory of the fallen Heroes who laid down their lives on the altar of the nation be eternal!

5. We are pained by the sacrifices that the revolutionary struggle entails, but at the same time we know that without that struggle half of us, Ukrainians, or more, would perish. In the 1930s, in keeping with the plan of the Kremlin powers that be, millions of our countrymen starved to death in Ukraine just like, lately, in the ranks of the Red Army. Would it not have been better if these millions had met death at a dear cost in the struggle against the Bolshevik occupier?

6. We, the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, continue to remain with the people on the battlefield of our liberation war, in our

occupied lands. Shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionaries and insurgents we will march in the front line into the further struggle for freedom. We know and believe that the time is near for the ultimate liberation of the Ukrainian people and the creation of an independent state, and we are conveying this belief to the people. Together with the people we want to reach the ultimate Great Goal. We are still bearing and will continue to bear our majestic flag, on which these words are written:

“Death to the Bolshevik Occupiers!”

“Long Live the Front of Enslaved Peoples!”

“Eternal Glory to the Fallen Heroes!”

“Long Live the Ukrainian Independent United State!”

In May 1945, the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 83–90.

DOCUMENT 10: CLARIFICATIONS AND ADDENDA  
TO THE PROGRAMMATIC RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD  
EXTRAORDINARY GRAND ASSEMBLY OF THE OUN

*Concerning Clarifications and Addenda to the Decisions of the Third  
Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

The seven years that have elapsed since the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Third NVZ OUN) passed its Programmatic Resolutions have shown with full force what a great achievement these resolutions were. Life utterly confirmed their correctness and revealed that they fully reflect the interests of the Ukrainian people. In resolving all political and social questions in the spirit of justice and the people's demands, the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN made possible the enlistment and bringing together of the millions-strong popular masses in the organized struggle for liberation and the building of the Ukrainian Independent United State [and] ensured the great political growth and organizational expansion of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Along with this, life showed that the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN today require clarifications and addenda. This is completely understandable and natural. For the political organization that is growing and developing must also develop its program in order not to lag behind life, [in order to] introduce the corrections of time into it.

The addenda that were demanded by the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN have long been discussed in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. In August 1949 a meeting of the OUN leadership in the Ukrainian Lands formulated the draft of programmatic clarifications and addenda, and in June 1950, the Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian Lands adopted and confirmed the final texts of the clarified and supplemented program of the OUN.

These new programmatic clarifications and addenda in no way depart from the Programmatic Resolutions of the III NVZ OUN. They were adopted in complete accord with the spirit of these programmatic resolutions, and they are merely their further explication.

The clarifications and addenda concern the following basic points:

1 *Political questions.* The Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN were adopted in the conditions when the Ukrainian people [and] the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were engaged in an ardent struggle against the German aggressors, when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was unfolding its actions against them. This moment was also reflected in the



Programmatic Resolutions, the introduction to which clearly stated that the OUN is fighting against the German “New Europe,” against “German national socialism,” against the “German aggressors.”

Today these sections are no longer current, and the Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands deleted them from the Programmatic Resolutions. The introduction to the Program has been adapted to the current situation.

2 *Questions of the State Order.* In the period when the Third NVZ OUN was under way, questions of the state order did not arise with such acuteness as they do today. At the time, political and social problems were being pushed to the forefront. Therefore the issue of the state order in the Ukrainian Independent United State was not duly reflected in the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN. Nevertheless, the entire spirit of the Programmatic Resolutions clearly demonstrated that the OUN is fighting for a democratic order in the future Ukrainian Independent United State, and a whole array of points in the Programmatic Resolutions, especially Point 10, outlined the concrete principles of the future democratic order. The new clarifications of the Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands also proceeded in this same direction.

The Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands clearly elucidated that the OUN is fighting for a democratic order in the Ukrainian Independent United State.

To the democratic principles of the future order in the Ukrainian Independent United State already outlined by the Third NVZ OUN, the Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands introduced addenda concerning freedom of political and civic organizations.

### 3 *Social questions*

a) The solution of the land question, as outlined by the Third NVZ OUN, gave rise to the conscious or unconscious attribution to the OUN of attempts that have nothing in common either with the spirit of its program or with its practical activities. In connection with this, the Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands redrafted a point in the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN concerning the land question. The Conference clearly declared that the OUN is fighting for the utter destruction of collective farm slavery in Ukraine, against the restoration of the landowner-capitalist order, for the cost-free transfer of land to peasant ownership on the basis of independent working farmsteads.

The OUN believes that such a solution will be the best [as] it will bring the greatest benefit to the Ukrainian people [in] that it corresponds to the will of the huge majority of the Ukrainian peasantry.

At the same time the OUN recognizes the right of civic-cooperative and various joint forms of farming the land if they are built on the voluntary agreement of the peasants and on their own labour.

b) The Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN were formulated in difficult underground conditions, therefore it is understandable that it contained some oversights, specifically: the ownership of underground wealth, forests, waters, transport, [and] banks was not defined. Nevertheless, the Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN do not leave the slightest doubt that all these branches of the economy can be either national-state or economic property. The Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands also set forth these issues and introduced the appropriate addenda into the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN.

4 *Cultural-educational affairs.* The Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands introduced Point 7a of the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN addenda, stating that education in the Ukrainian Independent United State will be free.

These fundamental clarifications and addenda to the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN were introduced by the Conference of the OUN in the Ukrainian Lands held in the month of June 1950. The complete text of clarifications and addenda to the Programmatic Resolutions of the Third NVZ OUN are published below.

*Resolutions  
of the Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists  
in the Ukrainian Lands*

*Concerning Clarifications and Addenda to the Programmatic Resolutions  
of the OUN Adopted by the Third Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN  
in the Month of August 1943*

1. In the introduction to the Programmatic Resolutions, in paragraph 2, omit the words “against the German ‘New Europe.’” Set forth the entire paragraph in this form: “The OUN is fighting against imperialists and empires, for in them a single ruling nation enslaves culturally and politically and exploits other nations economically. That is why the OUN is fighting against the USSR.”

2. In this same introduction, in paragraph 3, remove the words “and against German national socialism.” Set forth the entire paragraph in this form: “The OUN is fighting with every resolve against internationalist and fascist national-socialist programs and political conceptions, for they are the tool of the imperialists’ policy of conquest. Therefore, we are against Russian communo-Bolshevism.”

3. In this same introduction, in paragraph 4, remove the words “and German.” Set forth the entire paragraph in this form: “The OUN is against one nation, in implementing its imperialistic goals, ‘liberating’ other nations, ‘taking [them]

under protection,' 'under care,' for hidden behind these cunning words is repugnant content – of enslavement, violence, looting. Therefore, the OUN is fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik aggressors until such time as it cleanses Ukraine of all 'guardians' and 'liberators,' until it achieves the Ukrainian Independent United State, in which the peasant, worker, and intellectual will be able to live and develop freely, prosperously, and in a civilized fashion.”

4. In this same introduction, in paragraph 5, remove the words “and German” and replace the word “commissars” with the word “magnates.” Set forth the entire paragraph in this form: “The OUN is for the complete liberation of the Ukrainian people from the Russian-Bolshevik yoke, for the building of the Ukrainian Independent United State without landowners, capitalists, and without Bolshevik magnates, NKVD and party parasites.”

5. In this same introduction, in paragraph 6, in the context “... and will direct all human energy at building a complete state order and just social order ...,” replace the word “new” with the word “democratic.”

6. In this same introduction, in paragraph 7, in the context “for a new state order,” replace the word “new” with the word “democratic,” and in the context “a new social order,” replace the word “new” with the word “just.” Set forth the entire paragraph in this form: “Ukrainian peasants, workers, and intellectuals are fighting in the ranks of the OUN against oppressors, for the Ukrainian Independent United State, for national and social liberation, for a democratic state order and just social order.”

7. Set forth the text of 1a in this form:

“I. a) For the complete destruction of the Bolshevik, exploitative-enslaving collective farm system in the organization of agriculture, against the return to the landowner-capitalist system.

b) Indicate that the land belongs to the people as its sole manager, for the cost-free transfer of land to peasant ownership within the dimensions of working farmsteads, for the designation by law of the lower and higher limit for these farmsteads, for a ban on trading and speculating in land.

c) For the right to economic-cooperative, joint, and other forms of management dependent only on the will of the peasants.

d) For comprehensive technical, agricultural, and financial assistance for agriculture on the part of the state.”

Omit the letter b) from this point.

8. For point 2, insert the following point:

“2. In favour of all underground riches, forests, and waters being national-state or public property.” Accordingly, change the numbers of all subsequent points of the Program.

9. Set forth point 2a in this form:

“3a) In favour of heavy industry and transport (railway, water, and air) being national-state property, and light industry – cooperative-public property.”

10. Set forth point 5 in this form:

“6. For the national-state organization of the banking system and large-scale trading, for public-cooperative petty trading and for petty private trading.”

11. Set forth point 7a in this form:

“8a) For free education, for mandatory high school education. For raising the education and culture of the broad popular mass by expanding the network of schools, publishing houses, libraries, museums, cinemas, theatres, and the like.”

12. Include the following paragraph in point 10 (of the old program) under the letter “b”:

“b) For freedom of political and civic organizations.” Accordingly, change the designation of subsequent paragraphs.

*In Ukraine, 1950*

The leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian Lands

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 121–3.

## Political Resolutions and Decisions of the OUN Leadership, 1941–52

### DOCUMENT 11: GUIDELINES FOR THE FIRST DAYS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF STATE LIFE

*April 1941*

#### *Main Guidelines for the First Days of the Organization of State Life*

1. The OUN's General Guideline in Individual Spheres
2. General Guidelines on the Start of State Building
3. Guidelines for Building and Developing the State Government
4. The OUN's Principles of the Implementation of State Power
5. The First Organization of Power in an Independent Territorial Unit
6. Methods for Launching Activity in a New Territory
7. The OUN in the Conditions of Free Activity

\* \* \*

1. The OUN's General Guideline in Individual Spheres

#### *Criterion for the Reconstruction of Life*

1. The OUN aspires to the revolutionary mastering and rebuilding of all spheres of life in accordance with the needs of the Ukrainian people.

The consolidation of the Independence of the Ukrainian State is the sole standard of state-order and social changes.

#### *Objective Conditions of Reconstruction (Degree of Independence and Internal Elements)*

2. In defining the guidelines for the reconstruction of the existing order, it is necessary to consider the following external-political eventualities:

A. a) The Ukrainian State has full possibilities for development.

b) The Ukrainian government is restricted in its actions.

The following elements of internal order must be taken into consideration:

B. a) Organic, inherently Ukrainian paths of development of Ukrainian political and social life, which on the whole oppose the order existing in the Ukrainian land, will immediately [and] spontaneously oppose the imposed, foreign, previous organization of life and its preconditions.

b) The crucial necessity to preserve temporally defined forms of the previous social order, dictated by urgent, expedient transitions, military conditions.

It is necessary to preserve the forms temporarily, but to begin implementing our own principles by introducing Ukrainian social institutions, Ukrainian content, and – what is most important – to place Ukrainian people into those forms for the implementation of content.

*Forms of State Power: The Political and Military Dictatorship of the OUN*

3. During this period the question of state power is resolved in the following manner:

a) The sovereign rule of the OUN will exist during battle periods, which then switches to the military track, that is, the political-military dictatorship of the OUN as a system of government.

The building of the OUN on the leadership principle supersedes the issue of decision making in the directing of a unit, not collective bodies. Therefore, the completeness of power in main territorial units until such time as they are included in the entire system of centralized power will lie in the hands of leaders of a given main territorial unit.

b) In a cleansed area the first form of power remains in place, with the proviso that the OUN permits the voice of the public factor in an advisory form. In practice, this means that the OUN appeals to “People’s Committees” as advisory, executive institutions that implement tasks of a self-directed, economic, etc. nature that have been assigned to them, for example, the management of collective farms.

The OUN creates an administrative and political apparatus, in which are concentrated all the leading functions of individual spheres of life in a given space.

At the same time, it is possible only gradually to create separate branches of the economic, administrative, [and] cultural sectors because there is always the possibility of a new influx of the enemy, and focused decision making from the standpoint of the good working order of the apparatus and assistance to the front is still always indispensable.

The OUN then promotes the self-rule of villages and cities (People’s Committees), designates their heads for the sake of work effectiveness. In villages, it permits the election of members to a committee, giving priority in this to those citizens who are capable of leading an organized civic unit or being responsible for it (a cooperative, school, collective farm, etc.).

In the OSUZ [central Ukrainian lands], the OUN applies in places where it is launching a struggle or, once it arrives in a cleansed area, that same method and system of power. In the event of a lack of OUN members in a given area, the OUN creates an organization of an administrative and political system out of the best local elements. Separately, it develops political organization and, in proportion to the development, the administrative and political apparatus is expanded by it. In the OSUZ there will exist above all a tendency to take control of the state and in every case to boot, whether the OUN takes power or not. The main emphasis will be placed on the expansion of political organization as a guarantee of the development and strengthening of the Ukrainian government. As a political organization, the OUN will grow far beyond the scope of the state government's capabilities; therefore, the OUN will be strengthening the independent actions of the people, and if it does not have power, it will accent mainly those spheres of life where this activity may be developed best. Once [there appear] other forms of political power that are more relevant to local conditions, which have been organized by the local element on its initiative or in keeping with the instructions of the Ukrainian government that has come into power, the OUN supports them.

*Principles of Reconstruction of the Existing State System*

4. Centralization as a method of governance stems from the fact of the OUN's political and military dictatorship.

The previous administrative system is preserved, with the proviso that those institutions which, in the process of introducing our fundamental principles of the understanding of life – specifically, the decision of a single individual, the creative freedom of the Ukrainian person – were a violence against them, will fail. Everything in the system that was applied to the poor and to people without a creative thought will fall away once the individual enters the arena of life. In this matter no instructions can be issued, and, possessing only general guidelines, we must orient ourselves and aim at the main thing: to organize that which the revolution will bring forth in order to place everything into one effective system that will not only destroy the old and the bad, but will build what is new and better. One must understand that 1) Ukrainians will come to power and 2) Ukrainians from all social strata (2Ba) and not just to tramps – creative people, not mental pygmies. It is necessary to assume that all those bureaucratic-planning institutions, everything that carries elements of the mechanistic issuing of orders from above will fall, and the oppressed individual will emerge, who will create anew. The entire, extreme totalitarianism of Moscow, the rule of tramps, will fall.

On the other hand, as under 2Bb, it will be necessary to maintain with the aid of iron organization those indispensable albeit frequently repulsive elements

of the existing system in order not to bring about the anarchization of life and victoriously to pass through the first stage of the destruction of what is hostile, alien, and not perish ourselves amidst the chaos.

The approach that states that people have become accustomed to the given system and do not imagine another is incorrect because in the revolution it is precisely the elemental force that will go against acquired habits, and, on the one hand, we will have to formulate new demands organizationally right away, and, on the other, to retain of the old system that which will enable the immediate functioning of the apparatus and the start of further changes.

Therefore, the technical and administrative division is preserved in the administrative system, with the coordination of the elemental strengths of the Ukrainian soul, which will then come forth. In particular, everything that was built into the system in order to enable the more effective work of the NKVD, directed from the Moscow centre, the entire administrative division of those Ukrainian ethnographic territories that do not belong to the Ukrainian SSR but to the RFSSR and other republics etc., will fall because these Ukrainian lands will shift towards Ukrainian centres.<sup>1</sup> The spiritual-cultural [and] economic centres [that have existed] until recently will be revived in the ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands].

The following general principle may be adopted: everything that will suit or at least not hinder the manifestation of creative individuality will be preserved in the first beginnings.

In the event of the restriction of the Ukrainian government, there will be two opposing tendencies: a) the strong process of gaining control over the current order with the aid of the existing apparatus by non-Ukrainian forces [and] b) the formation of a new order by a Ukrainian force, with the proviso that the demand for the organic growth of the Ukrainian people will already be gushing forth.

The OUN will then vigorously consolidate the final struggle, as in 2Ba.

### *Reconstruction of the National Economy*

5. Elucidated processes in the spheres of the national economy – agriculture, industry, trade, finance – are the ones being drawn most acutely.

#### *1 A.a) General trends*

b) Concrete implementation: its forms and methods

A.a): The OUN proclaims that land becomes the property of Ukrainian farmers. This means the individual-hereditary, ancestral property of those peasants who work on given collective farms as well [as] some other Ukrainians may be granted land. A proportion of state farms [*sovkhozy*] will be rebuilt according to

1 The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), proclaimed on 7 November 1917 and renamed as the Russian Federation on 25 December 1991, was one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.



the principle of ownership by the Ukrainian state for agricultural institutions, research stations, agricultural schools, nurseries of crop plant varieties, etc.

Machine Tractor Stations [MTSs] cease to be the property of the state but become the joint, cooperative property of peasants who belong to a given collective farm.

b) The joint and technical management of tillage continues to remain indispensable in view of the lack of horses, the threat of famine, etc.; therefore, the OUN appeals for the safeguarding of tractors and all machines and for the continued maintenance of a transitional form of joint land management until such time as the final reconstruction is carried out. But, in order for farmers to see that changes are truly coming, of course despite the fact that Bolshevik directors, secret informers, and other rabble have already been destroyed, the peasants are to convoke a People's Committee by means of free voting, which will manage MTSs, all collective farm property (cattle, grain procurements, etc.), which will manage farming on collective farms and introduce, under the state's direction, the reconstruction of the collective farm system in their own area. If the issue of electoral convocation arises, one can appoint a leader of a collective farm from among the farmers – patriots – and a committee is to be elected to assist him.

In any case, try to ensure that the peasants make joint decisions freely, and avoid old command methods, unless there is a crucial need to act otherwise.

Land becomes the individual-hereditary, ancestral property of Ukrainians in this manner:

B. 1) Soldiers at the front, 2) war invalids, 3) our own soldiers, 4) the families of those who perished for freedom's sake during the revolutionary struggle, 5) deportees and families of deportees, 6) all those [who] risked their freedom or life in the struggle for the Ukrainian State, 7) Ukrainians in general.

2) According to the criterion of work and the size of a family: this means that with its own efforts it can work [the land] and that there is enough left over in a given area to support the family and for export. It must be emphasized that the joint management of tillage does not at all hinder the conception of individual-hereditary ownership. One can be entirely a good individual-hereditary owner of land and till it with a shared tractor, just like threshing grain with a shared thresher. Therefore, a peasant continues to manage the land according to the previous technical method but now with the awareness that he is managing his own land, that the fruits of his labour are his own property, and he gives the state the proper tax no matter whether in the form of money or grain – in kind.

Once the enemy is expelled, it is necessary for the Peasants' Committees to develop drafts of agrarian reconstruction and select representatives to the National Founding Congress for the implementation of final changes. This is

of great moral and legal significance, albeit theoretical at this time, because our peasant has a deep feeling of rightness. The Peasants' Committee would be a link in the agricultural organization that would safeguard the interests of farming and bring this at once to the people's attention. Survival will be a burning issue. Therefore, all grain stores should be transferred to the people for storage, with the proviso that each person will be obliged at any time to provide necessities to the Ukrainian army and the Ukrainian city. One must ensure that the countryside works normally, so that grain is not lost and fields do not remain uncultivated. In the event of 1.Ab., if everything is placed within new blinders by the foreign, new organization, the OUN continues to put forward its promising appeals for reconstruction, demanding the full implementation of its postulates as per 2.A.a.

The following specific features must be included:

Private property is restored to all Ukrainians-patriots within the limits and forms stipulated by our social program for all their labour values (agriculture, industry, trade, etc.).

Landowners' land will pass to the individual-hereditary ownership of Ukrainian peasants. Its temporary management will be taken over by peasant committees. Ownership by landlords, without regard to their national affiliation, is not restored.

Every Ukrainian farmer, if Moscow confiscated his land, and he is a patriot, will get it back within the limits stipulated by law. Peasants whose land was confiscated and who were driven into collective farms or state farms will get their land back, meaning the original owners, and not those who worked at a particular moment on a collective farm.

Grants of landowners' land are obtained by landless people, as regards people with little land, up to the size of the quota necessary for maintaining a family. Not all landless people or people with little land obtain land, only a proportion, so as not to atomize land grants and turn everyone into beggars.

MTSs become the cooperative property of peasants, the owners of land. There will be many free places because it is foreigners who will be expelled; there will be a lack not of workshops but of labourers. During the process of putting agricultural affairs in order, bring into Councils farmers who will resolve a given issue for the village more expediently and authoritatively, and better than a non-specialist.

6. General guideline: all mining and heavy industry, [and] important means of transportation and communication, will be the property of the Ukrainian State.

The Ukrainian State will organize industry, industrial production, [and] construction on the principles of individual initiative and cooperative, communal, state, and private property, supporting above all individual initiative

and personal-familial ownership in designated branches of light industry in urban and rural construction, cottage industry, and trades.

Therefore, we proclaim that labour workshops are to become the property of labouring Ukrainians, of the Ukrainian people, not [of] Moscow.

The state government appoints a director of an enterprise, and simultaneously all Ukrainians, employees of a given enterprise, convoke a committee among themselves, which has the task of helping and cooperating in the management of the enterprise.

If the state government has not appointed a director, then the given committee takes over the management of the enterprise (factories, collective farms), appoints its director, and takes it over for the Ukrainian State.

The director should be a specialist and a Ukrainian patriot, the best would be an engineer or generally someone suitable for managing a workshop.

He organizes further production in a given factory or collective farm, as the decisive factor in the enterprise, its helmsman during this transitional period. Decision making must be handed over to individuals, not councils. Each Ukrainian worker has a share in the profits of an enterprise.

The main measures are to be channelled into the production of basic consumer goods and military goods. Without the constant self-organization and self-activity of all workers who are aware of their responsibility, their ideological preparedness for the greatest sacrifices, the mutual verification of the effects of their labour, [and] without the utilization of specialists, it will be difficult to gain control over the chaos that will ensue.

Trade unions will have the difficult job of transferring all forces capable of creativity to the disposition of the government. Already in the early days, the main difference between the old and the new will lie in the fact that the OUN will be putting forward the Ukrainian worker, that is, creative elements, not the *lumpenproletariat*, which is a besom broom [i.e., tool] in the hands of the Communist Party. Already at this time the OUN will foster manifestations of individual initiative in the organization of industrial production. In the ZUZ, private ownership of confiscated factories is not restored. The management of everything, mainly mines, nearly all of which were in the hands of foreigners, is taken over by the Ukrainian State, which will eventually implement proper social changes.

### *Trade, Finance*

7. Large-scale trade is taken over by the Ukrainian State, which will eventually switch a designated part of it to cooperative forms of Ukrainians working in it, immediately transferring the management to the finest Ukrainian elements, patriots, and specialists, designating directors of shop or storehouses.

The old currency system remains in place temporarily until the decision of the central authorities.

All banks are to be taken over under our supervision, appointing our own commissars. More precisely, once the larger territory has been cleansed of the enemy, create a central supervisory body. It is better to assign this to the Economic Bank.

The functioning of banking institutions will be put into operation only later. At the very outset, try to deposit valuable items outside of banks so that they will remain the property of the Ukrainian people and are not lost.

#### *Tempo of Reconstruction and the Lack of Labour*

8. With all this, it is crucial to understand the most important thing: that battles will be continuing at the front [and] nearly all males will be in the army. Therefore, it is necessary to exert every effort so that the land will be tilled with the aid of the remaining human forces and the assistance of machines and that there will not be a switch to some kind of division of land, when there will be no one to operate a tractor and drive horses. The second is not to succumb to proposing the Bolsheviks' tactic of the class struggle from 1917 and not [to] transplant their methods onto our territory. National and political points in time must be the top priority. When, via them, we manage to organize the people, we will have won. When socioeconomic [points] push them to the background, there is a risk of failure.

#### *Communication, the Tasks of Trade Unions, Labour Administrations*

9. Try to put communication into operation as quickly as possible. Start at once to take control of railway workers' trade unions, summoning our own reliable people to the helm of trade unions. Like everywhere, here, too, hand over decisions to individuals and give them committees to assist them so that work in such a hot period is not spent in eternal discussions. Better a bad decision than no decision or a belated one.

Eliminate unreliable elements, mainly from among the means of communication. Try everywhere to place Ukrainians, reliable people, and patriots.

Once our people or reliable Ukrainians take over the helm of trade unions, they will greatly ease the organization of communication for the government. Therefore, it is indispensable to seize the helm of trade unions because these are organizations of specialist forces that are so indispensable to us, whom we will thus acquire for our goals, for state building.

From that standpoint, it is harmful to topple institutions and trade unions as an organization of specialist forces to which, when they are organized, there is speedy access and which offer a guarantee of the rapid, organized set up of the entire apparatus. Therefore, within trade unions liquidate agents of Moscow, the

old management; convoke a new administration by means of free voting and subordinate it to us. If there is neither an opportunity nor time for electing an administration, appoint a reliable, reputable Ukrainian, a specialist in a given branch or profession, as the director of a given trade union, informing the workers – more precisely, the trade union members – that as soon as the exceptional conditions disappear, they will convoke their own board by free voting.

The coordination and organization of all work in the given space will be in the hands first of the military and eventually [of] the administrative-political power.

During the distribution of labouring hands, the search for work, etc., labour administrations, which must be created, will be very helpful.

### *Feeding the Country, the Military Economy*

10. One of the primary and most important issues will be to provide the population with food and clothing; therefore, it is crucial for the administrative-economic apparatus to have a separate department for feeding the people and the army and to create it in every centre, including the smallest. In order to designate the goal clearly, we note the following: a department responsible for feeding and supplying the country from the military standpoint, with regard to both these approaches, will be concentrated [in] all the separate economic departments – for example, agrarian, industrial, and trade – which will work during that period only in keeping with the simultaneous approach of furnishing the country with food and the means of defence against the enemy, and not from the angle of prospective changes. It would be most judicious to centralize departments according to their main types and not break them up because the atomization of issues then ensues, [and] expansion, and at the same time there will only be major problems.

Therefore, only the following departments are completely sufficient: the army, the militia, the feeding and defence of the country, and communication. At the outset, all other departments do not have to be created, but all forces should be devoted to setting up those, more precisely, to create departments that would help realize the preceding ones – more precisely, youth departments designed initially not as educational but as departments that assist with other work.

Particularly in those oblasts where we are seizing full power, it would be more judicious initially to devote all energy to setting up those departments than to absorb and atomize them by setting up others. Much attention should also be devoted to the propaganda department.

### *People's Courts*

11. Create “People’s Courts” that will punish national and social wreckers without consideration or regard. This means not only enemies and national

traitors but also all thieves of national property, speculators, etc. will be punished by death. The verdicts of a court are irreversible, even in the lowest degree. This means that at the very outset the court system has a military character – that is, it has a single degree.

Courts are also established throughout villages. The leader of a given administrative unit is summoned from a raion court and upward. There may be elective courts in villages. It is reasonable to carry out retributions in the open, so that there will be control over the courts in secret, when this is required for state reasons (e.g., espionage). The code is one's own conscience. Therefore, it is necessary to appoint as judges people of great character, who are transparently honest. Only that which does not fundamentally contradict the new national-political and social reality may be preserved from the mandatory code.

In view of the fact that the existing code is constructed on the standpoint of the class struggle, destruction of the class enemy, and the national extermination of Ukrainians, it will be possible at least to switch definitions and apply all that, all those shootings and the Cheka, to the enemies for everything that is harming Ukraine.

#### *The Church and the Priesthood*

12. The OUN fosters the revival of the Church in Ukraine. Confiscated churches or those that were converted to other institutions are restored, especially in the ZUZ. In keeping with the wishes of a village, parish lands are either returned in the quantity that is necessary for the priest's upkeep, but not in its original amount, or, at first, until such time as this issue is standardized by the central government, a village will support the priest, who will obtain state assistance that must be separately standardized by the central government. Priests must be drawn into state building.

#### *Propaganda*

13. Freedom of expression is permitted to the degree that it is judicious from the standpoint of the good of the nation.

In the ZUZ there may be a press only with nationalistic content, just like publishing activities in general, the same applies to all other means of propaganda (radio, theatre, film, etc). As well, public gatherings at which non-nationalistic ideas and slogans would be disseminated are prohibited. Destroy and burn Bolshevik literary garbage everywhere.

#### *The School System*

14. Schools are to be opened only if there are sufficient forces and their lack would not be felt in other main departments. Then, in schools teach first and foremost about freedom, revolution, the history of Ukraine, etc. Provide

everything that was not heard previously. Tell pupils about the real Ukraine, its Heroes, about the dignity of a person, about the OUN. Do everything from the angle of nationalistic upbringing, not according to the old schemes.

### *The Organization of Youth*

15. Organize all young people at once under our influences in a general youth organization that we must not hand over to foreign influences, nor [must we] allow various youth organizations to be created, which would compete fanatically with each other. Within the mass-scale, general youth organization to which the OUN will take all young people create an internal organization of OUN *Youth*, which will be composed of the finest and brought up according to our separate system, tested by us [as] a system of leaders for youth. Therefore, raising youth in general and training its leaders must belong indissolubly to the OUN. The immediate creation of separate, organized youth departments throughout all administrative units is extremely necessary because they will help greatly with the implementation of those tasks that individual centres, villages, raions, okruhas, oblasts have, for example, for communication. The same applies to women's departments as those that assist other types of work.

### *Minorities Policy*

16. National minorities are divided into a) those that are friendly to us, that is, members of heretofore enslaved nations [and] b) those that are hostile to us: Muscovites, Poles, Jews.

With respect to a: They have rights on par with Ukrainians, [and] we enable their return to their fatherland.

With respect to b: The destruction in the struggle particularly of those who will defend the regime; resettlement in their lands; the destruction mainly of the intelligentsia, which may not be allowed into any positions, and, in general, we hamper the production of the intelligentsia – that is, access to schools, etc. For example, so-called Polish peasants are to be assimilated, making them realize, all the more so during this hot period, which is replete with fanaticism, that they are Ukrainians, but of the Latin Rite, who were forcibly assimilated. Leaders are to be destroyed. Jews are to be isolated, dismissed from positions in order to avoid sabotage – all the more so, Muscovites and Poles. If there would be an unavoidable need to leave a Jew, for example, in the economic apparatus, place one of our militia men over him and liquidate for the slightest infraction.

Only Ukrainians may be heads of individual branches of life, not foreigners who are enemies.

Assimilation of the Jews is excluded.

*General Reminders*

17 a) Our government must be fearsome to its opponents. Terror for foreigners-enemies and our own traitors is creative freedom. The breath of [the] new ideas of the Ukrainian ruler over his own land must break through with every deed, at every step of the way. All honest and patriotic Ukrainians are to be drawn into work and [to become] Ukrainian workers, by which we mean not only Ukrainian labourers but all creative Ukrainians. No social class criteria but, rather, national criteria.

b) An important point is to provide an impulse to, and build up, such areas of life where the organized self-activity of the people can develop in the most comprehensive way [and] provide a path of growth to the individual's creative initiative, instead of squeezing everything into forms ordered from above, so that, thanks to the creative freedom of the Ukrainian person, life will develop on native Ukrainian foundations.

Already during the period of the indispensable centralization of everything, pave the way for the ramified growth of all spheres of life that will run in columns alongside each other, so that no alien will be able once again to clinch Ukrainian life in forms that are foreign to Ukrainians and for non-Ukrainian goals.

Do not forget the whole number of various current life needs, like hospitals [and] care for homeless children. Especially, take care of our soldiers, political deportees, and in general the families and children of those who gave up their lives in the struggle for freedom.

c) In addition to all this, remember that what is most important is people, new people, creative Ukrainian people. But no less important is the system of organization and its foundations, so that its foundations will correspond to Ukrainian spirituality, lifestyle, and [the] idea of Ukrainian society, because what good are creative Ukrainian people in a foreign system who will be smothered in it?

HDA SBU, 13-376-6-026.



DOCUMENT 12: REPORT ON THE ACT RESTORING  
UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

*Report from the National Assembly of the Ukrainians of Western Ukraine  
which took place on 30 June 1941*

On 30 June 1941 a grand assembly of the Ukrainians of the western lands of Ukraine took place at 8:00 in the evening in the halls of the headquarters of the flagship of the Prosvita Society in Lviv, during which the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood was festively proclaimed and the first krai administration was convoked, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, deputy leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.<sup>2</sup>

The assembly took place in an atmosphere of unprecedented spirituality.

The assembly was convened by a speech delivered by the deputy leader of the OUN, Yaroslav Stetsko; the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, conveyed his greetings, called upon [the participants] to pay tribute to the fighters and those who have perished for Ukraine's liberty, and read out the festive act proclaiming Ukrainian Statehood.

With stormy applause and tears of joy all those present, standing at attention, greeted this great historical moment and then sang the national hymn.

2 Yaroslav Stetsko was a political prisoner, member of the Ukrainian Military Organization and the OUNb, and Bandera's second-in-command. On 30 June 1941, in Lviv, he proclaimed the Act of Declaration of Ukrainian Statehood, provoking his arrest, along with that of many other Ukrainian nationalists, by the Nazis. Released from the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in 1944, he resettled in Munich and remained there after the war's end, becoming head of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in 1946. He was elected as the OUNb's leader at its Fourth Great Assembly in 1968. While oft-cited, the paper critical of Stetsko, by Karel C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynyk, "The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Its Attitude towards Germans and Jews: Yaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 *Zhyttiepys*," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 23, nos. 3-4 (1999): 149-84, was effectively challenged by Taras Hunczak, "Problems of Historiography: History and Its Sources," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 25, nos. 1-2 (2001): 129-42. See also T. Hunczak, "OUN - Between Collaboration and Confrontation with Nazi Germany" (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1999); and T. Hunczak, "Shukhevych and the Nachtigall Battalion: Moscow Fabrications about the Ukrainian Resistance Movement," published in the Kyiv newspaper, *Day*, 28 July 2009 and 15 September 2009. Also available at the website of the Shevchenko Scientific Society: [www.shevchenko.org/thumbs/0908014\\_Hunchak\\_Shukhevych\\_Nachtigall\\_2009.pdf](http://www.shevchenko.org/thumbs/0908014_Hunchak_Shukhevych_Nachtigall_2009.pdf).

For an eyewitness account by a member of the OUNb of the Nazi persecution of the nationalist movement, see Stefan Petelycky, *Into Auschwitz for Ukraine* (Kingston: Kashtan Press, 1999). On the mass murder of Ukrainian nationalists and others by the NKVD, see Ksenya Kiebusinski and Alexander Motyl, *The Great West Ukrainian Prison Massacre of 1941: A Sourcebook* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

Afterwards Reverend Doctor Hrynokh, the long-standing pastor of Ukrainian students and now the field chaplain of Stepan Bandera's Ukrainian National Legion, came out in a grey military uniform and passed on greetings from the Legion's commandant, Captain Roman Shukhevych, and all Ukrainian soldiers who swore to sacrifice their blood and their lives for Ukraine.<sup>3</sup>

The next to speak was a delegate from the krai leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, who placed particular emphasis on the sacrificial struggle of the entire, great underground army of the OUN, which is making endless sacrifices and struggling further, and – where the situation already permits – embarking on immediate state building.

Afterwards, the first decree of Stepan Bandera, leader of the OUN, about the convoking of the krai administration of Ukraine's western oblasts, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko until such time as the Central Authorities are created in Kyiv, was read out.

Immediately after this, the Reverend Mitred Slipyj greeted the assembly in the name of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, declaring that the Metropolitan greets with his whole heart and soul this grand historical beginning of the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood and appeals to all the faithful and the entire nation to set immediately to work for the sake of this great matter.<sup>4</sup>

3 Reverend Ivan Hrynokh (born 28 December 1907, died 14 September 1994) was a Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest and nationalist. In July 1944, as president of the ZP/UHVR, he led a delegation that included Mykola Lebed (foreign minister) and Yurii Lopatynsky (UPA delegate) aiming to establish contacts with the Vatican and Western governments. In 1947, Father Hrynokh sided with Lebed against Bandera and Stetsko in a debate about the leadership of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In consequence, in August 1948, he was expelled from the Congress of the OUN Foreign Section, although he remained one of the official representatives of the ZP/UHVR abroad, along with Lebed and Lopatynsky.

4 Cardinal Josyf Slipyj (born in Zazdrist, 17 February 1893, died in Rome, 7 September 1984), ordained 30 June 1917, a professor of theology at the Lviv Holy Spirit Seminary, he supported the Act of Declaration of Ukrainian Statehood and became head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church after Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky's death in 1944. Arrested by the Soviets and transported to the GULAG, he remained incarcerated until 1963. Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky (born 29 July 1865, died 1 November 1944) was ordained as a priest of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church in 1892 and enthroned as Metropolitan Archbishop of Lviv on 17 January 1901. Alone among the church leaders of Nazi-occupied Europe, he sent a letter to Hitler and Himmler protesting the persecution of the Jews, some of whom he hid in St George's Cathedral in Lviv, where he was buried. His successor was Josyf Slipyj. See Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, *The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the Soviet State, 1939–1950* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1996); and essays found in Paul Robert Magocsi, ed., *Morality and Reality: The Life and Times of Andrei Sheptyts'kyi* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1989).

All the speeches were accompanied by stormy applause and expressions of the greatest enthusiasm.

The assembly sent an expression of the sentiment of the entire Ukrainian citizenry – a greeting to Stepan Bandera, leader of the OUN.

*Greetings to the Creator and Leader of Great Germany – Adolf Hitler.*

*Greetings to the Great, Invincible German Army.*

*Greetings to Metropolitan Andrei.*

*Greetings to all Fighters for Ukraine's Freedom.*

The delegate of the OUN leader and all those present greeted especially, very warmly and sincerely, the high-ranking officers of the German army present at the assembly.

Professor Koch, the representative of the German army, a former colonel of the UHA [Ukrainian Galician Army], also greeted those present and issued an appeal for work and the closest cooperation with the German army under the leadership of the great leader of the German people, Adolf Hitler.<sup>5</sup>

The assembly ended with the singing of the national hymn.

HDA SBU, 13-376-4-009.

5 Professor Hans Koch (born 7 July 1894, Lviv, died 9 April 1959, Munich) served as a captain in the Ukrainian Galician Army during the First World War, earned a PhD from the University of Vienna (1924), and served in the Wehrmacht during the Second World War.

DOCUMENT 13: RESOLUTIONS OF THE  
SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP

*Incomplete Text of the Resolutions of the  
Second Conference of the OUN Leadership*

*(April 1942)*

*Introduction*

We connect our revolutionary struggle for a Ukrainian State closely with the liberation struggle that was waged in Ukraine by the BUD [Brotherhood of Ukrainian Statehood], SVU [Union for the Liberation of Ukraine], the Khvylovists [followers of the Soviet Ukrainian writer, Mykola Khvylovy], [and the] UVO [Ukrainian Military Organization].<sup>6</sup> In our current struggle we adhere to the principles on which the Act of 30 June 1941 was founded, considering it to be the historically correct [not clearly legible], revolutionary, and political manifestation of the will of the entire Ukrainian nation to live its own state life.

*Political Resolutions*

I. The current imperialistic war, which is leading to general exhaustion, great revolutionary upheavals, and transformations, is placing the task of the ultimate, decisive struggle for the Ukrainian State before the Ukrainian nation and us, the organizer and leader of its liberation struggles.

II. In the current complex and changing international situation we are pursuing, as always, a far-reaching policy that anticipates various possibilities for the war's end. However, we are also taking into account the imminent possibility of an armed struggle for Ukrainian Statehood at the proper time (the defeat of Moscow, general exhaustion, external and domestic upheavals in Germany). Therefore, to ensure that the energy of the people does not develop into *Partyzanshchyna* [partisan mentality of local formations] but is formed into a broad, nationwide movement that will guarantee a complete victory, already now we are systematically organizing [and] mobilizing forces in all areas.

III. We are building our policy thus:

a) On the creation and development of our own revolutionarily political and military forces.

<sup>6</sup> Mykola Khvylovy (born 14 December 1893, Trostianets, committed suicide in Kharkiv, 13 May 1933) was a prominent national communist writer engaged with the Ukrainian cultural renaissance of the 1920s. His concept of Ukraine's drawing *Away from Moscow!* exposed him to repression.

b) On an independentist, all-Ukrainian policy of revolutionary struggle, which is not contingent on anyone.

c) On the exploitation of all possibilities and forces that will help the rise of the Ukrainian State. In particular, on the creation of a broad front of the struggle of the enslaved nations of Eastern and Western Europe.

d) On the policy of eliminating secondary fronts and on unfolding the struggle only on the main, decisive fronts. In addition, at the present moment we consider our main front to be the front of the struggle against Muscovite imperialism in no matter which guise it appears (White Guardist, Kerenskyism, Bolshevism, Slavophilism, or similar ones).

e) To the Muscovite-Bolshevik global concept of the "Internationale" and the German conception of the so-called "New Europe" we oppose an international concept of a just national, political, economic reconstruction of Europe on the principle of free national states under the slogan: "Freedom for nations and the individual!"

f) We emphasize the idea of an Independent United Ukrainian State, which is a vital necessity and an age-old aspiration of the Ukrainian Nation, believing that only a just solution of the Ukrainian question can introduce equilibrium among the forces in Eastern Europe and determine the free life of the peoples enslaved by Moscow.

IV. At the base of our revolutionary liberation struggle we place the totality of the Ukrainian Lands.

V. In forming Ukrainian political thought and fearing for the national content of public life, we are taking into consideration the essential needs of the Ukrainian People and Ukraine's geographic and political situation in the world, the particular features of Ukrainian history, and, mainly, the developmental features of Ukrainian life in recent decades.

We believe that the capitalist, communist totalitarian, national-socialist systems are absolutely unsuited to the new Ukrainian life because the Ukrainian State, which is to develop out of specifically Ukrainian aspirations in the form of a Ukrainian nationocracy (the rule of a nation in its own land), is the most progressive of all systems. Ukraine will carry out its historical mission in Eastern Europe, taking into consideration the concrete features of its past and present, synthesizing everything natural and progressive that Ukrainians have managed to achieve in the past.

VI. We recognize the national-revolutionary path of struggle as the sole correct one. We believe that victory will depend on the mobilization and development of the revolutionary forces of the entire people united under the single revolutionary political leadership of the OUN. Therefore, we are decisively combating the exclusive orientation towards the international situation, the passive anticipation and creation of specialist cadres

in foreign state systems as demobilizing and harmful to the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle.

VII. During the course of the struggle for the Ukrainian State we regard as most urgent and most important the task to create out of our Organization a strong, all-encompassing revolutionary-political organization of leading activists from all strata, based on all strata of the people, which would embrace all the Ukrainian Lands.

VIII. In the Central and Eastern Ukrainian lands we are channelling our revolutionary-political work at:

a) Organizing a body of leading activists as a ruling, all-Ukrainian, politically creative force.

b) Creating an Organizational network that will wage the political struggle in all areas.

c) The political formation of leading cadres.

d) The political activation of all healthy forces in cities and villages.

e) Taking control over the upbringing of young people.

f) Organizing and activating women.

g) Instilling faith in the people's own strength and victory.

h) Instilling the nationalistic idea in accordance with the current spiritual development of the given territories and intensifying the comprehensive unification of the creative forces in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands and western Ukrainian lands.

i) Winning over cities, industrial centres, particularly the labouring element, with our propoganda and agitation, political struggle, social actions, and organizational work.

j) Taking control from top to bottom of centres dealing with social, economic, administrative, professional, transport, cultural-educational, and religious questions; focusing the main attention on the most important centres from the strategic-political standpoint or those threatened by foreigners' advances, particularly the Muscovites.

IX. In the western Ukrainian lands we are focusing the main attention on:

a) Build-up of revolutionary political forces and the political formulation of cadres.

b) Intensifying the political activism of the masses by developing the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood and engaging their interest in the affairs of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, in particular in the struggle against domestic agentura fronts there.

X. On the territory of Transcarpathia we are waging a political revolutionary struggle against the present occupier, against all kinds of lackeys (Hungarian Rusyns, Muscovites, etc.), and against Germanophilism. We are developing [an] understanding there that the fate of Transcarpathia will

depend on the will of Kyiv; we are seeking to instill in the people the idea of unity and to inculcate among the masses a feeling of the integral nature of the Ukrainian lands and, in particular, the importance of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands. We are struggling to raise the political activism of the people and to create resistance to foreign influences in all spheres of life in Transcarpathia.

XI. In the Ukrainian lands under Romania we are fighting against the present occupier and against all his lackeys. Here too, like in Transcarpathia, we are grafting the Ukrainian world perception and inculcating the aspiration to unity and to our own state.

XII. We are enlisting in our work all healthy state-generating circles of the Ukrainian emigration: exploiting its propaganda activities, connections with foreigners, possibilities for training specialist cadres, and cultural forces. We closely connect the work with the emigration to unification with the native lands and to the political struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

XIII. We are in favour of availing ourselves of all legal possibilities with the goal of organizing and activating the people sociopolitically, creating our own forces and propaganda in the service of our idea. With regard to all civic activity we are focusing the main attention on the struggle for the masses, for control of the main spheres, for the formation of specialist cadres, for national solidarity, social justice, community organization, and independent action.

XIV. One of the main tasks, particularly in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, is to raise youth in a nationalistic spirit because we regard young people as fresh cadres of leading revolutionary activists.

XV. We champion the position that Ukrainian women are an equal and equally valuable factor of the Ukrainian nation and in the national revolutionary struggle. Therefore, we are focusing attention on organizing and activating Ukrainian women sociopolitically, on training them not only for technical work but also for broader sociopolitical, revolutionary, educational, civic, and propaganda work in order to raise a new type of Ukrainian woman, a citizen-revolutionary and mother of fighters for Ukraine.

XVI. In the social sphere we are waging a struggle for the interests of the broad labouring masses in the countryside and the city, indissolubly linking the satisfaction of all the people's urgent social, material, cultural needs, etc. with the resolution of the national question and with the entire struggle of the Ukrainian People.

XVII. We believe that the so-called German land reform in Ukraine is only a political-economic manoeuvre on the part of the occupier. His goal is to consolidate his power by creating the pretense of liberation and to sidetrack the Ukrainian people from the struggle for its own rule. The German land reform in no way corresponds to the interests of the Ukrainian peasantry and

the people because of its exploitative essence. Its practical goal is to extract as much grain and manpower as possible from Ukraine.

XVIII. With regard to economic policy, we are waging a struggle against exploitation and foreign control, against all imperialistic economic systems – capitalist, Muscovite-communist, totalitarian National Socialist. We are creating our own forms of economic life that will offer full prospects for the development of public and private initiative, for the creation of various types of cooperatives and industrial trade unions. Our economic policy anticipates the complete attainment of control over the Ukrainian element in industry, trade, transport, cities. We are fighting for Ukraine's wide-ranging industrial and technical development, for the complete economic independence of Ukraine.

XIX. With regard to religious policy, we do not bind ourselves to any religious confession. We are in favour of using all forms of religious life to activate and win over the masses. We are fighting to restore the health of church life, for directing it onto the rails of Ukrainian national consciousness and the socio-political struggle. We are combating all manner of foreign, Muscovite, opportunistic influences on church life. We are combating all manner of unhealthy sectarianism and religious disputes that distract the people's attention from the main issue of the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

We are for a Ukrainian National Autocephalous Church with a patriarchate in Kyiv and for a complete break with Moscow.<sup>7</sup>

XX. We are fighting for the comprehensive development of Ukrainian culture, for its national content, for its complete spiritual independence from the Muscovite-Bolshevik world and from the German world. We are in favour of achieving winning over and forming healthy strata of all ranks of Ukrainian teachers, for the formation of young people in a national-statehood spirit, for endowing all forms of schooling with national-statehood content.

XXI. We are conducting a critique of the German political-economic system by engaging in explanatory propaganda among the masses, struggling against lackeys and opportunists, [and] stimulating national solidarity in all spheres of life.

XXII. In instilling a hostile attitude among the people towards all occupiers-aggressors, we are combating all kinds of idle expectations of foreign assistance and favour, and are mentoring the entire people's aspiration to achieving Ukraine's Independence and Unity. We regard all manner of chimerical future cultural, economic, administrative, or autonomous concessions as well as all kinds of political combinations on the part of the Germans in Ukraine under pressure from internal-political forces and external events to

7 On 5 January 2019, Patriarch Bartholomew, the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, signed a *tomos*, officially establishing the Orthodox Church of Ukraine, granting it autocephaly from the Russian Orthodox Church.



be a tactical-political manoeuvre in order to spawn futile expectations and to take advantage of opportunistic elements for their own imperialistic-colonial policies and to distract the Ukrainian people's attention from the struggle for Ukraine's clear-cut political and economic independence.

XXIII. Momentary mood, individual temperament, the attitude of the masses in individual territories, or some other kind of emotional reaction must not exert influence on the tactic behind our work and struggle. Our tactic should also not be outdated and surpassed by spontaneous outbursts on the part of the masses or by Muscovite-Bolshevik and other types of work. Our tactic should at all times be of an initiative nature and issue organically from the general political line of the Organization.

XXIV. In the central and eastern Ukrainian lands we are combining the critique of colonial policies with the struggle against Muscovite-Bolshevik influences, against the propagation of partisan mentality, which are sanctioned by Muscovite imperialism.

XXV. Attitude towards Muscovites. We are combating leading political and cultural activists and all forms of political and cultural Muscovitism as tools of Muscovite imperialism, neutralizing the passive Muscovite masses.

XXVI. Attitude towards Poles. We are in favour of easing Polish-Ukrainian relations at the present moment of the international situation and the war, on a platform of independent states and of recognition and respect for the rights of the Ukrainian people in the western Ukrainian lands. At the same time, we are continuing the struggle against the Poles' chauvinistic moods and appetites with regard to the western Ukrainian lands, against anti-Ukrainian intrigues, and the Poles' attempts to win control of important areas of the economic-administrative apparatus in the western Ukrainian lands by sidelining the Ukrainians.

XXVII. Regardless of the negative attitude towards Jews as a tool of Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism, we believe it would be reckless to take part in an anti-Jewish action at the present moment in the international situation so as not to become a blind instrument in foreign hands and distract the attention of the masses from the key enemies.

XXVIII. We consider it necessary to establish friendly relations and cooperation with other national minorities on the foundation of independent national states and a strong front of enslaved peoples.

XXIX. We are combating the Melnykites as an opportunistic, petty-bourgeois political agentura group that is introducing corruption and sabotage into Ukrainian organized life in the struggle for a United and Independent Ukrainian State. We are waging a struggle against the Melnykites on the political-programmatic plane. In combating the Melnykite leadership, we seek above all to wrest from it the confused [but] healthy rank and file and to involve them

in the all-Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle.

XXX. We are struggling against all forms of partisanship, warlordism, and the unearthing of old, obsolete political groupings. We are decisively against the artificial implantation by foreigners of political intelligence groups (like UNKA [Ukrainian National Communist Army], National Socialism, UNAKOR [Ukrainian National Cossack Movement], Shtepa's group, Kubijovyč's group, et al.).<sup>8</sup>

### *Organizational Resolutions*

XXXI. During the creation and ramification of the Organization we are focusing attention on their internal and external growth (their expansion to and intensification in the eastern Ukrainian lands and intensification in the western Ukrainian lands).

We champion internal-organizational, ideological-political, and moral fusion, revolutionary shock force and distinctiveness, but [are] against enclosing the Organization within itself. We are for linking the entire activity and struggle with the vital interests of the masses, for all-round reliance on all strata of citizenry, struggling in order for the Organization to become their spokesman, defender, flag, and leadership.

XXII. In grouping around ourselves all the revolutionarily active, independentist forces, we are recruiting the healthy, state-building elements of the entire people and creating a single all-Ukrainian national front of the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood.

XXIII. In allowing healthy criticism within the Organization, we are combating all manner of unhealthy fault-finding, idle and strident chatter.

XXXIV. We emphasize the need to create leading revolutionary activists among all strata of the population (peasantry, workers, intellectuals), raising executors, organizers, and a militant, revolutionary shock force.

We champion the development of the Organization along main strategic lines, centres, junction points, and milieux.

XXXV. In creating our leading cadres of activists in all strata of the population, we emphasize the need to attract revolutionary activists to the leading cadres, of peasants [and of] workers, in order thereby to establish links with the masses, with the social milieu. In addition to the political and organizational formation of leading cadres, we are focusing special attention on raising strong characters and individualities; on fostering profound, heroic, moral values; and on the formation of an all-embracing nationalistic world perception as

8 Volodymyr Kubijovyč (born 23 September 1900, in Nowy Sącz, Poland, died 2 November 1985, in Paris), professor of geography (Cracow University) and president, from April 1940, of the Ukrainian Central Committee, the only officially sanctioned Ukrainian community organization allowed in the Generalgouvernement.

a counterweight to the communist and racist National Socialist [worldview]. XXXVI. In expanding the Organization to the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, we seek to base it on local people. We are struggling for the continual increase of cadres from these lands and for their merger with cadres from the western Ukrainian lands.

XXXVII. We believe that the touchstone of our great idea and political conception is the worth of active people and its implementation in work from top to bottom, on the basis of broad revolutionary-political work and struggle.

XXXVIII. The prerequisite of the internal strength and health of the Organization is its correct internal policies and management of people, skilful selection and deployment of people to appropriate places, division of work and selection of leading cadres, control and pressure, political and organizational tact, internal discipline, and personal responsibility, respect, and trust.

#### *Training Resolutions*

XXXIX. The prerequisite of the internal growth of the Organization's forces is well-organized training.

XXXX. We place political-revolutionary and organizational formation at the heart of education and training.

XXXXI. We link training in wide-ranging political work with the needs of the revolutionary struggle against the background of life and actions, and not theoretical chattering and immersion in books.

XXXXII. As the prerequisite of the proper organization of training we consider the formation of a single-purpose plan and system of training in order to provide the Organization with a single-purpose face and to eliminate differences among the individual lands.

#### *Propaganda Resolutions*

We believe that special attention must be paid to the organizing, mobilizing, and preparatory role of propaganda, particularly to the importance of propaganda for the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, in worker, youth, and urban sectors.

XXXXIII. We believe that the existing forms and methods of propaganda should be less strident and visible, but, in terms of its content, it should be heightened and also revolutionarily and politically feasible. We believe that propaganda must be conducted simultaneously against all of Ukraine's occupiers in order to wrest the weapons from the hands of the communists and Moscow, to forestall premature actions, and to become the defender of the interests of the broad masses of the people.

XXXXIV. We are waging propaganda according to the various grades of our content:

a) General-revolutionary propaganda for all the working masses of Ukraine, against foreign imperialisms and colonial exploitation, particularly in the urban and workers sectors, under the slogans of freedom for nations and the individual, the people's struggle for a [state] system in its own land, freedom of work, social justice, etc.

b) National-patriotic, independentist, unifying propaganda for the Ukrainian element.

c) Nationalistic-revolutionary and programmatic propaganda with the goal of disseminating nationalistic ideas to all the Ukrainian lands and among all strata of the Ukrainian people in order to lay the groundwork for the growth of the Organization, to mobilize and activate the masses politically, to train revolutionary activists.

XXXXV. We believe that the propaganda sphere requires:

a) The training of cadres of propaganda organizers.

b) The preparation of propaganda material adapted primarily to the needs of the central and eastern Ukrainian lands, as well as to the appropriate milieu with a solution to current questions, like the workers' question, the peasant question, the struggle for Ukrainian Statehood, understanding of the nationalistic revolution and the armed rising, the significance of the all-Ukrainian political Organization and our political conception, the question of the new leading stratum, bringing up young people, etc.

XXXXVI. In the external sector we will wage stronger propaganda of our liberation cause among states and enslaved peoples that are friendly to us.

XXXXVII. We are striving to establish active relations with the enslaved peoples for cooperation and a joint struggle against the occupiers-aggressors and imperialisms. We seek to reach all the enslaved peoples with the propaganda of our liberation cause and Ukraine's decisive role in the struggle against the aggressive imperialisms.

*Billets*, April 1942

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 4, fols. 55-60.

DOCUMENT 14: LEAFLET: *THE PARTISAN MOVEMENT AND  
OUR ATTITUDE TO IT*

*The Partisan Movement and Our Attitude to it*

(October 1942)

For more than a year the Ukrainian land has been marked by the struggle between two mutually hostile imperialisms, Muscovite-Bolshevik and German. Every person that knows how to think is in no doubt that there is a battle going on for our land, for who will rule over it – Moscow or Berlin. And once again the Ukrainian people are becoming convinced that the goal of all those who are arriving to liberate Ukraine is the same, no matter whether their slogan is the “defence of the Soviet motherland,” the “New Europe,” or something else. Because beneath the cover of those slogans all of them want to hitch some Ukrainians to their wagon, bring them over to their service, [turn them into] their slaves, and to destroy others, defiant ones, as quickly as possible so that after their victory they may feel secure in the wealthy Ukrainian land. The effort of each enemy is always proceeding in the direction of keeping the subjugated people in a state of permanent terror, in material and spiritual poverty, in order to destroy any kind of independentist, state-seeking manifestation, so that they may rule over and exploit the wealth of the land and the sweat of the Ukrainian people as unperturbedly and for as long as possible.

In light of those plans, many a fact that has been incomprehensible to this day will become clear to us. This pertains especially to the Bolshevik-Polish partisan movement and the German response to it.

The Bolshevik partisan movement has been operating since the summer of last year; the Polish one, for the past several months. We see that to the present day the terrain of the Bolshevik partisan movement is, besides part of Belarus, the Ukrainian lands exclusively. The terrain of the Polish partisan movement is our western borderlands: Pidliashia, the Kholm region, Western Polissia, and some counties in Galicia.

The Poles or the Bolsheviks could have engaged in partisan warfare on their own territory as much as their energies permitted, and we would not be occupied with the partisan movement if their tip was not directed against us too. Stalin and Sikorski deliberately chose our lands in Volyn for this: they predicted that the Germans would be pacifying the population of those territories in which the partisan movement would be operating.<sup>9</sup> Both Stalin and Sikorski wanted to protect – one of them, the Muscovite population and the other, the

9 Władysław Sikorski (born in Tuszów Narodowy, Poland [Austro-Hungary], 20 May 1881, died 4 July 1943, Gibraltar). During the war General Sikorski was prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile and commander in chief of the Polish armed forces.

Polish – from the Germans' reprisals. They wanted us, Ukrainians, to pay for their countrymen's "strolls." Thus, they wanted to kill two birds with one stone: to harm the Germans and to strike the Ukrainians with the Germans' hands.

Part of the Ukrainian population was taken by surprise by the Germans' tactics. After all, Ukrainians did not take part, and are not taking part, in the partisan movement. All of Stalin's efforts to spark a partisan movement in Ukraine from the very beginning of the Germans' arrival still have not led to any success, thanks to the healthy approach of the Ukrainian people and the great contribution of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which is unifying and directing the people towards the struggle for the Independent United Ukrainian State, and that is why Stalin was forced to throw Muscovites into Ukraine [along with] Poles from the other side.

However, this is not stopping German punitive units from more and more mass repressions, burning down villages, and shooting the defenceless Ukrainian population. To us it is clear why. Although the Germans are aware of the actual situation, they are taking advantage of the Bolshevik-Polish partisan movement in order to destroy us at the same time.

We realize that the partisan movement has possibilities to develop because Germany is creating these possibilities by means of its policies. Its colonial system is water for the Stalinist mill because it is propelling the more passionate elements onto the path of armed struggle. Through its stance on the partisan movement, the Ukrainian population has demonstrated the necessary maturity: it has not allowed itself to be used as a tool of alien forces because it has its own great goal in front of it. It is aware that at a time when the millions-strong Bolshevik armies are still stationed in the East, any kind of armed action on our part against the Germans would be of assistance to Stalin.

What is our attitude to the partisan movement? We look at it not from the point of view of the interests of the world communist revolution (read: Muscovite imperialism) or from the standpoint of the "New Europe" of German imperialism; we are looking from the point of view of Ukraine's interests. We are not fighting for the victory of the imperialism that is better for us. We must spare our forces because we believe that the war in its end stage will bring us the possibility of struggle and the creation of our own Ukrainian State. If we will be strong then, we will take advantage of this opportunity, or we will be creating opportunities by ourselves. Today we regret every person that is dying for the interests of Moscow or Berlin. True, the Germans are driving the population to despair, and it is true that we could rise up, but we know straight off how it would end today, despite the greatest heroism on our part. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is well aware that its task as the leading element in the liberation struggle *is not to give the nation a chance to die heroically, but to achieve power in our own land and finally to become masters in that land.*

We know how brutally the voluntary departures for work in Germany or the formation of contingents are taking place; we know that there are Ukrainians whom the German system expelled from their homes and pushed into the forests because, to a great extent, we ourselves share this fate. However, they must live through this period. Their lives are important to Ukraine.

In view of the above-mentioned aspects, our attitude to the partisan movement is actively hostile. The partisans are agents of Stalin and Sikorski – our path is not with them. We realize that our situation will serve – especially in the central and eastern Ukrainian lands – the Red “gatherers of the Russian land” as the basis of accusations against us before the people as allies of German fascism. But it must not be forgotten that, to them, a hundred or a thousand Ukrainians executed for one blown-up bridge is nothing. They have their goal in front of them. We must be governed only by the good of the Ukrainian Nation, and therefore we consider it our duty to warn everyone against actions that will do good not to him, but to his past and present oppressors. The fact that those who serve the interests of Moscow, Berlin, or London do not like our sovereignist position and assessment of events from the standpoint of Ukraine’s interests does not surprise us in the least, and we shall not stray from our chosen path.

We are not appealing for hopeless expectations of destiny’s favour. We know we will have that which we ourselves will achieve by force. Our time will come. It must find us organized, united next to the flag of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, subordinated to a single revolutionary-political leadership. We must now aspire to this.

Not the substitution of one occupier by another but an Independent Ukraine – this is a goal worthy of sacrifices.

Not an alliance with Berlin or Moscow but our own organized forces – this is our orientation.

Not a partisan movement of hundreds or even thousands – but a national liberation revolution of the millions-strong Ukrainian masses – our path.

October 1942 *Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!*

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

DOCUMENT 15: RESOLUTIONS OF THE THIRD CONFERENCE  
OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP*Resolutions of the Third Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian  
Nationalists for Independence and Statehood (OUN-SD)**February 1943*

(Incomplete text)

The Third Conference of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists for Independence and Statehood (OUN-SD) took place between 17 and 21 February 1943, which comprehensively analyzed:

a) The current international situation, the positions of the warring sides, the positions of the enslaved peoples, and Ukraine's current international situation.

b) The situations in the Ukrainian lands and the last-year period of the struggle of the Ukrainian people, the state of organized Ukrainian political forces and the role of the OUN-SD as the leading factor in the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people declares:

Re: a)

1. The current war in the East, which was unleashed in the name of the imperialistic interests of German National Socialism and Muscovite Bolshevism, is being waged in the name of anti-popular, reactionary goals to turn countries and peoples into subjects of colonial exploitation and plunder, which entails spiritual-moral, socioeconomic, and national-political exploitation and oppression, that is, for the complete enslavement of nations and people. Above all, this is a war for Ukraine, which both imperialisms are treating, in their aggressive plans, as the central problem of their imperialistic policies in Eastern Europe and as a bridgehead for further strikes. At the present stage, this war has led to the significant exhaustion of both partners and forced them to mobilize and throw all possible reserves to the front in order to cause misfortune for the opponent, regardless of the countless millions of victims.

2. Through its imperialistic policies and attitude towards all the European peoples, and through its terror and plundering in the occupied territories, Germany has mobilized against itself all the peoples of contemporary Europe, including its so-called allies. It has thus created the ideological-political, moral, and material foundations for its collapse, and it is already reeling from the blows of the million-strong armies of the enemies and from the impact of the growing revolutionary forces of the enslaved peoples. Its attempts to enlist or compel the enslaved peoples to a broader struggle against Bolshevism, to bloody themselves in the current war with its imperialistic interests, are a perfidious manoeuvre and a belated attempt of the occupier to evade the



consequences of mistakes that have been made, and the only possible way to strengthen its combat potential through the forces of the enslaved peoples.

3. Bolshevik Moscow, playing the role of defender of the enslaved peoples from German imperialism, is exploiting the current situation that exists between Germany and its allies and capitalizing on the terroristic German policies in the occupied territories, and is continuing to play a treacherous game aimed at obtaining the West's help in the victory over Germany, which, according to Moscow's plans, is supposed to become the first stage in the achievement of Muscovite imperialism – that is, the destabilization of all of Europe and the implementation of the global Bolshevik revolution.

4. The British Empire and the United States of North America [*sic*] are engaged in a determined struggle against German imperialism as a threat to the vital interests of the Anglo-Saxon world, using, in this struggle, all possible foreign powers, in particular the Muscovite military caravan, which is supposed to inflict the main blows on Germany in the East. Their goal is to smash all the great states of Europe, which, with their military political might and imperialism, are creating a new threat for them and making it impossible for them to realize their plans to build a European order based on the principle of a political balance of power and a pledge of freedom for Anglo-Saxon political and economic influences in Europe. The realization of the plans of the Anglo-Saxon world is dependent on their sham abilities at the end of this stage of the current war, and the depletion of their strength may compel them, just like in 1919, to accept the political resolutions imposed by independentist-liberation or imperialistic factors.

5. The current war has brought occupation and political enslavement by German imperialism of a number of European peoples, and in their struggle for the restoration of their states it forced them to a political orientation towards the Anglo-American world as a factor that is striving for Germany's collapse. As a result of German practices and under the influence of hopes for the West's help, they are placing the threat of Bolshevism farther in the background of their independentist actions.

6. At the present moment Ukraine has found itself between a rock and a hard place, the two mutually hostile imperialisms of Moscow and Berlin, which treat it as a colonial object in equal measure. In its struggle for liberation and independence, the Ukrainian nation is encountering a number of obstacles in the arena of its international actions, which stem from other nations' unfamiliarity with the Ukrainian cause, against the actions of Ukraine's enemies, and is the consequence of the fact that the contemporary war is being waged for the interests of great imperialist states that are yoking other peoples to their goals and disregarding their rights to their national-state self-determination. Thus, there is an urgent need for the Ukrainian people to wage a

struggle against both imperialisms on the platform of its own forces, and to place at the base of their cooperation with other peoples their recognition of our right to our own state, and on this basis to unite the joint interests of the Western and Eastern peoples in a joint struggle against German, Muscovite, and other imperialisms.

7. The Ukrainian people, which in its strivings for an Independent United Ukrainian State is waging a merciless struggle against the Muscovite-Bolshevik and German occupiers, are the sole source and guarantor of our strength and the subject of our struggle. The Ukrainian State will arise only thanks to work and efforts, and in the struggle of all strata of the Ukrainian people through the National Revolution against all imperialisms that are inimical to Ukraine.

8. The organizer and leader of the Liberation Struggle of the Ukrainian people is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists for Independence and Statehood (OUN-SD), which, despite the obdurate efforts of enemies to destroy it [and] to maintain its present position, is traversing the path of the revolutionary-liberation struggle, leading the Ukrainian people to the ultimate, decisive battle for the USSD [Ukrainian Independent United State].

9. In the Ukrainian lands, 1942 was the year of the Ukrainian people's intractable and determined struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State. It passed amidst the German occupiers' merciless oppression and enslavement of the Ukrainian people, amidst efforts to turn them into slaves in their own land and to destroy them as a nation, and amidst the repeated attempts of Muscovite Red and White imperialisms to demoralize the Ukrainian people and lay the groundwork for their new political and economic enslavement. In response to these attempts of the German and Muscovite imperialists and as the expression of the Ukrainian people's will to live independently, and as a result of the consolidated independentist action of the OUN-SD in all the lands of Ukraine, a single front of the independence struggle of all strata of the Ukrainian people developed, marked by:

a) An intensified process of the crystallization of Ukrainian independentist thought among the Ukrainian popular masses, the rise of their national consciousness, and the opposition of the Ukrainian national idea to the hostile attempts of agents of Muscovite imperialism and German occupiers to spread demoralization among the Ukrainian people and to lay the foundations for their enduring political enslavement.

b) The growing awareness among the Ukrainian popular masses that only a Ukrainian Independent United State will create conditions for comprehensive development and guarantee all the political and social rights of the Ukrainian people, and their readiness to struggle for the Ukrainian independence idea.

c) The gradual elimination among the Ukrainian people of the influences of Party groupings and opportunistic-traitorous individuals and groups that,

under various guises, are advocating accommodation with the occupiers and cooperating with them, by which they are seeking to weaken the Ukrainian people's will to struggle and helping the occupiers to consolidate the colonial system in Ukraine.

d) The participation of all strata of the Ukrainian people in the national liberation struggle and the growth of cadres of fighters for the USSD in all the lands of Ukraine.

10. For the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists for Independence and Statehood, 1942 was a year marked by a difficult struggle, which, despite the Organization's above-mentioned [illegible word], brought:

a) Recognition of the OUN-SD's liberation program by the Ukrainian popular masses [and] the correct platform of the Ukrainian people's struggle for the USSD.

b) The further crystallization of the OUN-SD's work and the unification of all healthy national forces around the OUN-SD and the spread of the Organization's work and expansion of the membership network in all the lands of Ukraine.

c) The further expansion of the OUN-SD's work to all sectors of sociopolitical life and enlistment to the liberation struggle of all social strata of the Ukrainian people.

11. Despite the above-mentioned successes, the period of last-year's struggle did not lead to the complete liquidation of milieux existing in Ukraine, which are seeking to consolidate the existing orientation – as a result of enslavement – of a certain proportion of the Ukrainian popular masses on political centres that are hostile to Ukraine or which are exhorting the masses to passive expectation of foreign, external assistance. At a time when the Ukrainian nation is faced with the question of the struggle for its physical and spiritual existence and development, today there also exist among the Ukrainian people elements that place their narrow, egotistical socioeconomic interests above everything, and for the sake of their satisfaction they are ignoring the demands of the Ukrainian people's current national liberation struggle.

12. Reckoning with the period of last year's struggle and activity of the OUN-SD, and the methods by which it took place, the Third Conference recognizes that the resolutions that were adopted by the Second Conference of the OUN-SD in April 1942 have passed the test of life, and in their original foundations they remain the guidelines of our struggle.

After analyzing the problems that were the subject of the sessions, the Third Conference of the OUN-SD recognizes:

1. To the reactionary and anti-human plan of the Muscovite and German imperialists, who provoked the current war and, in prolonging it at the cost of the lives and sufferings of millions, simultaneously concealing their aggressive

plans with mendacious phrases about the so-called New Europe or proletarian revolution, [and] are striving for the permanent enslavement of all the peoples of Europe, to clap them in the chains of the National Socialist Germanic or Muscovite-Bolshevik prison of nations, we oppose the idea of independent national states of all the European peoples on their ethnographic territories as the most progressive idea of the modern era, the idea of an order based on the principle of freedom for nations and individuals, which alone will ensure freedom of development for all peoples and will destroy the imperialistic systems that have existed to the present day, and will protect the popular masses from the dangers stemming from the rise of new aggressive imperialisms and wars that are regularly provoked by them.

We recognize that the implementation of these progressive ideas of the future just European order, which will arise and be built on the ashes of the current war, is the sole possible path of the joint struggle of all the enslaved peoples of the East and West, under the slogan of national revolutions against imperialisms.

2. In the period of the current war in Eastern Europe, which, as a result of the military and spiritual exhaustion of German and Muscovite imperialism and under the influence of the growing revolutionary forces of the enslaved peoples of Europe, is leading to their collapse, we are waging a struggle for the preparation of a Ukrainian National Revolution, which, at a critical moment in the current war, will lead to the elimination of the occupiers from Ukraine.

3. We continue to base our liberation program on the organized revolutionary forces of the Ukrainian people. We will take advantage of useful political circumstances as auxiliary elements in our struggle. We oppose most decisively all capitulationist efforts to incapacitate the Ukrainian people's will to struggle by proffering the popular masses hopes for outside forces.

4. Reckoning with the existing configuration of international forces and the game that they are playing, we base the tactic of our struggle for the USSR first and foremost on the demands of the USSR idea, of our liberational-political conception of our own forces, and the revolutionary methods of the OUN-SD, and link [it] to the present international situation, to its developmental trends. And we are exploiting the differences between the individual imperialisms as factors that can lead to a change in the international situation, which is crucial to the realization of our liberation goals. In our struggle we seek points of mutual interest with the interests of other nations and states, and on this plane we are creating the foundations for our international cooperation.

We maintain the position that the prerequisite for organizing all the political and national forces of Ukraine into a struggle against Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism and the unification with it of all outside political forces, especially the enslaved peoples, is the Ukrainian people's struggle against German imperialism.

Only through a struggle against German imperialism will it be possible:

a) To wrest from Moscow's influences those elements among the Ukrainian people that are seeking protection from Moscow from the threat of German imperialism.

b) To unmask Muscovite Bolshevism, which is disguising its imperialistic intentions [illegible word] to enslave Ukraine by means of slogans proclaiming the struggle to protect the Ukrainian people and other enslaved peoples from the German occupiers.

c) To attain an independent position in the foreign, international arena for the Ukrainian people and their national liberation struggle.

In today's configuration of international forces and at the current stage of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle, all collaboration with the German occupier and offers of assistance to him in his competitive battle with Muscovite imperialism is, in fact, support for Muscovite imperialism in Ukraine and outside, and it creates possibilities for it to compromise, in Ukraine and in the international arena, the Ukrainian national liberation struggle as a tool of German imperialism in its plans for conquest.

5. In the sector of the enslaved peoples of contemporary Europe, particularly its East, we are striving for the elimination of petty, unnecessary disputes. In the name of the national Revolution we are advocating and organizing a joint front of enslaved peoples for a joint struggle against imperialisms and against enslavement under the slogans of freedom for nations and people.

We believe that, regardless of the momentary configuration of forces between the enemy blocs, only a joint struggle of all the enslaved peoples of the East and West against the imperialisms and against enslavement can save them from political, economic, and cultural slavery, and lead to the reconstruction of free national states on the ethnographic territories of individual peoples.

In accepting the fundamental fact that Ukraine holds a key position in the struggle against two imperialisms, German and Muscovite-Bolshevik, we affirm that, without the destruction of those imperialisms in Ukraine – without the existence of the Ukrainian Independent United State – the enduring existence of sovereign national states of the European peoples, and particularly the peoples of Eastern, Central, Northern, and Southeastern Europe, as well as lasting peace, are not possible.

6. We are taking an active part in each European coalition organized by other enslaved peoples or nation-states against the imperialistic aggressors, but only on the principle of other nations' recognition of our right to our state independence.

7. We are waging a struggle for the USSD and will continue to wage it regardless of any territorial-political changes in Eastern Europe.

8. At all times we will combat Bolshevik and White imperialistic Moscow as

the age-old enemy of the enslaved peoples of the East and as the source of perpetual strife in Europe, the centre of imperialistic expansion on the Eurasian continent.

9. In the event that Bolshevism returns to the Ukrainian lands, we will be systematically building up our national and revolutionary forces under the new occupation, and we will pursue our organized, revolutionary-independentist influences in accordance with the requirements of the idea of the USSD and the OUN-SD's revolutionary tactic, at the same time taking into consideration the given state of the moral-political forces of the Ukrainian people and the given configuration of external political forces.

10. All attempts by White-Muscovite elements and external factors to restore the old Muscovite Empire in the non-Muscovite lands, particularly in the lands of the Ukrainian people, will encounter a merciless struggle from the Ukrainian people.

11. Maintaining the position of the construction of national states for all peoples in their ethnographic territories, the Ukrainian people oppose, and will continue to oppose, all attempts on the part of nations currently enslaved by German or Muscovite imperialism or Germany's so-called allies, which have been forced by German imperialism to bloody themselves for the sake of its interests, to seize all Ukrainian lands or some part of them and to enslave Ukraine. The Ukrainian people will mercilessly combat such imperialistic efforts, which, in smashing the revolutionary front of the European peoples who are struggling against the imperialistic aggressors for [a] free national state built on the ethnographic principle, are consolidating the military and political positions of the German and Muscovite and other world imperialisms.

12. We recognize that only the organized political, armed action of the Ukrainian people under the leadership of its revolutionary-liberation leadership will lead to the creation of the USSD and will bring Ukraine foreign recognition and the respect of all other peoples and states.

13. [It is necessary to engage in] the execution and completion of the revolutionary-liberation plans and goals of our struggle for the USSD; [to deal with] the threat of Red and White Muscovite and foreign imperialism of other nations [and] the occupational plans and practices of German imperialism; [and to carry out] the demands for the safeguarding of the Ukrainian popular masses, and the organization of their planned defence and self-defence from mass physical destruction and utter economic plunder by the occupiers, and to create new, separate centres of the people's organized force.

14. In striving to achieve the fundamental goal of our struggle – that is, the USSD – and standing firmly by our plan to wage a liberation struggle, and relying in this on our tactic, we are not allowing the enemy to impose the devices of our progress on us. The Ukrainian people will respond to the efforts

of the imperialist aggressor to separate the leading stratum of the revolutionary-liberation and statehood-conscious elements from the broader masses of the people by consolidating a single revolutionary front of all strata and by intensifying the struggle for the USSD under the leadership of its revolutionary-liberation leadership.

15. The forcible transports of Ukrainians from the German-occupied Ukrainian lands to Germany for forced labour, just like Moscow, is forcing the Ukrainian national element to work for the consolidation of the military potential of Muscovite imperialism, [and] are among the systematic tools of imperialisms that are inimical to Ukraine in order to engage the Ukrainian labour force in slave work for the realization of Berlin's and Moscow's imperialistic goals, which are hostile to it, and they go hand-in-hand with the plans of German and Muscovite imperialisms to eviscerate Ukraine [by removing] the element that is competent with regard to the national struggle, and, second, to destroy it. The Ukrainian people will not become a beast of burden for imperialistic interests that are inimical to it, will not strengthen their enslavement with their very own hands, but will devote their work and labour only to the idea of the revolutionary struggle for the USSD.

16. The German imperialists' mobilization and attempts to compel the Ukrainians to sell their blood and give up their lives in the ranks of their armies in the name of imperialistic interests that are foreign and inimical to the Ukrainian people, the proclamation by the German imperialists of Ukrainians as allies in the competitive struggle between German and Muscovite imperialism, the creation by the Germans of individual armed Ukrainian units in the SUZ [eastern Ukrainian lands] and ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands], the [illegible word] of Ukrainians forcibly or perfidiously mobilized by Moscow into the Red Army or the partisans, by the enemies of the Ukrainian people, are characterized:

As the attempt of German imperialism to use the Ukrainian people as cannon fodder in order to win the war and enslave the Ukrainian people even further.

As underhanded attempts to weaken the Ukrainian people's will to struggle by awakening unjustified, misleading hopes in them for the Germans' goodwill, that they will change their imperialist policies in Ukraine and in future recognize the right of the Ukrainian people to independent state life.

As underhanded measures aimed at creating artificial barriers between Ukrainians in the central and eastern and western lands.

And, as an attempt to sow enmity and cause the shedding of fraternal blood among Ukrainians under the German and Bolshevik occupations.

17. Muscovite imperialism's forcible and underhanded mobilization of Ukrainians into the ranks of the Red Army or the Red partisans under the slogan of

the defence of the so-called socialist fatherland from the German invaders and under the slogans of the shared interests of the Ukrainian people and the Muscovite-imperialistic clique, as well as the condemnation by Muscovite propaganda of Ukrainians whom the Germans forcibly or deceitfully mobilized into the ranks of their army by German agents and the enemies of the Ukrainian people, is one of Moscow's imperialistic methods for compelling the Ukrainian people to shed their blood for the interests of Muscovite imperialism, to divert them from their mighty idea of a struggle for their own national state, in order therefore to weaken them physically and destabilize them morally, and then enslave them further in order to cause them to shed the fraternal blood of the single Ukrainian people by creating artificial barriers among Ukrainians on both sides of the front.

18. Accepting the fundamental idea of our statehood as the goal of our struggle, the Ukrainian people will devote their strength only to the evolutionary struggle for the USSD and will oppose all enemies' attempts to exploit and harness them to [serve? Illegible word] foreign hostile interests, and in their struggle against the hostile imperialists they will stand shoulder to shoulder only with those peoples that recognize their right to their own independent state life.

19. We condemn all attempts at individual or collective collaboration with the occupiers as sabotage and treason against the Ukrainian people. We brand as traitors of the Ukrainian people all agents and hirelings, secret agents of the Gestapo and the NKVD, and others who, for the sake of a paltry coin, are selling out their fatherland.

20. Recognizing that national liberation and the restoration of the Ukrainian state depend on the participation of the entire people in the struggle against the occupiers, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is striving for the unification of all its strata under the flags of the liberation struggle.

21. In keeping with the principle that the youth question is one of the fundamental questions of the current and future destiny of the Ukrainian people, we will articulate it in the spirit of the idea of the revolutionary struggle for the USSD, combat hostile ideologies that are inimical to the idea of Ukrainian national liberation, especially the Marxist ideology, and the orientation of a certain segment of youth towards Moscow as a political and world-perception centre, and we will oppose all those negative manifestations that have emerged among some young people as a result of the current military unrest and that are manifested in the form of a contest for personal interests and self-isolation within a circle of issues that are removed from the current set of liberation questions of the Ukrainian people.



DOCUMENT 16: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE  
OUN LEADERSHIP (1945)

*For office use only!*

*Strictly confidential!*

*August–November 1945*

*Instructions*

*I. On the International Situation:*

1. The second imperialist war ended with the complete political and military rout of German and Japanese imperialism and their allies, and their total occupation by allied troops.
2. The Allies were victorious thanks to:
  - a) the absence in the camp of the Axis states of a progressive, ordering world idea that would mobilize nations to a struggle for a new world system.
  - b) the reactionarism of the policies of the Axis states, particularly in international relations, and also both in relation to their own allies and the peoples of the conquered territories.
  - c) the Allies' superiority in terms of military armed-economic potential and economic resources.
  - d) the active participation of enslaved peoples in the struggle against the Axis states.
  - e) the effective cooperation among the Allies, particularly the close, coordinated joint action of military operations.
3. As soon as the war ended, the foundations of cooperation seriously tottered. The main unifying factor in the Allied camp was the common threat of German-Japanese imperialism. With the end of the war the existing contradictions between the USA and England and the USSR became so exacerbated that they are manifested as irreconcilable antagonism and competition between two different political-social and imperialistic systems.
4. The causes of the antagonism stem from the nature of imperialism as such, which aspires to monopolistic control of the world. Control of the world, or at least expansion of the spheres of influence, newly acquired sales markets, and the acquisition of raw materials were the reasons that sparked the second imperialistic war, and which at the present time are almost completely obstructing the postwar cooperation between the USA [and] England and the USSR.
5. Attempts at bringing order to the world and avoiding war in the future (the United Nations Organization) hold out few hopes for achieving positive results, and they are revealing their utter reactionarism. The subjugation of all the world's peoples by a few superpowers-conquerors that occupy a ruling

position over the world (the Security Council) absolutely does not correspond to the natural strivings of nations for independence, equal rights, and sovereignty. The competition among the victorious superpowers for a hegemonic position in the new organization of the world is not only not eliminating the threat of new wars but, on the contrary, creating it.

6. The postwar situation that has come to pass is characterized by the utter instability of international relations, specifically:

a) the intensified political struggle of the victors to win peace, which in particular acquired acute forms at the first conference of foreign ministers.

b) the struggle of the subjugated nations against the “guardians” – victors.

c) the search for new forms for organizing the world (the United States of Europe), which would correspond to the natural growth and burgeoning of all nations towards independence, equal rights, and sovereignty.

d) As a result of the antagonisms between the USA and England and the USSR, a new regrouping of the world's political forces and mobilization of all resources for an eventual armed conflict are taking place.

*However, the timing of the armed conflict may be deferred as a result of concessions on the part of the weaker camp (USSR).*

8. The serious possibility of war is attested by:

a) the continuing maintenance of huge armed forces.

b) continuous arming.

c) work on new military inventions (atomic bomb).

d) maintaining all economic life on a military footing.

e) The transformation of the existing political antagonism into war may be delayed for so long as it is necessary to reckon seriously with the possibility of a completely long-term “peaceful” situation, in which the struggle of both camps will not extend beyond the limits of political-diplomatic conflicts that are more or less acute in form.

## *II. On the Situation in the USSR*

1. Compared to the USA and England, the USSR became very weakened as a result of the war. The war shook the economy of the USSR to its foundations, caused immense human losses, and has led to the bankruptcy of the principal prewar Bolshevik ideas.

2. The USSR, having set out on the path of imperialistic destabilization, has significantly expanded its influences in Europe and Asia. In united fashion the USA and England are hindering the further conquests of the USSR and have even compelled the USSR to curb its imperialistic appetites to a minimum and even to depart from the positions it holds in the countries that it has occupied (Poland, Yugoslavia, and others). The policy of *fait accomplis* has netted insignificant results for the USSR (treaties on “friendship” and postwar cooperation with subjugated and dependent countries).

3. The so-called “peaceful” situation, proclaimed by the USSR, is characterized by:
  - a) the deferment of demobilization.
  - b) the intensification of military training and the nurturing of the entire citizenry in a warlike spirit.
  - c) new drafts for the Red Army.
  - d) the increase in state budgetary expenses for 1945 to the sum of 137 billion karbovantsi, which comprises 45.1 percent of the total budgetary expenses (only according to official Soviet data).
  - e) the continuing maintenance of the state economy on a military footing.
  - f) the moral preparation of society for the next war.
4. To a great degree, the USSR’s cooperation with the capitalist superpowers, the departure of the Red Army, and broad masses of the population outside the borders of the USSR have influenced the revision of the masses’ world perceptual, systematic, and social views, which until this time were hermetically isolated from foreign influences, and this in turn led to the masses’ natural aspirations for changes to the entire life of the USSR.
5. The ruling Party and Soviet leadership in the USSR [and] ideological-political bankruptcy have supplanted the obsolete ideas of Great Russian autocracy and pan-Slavism. Having propelled the “great” Russian people into first place, it has assured controlling status for it in the USSR, subjugating to its interests the entire life of all the non-Russian nations. This situation is inexorably leading to the collapse of great-state national chauvinism, on the one hand, and to the struggle of all the non-Russian nations against the policies of national oppression, on the other.
6. The consequences of the USSR’s imperialist policies are the government’s immense external and domestic debts, together with the economic plunder of enslaved countries and horrific material exploitation of the toiling masses in the cities and the countryside, which is leading to the exacerbation of the class struggle in the USSR.
7. The inability to overcome political and social difficulties has forced the ruling clique in the USSR to maintain the empire by means of the most brutal system of political terror and violence, which have [*sic*] supplanted legality and law.

### *III. On the Situation in Ukraine*

1. The implacable struggle of the Ukrainian nation is the focus of attention and lively interest both of the imperialistic Muscovite clique and all the enslaved and occupied nations of the USSR.
2. Bandera has become the flag of the revolutionary struggle against the USSR. The Ukrainian people’s heroic clandestine-revolutionary and insurgent-guerrilla struggle has dispelled the myth of the all-powerful nature of the Soviet police organs of the NKGB and NKVD, and proves that this kind of struggle in the USSR is possible and is the sole correct one.

3. In the course of the struggle, new forms and mechanisms of revolutionary-clandestine tactics have been generated, against which all Soviet security tricks are powerless. The Bolsheviks' attempts to dupe the Ukrainian people with an imitation of "independence and sovereignty" in the form of a transformation into Union-Republican People's Commissariats of Defence and Foreign Affairs [and] the participation of a Ukrainian delegation in international conferences, etc. have exerted an even greater influence on the expansion of the independentist movement in Ukraine.

4. Changes to the ideological-political character of Bolshevism and racist Great Russian policies have had a positive impact on the strengthening of national consciousness and Ukraine's separateness, and have greatly intensified the Ukrainian people's struggle in all respects – cultural, economic, political – against the imperialistic Moscow centre.

5. The masses in Ukraine's eastern oblasts have demonstrated particularly vehemently their hostile attitude to the USSR in the sector of agriculture, overtly sabotaging the implementation of the state grain deliveries.

The struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry in Ukraine's eastern oblasts is an elemental manifestation of protest against the social and political oppression of Ukraine.

6. The political-propagandistic actions of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and the guerrilla combat operations of the UPA have become the mobilizing, organizing, and leading centre of the Ukrainian people's revolutionary struggle for total national and social liberation and the construction of the Independent Ukrainian State.

#### IV. On Tactics

1. In the current international and domestic situation, our revolutionary tactics must be adapted to a *long-term, protracted, and clandestine struggle*.

2. In the conditions of a protracted clandestine struggle, the political organization will be able to carry on and realize its goals if there are:

a) a high quality of cadres – that is, it will eliminate from its ranks all non-revolutionary ballast and, in the future, will expand its cadres very cautiously and, even then, with exclusively high-quality elements, thoroughly vetted and tested in the struggle.

b) [if it] constantly carries out work on the moral and political uplifting of cadres.

c) [if it] strictly applies all the principles of the secret-clandestine method of struggle.

3. In the struggle that is reckoned for long-term existence, the question of the *preservation of cadres* acquires special importance. Cadres are the most valuable treasure of the revolution. The maximum must be done in order to reduce cadre losses to a minimum. *An indifferent attitude to the question of preserving cadres is an unforgivable crime.*

4. The political Organization can ensure the people's endurance and persistence in the struggle by means of constant political-propaganda activities and the practical organization of the popular masses in their struggle for vital issues.

In its work the political Organization must rely on wide circles of sympathetic members of society.

5. Appeals for the masses to struggle and the very forms of the struggle must be *within the realm of real possibilities*. There are many areas for the mass organization of the masses. It is necessary simply to select the most important ones and concentrate all attention there. (For example, the question of wages, work conditions, the division of the products of labour on collective farms, the forcible introduction of the collective farm system, etc.).

6. In planning and developing the revolutionary struggle, one must always determine the priority of tasks and stages in relation to conditions in the field, the political maturity of the masses, our forces, and time.

7. The first stage of our revolutionary struggle in the USSR is to raise up the masses to an *anti-regime struggle* in order to topple the Stalinist-Bolshevik government.

Under the slogans of the "democratization" of all social, political, and economic life and "the free expression of the real will of the popular masses."

8. The main forces of our revolution, from the standpoint of the future, are first and foremost the revolutionary elements of the city and the countryside in Ukraine's Central and Eastern oblasts and work in that direction – this is our main task.

#### *V. Political-Propagandistic Guidelines*

1. Basic and in-depth instructions are attached separately, as well as explanatory instructions.

2. Pay more attention to the propagandistic polling of the labouring and eastern-Ukrainian milieux that are working in the ZUZ and the PZUZ.

3. For the most part, channel propagandistic literature to milieux that have not been captured by our revolutionary ideas, to which direct access is hampered. In particular, take advantage of every occasion to ensure that our literature reaches the SUZ and, generally, the depths of the USSR (take advantage of the army's march, dispatching to jobs, railway stations and trains, hospitals, marches of demobilized [soldiers], etc.).

4. Set up the propaganda apparatus in such a way as to be able to have an immediate reply to all urgent questions of the day in the form of a leaflet or at least appropriate appeals.

5. Take advantage of the fall and winter for the basic retraining of cadres, focusing main attention on studying the USSR in all respects in order to be able to successfully combat Bolshevism and its state Soviet system both in general and with respect to individual questions.

6. In the foundation of the nurturing of cadres place fresh, vigorous manifestations of the Ukrainian people's heroic struggle in 1941–45.

Each Organizational unit will mark, with a festive meeting, the death of those comrades of glorious memory who fell in a given organizational unit, and ensure that commemorative graves are dug for them.

#### VI. Organizational Guidelines

1. Prepare a detailed report on the implementation of the instructions from February 1945.
2. In Organizational work, switch completely to the lines of *deep clandestinity and strict secrecy in all respects*.
3. Adopt all measures for preserving cadres during the period of the winter "pressure."
4. Carry out the basic Organizational training of cadres, based on the experience of the practice acquired thus far and entirely adapted to the demands of the clandestine struggle under the Bolshevik occupation.
5. Low-level cadres, including kushch units, are to be engaged in combat operations (ambushes, hit-and-run attacks, assassinations, etc).
6. Raise the stanytsia to the appropriate level, as the basis of the Organizational structure, and the raion leadership, as the lowest independent leading unit.<sup>10</sup> Personnel changes are to be implemented cautiously and only in crucial cases, making sure beforehand that everything is set up in the new workplace. On all Organizational levels introduce mandatory, periodic meetings with the following agenda:
  1. Opening of the meeting and the salutation "Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!"
  2. Recitation of the Ten Commandments of the Ukrainian Revolutionary (without an introduction) in their entirety or only the first point.
  3. Report on work for the period since the last meeting (standing in ranks).
  4. The leader's assessment of the report. Approval and endorsement, or non-approval and punishment.
  5. Assessment of the political situation and discussion.
  6. Training-educational report and discussion.

<sup>10</sup> OUN operations were divided into the following administrative units: stanytsia – kushch – raion – nadraion – okruh – krai, each with its own leadership. The Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was set up around 22 November 1943. Insurgents in Volyn officially became known as UPA-North, those in central Ukraine were UPA-South, and Ukrainian People's Self-Defence units in western Ukraine became UPA-West. Each of these three *krais* were further subdivided into military districts. In 1944 there were at least ten, with two in UPA-North, six in UPA-West, and two in UPA-South. In 1945 these districts were further subdivided into tactical sectors, each with its own command and HQ. This territorial organization remained unchanged until 1949.

7. Plan of practical work and task for every member, particularly for the near future.

8. Announcement of official orders, instructions, announcements, etc. from higher bodies.

9. Miscellaneous for members to express their thoughts with regard to questions that were not included in the program.

10. Closing of the meeting with the slogan: "Glory to Ukraine, Glory to the Heroes!"

In a separate network organize the better elements that possess legal status. Organize only to the degree of need and for concrete tasks. Do not intermingle "legals" among you, but manage them with the aid of underground members. Begin organizing an urban Organizational network, designating for this the most capable organizers-underground members. Prepare all comrades from the SUZ and the PZUZ for departure to their areas, assigning to them from one to three comrades from the current place of work.

KPs [krai leaders] are responsible for this. Send for announcements of superiors or the individual responsible for those matters. Immediately send a list of such cadres, providing a description and from which area [*teren*]. The issue here is leading cadres capable of independent clandestine work.

Restrict women's participation in the underground to a minimum, transferring them to the status of actual underground members. Use all forms of legalization for those dismissed from work.

13. [numbers 7–12 are not visible on the document] Do not formalize sympathizers of our movement, who are merely hiding, in any Organizational network or *zvenos*. Give them a free hand in searching out forms of preservation or legalization. (With the exception of *strybky*<sup>11</sup> or other types of traitorous work.)

<sup>11</sup> The *strybky* were members of destruction ("search-and-destroy") units organized by the Soviet MVD, deployed to help exterminate the nationalist resistance. From December 1945 to 1946 alone, Soviet forces reportedly conducted 15,562 operations against the nationalists, during which 4,200 were killed and more than 9,400 arrested. Other Soviet archives indicate that between February 1944 and January 1946 the Soviet forces conducted 39,778 operations against the UPA, killing a total of 103,313 and capturing 8,370 OUN members, along with a total of 15,959 active insurgents. From 1944 to 1953, the Soviets killed 153,000 and arrested 134,000 members of the UPA. Some 66,000 families (204,000 people) were forcibly deported to Siberia, and half a million people were subjected to repression. In the same period Polish communist authorities deported 450,000 people, particularly in 1947, during Operation Vistula. Official Soviet figures for the losses inflicted against their personnel by "Ukrainian nationalists" during the period between 1944 and 1953 referred to 30,676 persons. Among them were 687 NKGB–MGB personnel; 1,864 NKVD–MVD personnel; 3,199 Soviet Army, Border Guards, and NKVD–MVD troops; 241 Communist Party leaders; 205 Komsomol (Young Communist League) leaders; and 2,590 members of self-defence units. According to Soviet data, the remaining losses were among civilians, including 15,355 peasants and *kolkhozniks* (collective farm workers).

Launch propagandistic-educational work among people resettled from the west and acquire a thorough knowledge of their milieu. Do not recruit anyone into an Organizational network without scrupulous vetting. Distribute our revolutionary literature.

Once again, pay attention to the basic restructuring of the system of Organizational contacts in accordance with clandestine-conspiratorial work.

Carry out the maximum financial collections by confiscations from the enemy and voluntary contributions from the citizenry. During each Organizational inspection carry out a close check of the financial management.

Acquire only the most necessary economic supplies, and only of basic articles, designated for the Organization's truly possible needs, by means of volunteer deliveries by citizens, who should be designated from above for each one in accordance with affluence and through confiscations from the enemy. Goods from cooperatives are to be distributed among the poor population.

*August–November 1945*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 28, fols. 139–43.



DOCUMENT 17: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE  
OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP (1946)

*Instructions*

*June 1946*

- I. On the International Situation*
- II. On the Situation in the USSR*
- III. On the Situation in Ukraine*
- IV. On Tactics*
- V. On Wartime Tactics*
- VI. Propaganda Guidelines*
- VII. Organizational Guidelines*
- VIII. SB Guidelines*
- IX. Guidelines for Armed Units*

*Instructions*

*June 1946*

*I. On the International Situation*

1. The postwar world political order has already clearly formed into two hostile, implacable blocs of states: the Anglo-Saxon and Russian-Bolshevik, which are consistently heading towards monopolistic control over the world. A decisive and leading role in the first bloc of states is played by the USA (Great Britain is clearly dropping to second place), and, in the second one, the Bolshevik-Russian USSR.

2. Both superpowers are rallying around themselves a number of second- and third-ranking states that are more or less interested in the victory of one of the superpowers, and they are also seeking to enlist on their side small states and nations, and peoples that are enslaved or threatened by the opponent, particularly the broad masses of ordinary, drab people.

3. On the ideological and political plane both blocs have put forward old ideas of democratism, each of them explaining them in their own way (Western and Eastern democracies); on the propaganda plane, they are doggedly arguing about which of the two democracies is genuine and most just and most beneficial to people.

Today both blocs need democratic ideas in order:

a) to conceal their actual goals and intentions under the guise of saccharine, freedom-loving democratic slogans.

b) to gain the goodwill of the world's broad masses, nations, and states.

c) finally, to fill the ideological vacuum that emerged as a result of the

compromising of the fascist-National Socialist and dictatorial-Bolshevik world perceptions.

4. The main hot spots of the escalating conflict between both of the super-power blocs are flaring up in these three geopolitical zones:

a) the northern basin of the Pacific Ocean, at the junction of the political and economic influences of the USA and the USSR, which are: China, Korea, Japan.

b) in the Near and Middle East (the Arab world), at the junction of the political and economic influences of Great Britain and the USSR, which are: Iran, Turkey (the gulfs leading to the Mediterranean Sea), the Balkans, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine, Egypt, etc.

c) in Western and Eastern Europe, where the influences of all three super-powers intersect, which are: Germany, Italy, France, Austria, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, etc.

All the contentious questions that arose and developed in the painful spots indicated above are such that it will not be at all possible to resolve them in the long term by peaceful and diplomatic means, and, in the final analysis, they must perforce lead to an armed conflict. The practical policies of the empires that are competing with each other in the mentioned territories are proof of that.

5. In the postwar period the antagonism between both blocs has become markedly exacerbated and has acquired forms of an overt political and diplomatic struggle that is defined by:

a) increasingly acute exacerbation of divisive questions and decisive intractability even in relatively minor nonessential questions.

b) the fleeting and unstable nature of already agreed-upon and contentious questions that have been seemingly resolved through diplomatic means.

c) the deliberate questioning and deferment of final decisions, with the clear-cut tendency (mind-set) of playing for time.

6. For the moment, diplomatic playing for time is necessary for both blocs for the following purposes:

a) economic and military preparations for a future war, corresponding to the experience acquired during the Second World War and new military inventions.

b) the formation of world opinion wherein all responsibility for a future war and its consequences will fall on the opposing bloc.

c) the moral and psychological mobilization of the broad masses of their populations for a future war as indispensable and inevitable.

d) the acquisition of influences and the goodwill of the dissatisfied masses and the peoples of the opposing bloc, and the formation and intensification of existing political and social movements that are leading to the emergence of an internal opposition.

e) finally, the moral, psychological, and political exhaustion of the opponent.

7. The weak aspects of both superpower blocs, which are influencing the deferment of the ultimate armed conflict with the opponent, mainly consist *in the Anglo-Saxon bloc* of:

a) that the broad masses are still obviously weakened by the six-year-long war, which has just ended, and therefore they do not want war.

b) that at the present time society in general does not see a direct threat to its existence from the Bolshevik Russia bloc and is in accord with the peaceful resolution of contentious questions.

c) the need for fundamental social-systematic reforms for the elimination of existing serious social contradictions.

d) the unresolved question of colonial and dependent nations.

*In the Bolshevik-Russian bloc:*

a) the immense destruction of the country's economic potential and the need for capital reconstruction.

b) general technical backwardness, particularly in the field of military industry and new military inventions.

c) strong social antagonisms and the great impoverishment of the broad labouring masses.

d) strong national and political movements with clear-cut separatist, independentist strivings.

e) the lack of a single idea uniting "the great prison of nations" or at least a point of unity with respect to economic interest. But the sole "unifying" argument of total police terror in the event of war is not reliable.

The Russian-Bolshevik bloc has comparatively weak aspects (their opponent has much stronger [aspects]), particularly their backwardness in economic and military-technological respects, which at the present moment instantly condemns them to defeat, and therefore playing for time is most advantageous and desirable for the USSR.

8. In order to weaken the superiority of the opposing bloc, the Bolshevik-Russian imperialists are using:

a) intensive assistance (financial, material, armed) to communist parties throughout the world for the takeover of state power by communists or at least the creation of strong anti-government opposition.

b) consolidation and support for professional and strike movements, directing them onto the path of anti-regime struggle.

c) assistance and support to all manner of political national-separatist movements, which merely weaken the opponent's unity and integrity.

d) the attempt to use the military means of the United Nations Organization against those states and their movements that already before and during the Second World War had shown themselves to be decisive opponents of the USSR.

e) in the countries that they control and occupy, they are applying such measures as to utterly liquidate, in a relatively shortest [*sic*] period of time, opposition movements and political parties that are sympathetic to the opposing bloc, and in that way gain undivided and uncontrolled rule (Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Poland, etc.).

9. In their current guise, the United Nations and the Security Council are unreliable institutions that could justly bring order to the world and thereby protect humanity from new wars. The United Nations Organization is in fact an instrument of the superpowers' imperialistic policies. It in no way ensures the existence and growth of small nations and states, and it is least of all interested in the fact that the member-states of the "United Nations" are enslaving other nations politically, and exploiting and oppressing them mercilessly. Practically speaking, for the USA and England, the United Nations have become an additional instrument in their foreign policies, and for the USSR – an arena of agitation for propagandizing Bolshevik (Eastern democratic) subversive slogans.

10. Existing proof of the possibility of a relatively fast-looming armed conflict between both superpower blocs would be:

a) *On the political plane*

- The creation of political and military blocs: the unification of the American continent under the leadership of the USA, the formation by Great Britain of an anti-Bolshevik bloc of Western European states, a political-economic and military alliance of eastern and central Europe and the Balkans, created by the USSR.
- The constant effort to include in their bloc semi-colonial and colonial peoples through concessions in their political order (the withdrawal of troops from Egypt, concessions in the Indies).
- All the practical policies of the USSR in the "liberated" and occupied countries, in particular their hasty inclusion in their own political-administrative systems, are most advantageous to the USSR; the heedless, forcible elimination from political life of independentist and opposition movements and parties that could weaken their military potential; the creation in the opposing bloc of so-called "fifth columns" and the merciless struggle against them in it; the attempt to drag the defeated nations into active participation against the opposing bloc by liquidating those who hinder this.
- The domestic policies of the superpowers, which are mobilizing with particular force all the spiritual-moral and political forces of their own peoples for the looming war.

b) *On the economic plane*

- The speedy development of their military industry, with clear-cut disregard for those spheres of industry that do not have a military character.

- The exploitation and development of all military industry in the conquered states.
- Economic-financial and management assistance for allied states for the purposes of raising their military potential (defence capability).
- The economic and propagandistic action of UNRRA, on the one hand, and similar “relief” actions of the USSR, on the other, with the clear-cut goal of gaining the goodwill of the starving masses in the looming conflict.<sup>12</sup>
- Finally, the intensified economic struggle in all international and domestic markets, which is aimed at the complete destruction of the competitor and monopolistic control over the markets.

*c) On the military plane*

- The unification of weaponry and military training for all states that are part of the bloc.
  - The maintenance of immense armies in mobilizational-military readiness.
  - The reorganization and rearming of armies in keeping with new military inventions and the experience of the preceding war.
  - Mass production of new military inventions and further intensified work in that direction, in particular the use by both sides of military specialists of the defeated states.
  - The organization of armies in allied states and their complete subordination to the superpowers’ military headquarters.
  - The maintenance of considerable army contingents of the defeated states (Germany, Japan), particularly their officer staffs.
  - The speedy preparation of strategic positions and aviation and naval bases in all directions of the possible theatre of military operations.
11. The existing political and diplomatic struggle will continue until such time as one of the sides acknowledges that further “playing for time” is superfluous or not beneficial and, for the resolution of contentious questions, adopts military means and forces the opponent to make serious, fundamental concessions and acknowledge its hegemonic status or capitulates fully.

In their statements we are only indicating the deepening of antagonism and exacerbation of the forms of struggle, which can equally lead to a speedy armed confrontation as well as to further diplomatic delay.

*II. On the Situation in the USSR*

1. In the postwar period, the USSR’s attempts to expand its sphere of influence and practically consolidate such positions for itself in the countries that it has

<sup>12</sup> The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was an international relief organization active until 1947, following which many of its functions were taken over by the International Refugee Organization (IRO).

newly occupied and controlled, which would facilitate its further expansion, and, above all, the subjugation of all of Europe and Asia, have met the most decisive resistance from Great Britain, the USA, and their allies, which has led to an open, acute diplomatic struggle which, in consequence, has forced the USSR to launch intensified and speedy military preparations in all respects.

2. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were supposed to serve the governmental clique as a moral and political mobilization of the mood of the broadest masses of the Soviet Union and their rallying around the Russian-Bolshevik Party. The goal behind holding the elections and the population's attitude to them prove that:

a) The entire pre-election campaign was designed for the monopolistic advertising of the Russian-Bolshevik Party clique and [its] aggressive, imperialistic policies.

b) The genuine manifestation of the will of the broad masses on election day was limited not only by candidates designated ahead of time by the Moscow centre but also by propagandistic-moral, economic, and political terror, unheard of in the Western democratic world.

c) The popular masses, which are decisively against the Bolshevik Party, regime, and policies, were forcibly driven to the ballot boxes on 10 February 1946 by means of terror.

d) The AUCP(B)'s support is not the people but exclusively a small group of a privileged, ruling top elite, and it is brought to perfection by brutal police terror.

e) The announcement of the result of the "voting" on the whole – this is merely the latest Bolshevik falsehood, which the citizens of the USSR have become accustomed to accepting as a normal phenomenon – is designed for the uninformed nature of the "backward" capitalist countries.

Passed by the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Law 37 on the fourth Five-Year Plan is the first part of the "great" postwar plan for the economic and military development of the Russian-Bolshevik Empire (proclaimed by Stalin in his pre-election speech), which is designed for three "Five-Year Plans" in such a way as to ensure that by the end of 1960 it will be able to catch up with the USA, that is, attain annual production of 50 million tons of cast iron, 60 million tons of steel, 60 million tons of oil, and 500 million tons of coal – that is, to achieve such a production level that the USA already had for the most part in 1940–41.<sup>13</sup>

4. The implementation of the fourth Five-Year Plan, drawn up entirely in keeping with the needs of military preparations,

13 The fourth Five-Year Plan was scheduled to begin in January 1946 (and end on 31 December 1950) but was not legally promulgated by the Supreme Soviet until 18 March 1946.

a) is increasingly intensifying the exploitation of workers and peasants, which has existed to this time, and is leading to their utter impoverishment and chronic periods of starvation.

b) in a rapacious manner is exploiting the natural resources of the so-called “Union republics.”

c) is completely disregarding the natural economic needs and demands of the “Union republics” and their peoples but is entirely adapted to the military-imperialistic plans of the Moscow centre.

d) is completely ignoring the masses burning, relentless need for peacetime products and mass consumer goods by mass-producing new military implements of death and destruction.

5. The financial situation of the USSR is extremely catastrophic. In order to salvage the state treasury, the government and the party periodically tax citizens’ last remaining finances, in the form of taxes, loans, etc., even though the financial situation of the Bolshevik-Russian Empire is not greatly improved, and, moreover, the poverty of the labouring masses is worsening significantly.

The final situation continues to worsen because:

a) military expenditures are constantly growing in connection with the looming new war.

b) all revenues from non-military branches of industry are instantly eaten up by the completely unprofitable military industry.

c) the financial and material expenditures of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, especially on assistance to the “fraternal” communist parties in the entire world in their struggle on behalf of the USSR, have grown to unprecedented dimensions.

d) it is impossible for the government to obtain a serious foreign loan from anywhere for the reconstruction of the national economy ruined by the war.

6. The inability of the party and the government to resolve the economic and financial crisis and, at the same time, to satisfy the primitive living demands of the labouring masses, are leading, on the one hand, to:

a) the intensification of police terror against the disgruntled masses as the sole means of keeping them in a state of obedience.

b) the government’s clear-cut reliance on the privileged, materially well-secured, anti-people class of Bolshevik magnates and, on the other, to mass starvation and begging for bread as the sole salvation from death by starvation for workers, collective farmers, crippled veterans, homeless children, etc.

d) widespread corruption, venality, and thievery of the administrative-economic apparatus.

e) thieving banditry, particularly by policemen and soldiers of a criminal nature, who have been demoralized by the war.

f) the strident mass expression of dissatisfaction with the existing order in the form of open public statements; however, without any clear-cut political colouration at the present time.

7. With regard to the nationality policy, the party and the government are still blatantly consolidating the Russian people's ruling status in the USSR; they are consistently implementing, in all spheres of life, the typical racist policy of the Russian people's superiority over all the nations of the world. Hand in hand with Russian-Bolshevik racism, all of life in the USSR is being consistently Russified and a universal Russian character is being imposed on it.

The racist policy of the oppression and persecution of the non-Russian nations is constantly being expanded, and it is leading to the ever greater igniting of justified hatred of the ruling Russian people and the deepening of the national consciousness of the enslaved nations.

The party's departure from the artificial creation of the so-called "Soviet person" is explained by the fact that during the war all the non-Russian nations demonstrated their hostile attitude to the USSR most acutely and, in practice, proved that separate national organisms are eternally vital and natural.

The process of the national struggle between the Russian and enslaved nations will only deepen and consistently split the USSR into natural national communities.

8. Today the moods of the broadest natural masses are clearly anti-regime, which is evident most unmistakably in the masses' desire for a new war, against the USSR, with which they are closely linking the collapse of the USSR and their national and social liberation.

This situation with regard to the public mood is eloquent proof of how unstable and trifling are the influences of the Bolshevik Party among the people.

### *III. On the Situation in Ukraine*

1. The winter 1945–46 period was marked by the Russian-Bolshevik regime's most brutal retribution against the Ukrainian people's liberation movement ... police garrisons have been installed on the whole throughout the western oblasts of Ukraine for the purpose of:

- a) crushing the revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian people.
- b) liquidating revolutionary political organizations and UPA military units.
- c) bringing fear to and terrorizing the civilian population.

2. The heroic struggle of the people, the organization, and the UPA, their superior ideological and moral steadfastness, have decisively repulsed the occupier. Despite the most unfavourable winter conditions, the Ukrainian revolutionary movement has heroically withstood the mass terror instituted by Bolshevik police gangs, so much so that the occupier has been unable either to destroy the revolutionary movement and its Organization or to frighten the nation with repressions and force it to repudiate its participation in the revolutionary struggle.



3. Through a mass, heroic struggle, the Ukrainian nation and the revolutionary movement responded to the Bolshevik aggressors' so-called "voluntary" resettlement of Ukrainians in the Ukrainian SSR from the Ukrainian territory west of the so-called Curzon Line.

As a result of the determined, unequal struggle against the Russian-Bolsheviks and their henchmen, the Polish-Bolshevik military gangs, thousands of victims perished, the property of the resettled people was looted, hundreds of villages were burned, and approximately half a million Ukrainians were "voluntarily" resettled in that way.

The resettlement action carried out by the "government of the Ukrainian SSR" once again proves:

a) that the so-called "Ukrainian" SSR is only a branch of the Moscow centre in Ukraine, to which the interests and desires of the Ukrainian people are utterly foreign.

b) The idea of Unity (unification) of the Ukrainian nation is foreign and hostile since, in the most despicable manner, it has sold out the ancient ethnographic Ukrainian lands to the buffer Polish-Bolshevik state for Śląsk [Silesian] coal for Moscow.

c) Moscow's efforts to drive all Ukrainians into the single prison cell of the Ukrainian SSR so that beyond its walls there will not be a compact Ukrainian mass anywhere, which could oppose Russian-Bolshevik policies in Ukraine.

d) The desire to ignite a Ukrainian-Polish struggle artificially and thereby weaken the revolutionary struggle against the USSR.

4. The sacrifices that the Ukrainian people are making in the heroic liberation struggle are leading, on one hand, to the broad popularization of the struggle and ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution and eliciting the respect and admiration of all honest people and nations and, on the other, they are rallying and unifying the Ukrainian nation even more strongly under the liberation flags of the Ukrainian Revolution, which are dear to it; they are creating a belief in the justness of the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution and laying enduring foundations for the existence of the Ukrainian nation and the further struggle for the USSD for future generations.

5. The elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR revealed the hostility of Ukrainians throughout Ukraine, and in the western Ukrainian lands they have turned into a clear-cut manifestation against enslavement. The majority of the people did not go to the ballot boxes, despite the use of all forms of terror (including beatings, shootings, and hangings), and Bolshevik police units that were "protecting" the ballot boxes managed to drive only an insignificant proportion of the people to vote by force.

During the period of the elections the Ukrainian nation demonstrated great political maturity and revolutionary steadfastness.

6. The fourth Five-Year Plan of the economic reconstruction of the Ukrainian SSR has the same consequences for the popular masses as throughout the entire “Soviet Union” but with the following Ukrainian features:

a) The government of the “Ukrainian” SSR does not have any autonomy in relation to the Five-Year Plan, and it is merely obediently carrying out the orders of the Moscow centre.

b) The main task of the plan is the predatory exploitation of Ukraine’s natural economic resources.

c) The reconstruction of Ukraine’s cities, villages, and economy, destroyed by the war, is a propaganda and agitation trick because, in fact, hardly any such reconstruction is taking place, but the economy in indigenous Russian territories is being rebuilt and developed at the expense of Ukraine.

7. The policy of Russification (a practice of the Moscow centre in Ukraine) is continuing consistently, aiming in the postwar period at the enduring consolidation of the “unification” of Ukraine with Russia, which is resulting, in particular:

a) in the Russification of Ukrainian cities, the implantation of the Russian element in them in the form of the “fraternal” assistance of Russian specialists.

b) in the deliberate shunting of the Ukrainian language into the background and an indifferent and disdainful attitude to it, and the promotion and elevation of the Russian language as the language of the leading nation and therefore “more cultured.”

c) in the Russificatory practical school policy, which begins as early as the elementary grades, and in the VUZs [Higher Educational Institutions] it is approaching a completely Russian character.

d) in the Russification of the entire cultural life of the nation (in art, literature, theatre, etc.), which for the moment is still Ukrainian, but in content it is becoming almost completely Russified. Also affected by the goals of Russification is the church, where the language is increasingly often switched to Russian, and bit by bit Russian *batiushkas* [priests] are coming to Ukraine with “fraternal” assistance.

8. The ideological propaganda actions of the Russian Bolshevik occupiers against the revolutionary movement, in order to compromise it in the eyes of the masses and defame [it], not only have not exerted any sway on the people [but,] on the contrary, they have revealed their utter ideological and political nullity and debility.

For the Ukrainian people the idea of the revolutionary movement and struggle have become the sole truths today, a belief sanctified by the life and blood of its finest warriors.

*On the Tactics of the Revolutionary Struggle*

1. The Ukrainian revolutionary movement at various stages of the liberation struggle is using a tactic that, at the present stage, is offering it the best successes and consistently bringing it closer to achieving the main goal: the liberation of the Ukrainian people.

The key aspect that determines the tactics of the revolutionary struggle is the *political situation*. The concept of “political situation” must be understood as the totality of favourable and unfavourable factors, which boils down mainly to:

a) the forces of the enemy, that is, his [*sic*] political-state system of the organized political apparatus and its actual pressure on the revolutionary movement, the ideological and moral worth of the cadres of leading state institutions.

b) our own forces and actual capabilities for acting, in particular: the moral worth of cadres, their political mastery of technical and organizational capacities, and the political consciousness and moral steadfastness of the entire nation.

c) the international order of the world’s political forces, particularly the extent to which it is beneficial to the enemy and grants him freedom of movement against the revolutionary movement, or [is] not beneficial and binds its forces so that he cannot use them against the revolutionary movement.

2. In accordance with the political situation, the tactics of the revolutionary struggle are defensive (the political situation is not favourable) or offensive (the political situation is favourable). With a change in the political situation, the intensification or weakening of the external manifestations of the revolutionary struggle and emphasis on political or armed forms of struggle also changes.

3. The existing political situation in the conditions of all-out police Bolshevik terror and the “peaceful” international situation for offensive-insurgent revolutionary actions is clearly unfavourable, and therefore it is politically expedient in such a political situation to apply defensive-clandestine tactics of revolutionary struggle, which are aimed:

a) at ensuring the continuity (long-term) of the Ukrainian people’s liberation movement by means of an intractable, constant revolutionary struggle to prevent the enemy from blunting the people’s national-moral foundations and their faith in the nation’s living, creative forces and ultimate liberation.

b) at preserving the main revolutionary forces as the support base of the liberation struggle during the period of the enemy’s strongest pressure and leading [the] centre of the liberation struggle against destruction by the enemy.

4. The long-lasting and rich experience of the revolutionary struggle in various political situations, especially in the conditions of the Bolshevik occupation, has provided the revolutionary movement with tried and tested new, good methods of clandestine tactics that are making it possible to wage the revolutionary struggle successfully, even in the most difficult conditions.

For the revolutionary movement, deep clandestine tactics in the existing political situation are the sole reliable ones. Other forms of struggle, from the standpoint of their prolonged existence, are clearly harmful and politically inexpedient. 5. The process of switching from guerrilla to clandestine tactics is constantly ongoing in relation to the enemy's pressure, thus, the current forms of the revolutionary struggle are already much closer to genuinely underground tactics; however, a complete switch has not taken place – some cadres are stubbornly continuing to struggle according to earlier methods.

Allowing [a situation] in which every [underground member] is convinced of the feasibility of genuine clandestine tactics through life [experienced] firsthand is very harmful to the revolutionary movement because this kind of “education” is too costly.

The change in tactics to deep clandestinity is necessary both in armed units and in the Organization (treat it as the main problem of our liberation policies and decisively and completely switch to clandestine tactics in all respects: propagandistic, organizational, combat, et al., all the way to the daily life of the revolutionary, inclusively).

6. In keeping with clandestine tactics, the revolutionary struggle mostly has the character of concealed (conspiratorial) political-combat action, with the clear-cut tendency of avoiding open, broad mass actions, particularly open armed attacks on a larger scale.

*Political-propaganda actions* are the main ones and are generally aimed at:

a) the dissemination of revolutionary ideas and slogans both among the Ukrainian nation and others, social classes, groups, and individuals, and in the hostile milieu, as well in a hostile environment as revolutionary, progressive ideas that indicate the true paths of the further development of public life and the only ones that offer a just solution to all questions in the spirit of the desires and needs of the broad popular masses.

b) the defence of the ideological-political and programmatic principles of the Ukrainian Revolution against the reproaches of the enemy, who is seeking by all means to compromise and triumph over them.

c) the merciless struggle to prevail over the political, state-order, social [and] economic foundations of the hostile system, proving, by means of indisputable facts, their utter reactionarism and their practical harm for the broad popular masses

d) the enlistment and inclusion in the revolutionary movement of the worthiest leading individuals, who could head the revolutionary struggle in the given milieux and lead it.

*Combat operations* as part of clandestine tactics have a distinct political-propaganda character, and they are adopted in keeping with political-propaganda demands and needs, and not the needs of an essentially military order.

The additional characteristic features of clandestine tactics, besides many others, are:

a) the complete shutting of the revolutionary Organization and its cadres from the eyes of the enemy and outsiders, and functioning in complete secrecy (clandestinity). The only visible and publicized actions are external actions and deeds; however, their organizer (source, initiator) should always be unknown to outsiders.

b) the reliance of the revolutionary Organization on qualitatively the most valuable and morally strongest cadres that consciously and with dedication will endure in the revolutionary struggle, regardless of the most arduous conditions.

c) the enshrinement in the foundations of our Organizational work of the strongest emphasis on *trust and friendship*, not on formal-external relationships (e.g., blatant treading on others' toes).

d) conspiratorial actions by means of small, well-disciplined *zveno* [small units] and groups, as well as individually.

e) strictly conspiratorial sojourn (billeting) of underground members in complete secrecy from outside people and members who are not privy to secrets.

f) the constant and thorough adoption of conspiratorial principles in the entire internal Organizational life of members and, in particular, diligent pursuit of the principle: "Do not discuss matters with anyone, only with those you must."

7. From the standpoint of the long-lasting, arduous underground struggle, that part of the cadres of the revolutionary-political Organization that lives legally and is well concealed from the enemy is of particular importance.

Only by relying on the two Organizational forms of the revolutionary struggle – that is, the Organization with underground cadres and the Organization with legal clandestine cadres, can one successfully wage a liberation struggle under Soviet occupation.

The advantageous (positive) features of the organization of "legals" are:

a) living out in the open among people.

b) vital and straightforward perception of reality.

c) a great opportunity to react directly to everyday manifestations in the life of the masses by channelling them onto anti-Bolshevik rails and forming the masses' revolutionary stance.

d) relatively great freedom and possibility of movement.

e) with good secrecy established, the possibility of a long-lasting revolutionary struggle.

The following disadvantageous (negative) features may be noted:

a) as a result of inadequate secrecy, very rapid "failure."

b) a close connection with the area of residence and workplace.

c) restricted amount of time for working for the needs of the revolutionary movement.

*Tactical guidelines during the period of a war against the USSR*

1. In the event of a war against the USSR, the Ukrainian liberation movement will enjoy the most favourable political situation in order to completely liberate itself politically and socially and to construct a sovereign independent state.
2. We emphasize most clearly that no one will offer us the gift of genuine liberation in order to live freely in their own sovereign state; the Ukrainian people must achieve and build such a state through their own efforts.
3. The Ukrainian people's constant (permanent) liberation struggle against Bolshevik-Russian occupation is entirely natural; in a war situation it will significantly strengthen while advancing to their complete expression through the forms of a nationwide liberation uprising (revolution in the narrow, technical understanding of that word).
4. The nationwide liberation uprising should be understood as:
  - a) the entire mobilization of the entire people's forces, spiritual-moral and material-physical.
  - b) the channelling of those forces towards the complete destruction of the occupier, his state-political and socioeconomic institutions in Ukraine.
  - c) and their inclusion in the creative process of the construction of a free sociopolitical life in our own state, in the spirit of the ideas and program of the Ukrainian Revolution, in order to consolidate for a long period of time the freedom achieved by the people and to facilitate the comprehensive and full growth of the entire people.
5. However, a war situation, and even the destruction of the occupier, does not always allow an enslaved people to bring a liberation struggle to its natural conclusion – the building of a sovereign state. For example, Germany's war with the USSR from 1941 to 1945 was merely a change of occupier for a whole number of enslaved peoples; the liberation struggle and armed uprising of the Indonesian peoples against the Japanese occupier ultimately led to a new Dutch occupation. There are many such examples in the history and contemporary life of enslaved peoples.

The Ukrainian people must be aware of the possibility of such a development of events and should not, therefore, reassure themselves with groundless hopes and illusions. On the contrary, they must be decisively prepared for a struggle for complete liberation, obviously applying those forms and means of struggle that will be the most successful and most feasible with a change in the political situation.
6. In a war situation it is tactically correct and exclusively expedient to raise the popular masses to a general armed uprising against the occupier at the moment when its main forces are broken as a result of military actions and [when] a general disintegration of the entire state and police apparatus is commencing.

Premature uprisings lead a people to very intense bloodshed, and they usually have dim prospects for success.

*Practical guidelines*

*Stage One (mobilization, onset of war)*

7. For the most part, those subject to the draft hide from mobilization individually in pre-arranged locations.
  8. The proportion of those subject to the draft, which the occupier will take into the RA [Red Army], is ordered:
    - a) to propagandize revolutionary ideas and slogans in the RA.
    - b) to desert.
    - c) to switch to existing insurgent units.
    - d) in a front-line situation, to switch to anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian liberation formations that exist past the front (on the opposing side).
  9. Carry out your own mobilization to the UPA:
    - a) when there are practical possibilities to maintain units by preserving them from destruction by the enemy.
    - b) in accordance with supplies of weapons and ammunition (do not create unarmed units in the hope of acquiring [them] in the future).
    - c) within the realm of possibility, head units with command personnel.
  10. Conduct mass propaganda in the Red Army about the imminent collapse of the USSR, and disseminate revolutionary ideas, slogans, and appeals by all possible means.
  11. Warn the general population about the possibility of mass physical extermination, which the Bolsheviks will want to do during their retreat from Ukraine.
  12. In the event of a forcible evacuation of people and property, resist this by all means – in particular, blow up and burn down bridges and destroy roads so that the enemy will not be able to transport looted goods from Ukrainian lands.
  13. Take propagandistic control over units of *strybky* and formations of this kind, and urge them, first and foremost, into open armed clashes with the NKGB-NKVD and the militia so that they rehabilitate themselves before the nation for their service as lackeys.
- Stage two (failures at the front, breakdowns, retreat)*
14. With all existing forces strike at the retreating enemy, particularly the police, in order ultimately to destroy the last enemy support bases in the Ukrainian lands and to acquire the means necessary for the struggle, especially ammunition and weapons.
  15. Carry out a general mobilization to the UPA, and in the shortest period of time bring the mobilized masses to complete military-organizational order and combat capability.
  16. Fully cleanse the territory of the Ukrainian lands of the occupier and his institutions:

a) Elements hostile to the Ukrainian liberation movement are to be indiscriminately destroyed (police, the top party leadership, leading Russian chauvinistic and imperialistic cadres of the state economic apparatus, etc.).

b) The more important “aces” of the occupation government are to be detained under arrest for thorough interrogation and explanation of the crimes secretly committed by the occupier.

c) Red Army units that are found on the terrain of operations of the liberation insurgent movement are to be urged to go over to the side of the Ukrainian Revolution or interned after vetting; Ukrainians are to be included in the UPA, non-Russians are to be sent back to their native land[s], and Russians are to be held prisoner.

d) Behave correctly towards those staff members of the occupying state-economic apparatus who, during their service, did not inflict any harm on the Ukrainian people; this concerns Ukrainians in particular as well as some non-Russians.

17. Establish a revolutionary administrative-economic government in the liberated (cleansed) territories, particularly in cities, in the name of and under the aegis of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR ), as a revolutionary parliament of the Ukrainian people, creating:

- provisional rural people’s administrations in villages.
- provisional raion people’s administrations in raions.
- provisional oblast people’s administrations in oblasts.

Provisional administrations are to be organized according to models existing heretofore, summoning the better segment of Bolshevik special workers to work. During this transitional stage apply the principle of putting forward candidates for leading important positions all the way to the raion, inclusively, and in the countryside immediately implement free general elections.

18. Members of the Organization are to be ensconced only in the main leading positions in the administrative-economic apparatus, which are truly indispensable to the management of a given branch.

In the main, enlist the broadest masses of the people to work in all spheres of life. The main forces of the Organization are to be left in reserve for political work, particularly in the SUZ.

During the transitional provisional stage of state reconstruction the OUN carries out its political-guiding role in all spheres of the life of the people through its members and sympathizers, who work in various functional posts in all state-social, economic, and other institutions, as well as in the military apparatus.

*Stage three (the arrival of Western allies in the Ukrainian lands)*

19. Relations with the American-English armies and political bodies and those allied with them will emerge from their attitude to the idea of Ukrainian



Statehood, the revolutionary armed-insurgent struggle of the Ukrainian people, and their political and military organizations. By their stance the Ukrainian people should not provide any grounds such that these relations will be disadvantageous or hostile.

20. The attitude to the Polish army as part of the armies of the Western allies is the same as to other allied armies.

21. In the event of a Polish attempt to establish political-administrative rule in the ZUZ as a former part of the former Polish state, oppose this as decisively as possible.

22. We abide by the ethnographic principle of national state building and therefore do not recognize any claims of our state neighbours (Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Russians) to any part of the Ukrainian ethnographic territory, and, if necessary, we shall defend our national territory with all existing forces and means. In this direction, both the Organization and the armed units must carry out the proper preparations beforehand so that the Ukrainian national borders can be defended with success.

23. We recognize only that supreme state power in Ukraine that will derive from the will of the Ukrainian people, and we shall fully defend their sovereign rights at all times.

24. In all contentious questions locally, refer to the UHVR and the UPA as competent to decide such issues.

#### *VI. Propaganda Guidelines*

1. All guidelines issued separately and instructions from the month of October 1945 are still in force.

2. The ideological-political offensive of the revolutionary movement should be constant and should lead to the full compromising and discreditation of hostile ideological-political, socioeconomic, and other foundations in the eyes of the broad masses, particularly in the eyes of the most valuable and leading part, and they are to be instilled with the ideological-world perceptual principles of the Ukrainian Revolution.

The ideological and political struggle must make the masses aware of the logical necessity behind the collapse of the existing order and fortify in the feelings of the masses an unshakeable belief in the ultimate victory of the ideas of the Ukrainian Revolution.

3. The mass dissemination of revolutionary ideas throughout all the lands of Ukraine, all areas inhabited by Ukrainians, and, ultimately, the entire USSR, will bring our liberation struggle important successes.

Under no circumstance allow the enemy to localize the revolutionary struggle, pushing us to work in “their” so-called terrains, villages, where work conditions are superficially easier. On the contrary: the spread of the revolutionary struggle should be in all areas, relatively identically. Often in politically

backward areas or those not encompassed by the revolutionary movement work conditions are truly easier because police pressure is weaker there and the population is less terrorized.

4. For the propaganda and agitation goal, make use of all disgruntled elements in the USSR, particularly:

a) Ukrainians from the SUZ who are working in the western lands (workers, pupils, students, teachers, the intelligentsia). Do not shy away from eastern Ukrainian people ("Soviets"), do not avoid them, but, on the contrary: seek all kinds of paths of rapprochement with them, uniting them first and foremost in personal and then ideological-political respects.

b) the exploited, hungry masses of "Soviet" people (workers, collective farm workers, invalids, the homeless, etc.) who are arriving en masse in the western lands for grain and food. Such people must be particularly welcome, helped in a brotherly fashion, and the paths to a better life in the Ukrainian state must be explained to them.

c) military units of the Red Army, particularly Ukrainian and non-Russian ones, who are passing through or billeting with their garrisons in areas encompassed by the revolutionary movement. This type of propaganda work can be successfully carried out by legals, especially women and girls.

5. A precondition of successful propaganda-political work is the high level of cadres' political formation. All directives concerning the question of training must be constantly implemented. In particular, demand the thorough study and knowledge of all training and propaganda materials published by the Organization.

6. In propaganda-agitation work emphasize *national* aspects equally strongly (the enslavement of nations, Russian imperialism, chauvinism, racism, the Bolsheviks' national-colonial policies, etc.) and *social* (the exploitation of the broad masses, the class nature of the USSR, the struggle of classes in the USSR, etc.), linking them closely with existing current facts of everyday life.

7. The forms of propaganda work must be, in relation to clandestine tactics, not noisy-loud, strident, but concealed, quiet, conspiratorial. The issue is not acting for the sake of a brief momentary effect, for publicizing, but the enduring consolidation of revolutionary ideas among the people.

In particular, the following forms must be used:

a) meetings in *zvena*.

b) individual encounters.

c) spontaneous conversations.

d) secret readings of revolutionary literature.

8. All Organizational units (from the raion upward) must organize their own propaganda technology (typewriters, cyclostiles, glassographs, hectographs, and topographs) for duplicating literature.

Technical-propaganda *zvena* (3–5 people) must exist in strict secrecy and isolated from other work and members of the Organizational network.

With its own technical means, each Organizational unit must basically supply itself with the necessary quantity of propaganda and training literature.

#### *VII. Organizational Guidelines*

1. Today's (from the month of June 1946) instructions are a further development and supplement to the instructions from the months of February and October 1945. The previous instructions are to be upheld in Organizational work and right now, emphasizing those aspects that are indicated in the present instruction.

The guidelines listed in the instructions are to be implemented thoroughly and accurately. A great proportion of the losses that the revolutionary movement suffered during the winter "pressure" is the direct result of an indifferent attitude to instructions and directives "from upstairs."

Draw up a detailed report on the execution of previous instructions and continuously report on the course of implementing the current instruction.

2. The main principles for selecting "underground members" and working with them are:

- a) high ideological-moral worth. Strong characters.
- b) extensive revolutionary and political experience.
- c) practical readiness for the struggle against enemy police services (NKVD, NKGB, and their agents), experience in the work of the SB.
- d) keeping silent, which must become a habit in the life of an underground member, so that even in the closest circle of friends the underground member will not blurt out matters that constitute an Organizational secret
- e) the small size of the underground. Above all, "underground members" must be the leading cadres with the necessary minimum of combat and technical cadres.
- f) the organized distribution of underground cadres in the field, so as to avoid clustering.
- g) strictly secret stays (billeting) in "houses," billets, hideouts. Adopt this indispensable principle: only the people who live there are to know about the clandestine location.
- h) as a rule, meetings between clandestine members "upward" and "downward" are to be held at "dead drops," according to recognition markers and passwords. Meeting points are to be thoroughly arranged and changed frequently.
- i) all Organizational and generally all more important matters are to be resolved only verbally during personal meetings or through authorized individuals.

In the event of failure, write only that which will not provide the enemy the information about an Organization and its members. It is mandatory to use a code and cipher for indispensable notes.

j) a precondition for underground members for carrying out their revolutionary tasks successfully and separate assignments according to their specialty is that they must be properly provided with specific secret accommodations and food for a longer period of time.

3. The fundamental principles of organizing “legals” are:

a) to organize individuals who are not suspected by the police as being sympathizers of the revolutionary movement.

b) do not engage in revolutionary work individuals whom the police have placed under surveillance (processing), have been arrested, persecuted, or are “planted.”

c) just like in the underground, the following are decisive: quality, moral worth, ability to keep silent, political reliability, and readiness to work actively in the revolutionary Organization in the conditions of a legal life.

d) in organizing legals, govern yourselves according to the indispensability of the revolutionary task, and organize the appropriate people only to the degree of the requirements of the tasks.

e) in order to recruit legals to active conspiratorial work, it is necessary:

1. to know the candidate and his/her biography in detail.

2. to know his/her family and milieu.

3. to know moral worth, tendencies, and skills.

4. during a period of no fewer than three to six months, gradual[ly] prepare for conspiratorial work and vet him/her.

5. formally make him/her a member of the Organization and assign a concrete task.

f) work with legals should take place individually, in strict secrecy. Through his/her conduct, the legal should not elicit suspicion, neither should the tasks that he/she will be carrying out expose him/her prematurely.

g) as a rule, legals must not be linked with each other; they are to be directed through an underground member, who meets with him/her at dead drops or through couriers from the legal's closest relatives.

4. The question of dispatching members and sympathizers (above all, legals) to organize the eastern Ukrainian areas, especially cities, is one of the very important revolutionary tasks both from the standpoint of an imminent war and, even more importantly, from the standpoint of a protracted clandestine struggle.

All possibilities that exist in individual raions must be utilized in this direction, in particular:

a) forcible expulsion and resettlement.

b) enlistment of a workforce for industrial raions.

c) schools, courses.

d) Red Army draft.

e) personal acquaintance with people, through whom there is a possibility to reach the given areas.

5. Communications in revolutionary work is still one of the most important, and in underground conditions the most difficult, Organizational matters. With good organization [and] enlistment of couriers and with the creation of appropriate secrecy surrounding the work of couriers, communications can still be maintained, even in the period of the enemy's greatest pressures.

With regard to the question of communications, it is necessary:

a) once again to review people's trustworthiness, beginning with an autobiography and ending with a thorough examination of the person of the courier in all respects.

b) to provide couriers with thorough training in the principles of clandestinity and silence.

c) to create, in keeping with conditions, new and auxiliary courier lines, courier points, and dead drops.

d) separate couriers from the field network, supply "houses" with appropriate food and materially (especially footwear).

e) constantly educate, train, and verify the work.

*Various organizational issues:*

6. Ban functional designations (e.g., raion leader, raion SB, etc.); instead, use the general designation of "superior."

7. Keep strict watch over the Organizational work path both "from top to bottom" and the reverse. Members who are not connected in work terms must not speak about any Organizational matters.

8. Thoroughly organize matters pertaining to member cadres (underground members, legals), clearly define Organizational dependence (who is the superior), create permanent units of three to five people and designate tasks. Separate underground members from so-called "members of the rear line services," who are only in hiding (*okolotnyky* [draft dodgers]).

9. Set up systematic reporting "upward," providing accurate and verified news about the enemy, his policies in a given field, socioeconomic relations (numbers, statistical data), sociopolitical surveys of the people's life, and information from various individuals about sociopolitical life and everyday life in various oblasts of the USSR.

10. At every level of the Organizational structure (from the raion upward) members of the leadership should build each one in particular together with their closest aides (couriers, bodyguards, etc.). Do not permit clustering of leading members in one field or their longer sojourn, or members moving about solo.

11. Thoroughly review the fundamental principals of secrecy with all members, and especially explain point 6 of the *Decalogue: Do Not Discuss Matters with Anyone, Only with Those You Must*.<sup>14</sup>

14 The *Decalogue*, or "Ten Commandments," of the Ukrainian Nationalist, was first published in an underground newspaper, *Surma* (*Clarion*), in the summer of 1929. The commandments are:

12. Carry out organizational, political-propaganda, and combat work in such a way as not to provoke Bolshevik repressions.
13. Prepare all kinds of external actions very thoroughly and in detail (providing people in "houses" with indispensable items), act in the strictest secrecy, and after actions, erase (mask) your traces.
14. Do not keep archives, money in residential "hideouts," only separately, in parts, in various locations, concerning which a few members, who also reside in different locations, should know.
15. Just as it is most expedient to use the winter period for strengthening cadres' political knowledge, so too in the summer and autumn channel Organizational work for practical work in the field (controls, personal meetings with one's subordinates, instruction, training).
16. Members are forbidden to use alcohol systematically during meals, but it may be consumed during various festive or happy occasions. Leading individuals, superiors should set an example and be the first to stop drinking entirely. Carry out actions against drunkenness among the people; only morally strong individuals with character will be able to endure the hard conditions of revolutionary-clandestine life.

#### *VIII. SB (Security Service)*

1. The SB carries out work according to the instructions of its acting superiors, cooperating closely and accurately informing their Organizational local superiors.
2. In the total police system (the Ukrainian SSR: three police agencies: the NKGB, NKVD, police) the SB's work in the struggle's underground conditions is of paramount importance. The Organization would not have lasted long with a feeble revolutionary security service. Therefore, all members of the Organization must actively assist the SB bodies in their work and, especially, assign the finest and most gifted cadres for work in the SB.
3. All kinds of actions to liquidate the enemy element must be carried out in complete secrecy. Only exceptionally base traitors, universally detested criminals should be punished publicly.

- 
1. You will attain a Ukrainian State or die in battle for it.
  2. You will not permit anyone to defame the glory or honour of your nation.
  3. Remember the Great Days of our struggles.
  4. Be proud that you are the inheritor of the struggle for Volodymyr's Trident.
  5. Avenge the deaths of the Great Knights.
  6. Do not speak about matters with anyone, only those with whom it is essential.
  7. Do not hesitate to undertake the most dangerous deeds, should this be demanded by the good of the Cause.
  8. Treat the enemies of your nation with hatred and ruthlessness.
  9. Neither pleading, nor threats, nor torture, nor death shall compel you to betray a secret.
  10. Aspire to expand the strength, riches, and size of the Ukrainian state even by means of enslaving foreigners.

SB combat groups must operate especially secretly (quietly) so that no outsiders will be able to know about the nature of the group (that it is an SB group).

#### *IX. Armed Units*

1. Armed units should be fully subordinated to leaders of Organizational networks (from the raion up) for combat and Organizational work. Operate only in scattered form.
2. Commanders and fighters who are superfluous in the military-combat sphere of work are to be engaged in Organizational work, assigning them such tasks in which they will be able to prove themselves best.
3. In Organizational leadership (from the okruha up) organize military personnel into a military organizational-personnel section, combining it in case of need with the Organizational Section. The issue here is practical work, not a formal designation.
4. Continue to collect materials for the history of the UPA and work on them. In particular, collect battle descriptions, chronicles of units, reminiscences of commanders and fighters, songs, etc.
5. Carry out all battle actions under the UPA brand, upholding the demands of clandestine tactics.

In particular, apply combat-sabotage and terrorist actions for the following purposes:

- a) political-propaganda.
- b) retaliation.
- c) the destruction of individuals, groups, or institutions (e.g., the head of police, higher-ranking party secretaries, etc.) that are exceptionally harmful to the revolutionary movement.
- d) the acquisition of crucially necessary means and information.

Prepare each combat action very thoroughly and conspiratorially, and after its execution “disappear” without a trace, concealing all your traces that could provide the enemy with information about the combat group.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 28, fols. 159–74.

DOCUMENT 18: INSTRUCTIONS: POSSIBLE OUTBREAK OF  
THE THIRD WORLD WAR (CA. 1946)

*Secret! Do not circulate!*

*Instructions in the Event of War*

*Military:*

- 1) General call to arms of all men.
- 2) Strike at the NKVD and carry out demonstrative acts in order to show that we are against the Bolsheviks.
- 3) Preserve our forces for further efforts.
- 4) Disarm with regard to taking over the command of Red Army units.
- 5) Wreck communication routes, set up obstacles on roads.
- 6) Take over and store up military goods at once, particularly weapons and ammunition.
- 7) Do not allow foreign gangs (Poles, Hungarians, Romanians) to invade Ukrainian ethnographic territories.
- 8) Do not fight against Polish formations organized into units attached to the allies (Anders' army).<sup>15</sup> Advance against these military with arms in the event that they want to create a certain political situation (establish administrations) in the Ukrainian lands.
- 9) In the event of the allies' appeal for the disarmament of our units, delay the matter and ultimately conceal 90 percent of the weapons, surrender 10 percent.
- 10) Do not permit armed clashes with the allies. Treat them as allies but without particular enthusiasm. Our attitude to these will be determined by their political attitude towards us.
- 11) Capture main cities, if possible by the time of the allies' arrival.

*Political:*

- 1) Speak only under the brand names of the UHVR [and] the UPA, and always refer back to the Ukrainian government of the UHVR.
- 2) Embed the administration (mainly oblasts, raions), but not with the finest elements but with so-called other suits [*garnitura*: i.e., people]. Keep leading people in reserve for further tasks (SUZ).
- 3) Do not bring up the OUN anywhere.
- 4) Treat national minorities (especially Poles) correctly as citizens of Ukraine.

<sup>15</sup> Anders' Army was the informal name given to Polish military formations organized in the Soviet Union in 1941–42 under the command of General Władysław Anders.



- 5) Maintain strict discipline in the government.
- 6) In the event that the allies put forward another (Ukrainian) government counter to the UHVR, yield to it and await its further actions and instructions from the Organization. Do not permit an armed struggle against it under any circumstances.
- 7) Reconcile yourselves to the possibility that an allied military occupation may last for a certain period of time.
- 8) In the event that a foreign, hostile government is formed (the Poles in the ZUZ, the Muscovites in the SUZ), go underground and await further orders.
- 9) Set up very effective communication.

HDA SBU, 13-376-88-123.

DOCUMENT 19: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE  
OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP (1947)

June 1947

*Instructions**On the International Situation*

1. The last year, 1946–47, is characterized by the following more notable international events: the conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers for the preparation of peace talks with Germany's former satellites, the Paris Peace Conference,<sup>16</sup> the UN General Assembly session, the activities of the Security Council, and the promulgation of the so-called "Truman Doctrine."<sup>17</sup>
2. The Paris and New York conferences of the Council of Foreign Ministers and the Paris Peace Conference indicate that:
  - a) the four great superpowers have formally taken upon themselves the ordering of the world, granting others only an "advisory vote."
  - b) the principle of disallowing smaller states to decide the fate of the world is defended most adamantly by the USSR.
  - c) all those conferences are in fact the result of a political contest between the USA and the USSR because England and France are increasingly being relegated to the role of secondary states.
  - d) the USSR is manifesting further aggressive efforts (Trieste) and even putting forward colonial demands (Tripolitania).
  - e) all these meetings are sanctioning only the state of affairs that already existed, which, however, does not eliminate the possibilities of new conflicts.
  - f) neither the Western nor the Eastern bloc is making any *fundamental* concessions; the USSR in particular is defending all its demands. However, in order to prevent a complete political rift, in the final days of each conference the USSR is opting for a compromise conclusion to the meetings.
  - g) at all the conferences both blocs are conducting a propaganda campaign aimed at casting the blame for the failures of the conference on the opposing side and thereby mobilizing the entire world's sympathy for itself.

16 The Paris Peace Conference was held from 29 July to 15 October 1946 and involved the victorious Allied powers (the United States, the UK, France, and the USSR) negotiating peace treaties with Italy, the minor Axis powers (Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria), and Finland.

17 First promulgated by President Harry S. Truman on 12 March 1947, the "Truman Doctrine" was an American foreign policy intended to contain and counter the geopolitical expansion of the Soviet Union. It led to the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) on 4 April 1949.

3. The Moscow conference of the Council of Ministers on the affairs of Germany and Austria declared that:

a) no fundamental problems have been resolved and there are no hopes that they can be resolved at all because for the first time since the end of the war problems (the realistic inclusion of Germany in the system of one of the blocs) have appeared on the agenda, which have a decisive significance for political influence on all of Europe.

b) the antagonism between the USA and the USSR has increased significantly.

c) the USA has switched to a political offensive and the USSR to a defensive one – it is playing for time.

4. The session of the UN General Assembly and the activities of the Security Council (SC) indicate that:

a) the UN is an institution that does not have any practical political importance because it is incapable of resolving any contentious issues. The activities of its bodies boil down only to finding compromise formulations that would satisfy, at least temporarily, the quarrelling sides. Their podium exists for making propaganda speeches and drafting mendacious declarations (the disarmament issue, atomic energy, etc.).

5. Truman's declaration in March 1947, during the speech about aid to Greece and Turkey, which was aimed against communism and Bolshevik expansion, officially inaugurated a new stage in the policies of the USA, which are now clearly aimed against the USSR.

6. Against the background of the above-mentioned international events, two completely independent, politically and economically, superpowers – the USA and the USSR – have finally faced off against each other. Uniting around them are all other smaller states, creating in fact a so-called West and East Bloc.

7. The states that are united around the USA and the USSR are, in fact, dependent on them. At the same time, the degree and form of that dependence differ greatly, beginning with economic and ending with complete political dependence. The East bloc states are the total political vassals of Moscow; the dependence on Washington of weaker states has more of an economic than political character.

8. The economic situation that has emerged in Europe after the Second World War is particularly difficult. It has made Western Europe economically and even politically dependent on the USA, and at the same time former superpowers are seeking to maintain their independent positions by playing on the USA-USSR antagonisms (England, France).

9. The USA came out of the Second World War as the world's most economically powerful state. The characteristic features of the economic growth of the USA are:

a) a record state of industrial and agricultural production.

b) the expansion of sales markets at the expense of England, France, and other weaker countries (Europe, Middle East, and Far East).

c) further intensive placement of capital abroad.

d) high level of domestic consumption.

To a certain degree, the economic growth of the USA is hampered by the disproportion between the earnings of capitalists and the salaries of workers, which causes frequent large strikes, as well as by the danger of a new economic crisis that should supplant the economic conjuncture.

10. The policies of the USA, which are the result of its might, are characterized by:

a) accelerated political activity aimed at bringing order to the world, even by *bypassing* the UN.

b) attempts at the ideological formulation of the USA's right and obligation to hegemony over the entire world (proving the utopian nature of the sovereignty of individual states within the new global constellation).

c) the political penetration into those territories that were the spheres of influence of other states, particularly England (Italy, Greece, Turkey, the Near East).

d) pushing the USSR out of the territories of its influences (Iran, Azerbaijan, Northern China).

e) an open struggle against communism and the Bolshevik agentura at home and in the countries that are dependent on it.

f) the mobilization of the entire citizenry of the USA around the government's foreign policies.

g) the victory in the elections to Congress in 1946 of the Republican Party, which is hostile to communism.

11. As a result of the difficult domestic situation, in its foreign policies the USSR:

a) has suffered a number of failures, playing second fiddle to the USA in Iran, in China, and relinquishing its new aggressive demands (the Dardanelles, Spitzbergen, Trieste).

b) is increasingly centralizing all the "liberated" countries through direct terror by communist parties, blatant falsification of elections, the identification of legal parties with clandestine, anti-regime organizations, etc. (Poland, Romania, and Hungary).

c) was carrying out a propagandistic-demagogical campaign in order to gain for itself the sympathy of world opinion and the moral subversion of the enemy bloc (the disarmament issue, the national liberation movements in the colonies, etc.).

12. Both the USA and the USSR are aware that an armed clash must take place between them. This moment has seriously drawn near as a result of the USA's

new offensive policy. In the meantime, the USSR is trying to prevent a conflict, making unsuccessful concessions (Iran, China) and thereby playing for time, which is soon supposed to bring the USA to an eventual crisis and will thus make the USA's domestic and, by the same token, foreign situation more difficult.

13. With the awareness of the inevitability of conflict, during the last year the USA has built itself up militarily by means of:

a) the further production of atomic weapons and other modern types of weapons.

b) the further expansion and development of its military bases in the whole world and the dispatching of military missions and specialists to territories that will become the beachheads of a new war.

c) the cooperation of the USA's military headquarters with England, Canada, and other North American states and the unification of the weaponry of those countries.

d) the experience of their military expeditions in the North Pole regions.

e) huge sums assigned in the budget for military purposes.

f) the increase in the number of people with military training through the military training of young people.

g) the use of military-technical specialists of the victorious peoples in the work to develop new types of weapons.

h) the mobilization of the entire nation around the problem of the so-called "defence of the USA," which in fact is the idea of war against the USSR.

The USSR is also preparing itself militarily in an extraordinarily intensive manner. All life is mobilized and set to the preparations for total war.

14. The idea of national independence is constantly current. It continues to be the political-propaganda slogan of both blocs. Today it is experiencing its "spring of nations," particularly in the expanses of Asia.

15. Liberation movements are gaining victory in places where the people are waging a struggle for their liberation (India, Burma, Indonesia, Egypt, the Philippines).

16. A particularly brutal revolutionary liberation struggle is taking place in lands that are enslaved and endangered by Muscovite imperialism, a manifestation of which are the clandestine-revolutionary, national liberation, and even insurgent movements in those lands. This struggle has great prospects for a victorious conclusion, particularly in the period of the armed clash between the USSR and the USA.

#### *On Events in the USSR*

The year 1946–47, which has passed, was notable for these phenomena:

1. The end of the ideological crisis that emerged as a result of the following:

a) In advancing Marxist-communist ideology, the sole purpose of the

Bolshevik leaders was to preserve the integrity of the Russian Empire and to exploit the ideological-programmatic slogans of communism as a political platform for further expansion, and not the realization of communist slogans.

b) Already from the very outset, Bolshevik practice increasingly contradicted Marxist-communist ideology, in connection with which it was constantly supplemented by various, often quite harsh, “correctives” in keeping with the demands of Russian imperialistic policies.

c) When this discrepancy became so great that it could no longer be concealed with any trickery and concealments, the Bolshevik clique, through Stalin’s mouth, proclaimed the switch to the state ideology of sole and indivisible [*iedynonedelimstvo*], in which the Great Russian imperialistic worldview was officially included.

d) The actual departure from the ideas of communism and the complete turn to the sole and indivisible and the traditions of Tsarism, which were once so strongly combated, have caused great chaos. A mass of contradictions, mendaciousness, spinelessness, and instability of principles in the ideological and spiritual world of the Bolsheviks have stripped this state ideology of all attractive force and brought the Bolsheviks to utter ideological decay and the complete failure of the materialistic worldview. For the Bolsheviks, genuine Marxism is already the same kind of threat as it was once for tsarist Russia.

2. War, the encounter with Western Europe (new ideas, new social life), and ideological decline have caused, on the one hand, great moral decay in the population of the USSR and the party (thefts, banditry, bribery, speculation, self-interest, dissoluteness of customs, etc., asocial tendencies), and, on the other, they have called forth an anti-regime attitude of the citizenry and attempts to seek a solution to the ideological dead end (Akhmatova, Zoshchenko, et al.).<sup>18</sup>

3. In order to raise public morale, to overcome those corruptive phenomena, and to liquidate ideological deviations, the Bolshevik ruling clique has:

a) launched an intensive campaign to raise the moral quality of Soviet society, particularly of Party cadres (propaganda, higher Party schools, the linking of positions to knowledge of ideology, etc.).

b) implemented decisive measures in artistic-scholarly circles (purges, the closure of a number of journals, designation of a hard state ideological line).

c) passed a number of strict laws and resolutions (the protection of the statute of agricultural associations, laws forbidding pilfering, theft, etc.).

<sup>18</sup> Anna Akhmatova (pseudonym of Anna Gorenko) (1889–1966), one of Russia’s most important twentieth-century poets, is best known for her elegy “Requiem,” about the Stalinist terror. Mikhail Zoshchenko (1894–1958), a satirist, suffered repression after the 1946 Zhdanov decree imposed conformity with the CPSU line as a requirement for Soviet artists.

4. For the mobilization of the Russian masses around the idea of a Russian Empire and leading them to the subjugation of the entire world, the Russian nation has been assigned the role of the most advanced nation of the world, gainsaying all the achievements of the human spirit (Russian messianism).
5. The new, planned reconstruction of the USSR's economic potential has been significantly hampered by:
  - a) the lack of credits.
  - b) the lack of patriotism and excitement of the labouring masses (indifferent attitude to work).
  - c) the great drought that affected huge expanses of the USSR in 1946.
  - d) the lack of manpower, which forced the government of the USSR to enlist collective farmers forcibly by means of so-called collective agreements on labour in factories.

The consequences of the above-mentioned points are:

- a) Non-fulfilment of the plan for the first year of the Five-Year Plan (only half of all ministries completed the plan).
  - b) the horrific starvation and poverty of the rural masses, which led to the roaming of entire oblasts to beg for bread.
  - c) the further intensification of the exploitation of the labouring masses (extension of the workday, increased deliveries to the state, a new loan, intensified pressure to fulfill the plan, the end of the second year of the Five-Year Plan until 7 November 1947).
6. The official shift to the Russian [idea of] "single and indivisible" is increasingly raising and exacerbating the nationality problem in the USSR. It is sparking a reaction and dissatisfaction of all the peoples of the USSR, even those whose national awareness was already completely blunted. This is manifested in the cohesion of national liberation movements and in the national deviations of circles that were loyal until now (Ukraine, Belarus, the Baltic states, the peoples of the Caucasus).
7. For the liquidation of all national, centrifugal tendencies, the Bolsheviks are:
- a) intensifying centralization and terror in the national republics (purges, persecution, the dispatching of Kaganoviches, etc.).<sup>19</sup>
  - b) liquidating autonomous republics and regions, and even physically liquidating entire nations (Tatars, Chechen-Ingushi, Kalmyks, Karachai).
8. The collapse of the communist idea, the growth of national and social antagonisms, and low living standard and poverty of the masses are creating

<sup>19</sup> An "Old Bolshevik," Lazar Moiseevich Kaganovich, served as first secretary of the Communist Party of Soviet Ukraine from 1925 to 1928 and was responsible for implementing collectivization and dekulakization. Transferred to Moscow, he became secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party until 1939, following which he took on many other official duties, remaining a Stalinist hardliner until his death in 1991.

auspicious conditions for the rise of revolutionary moods among the masses in the USSR.

*On the Events in Ukraine*

1. During the last year the Muscovite Bolshevik regime in the Ukrainian SSR has continued to devote most of its attention to the struggle against the Ukrainian liberation movement, which represents the greatest threat to Russian imperialism. To a significant degree, this struggle is easing the burden of the Ukrainian people in many spheres of their life, especially in the areas of intensive actions of the revolutionary liberation struggle. In connection with the failures up to this time in the effort to destroy the Ukrainian liberation movement within a short period of time, the Bolsheviks, without stopping the military-police pressure that was introduced in January 1946, have applied new methods of struggle, which are calculated for a long period of time, seeking to build up a secret agent network of immense scope among the population by means of unparalleled terror. The goal of the constant blows being struck at the people in hitherto unprecedented scopes and forms is to isolate the Ukrainian liberation movement from its base – the ordinary masses.

2. In adopting a new tactic, during the last year of the struggle the Ukrainian liberation movement not only maintained its positions up to this time but also gained the great sympathy of the ordinary masses of the east through its intensive political-propaganda campaign. The political-propaganda actions of the OUN and the UPA's raiding units into the territories of native Poland and Slovakia have disseminated there the universal human ideas of the Ukrainian liberation movement, rebuffed Bolshevik attempts to destabilize those peoples, and have become widely known throughout the world. Thanks to their heroic stance, the Ukrainian people not only did not allow themselves to be severed from their political leadership, they are also continuing to assist the Ukrainian liberation movement with all means and replenishing its depleted ranks with new forces.

3. As a result of the courageous resistance of the Ukrainian masses and the heroic struggle of the OUN and the UPA, west of the so-called Curzon Line, the enemies did not succeed in carrying out a complete resettlement.<sup>20</sup> The remaining population (appr. 25 percent) and OUN and UPA units are continuing the courageous, unequal struggle, which has forced the governments of the USSR, Poland, and the ChSR [Czechoslovak Republic] officially to conclude

<sup>20</sup> The Curzon Line was first drawn during the First World War. The Second Polish Republic and the Soviet Union established their borders with the Treaty of Riga, 18 March 1921. This agreement assigned territories east of the line to Poland. After the latter was attacked by Nazi Germany (1 September 1939) and the Soviet Union (17 September 1939), these western Ukrainian and Belarusian lands were reincorporated into the USSR, then came under Nazi occupation before being reconquered by the Soviets in summer/autumn 1944.



an intra-state agreement on the joint fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement.

4. The goal of this year's elections to the so-called Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR was the masking, by means of decorative forms, of the Bolsheviks' actual totalitarian regime in Ukraine. Despite the noisy propaganda and terror, the population of Ukraine adopted a negative attitude to the Bolshevik electoral masquerade. Particularly in the fields of operations of the organized revolutionary liberation movement, the population's resistance was so great that the only people who voted were those who were driven to the ballot boxes at bayonet point. The announced result of the elections is the latest Bolshevik lie for propaganda purposes.

5. Pursuing the goals of the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people and curbing their centrifugal tendencies, the Bolshevik despots have launched the economic plunder of Ukraine on an immense scale, which has already suffered the most from the war and last year's drought. This economic plunder was manifested in:

- a) the continuing, increased confiscation of Ukraine's natural resources.
- b) the reckless plunder of those remnants of grain that could be harvested after the drought.
- c) the overburdening of the labouring masses with various taxes and the latest "voluntary" loan.
- d) the depletion of the last energies of the labouring masses (the increase in production quotas, the imposition of socialist competition, etc.).
- e) the forcible organization of collective farms in the ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands].
- f) the utter lack of essential consumer goods.

All this has brought the Ukrainian people to utter impoverishment, and the population of Ukraine's eastern oblasts – to horrific poverty and famine, which are causing mass mortalities, cannibalism, etc.<sup>21</sup>

6. The merciless destruction of Ukraine even as a separate ethno-cultural unit is manifested in the particularly harsh offensive against the entire spiritual life of the nation, specifically:

- a) the negation of the separateness of the spirituality, culture, and history of the Ukrainian nation and their devaluation.
- b) a ban on referring to Ukraine's past, including daily life.
- c) the imposition of Russian spirituality, culture, and patriotism on the Ukrainian people.

21 Famine occurred in Ukraine, Moldova, and parts of central Russia between July 1946 and August 1947, the result of excessive grain quotas set by Nikita Khrushchev, despite the poor harvests; the famine was exacerbated by drought and wartime devastation. Some 300,000 people reportedly died in Ukraine at this time. Khrushchev himself acknowledged incidents of cannibalism.

d) blatant attempts to utterly deracinate the Ukrainian people and assimilate them.

7. The indicator of the Kremlin's intensified offensive against Ukraine is the third-time dispatching to the post of first secretary of the CC CP(B)U of Stalin's most trusted person, Kaganovich, the de facto dictator of Ukraine. Upon his arrival, repressions aimed at the Ukrainian liberation movement and all independentist elements in Ukraine instantly escalated, and the exploitation of the labouring masses increased.

8. In the face of the national and social oppression that has been pushed to the extreme limits, the Ukrainian people have rallied even more around the ideas of the Ukrainian liberation movement, and they will thus create favourable conditions for the victorious implementation of those ideas.

#### *The Main Tasks for the Near Future*

1. As a result of the favourable conditions created by the difficult political and economic situation in the USSR, and particularly in the Ukrainian SSR, serious possibilities have arisen for enlisting the broad masses of the East to the revolutionary liberation struggle against the regime. Therefore, the first and chief task of the Organization, armed units, and the entire Ukrainian nation is to carry out by all possible means politically unifying actions in that direction. The slogan "Facing the East" must become the slogan of today.

2. In connection with the further switch to new clandestine methods of struggle, we must recognize the principal manifestation and content of the activities of cadres [and] political-propagandistic, training, and educational work. Combat-propaganda actions are to be curtailed to a crucially vital minimum. The slogan "Every revolutionary is a propagandist" must become the watchword for revolutionary cadres.

#### *Guidelines for Implementation*

1. After having been circulated among a number of Organizational units and levels, last-year's instruction was interpreted superficially, which, as a result, provided the main Organizational cells (raion leaderships, kushch units) in certain territories with a faulty understanding and perception. Therefore, in addition to the exemplary implementation of Organizational tasks, a number of shortcomings have been determined in certain Organizational cells:

a) only a partial implementation of the switch to strict conspiratorial-clandestine conditions, which led to unnecessary losses.

b) inadequate energetic movement on the part of leading members, the lack of briefing and control.

c) the lack of printing technology, [the] inability to reproduce unpublished publications.

d) inadequate technical preparation for the winter.

e) poor use of free time during the winter period for self-instruction.

f) certain individual manifestations of the drop in the ideological-moral level.

g) the lack of closer contact with the population and political influence on it.

h) an indifferent attitude to the starving masses of the East.

2. Last-year's instructions should continue to be regarded as fundamental guidelines within the entirety of Organizational work and must be consistently implemented. Pay proper attention to the following in particular:

a) the activation of the integrity of cadres (energetic movement of leaders and their influence on cadres, enthusiasm of low-level cadres for work and their spiritual influence on the masses).

b) the drafting of work plans by leading centres and designation of the order of tasks (continuity of work).

c) the downward transmission of all instructions (briefing) through training.

d) the crucial need for frequent reports. The timeliness, accuracy, and correctness of reports determine the Organization's able guidance. Reports (sociopolitical surveys and field reports) are to be prepared by the nadraion method as monthly reports for the days from 1 to 31 of every month. During all verbal reports, demand data on the implementation of instructions.

e) an increase in the controllability of the field through the designation of a certain amount of control corresponding to the size of the field. During controls, pay attention to: the report on your own work, the report on completed tasks, the implementation of instructions, in particular the report from the organizational and political-propagandistic spheres and from the verification of member cadres.

f) the proper implementation of printing technology. The speedy duplication of an adequate number of publications is a guarantee of the success of political-propaganda work.

g) rational financial economic management: the allocation of sums after a ratified preliminary budget (and not according to a percentage), tight control over revenues and expenses, and the transfer of property.

h) strict adherence to the principles of conspiracy. All violations of those principles are to be harshly punished in a disciplinary manner, that is, TOSs (Field Organizational Courts-Martial) are to be organized.

3. The successful completion of the tasks placed on the Ukrainian liberation movement demands a superior spiritual quality of its cadres; therefore, special attention is to be paid to:

a) raising the ideological-moral level by means of:

- leaders' personal example.
- national-civic training of cadres (prepare two-stage conspectuses-reference works and, on their basis, hold educational talks).
- control over the ideological-moral state of the membership.

- b) raising the ideological-political level of the membership through:
    - self-learning, which is constantly checked by superiors.
    - the fundamental mastery of Organizational literature.
    - rallying around the leaders of the young, reliable element and its political-organizational growth.
  - c) the training of cadres for the struggle against secret agents through:
    - their familiarization with appropriate SB materials.
    - training in the areas of anti-secret agent struggle and conspiracy, conducted by SB bodies and Organizational superiors.
4. Pay special attention to the spiritual envelopment of the idealistic element among legals, especially young people, as the replenishing base of Organizational cadres. Once again, we remind you about the corresponding points in last year's instruction in that direction. Approach this issue cautiously, without undue haste, keeping in mind quality and not quantity, in order, therefore, to preclude the penetration of secret agents into the Organization's ranks. Order low-level cells to maintain systematic, vigilant care over growth.
5. With regard to people concerning whom there are doubts but no certainty that they are secret agents, apply verifying works under the supervision of SB bodies. From the milieux covered by secret agents, remove healthy elements and isolate them from the infected environment and base the organization's further work on them.
6. For the acceleration of the complete victory of the revolutionary liberation ideas in the East, use all existing possibilities and the energy of cadres in the direction of disseminating these ideas among the masses in the East. Towards that goal:
- a) create an atmosphere of friendliness and sympathy among the population to the starving and new arrivals from the East, in particular making sure that the population helps them materially.
  - b) hold propaganda talks with them circumspectly and transmit Organizational literature for dissemination in the East
  - c) pay attention to the propagandistic envelopment of the eastern element in cities and hostile resistance points, without overlooking also milieux that are hostile to us (the party, the MVD, Interior Troops of the MVD, etc.).
  - d) order every member of the Organization to exploit every accessible way to transmit Organizational publications to the easterners.
  - e) oblige the membership to undertake the fundamental mastery of Organizational materials that pertain to learning about the East.
  - e) control every member with regard to the completion of the above-mentioned tasks.

Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

DOCUMENT 20: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE  
OUN LEADERSHIP (1948)

*Billeting place, June 1948*

*I. On the International Situation*

1. The struggle between the two competing blocs of states, the American and the Russian-Bolshevik, is continuously being exacerbated. This became especially noticeable from the time of the session at the UN General Assembly, which took place in the fall of 1947.
2. The existing conflict between the two blocs precludes any serious, enduring peace, and all the practical measures of these blocs are clearly aimed at the preparation and mobilization of all forces for impending armed reckoning. Only war can lead to the ultimate resolution of all contentious problems of the postwar world, and therefore the main characteristic feature of all international life is the feverish arming and speedy consolidation of [their] own military potential by all states, particular[ly] large ones.
3. The constant threat of a new war and the preparations for it in no way permit many states, above all European, to eliminate the economic difficulties that emerged as a result of the Second World War. On the contrary: all these difficulties are further increasing.
4. Still relatively the strongest is the economic situation of the USA, which, after the war, set out on the path of broad economic expansion. The USSR is temporarily mastering its extremely bad economic situation at the [illegible word] expense of the labouring masses and the plunder of the countries that it has newly occupied.
5. At the present time, the balance of power between the USA and the USSR, together with the blocs organized by them, is extremely disadvantageous for the USSR. It is in the interests of the USSR to defer the moment of military conflict at least by some ten to fifteen years. Nevertheless, the USSR is absolutely not permitting itself to be drawn into any serious international cooperation, in which it would have to make fundamental concessions and renounce the implementation of its concealed imperialistic plans.
6. For the USSR, the only and most acceptable form of temporarily ordering the world would be to share spheres of influence in the entire world with the USA, on the basis of a bilateral agreement with it. Such attempts by Stalin and Molotov in the spring of 1948 utterly failed, however: They were rejected by the USA.
7. A bilateral agreement between the USSR and the USA is, for the latter, unacceptable mainly because:
  - a) this is only a temporary diplomatic manoeuvre of the Bolshevik government, which is designed to gain time.

b) it would significantly consolidate the USSR's political positions because it would elevate it, even though it is a significantly weaker yet decisive opponent, to the role of partner equal to the USA.

c) it would completely deflect from the USA the sympathies of the people who are threatened by the aggression of Bolshevik imperialism, and, as a result, this would lead to the weakening of their influences in the world up until this time, particularly in Europe. It would practically ruin all the USA's efforts until this time, which are intended to create its own bloc of states clearly aimed against the USSR.

8. The USSR is seeking to equalize its weak situation by organizing communist movements (Fifth Columns) in all countries throughout the world, particularly where social conflicts favour this. For better control over these movements Moscow has revived the Comintern in the form of the Cominform, which has been echoed in the intensification of the activities of Bolshevik Fifth Columns (the autumn strikes in France, Italy, Germany). In those countries that are especially important to the USSR from the strategic or political standpoints (Greece, China), the Soviet Union, under the guise of local communist movements, is organizing in a masked fashion an armed struggle against the existing power with the goal of gaining complete control over these countries. In order to curb the USSR's expansion, the opposing bloc is reacting to Bolshevik policies in such a way that it is actively supporting, including [through] overt military assistance, existing anti-communist regimes in all the countries threatened by the Bolsheviks (Greece, Turkey, Iran, China, Italy).

9. The complete formation of blocs that are beneficial to them must be regarded as a *fait accompli* in all fundamental regards, and now only their consolidation and speedy preparations for the needs of the war that is approaching are taking place.

10. All attempts to resolve jointly the main questions of postwar international cooperation between the two blocs have practically not produced any positive results, and, as a consequence, they have led to the unilateral resolution of contentious problems separately by each bloc of states in their spheres of influence, despite the protests of the opposing bloc's states.

11. The political-diplomatic war and even the most acute propaganda campaigns among the states of both blocs have already become a routine feature of contemporary international life, and in this regard one has to expect even further exacerbations.

12. Even despite the very acute political-propaganda struggle, in their practical diplomatic manoeuvres, which could lead directly to the outbreak of a military conflict, both the USA and the USSR are extraordinarily cautious and restrained. This caution should be explained as the attempt of each side to shift all responsibility for causing the war onto its opponent.

13. Keeping in mind the entire picture of the current international situation, we are reaching the conclusion that the current state of the political-diplomatic war will continue for some time. The following points would indicate this:

a) the USSR's unpreparedness for war.

b) the slow preparation for war on the part of the Western allies, determined by the slow work of state institutions in the countries of this bloc, which is explained by the democratic order in these countries and, in connection with this, the need to convince their own societies of the necessity of a war.

c) the concentration of efforts of individual members of both blocs on the questions of the liquidation of the consequences of the war, particularly in the economic sector.

d) the unwillingness of the nations that participated in the previous war to become bogged down in another war.

e) in connection with the above, each side is trying not to place on the agenda such problems that have been impossible to resolve by peaceful means and that, as a result, would lead directly to an armed confrontation.

## *II. On the Situation in the USSR*

1. The political oppression by the Communist Party of the USSR and MVD and MGB terror are continuing with unabated force. The party apparatus is increasingly interfering unceremoniously and blatantly in all spheres of state life. In order, on the one hand, to reduce the visibility of the distinction of the party apparatus from the state and, on the other, to ensure that party members, first and foremost, retain their status as the "leaders" of all life in the state, the status of those cracking the whip in all spheres of Soviet life – lately the Bolshevik bosses – were even forced to adopt a course against the "replacement of the state apparatus by party members."

2. In recent times, the oppression by the Bolshevik Party is acquiring particularly clear-cut forms in the struggle against various "deviations" in literature, the study of economics, philosophy, in the theatre, [and in] music. The party has sharply criticized and condemned workers on the cultural front for the slightest deviations from the official line: for any kind of real, and not "romanticized," depiction of Soviet reality, for pessimism, for fascination with the manners and customs of the pre-revolutionary era, for "local nationalism," for "bowing down" to the West and its imitation, for a weak connection between contemporary works and the Russian national "cultural heritage."

3. The Russian-chauvinistic course of the Bolsheviks' policies is increasingly intensifying. It is becoming progressively more arrogant. With regard to the non-Russian peoples of the USSR, the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists are not only advancing by all means the theory of the "superiority and leading role" of the Russian people in the Soviet Union but also implementing this theory in practical terms. With regard to all the peoples of the world, in contradiction of

historical truth, the Bolshevik-Russian chauvinists are seeking to prove Russia's "leading role" in the world's cultural development, to convince the world that Russia has allegedly made an immense contribution to world history.

Despite the Bolsheviks' horrific denationalizing policy, the non-Russian peoples of the USSR are not relinquishing the ideal of national independence, and in all possible forms they are waging a struggle for their full national liberation. By meting out retribution to the national liberation movements, the Bolsheviks are carrying out deportations of nationally aware elements to Siberia on a broad scale and frequent mass arrests.<sup>22</sup>

4. The economic situation in the Soviet Union is still very difficult. The Bolsheviks' attempts to carry out the current Five-Year Plan through economic robbery of the ordinary masses (high direct taxes, a new loan, robbery in the form of "voluntary donations," low real wages) and the physical exploitation of the workers (high work quotas, socialist competition, Stakhanovism, pressure on workers with the help of "heroes of socialist labour," medals, decorations), the preparation for a new war and, in connection with this, the build-up above all of the military industry, have brought the Soviet masses to the utmost impoverishment. From the end of the war up until today there have been no changes for the better in the situation of the labouring masses of the Soviet Union.

To a great extent, the worsening situation of the labouring masses in the Soviet Union is also influenced by the Bolshevik government's comprehensive support of communist movements outside the USSR, on which it annually expends huge means and sums.

5. The end of the war has led to the manifestation of acute anti-collective farm tendencies on the part of the rural masses, which had bound their hopes for a change in the collective farm system and the complete disbanding of collective farms with the war. In order a) to gain control over the threatening situation in the agricultural sector and b) to exploit the collective farms as the main source of funds for the development of the military industry, the Bolsheviks created a separate Council for Collective Farm Affairs at the Council of Ministers, granting it very broad authority. The goal of these individual measures is to

22 Commencing on 28 April 1947, Operation Vistula was the codename for the forced resettlement of some 141,000 Ukrainians from southeastern Poland to the "Recovered Territories" of Poland's north and west, a geo-strategic initiative that significantly undercut the insurgents' civilian support networks. On 21 October 1947, as part of Operation Zapad (West), the Soviets deported over 78,000 western Ukrainians for supporting the insurgent movement. Between 1945 and 1947 over 126,000 Ukrainians were apprehended by the NKVD, and almost 32,000 members and supporters of the Ukrainian underground were killed. Some 482,000 Lemkos, Rusyns, and other Ukrainians were also deported to the Ukrainian SSR between September 1944 and April 1946.



rebuild the collective farm system to its prewar form and to drive the peasant masses even more vigorously into the collective farm yoke.

6. The so-called currency reform is the current profoundly anti-people act of the Bolsheviks' policies vis-à-vis the labouring masses. From the social standpoint, it signifies the Bolsheviks' utter neglect of the interests of the working people. From the economic standpoint, the currency reform is nothing more than the unprecedented robbery of the masses' financial means. This is attested both by the correlation between the old rubles and the new, and the extremely fast method of carrying out the currency exchange. As a result of the "reform," the labouring masses of the USSR lost practically 90 percent of all their financial means. It is precisely this profoundly anti-people character of the "currency reform" that led the Bolshevik government to pave the way for the law on the reform with a lengthy, mendacious explanation in this regard. The Bolsheviks were forced to introduce such a plunderous "reform": a) in view of postwar inflation, which in recent years has reached very broad dimensions in the USSR, [and] b) in view of the urgent need to find additional funds for the implementation of the fourth Five-Year Plan. Both the first and second points address the unusually difficult financial and general economic situation in the USSR.

7. According to their practical results, the abolition of the food card system and the insignificant reduction of prices for certain consumer items have not only not led to an improvement in the life of workers but, where workers in the larger industrial centres are mainly concerned, life has become even worse (today there are long lineups standing in front of shops, there are practically no important foodstuffs or consumer goods in the shops).

8. In connection with the deficit of goods, speculation on the "black market" continues. All important foods and consumer goods do not end up in state stores but on the black market, where they are sold at high prices. The struggle against the black market is being waged for the most part only formally and is producing few results. It is happening this way because not only directors of bases, stores, and shops but also party members, administrative employees, and the police are taking part in speculations on the black market.

9. While the labouring masses of the Soviet Union are living in conditions of unheard-of poverty and exploitation, the Bolshevik grandees and parasites are securing for themselves increasingly better material conditions of life. The division of Soviet society into a class of Bolshevik exploiters and parasites and a class of exploited labouring masses is becoming increasingly clearer.

10. The difficult economic and unfavourable social relations are only deepening the long-existing dissatisfaction of the masses with the Bolshevik regime. In many cases, Soviet workers are beginning to express their dissatisfaction openly, publicly.

11. The relations that exist in the USSR, particular[ly] socioeconomic relations, are creating a favourable foundation for the propagation of our revolutionary ideas throughout the USSR.

### *III. On the Situation in the Ukrainian SSR*

1. The most characteristic phenomenon of life in the Ukrainian SSR continues to be the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. Regardless of the extraordinarily powerful onslaught of the MVD and the MGB, the Ukrainian revolutionary underground, even though it has suffered significant losses, is continuing to wage a struggle together with the entire Ukrainian nation. In certain sectors our revolutionary movement has launched an offensive and achieved successes. In their struggle against the Bolshevik occupiers, both the revolutionary insurgent cadres and the Ukrainian masses are demonstrating immense fortitude, high idealism, and in many cases they are showing unparalleled heroism.

2. Seeing their inability to destroy the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement and, at the same time, realizing full well the entire threat of our struggle to the further development of relations in the USSR, in recent times the Bolsheviks have concentrated the leadership of the struggle against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement in Moscow.

3. In 1947 all life in the Ukrainian SSR passed under the sign of “gathering Ukraine into the hands” of the Muscovite imperialistic centre, which in the spring of 1947 sent Kaganovich to Ukraine for this purpose. Above all, an intensified offensive has been launched against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, against cultural workers for their “nationalistic deviations,” against the liquidation of “failures” in the agricultural sector. In the sector of the struggle against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement Kaganovich has not achieved the slightest successes – none at all.

4. In order to curb the revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine with the goal of physically destroying the Ukrainian nation, the Bolsheviks periodically carry out mass deportations of the Ukrainian population. This deportation reached particularly broad dimensions between 21 and 24 October 1947 in the western Ukrainian oblasts. Nearly 150,000 Ukrainians were deported to Siberia and Central Asia. The victims of this deportation were above all the most nationally aware Ukrainian families.

5. With the goal of gaining complete political control over the ZUZ, during the fall of 1947 and the winter and spring of 1948, the Bolsheviks are applying strong pressure on implementing all-out collectivization. The western Ukrainian peasantry, which is supported and led by the underground, is putting up extraordinarily strong resistance to this action. Meanwhile, the Bolsheviks’ successes in this direction are not great. They are not helped at all by the broadest application of physical and moral terror, blackmail, and direct arrests.

6. In early 1948 the Bolsheviks carried out a mass roundup of young people throughout Ukraine for work in industry and in the so-called FZN [factory-plant] schools. The goal of this action was:

a) to replenish the reserve of workers and prepare future specialist cadres (FZK).

b) to tear young people away from their native surroundings and retrain them in the spirit of Bolshevik ideas.

c) to concentrate in industrial centres a larger number of militarily talented young people in order thereby to make mobilization easier for themselves in the event of war.

d) to deprive the revolutionary movement of its young, reliable reserves.

e) to protect themselves, in the event of war, from the spread of the insurgent struggle.

The entire action was reminiscent of the Germans' notorious hunt for people for forced labour. Young Ukrainians put up resistance to this action, evading deportation by all possible means.

7. Russification of all life in Ukraine is acquiring increasingly acute and broader forms. This course is particularly evident in the western Ukrainian oblasts. On city streets one can hear mostly the Russian language. Many Russian schools have been opened. Many Russians are being sent to all administrative and economic institutions, to factories, workshops, to schools. Broad propaganda is being conducted in a chauvinistic, imperialistic Russian spirit. The goal of all this is to destroy Ukraine as a separate ethnic unit and to assimilate the Ukrainian people culturally and politically.

The mass dismissals in Ukraine of functionaries and employees of Ukrainian nationality and their replacement by Russians should be noted separately. This will lead to the even greater colonization of Ukrainian cities by the Russian element.

8. The lack of all restraint of the Bolshevik terrorist apparatus and administration in Ukraine, particularly western Ukraine, is reaching extreme limits. There are many cases where Bolshevik bandits shoot completely innocent people, rob individual citizens, they rob everything that they can get their hands on from fields and gardens. Beatings of completely innocent people by MVD officials and administrative workers are a mass, daily phenomenon in Ukraine. In response to the Bolshevik terror, the people and the revolutionary underground are actively resisting the enemy.

9. The election to local soviets of deputies of the working people is the current Bolshevik comedy, the goal of which was to create among the masses the illusion of the democratic nature of the Bolshevik regime. The Ukrainian masses treated the elections as the Bolsheviks' latest comedy.

10. The political oppression and terror by the MVD and the MGB, social injustice, and economic exploitation are uniting the Ukrainian masses around the

Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement and creating favourable conditions for enlisting them in the liberation struggle.

11. In order to destroy the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle in the western peripheries of the Ukrainian lands, which are under Polish occupation, in the spring of 1947 the Polish-Bolshevik imperialists, on the order of and in collaboration with their Muscovite masters, launched their general offensive against the UPA and the OUN in these territories and against the remainder of the Ukrainian population that is still there. The UPA, the OUN, and the entire Ukrainian population have put up heroic resistance to the Poles. The population has been expelled forcibly from its homes and deported mainly to Olsztyn *Województwo* (Prussia). UPA units and the revolutionary underground, waging determined, unequal battles with Polish-Bolshevik divisions, sought to maintain themselves as long as possible in their native lands. Once this became physically impossible, several UPA units and a group of revolutionaries, in keeping with the leadership's directive, broke through Czechoslovakia to West Germany in order there, in Western Europe, to present the nations of the world with a protest against the Bolsheviks' crimes against the Ukrainian nation.<sup>23</sup> The main part of UPA units and revolutionaries crossed into the Ukrainian SSR to continue the liberation struggle here against the Bolshevik occupiers. The struggle of the entire Ukrainian nation, the UPA, and the OUN in the western borderlands of the Ukrainian lands in the years from 1944 to 1947 will go down in the recent history of our revolutionary struggle as one of its brightest pages.

#### *IV. On the State of the Cause of Ukrainian Liberation in the International Arena*

1. Ukraine is eliciting the interest of all anti-Russian forces already by virtue of a) its geopolitical situation (size of territory, size and density of the population and its national awareness, general geographic situation, access to warm seas, proximity to the Balkans, the Caucasus, and Central Europe), b) its economic might (immense natural resources, heavy industry, high agricultural productivity), and c) its role in the USSR.

2. The heroic liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against the Bolshevik occupiers has found its strong echo abroad. Interest has grown in the Ukrainian problem among nations and the political circles of the states-opponents of the USSR. A number of brief notes and longer articles about Ukraine and our liberation struggle have appeared in the foreign press.

23 In 1947 units of the UPA were tasked with breaking through to the West, to bear witness to the existence of an anti-Soviet resistance. Despite suffering significant losses, a number of UPA units battled through. The account of one such UPA fighter, Skovoroda, who crossed into Bavaria into the American Zone of Germany on 10 May 1949, was collected by the CIA and is available at [https://www.numbers-stations.com/cia/aerodynamic/AERODYNAMIC\\_VOL.1\\_0001.pdf](https://www.numbers-stations.com/cia/aerodynamic/AERODYNAMIC_VOL.1_0001.pdf).

3. The External Representation of the UHVR, basing itself on the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle in the lands, has unfolded its broad political and propaganda activities (informing the nations of the world about the Ukrainian nation's liberation struggle for the USSD, protesting against Ukraine's enslavement by the Bolshevik occupiers and against the method of their policies in relation to the Ukrainian nation).

4. On the initiative of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)<sup>24</sup> has emerged, in which the nations that are enslaved and endangered by Moscow have united on the platform of a joint struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism for the building of an independent national state. The ABN's mission is to unite all revolutionary anti-Bolshevik forces and coordinate their struggle.

5. However, despite some of its undoubted successes, the Ukrainian liberation cause has still not occupied the place in international relations that it should occupy. The reasons for this situation at the current time:

a) the Western states' current policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the USSR and the reluctance on their part to create undue tensions in their relations.

b) the world is inadequately informed about our struggle as a result of the Soviet Union's isolation from foreign countries.

6. The constant exacerbation of the conflict between the USSR and the West, the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement within the borders of the USSR is the most serious political anti-Bolshevik force, our knowledge of the entire set of problems pertaining to Soviet reality – all this creates significant prospects in the future for the cause of Ukrainian liberation in the international forum.

#### *V. On Relations in the Ukrainian Emigration*

1. The Ukrainian emigration, in directing the attention of foreigners to itself through its organized nature and holding cultural-propagandistic meetings, informing countries abroad about Ukraine and our liberation efforts, is playing a positive role in our current national liberation struggle.

2. From the standpoint of the needs of our liberation struggle, particularly valuable work is being carried out by the External Representation of the UHVR, which, existing in conditions that are difficult for political-diplomatic work, is taking advantage of every occasion to demonstrate to the world the Ukrainian nation's will to independent state life, to inform the peoples of the world and political circles about the liberation efforts of the Ukrainian people, and to establish political links with them.

<sup>24</sup> The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was established in 1946 as a coordinating centre for anti-communist émigré political organizations. Its head was Yaroslav Stetsko until his death in 1986, after which his wife, Slava Stetsko, took over. It was disbanded in 1996, following the collapse of the USSR.

3. However, within the Ukrainian emigration there are political speculators, who, having ended up in a safe place, are conducting ruinous work in the name of their personal ambitions. Among those destroyers we include all those émigrés who oppose the UHVR, seek to tarnish the glorious name of the UPA, and spread slanders against the OUN led by Stepan Bandera. Today, those who have the audacity to devalue in any way that struggle which the Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents are waging in the lands together with the Ukrainian people are not Ukrainian patriots but enemies of the cause of Ukrainian liberation. The OUN leadership in the Ukrainian Lands under Muscovite-Bolshevik occupation, all direct participants of the insurgent and underground struggle, [and] the Ukrainian people, who are fighting the Bolshevik aggressors, sharply condemn this “policy” on the part of certain émigrés.

#### *VI. Organizational Guidelines*

##### 1. Secrecy

In an underground Organization the question of proper clandestinity is always urgent. The slightest shortcomings in that regard ease the enemy’s struggle against the Organization.

Inadequacies in the sphere of secrecy in the entire Organization are still very serious (talkativeness, non-clandestine conduct at billeting places, in houses, during marches, at work, in correspondence, etc.). The high percentage of cadre losses is the direct result of weak secrecy.

In order to improve the situation in this sector, it is directed:

a) to carry out basic clandestine training with all members and candidate-members. The heart of training must consist of the practical experience acquired by the Organization during the four-year period of clandestine struggle under the Bolsheviks. “Forage Beets,” “Medical Guidelines,” etc. may serve as supplementary materials

b) during reporting by subordinates, it is mandatory for all organizational superiors to verify the cadres’ state of conspiratorial formation.

c) for neglecting these issues, guilty parties are even to be prosecuted.

d) to draft a summary of training in clandestinity and send it to superiors for approval.

2. [blank]

3. [blank]

##### 4. *Work with cadres*

The force of the revolutionary organization lies in the worth of its cadres. Therefore, work with cadres must constantly be the focus of attention of all leaders of Organizational units. In particular, the following must be placed on an appropriate high level:

– cadre management

- cadre training
- ideological and moral upbringing of cadres

*Cadre management:*

- a) Individual areas of Organizational work are to be headed in accordance with the moral worth, maturity, and abilities of cadres.
- b) Place cadres equally throughout the entire field.
- c) Do not permit cadres to sit around their “own houses.”
- d) Constantly and fundamentally control the work of cadres.
- e) Do not cluster leading cadres near superiors; teach them to deal with matters independently.

*Cadre training:* Training of revolutionary cadres should be comprehensive, that is, such that, on the one hand, every revolutionary can acquire a good understanding of all the main questions of our ideology, international and domestic policies, and the OUN’s policies and, on the other, so that every revolutionary will be practically trained in organizational and conspiratorial work and the work of the SB.

Training is to be conducted through self-study and courses. Organizational superiors (up to okruhas), in accordance with the state of cadres, must design appropriate training programs, select the appropriate training literature, and supply the cadres with it. Superiors should constantly verify the state of training during personal encounters and meetings (exams, tests). In particular, use the winter months for deepening self-study.

#### *1. Ideological training*

In view of our situation with regard to questions of philosophy and practical spontaneity, exclude philosophical problems from fundamental training and abide by the program appended below.

#### *Program of Ideological Training*

*Introduction:*

❖ Ideology as one of the elements that binds revolutionaries into a single fighting community.

❖ Recognition of ideology, and the active struggle to implement it within the ranks of the Organization, is an indispensable prerequisite to being a genuine revolutionary.

*I. Our view of the nation.*

*II. Our view of the national state.*

*III. The idea of the USSD.*

*IV. The idea of the spiritual rebirth of the Ukrainian people.*

*V. The well-being of the Ukrainian people is the supreme command.*

*VI. The idea of free national states of all the nations in the world (in this chapter also include our understanding of imperialism and our entire anti-imperialist stance).*

*VII. The idea of the people’s rule in the Ukrainian state.*

VIII. *The idea of a classless society.*

IX. *The conception of our own forces in our struggle.*

X. *The conception of revolutionary methods of struggle.*

XI. *The idea of a common front of the struggle of enslaved nations.*

XII. *Our view of the role of the person in social life in general and in our struggle in particular.*

## 2. *Political training*

Place special emphasis on:

a) the positive programmatic resolutions of the OUN, formulated at the Third NVZ OUN and elaborated in individual training materials

b) a critique of the Bolshevik system.

## 3. *Organizational and conspiratorial training*

Above all, organizational training should prepare organizational workers for the practical management of the entirety of the Organization's matters (selection of cadres, the structure of the Organization, technique of communications, interrelations between sections and the leadership, collegial cooperation among leaderships, controllability, accountability, etc.) on individual organizational levels, in particular in the raion and lower.

Conspiratorial training is discussed in the chapter on "Secrecy" (Chapter 1).

## 4. *Training of the SB*

It is mandatory for all members of the Organization, both leading and lower-ranking ones, to complete detailed training under the professional leadership of SB heads. As mandatory training material for all members, consider: 1) *How the NKVD and the NKGB Are Combating Counterrevolution in the USSR*, 2) *Raise Revolutionary Vigilance*. Leading cadres (up to the raion) must familiarize themselves with *The NKGB Agentura in Action*, and up to nadraions, with *On the Struggle against the Agentura*.

*Ideological-Moral Upbringing.* In the main, the ideological-moral staunchness of cadres in all territories has increased significantly and is on a high level. Here and there, however, one encounters flagging of the fighting spirit, especially during unexpected attacks by the enemy. These shortcomings must be eradicated, and by all means the militancy of OUN members and their fighting stance vis-à-vis the enemy must be raised.

## 5. *Collectivization*

Collectivization in the ZUZ is an important question of a primarily political nature.<sup>25</sup> Through the collectivization of the ZUZ, the Bolsheviks are seeking

<sup>25</sup> Collectivization was imposed on western Ukraine after the first Soviet occupation in the summer of 1940, and by June 1941 about 13 percent of farms had been collectivized. In the postwar period forced collectivization began again in the autumn of 1948. By 1 July 1950, it was



to take political control over the territories. The peasantry is decisively against the collective farm system, and it is only through terror that the Bolsheviks are managing to organize collective farms and then only where there was mainly no solidarity among the peasants and where our revolutionary influence has weakened. Our anti-collective farm propaganda has accomplished much, but propaganda alone is not enough. In response to Bolshevik terror we must disband existing collective farms by force and not allow new ones to be created. Therefore, it is necessary:

a) to destroy Bolshevik activists physically in the collective farm sector as enemies of the people.

b) to destroy collective farm buildings (when they stand separately).

c) to enable peasants to take back their cattle, equipment, etc., from a collective farm.

d) to compel collective farm managements and administrations to refuse to implement duties that have been imposed on them those who refuse are to be punished publicly.

e) to prevent the complete collective gathering of the harvest or other agricultural work, and may every villager harvest and work for himself.

f) to continue to conduct anti-collective farm propaganda by using facts from both the miserable collective farm life in the SUZ and the entire USSR and local facts (from your own oblast, raion, or village).

Also include MTSs and Soviet state farms in the anti-collective farm action. They must be destroyed in full, and it is particularly recommended:

a) to burn tractors and other agricultural machines in the fields.

b) to burn down Soviet state farms and their harvests as the estates of the Bolshevik bourgeoisie (making sure that peasant property does not suffer).

The anti-collective farm sector of our struggle should firm up even more powerfully our unanimous stance with the entire people. With our weapons we must protect the Ukrainian peasantry from collective farm slavery.

#### 6. *Miscellaneous*

*Cities.* Pay separate attention to revolutionary work in cities. Today, there are already many possibilities in cities not only for propaganda work but also for concrete Organizational work. Today it is feasible to carry out Organizational work in cities according to the individual principle. Responsibility for this work is to be assigned to appropriate Organizational heads.

In reports it is mandatory to provide detailed information about life in the cities, and not just from one's own area but from others as well. It is necessary for the appropriate Organizational heads to make special efforts to send

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reported that a 92.7 percent level of collectivization had been reached. The nationalist movement urged the population to resist collectivization measures (see Document 117).

individual informants into various larger cities and industrial centres in order to obtain detailed and genuine information.

*The Recruitment of a Labour Force for Industry and FZN Schools*

Order young people not to go, to wriggle out in every possible way, or go into temporary hiding. Order those who are in hiding:

- a) to hide individually (hideouts).
- b) not to create groups and not carry weapons openly.
- c) to be wary of Bolshevik provocations.

Better individuals who must already hide may be prepared for membership in the Organization and transferred to the underground.

Order those whom the Bolsheviks can forcibly send away to:

- a) talk about the revolutionary struggle of the OUN and the UPA at length in workplaces, to exert an educational influence on their surroundings and in that way disseminate our ideas.
- b) carefully observe life in the place where they are living and send more interesting information in the appropriate manner to their acquaintances or family members.

It is always important to dispatch a certain number of our members and supporters together with those who have been sent away so that we may have our informants there.

*Our position on the Russians.* Based on our ideological principles, we recognize the right of all nations of the world, including the Russian people, to their own independent national state on their own ethnographic territory. In the USSR the Bolsheviks have raised the Russian people to the status of ruling nation over all other nations. As for the Russian labouring masses, they are socially oppressed and economically exploited almost the same way as the labouring masses of the other nationalities of the USSR. As a result of this, some of the Russian labouring masses have a hostile attitude to the regime.

For the above-mentioned reasons, in relation to the Russian people it is reasonable to draw a dividing line and to aim our struggle against their Bolshevik-imperialist part.

In Ukraine, the Russians are mainly a source of support for Bolshevik policies, a ruling and colonizing element, and that is why [their] attitude to the Ukrainian people and their liberation efforts is hostile in the extreme. We must wage a merciless struggle against those kinds of Russians, as against enemies.

Only a very insignificant proportion of the Russian labouring masses that are temporarily based in Ukraine, but not of their own free will, has a neutral or even friendly attitude to Ukrainians. It is not feasible to struggle against those kinds of Russians, but, on the contrary: they must be set on the path of active anti-Bolshevik struggle.

*Reporting and Organizational Correspondence*

Sociopolitical surveys are to be composed according to current instructions relating to this matter, including all individual written and oral comments. Information from raions is to be written according to problems and not just chronologically. In naming individuals in the field, only use the administrative division.

During reporting, higher organizational heads are obliged to put forward their own "assessment of the general situation in the field," raising the most important and most urgent questions in the subordinate field unit.

It is necessary to report separately:

- a) on mass actions that have been carried out (e.g., a collective farm action).
- b) to supply information from the larger cities of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, industrial centres, and other territories.
- c) to send information about life in prisons, in exile, in the army, etc. (attach interesting letters without recipients' surnames).

In addition to quarterly reports, all organizational heads or their deputies are obliged to inform their superiors about the political situation in their field in separate Organizational notes.

In all written materials, compulsory *secrecy* must be preserved.

Written reports must be prepared in such a way that, if they fall into the hands of the enemy, they cannot be used as information about the Organization's strength, the state of cadres, or other secret Organizational matters. In Organizational correspondence do not use any descriptions of functions (e.g., leader, superior, responsible leader of the SB, Propaganda, etc.), only a prearranged number; also, do not sign with pseudonyms that are generally used in Organizational work.

With regard to secret matters, when they must be mentioned in written form, it is mandatory to use a cipher. All Organizational superiors should provide detailed instruction on the ciphering technique to their subordinates.

*Financial matters.* As a result of the financial reform [in the USSR], right now some fields are experiencing a very acute lack of funds. It is necessary to adopt all possible means (collections, expropriations, etc.) in order to increase the financial means of the Organization.

It is ordered to use the greatest frugality with regard to cash expenses.

Cash desk inspections and reports are to be carried out twice a year (on 30 June and 31 December). Cash desk reports are to be drawn up according to the fundamental articles of expenses (e.g., 1) office equipment, 2) propaganda technology, 3) books and press, 4) gear, etc.).

*VII. Propaganda Instructions*

1. At the present time the prerequisite of our propaganda successes is resolving the issue of printing technology. Right now, we have a situation where we have

things to print; there are many written leaflets, brochures, [and] articles for the press, or issues are being edited; there is great interest in our literature (the eastern Ukrainian oblasts, the entire Soviet Union), but we are capitalizing on all this only to a minimal degree, mainly because we do not have the ability to print our publications because printing technology is almost [*sic*] in a bad way – at the present moment, in the sector of propaganda this is the most important task of the Organization.

Efforts must be adopted so that each nadraion will have its own printing press that would be housed in such a way and supplied with technical materials in such a way that it can operate constantly.

As for printing presses in operation now, the following shortcomings have been noted:

a) Printing presses are housed in inappropriate locations and inappropriate hideouts.

b) There is a lack of trained typesetters.

c) There is often a shortage of paper, inks, etc., and printing presses do not work for a lengthy period of time.

In connection with this, it is necessary:

a) to house printing presses in the most appropriate places.

b) with respect to functioning printing presses, always train one to two reliable people, who could work independently on new printing presses within a short period of time. This should be seen to by the appropriate (okruha or nadraion) responsible leader for propaganda. In this way, there will never be a shortage of workers for the new printing presses.

c) Constantly accumulate reserves of paper, ink, and other technical materials, so that there will not be an interruption of several months in the work of the printing presses.

D) [*sic*] Apply vetting by SB organs of small groups [*zvena*] of technical staff, the field that is closest to these groups, as well as methods of delivering technical materials

d) [*sic*] Provide mature, appropriate people for the small technical groups, and leaders in particular.

In every raion there should be at least one typewriter, on which a typist will always type up our propaganda publications.

As propaganda technical means, also use cyclostyles, hectographs, and, in particular, glassographs, which are still relatively widespread in the Soviet Union.

2 In many fields [*tereny*], mainly with respect to the lower levels and lower-level cadres, not even 30 percent of those propaganda publications and educational materials have appeared in the Organization in recent times. This means that the Organization's publications are practically not being used (they are not only not being disseminated among the masses they are also not being

read because even the cadres do not have them). This also means that in fact hardly any educational work among the cadres is taking place.

Each *teren* leader is responsible for ensuring that cadres in the *teren* subordinated to him have all the basic publications issued by the Organization from 1955 to 1948 (all these publications are listed in the *Guidelines concerning Propaganda Work for 1948*).

3. There are also many shortcomings in the sector of our propaganda among eastern Ukrainians. This propaganda is being conducted only once every so often, unsystematically, too little offensively; not only are new methods of transmitting our literature to the easterners not being sought, but well-known and used methods are also being used very weakly.

The propaganda offensive on eastern Ukrainians must be carried out systematically and in a planned fashion. In the field there must constantly be a definite quantity of literature designated exclusively for Ukrainians from the SUZ. The slogan "Facing the East" exists in fact, it is our most important slogan and it must be implemented by all means.

4. In connection with the collective farm action, anti-collective farm leaflets and slogans must be reproduced en masse and disseminated.

5. Creative work in the propaganda sector should proceed along the lines of producing brief, popular brochures devoted to: a) a critique of Bolshevism; 2) [*sic*] information about the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, the promotion of our revolutionary ideas; c) a critique of the negative features in the spirituality of eastern Ukrainians.

Cadres must also be supplied with literature featuring moral-educational content.

6. The following are to be considered mandatory in the propaganda sector: a) *Guidelines concerning Propaganda Work in the Near Future* (R-1197, April 1947), *Addendum to the Brief Guidelines from the Month of August 1947*, and *Guidelines concerning Propaganda Work for 1948*.

#### *VIII Guidelines concerning the Work of the SB*

1. Under the Bolshevik occupation the well arranged work of the SB is the basic prerequisite of the successes of the revolutionary underground movement and the guarantee of its existence in general. Therefore, in addition to administrative superiors, all leaders of Organizational units on all levels must be responsible for raising the work of the SB to the appropriate level.

2. Serious flaws are often noted in the work of SB sections, both on the part of Organizational superiors and of section heads themselves.

It happens that Organizational superiors underestimate and have an indifferent attitude to the work of the SB, or they take SB personnel completely into their own hands. As a result, areas of the SB's work are neglected, SB

personnel are stripped of all initiative, they are burdened with all sorts of trivial unimportant matters (criminal, moral, punitive-administrative, etc.). SB cadres are not being formed and are not growing, which in turn leads to the Organization's failures.

In addition, some SB staff members often "become [so] independent" in their work that they create an independent goal out of their professional area and cease being interested in the entirety of the Organization's life. There are also some who, as a result of the particularly important character of the SB's work and their broad competences, become overbearing and cultivate a sense of their own sickly superiority over all workers in other sectors of the Organization.

This kind of unusual treatment of the SB's tasks is leading to the utter departure from the basic goals of the SB, which are, specifically, the defence of the Organization against the enemy's secret intelligence service.

3. In order to put the SB's work on a correct footing and to raise the Organization's defensive capability vis-à-vis the Bolshevik police agencies, it is crucial:

a) for their Organizational superiors, in addition to section heads, to be responsible for the work of the SB.

b) for the Organizational superiors to regard the heads of SB sections as their closest associates on a level with other members of the leadership of a given Organizational unit, to induct them into the totality of the issues of the subordinate Organizational unit, and to resolve all the most important issues in the field jointly.

c) for heads of SB sections to inform their Organizational superiors about all *aguntura* matters in the field and Bolshevik methods of struggle against the Organization. It is emphasized that data on Bolshevik police agencies, their secret intelligence, and work methods are secret and cannot be publicized. Permission to utilize some SB information in propaganda publications may be given only by higher superiors of the SB (*krai, okruha*).

D) [*sic*] that the most reliable and, as far as possible, most intellectually developed cadres always be assigned to the work in SB sections.

e) that all SB cadres must always raise their ideological-political level, for which both administrative and Organizational superiors are responsible.

f) Administrative superiors of the SB are responsible for the professional training and formation of SB personnel and for their professional work (content, work methods, etc.).

4. All members of the Organization, particularly leading ones, are obliged to complete basic training (theoretical and practical) for work in the SB. SB section heads and Organizational superiors are responsible for conducting training.

5. In order additionally to raise the preparation of SB cadres and leading cadres of the Organization, it is advisable to familiarize them with the reports on

completed cases, in which the enemy's work methods are illuminated in detail. That year's reports may be utilized only with the permission of higher superiors of the SB (krai).

6. Organizational superiors, together with SB section heads, should constantly seek out new methods of conspiratorial actions (members conduct, the sale of literature, collections, liaison, approach to legals, etc.).

7. The struggle against obvious Bolshevik lackeys and activists (Party, administration, Komsomol, collective farms, etc.) is waged by the entire Organization. All matters of an agentura nature are carried out by the SB or, in cases of an already unmasked secret agent network, by other members of the Organization under the direction of SB section heads.

8. Organizational superiors should carry out personnel changes in SB sections in a coordinated manner with the appropriate SB superiors. It is not permitted to transfer professionally formed SB staff members to other areas of Organizational work. In exceptional, urgent cases, when it is necessary to head the post of leader of an Organizational unit, SB section heads may be appointed only as temporary acting heads.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 29, fols. 230–41.

DOCUMENT 21: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE  
OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP (1949)*August 1949*

## I.

*On the International Situation*

1. The conflict between the Russian-Bolshevik and Anglo-American blocs continues to deepen, as a result of which was the political and military alliance between the Western European countries and the USA (the North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in the years 1948 and 1949.
2. The North Atlantic Treaty is the culmination of the organization of a political and military front against the USSR in the basin of the Atlantic Ocean. It must be treated as the main link in a broadly planned military-political alliance of countries that are hostile to Bolshevism on a global scale (Mediterranean and Pacific Ocean treaties are planned). It also signifies that the opponents of the USSR, above all the USA, have already attained a high level in the sphere of the moral-political preparation of their masses for war. The signing of the North Atlantic Treaty is permitting the anti-Soviet bloc to develop broad, direct military preparation (the military articles of the North Atlantic Treaty, the Western European countries' program to replenish their armaments).
3. Each of the two blocs is continuing to act both as the champion of the world and the side that is defending itself, and therefore all the foreign and domestic policies of the states of these blocs are accompanied by noisy propaganda about "peace," "aspirations for peaceful international cooperation," about the "aggressiveness" of the opponent, etc. All this is being done in order to dump responsibility for the possible outbreak of war on his opponent.
4. The economic situation of the USA continues to be very strong. As a result of American aid (the Marshall Plan) and also of their own efforts, the Western European countries have achieved significant successes in their economic recovery and have thus strengthened their economic situation and the might of the entire bloc.<sup>26</sup>
5. In the sector of domestic political strengthening, the Western states, schooled by experience, are seeking to isolate and suppress the activities of Bolshevik Fifth Columns, and they are even completely excluding them from national-political life (USA, Brazil, Chile, France, Italy).

<sup>26</sup> Signed into law by US president Harry S. Truman on 3 April 1948, the Marshall Plan (officially the European Recovery Program [ERP]) was an American initiative that provided over \$12 billion in economic assistance to help rebuild Western Europe after the Second World War. It continued until 1951.



6. The forces of the Eastern bloc, headed by the Soviet Union, continue to be comparatively much weaker than the forces of the Anglo-American bloc. In particular, this pertains to industrial potential, which is playing a primary role in the current war. The very comparison between the annual production of heavy industry in the USA, on the one hand, and the entire Eastern bloc, on the other, does not favour the latter.

7. The moral-political as well as strategic positions of the Soviet bloc in the European theatre in 1948–49 have weakened greatly as a result of the opposition to the USSR on the part of Yugoslavia's Tito and the decreased influence of communist parties in Western European countries (France, Italy, the rift in the World Federation of Trade Unions, WTFU).

8. Tito's opposition, which emerged as a result of Moscow's efforts to subordinate Yugoslavia to itself completely, is a very serious failure of Bolshevik Moscow in its foreign policy up until this time. Tito's opposition:

a) shows the weak cohesion of the countries of the so-called people's democracy, which relies almost exclusively on terror.

b) shows the unwillingness of these countries to subordinate themselves blindly to Moscow's orders and accede voluntarily to their colonial status.

c) reveals individual tendencies within various communist parties, which are not in accord with the line of the Muscovite CC AUCP(B) (besides Tito, Gomulka, Kostov, Xoxe, Markos, Rajk).<sup>27</sup>

The liquidation by Moscow of the opposition in the communist parties of Central and Southeastern Europe means that the Bolshevization process in the countries of the "people's democracy" has entered the final stage.

9. The communist victory in China is significantly strengthening the USSR's status in the Far East and has put at risk the USA and England's positions in the Far East. This unquestioned success of Bolshevik Moscow at the present moment is dampened by the circumstance that, with respect to industry, China is a backward country that requires huge investments and energy, which today is not permitting the Bolsheviks properly to exploit the military victories of the Chinese communists.

The successes of the Chinese communists became possible as a result of the failure of Chiang Kai-Shek's government to resolve existing and

27 Władysław Gomulka (1905–1982) was a Polish communist politician who served as de facto leader of postwar Poland until 1948 and again from 1956 to 1970. Traicho Kostov (1897–1949) was general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party, executed on 13 December 1949 for alleged anti-Soviet activities, posthumously rehabilitated in 1956. Enver Hoxha (1908–1985) was an Albanian communist, who served as the head of state of Albania from 1944 until his death in 1985. Markos Vafiadis (1906–1992) was a leading member of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) during the Greek Civil War (March 1946 to 16 October 1949). László Rajk was a communist who served as Hungary's minister of the interior from March 1946 to August 1948. He was executed on 15 October 1949 for alleged "Titoist" sympathies.

painful political and socioeconomic problems (raising the living standard of the masses, implementing radical economic and social reforms, reviving the health of the state-administrative and economic apparatus, the inability to find support beyond a small number of capitalist elements).<sup>28</sup>

10. The national-liberation struggle of the peoples of Asia [and] the danger of Bolshevik exploitation of this struggle, which is becoming particularly likely now, as a result of the successes in China, are forcing the colonial states to provide concessions to these peoples in the direction of recognizing their sovereignty (Vietnam, Indonesia). As a result of this, in their tactic in these countries the Bolsheviks have already switched to such a form whereby communist parties are doing away with supporting all other parties that champion national liberation, and they themselves are organizing a struggle for their masked goals, rallying around themselves elements that are in accord with them.

11. The decisive policies of the USSR's opponents towards the organization of a political and military front against the USSR and their concrete military preparation, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union's unpreparedness for war, on the other, have forced the USSR to accept concessions on the Berlin question with the goal of easing the international situation, which threatens it, and gaining time for military preparations.

12. The current (Paris) session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which took place after a lengthy interval, was, on the part of the USSR, a political manoeuvre above all, and once again it did not produce any practical, positive results. The German problem, which was the main topic of the session, remains an acute, unresolved international problem.

13. The struggle of the Soviet and Anglo-American blocs to obtain advantageous political, economic, and strategic positions in the event of war has led to the nearly complete partition of Germany into two separate parts isolated from each other. Both sides are conducting a type of policy with respect to the German question, which would allow each of them to win the sympathy of the German people with the goal of exploiting it on its own side. In this struggle for the sympathy of the German people, the blatantly imperialistic policies of Bolshevik Moscow clearly have fewer successes than the policies of its opponents.

14. Both sessions of the UN General Assembly (fall 1948 and spring 1949) once again revealed the entire depth of the abyss between the Anglo-American and Russian-Bolshevik blocs, once again [having] demonstrated the utter incapacity of the UN, which is being used by both sides only as a rostrum for their

28 Chiang Kai-Shek (1887–1975) was, from 1928, the generalissimo of the Republic of China. After being defeated in 1949 by the forces of the Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung, Chiang led his *Kuomintang* forces to Taiwan, where he ruled as president until his death.

own propaganda, and even in this direction it is offering the Bolsheviks ever smaller successes.

15. To a certain degree, the forces of the Anglo-American bloc are being weakened by the economic conflicts among the bloc's member-states, which stem from the struggle of these states for sales markets and sources of raw materials. As a negative point in the strategic positions of the Anglo-American bloc, one should also point to the great distance of the main force of this bloc, the USA, from the possible theatre of military operations.

16. A weak spot in the moral-political positions of the Western states, especially the USA, is their vague position on the question of the rights of peoples and, particularly, on the question of the right of peoples to independent state existence (the absence in their ideological-political arsenal of the idea of liberation and national-state self-determination of the peoples enslaved by Bolshevik Moscow [reveals] their failure to raise the national question in the USSR in their anti-Bolshevik propaganda discussion on the question of national-state sovereignty and rights of peoples). All this is forcing the enslaved peoples to mistrust the goals of the Western states.

17. In today's situation both blocs do not want war yet. In the case of the Soviet bloc, this is determined by the following aspects:

a) military-economic weakness.

b) expectations of successes through so-called peaceful expansion with the aid of the Communist Party, especially in Asia.

c) expectations of possible socioeconomic complications (a crisis) in the main countries of the Anglo-American bloc, which would create a propitious moment for attacking this bloc.

In the case of the Anglo-American bloc, this is influenced by the following reasons:

a) the current economic and military weakness of the USA's allies.

b) the incompleteness of the USA's military preparation.

c) the unpreparedness of Germany and Japan for active inclusion in the system of the Anglo-American bloc.

#### *On the Situation in the USSR*

1. All life in the USSR is still under the sign of accelerated preparation for war, which, as a result, is determining the continued intensification of political terror, economic plunder, the terrible poverty of the labouring masses, on the one hand, and the growth of popular dissatisfaction, on the other.

2. The fourth Five-Year Plan is being implemented at an accelerated pace and exclusively at the cost of the merciless colonial plunder of riches both of the earlier enslaved peoples and the newly occupied ones, and the unheard of

exploitation of the labouring masses in the entire USSR. As a result, the military and exploitative nature of this Five-Year Plan has become even clearer to the masses (“the Five-Year Plan in four years,” the raising of quotas, “additional accumulations,” etc., the economic subordination of the newly occupied countries to the economy of the USSR).

3. With the goal of further masking the colonial-exploitative character of the fourth Five-Year Plan and the impoverished state of the masses of ordinary people in the USSR, the Kremlin leaders have resorted to the latest deception – the announcement of price reductions. In practice, this new “price reduction” has in no way changed the situation of the working people and has merely provided the latest pretext for intensified admonishment aimed at increasing the exploitation of the labouring masses (increasing work productivity, socialist competition, etc.).

The further economic subordination of the newly occupied countries to the interests of the USSR’s economy (the creation of the so-called Economic Council in Moscow) is masked by propaganda against the Marshall Plan and propaganda about the “USSR’s selfless assistance.”

4. To the number of measures aimed at the moral-political preparation of their masses for war, the Bolshevik imperialists have added the struggle against so-called cosmopolitanism. The goal of this struggle, which is being waged with exceptional intensity in all spheres of life (literature, art, music, scholarship, cinema, sports, the circus, daily life), is to fence off the USSR completely from the West, to prevent any kind of Western influences on their masses. A number of distinguished representatives of Soviet cultural and scholarly life have already fallen victim to this new course. At the same time, the racist theory about the superiority of the Russian people, their culture and scholarship, is being inflated, which (theory) is viewed by the Stalinist powers that be as the chief moral and political unifying idea for the masses of the USSR.

5. In early 1949 in the so-called national republics [there] took place congresses of the Bolshevik parties of these “republics.” These congresses demonstrated once again:

a) that the communist parties of the “national republics” are deprived of any kind of party and political independence, that they are direct agents of Moscow, that they are merely territorial branches of the single party of the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists.

b) that they are the leaders of a policy of the colonial oppression and exploitation of the peoples of the so-called national republics.

c) that the peoples of those “republics” must rise up in a struggle and unfold it even more broadly for the speediest possible destruction of the Russian-Bolshevik Party.

6. The XI Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR has taken place. The congress showed once again:

a) that trade unions in the USSR are not organizations for the protection of the rights, freedoms, and interests of the worker but an additional apparatus in the hands of the Bolshevik magnate class for putting pressure on the worker for the purpose of his economic exploitation and political oppression.

b) that there is no democracy in Bolshevik trade unions, and therefore the entire leadership of these trade unions consists not of genuine representatives from the labour world but of representatives of the class of Bolshevik exploiters, appointed from above.

c) that in the interests of the Bolshevik magnates the leaders of Soviet trade unions, having taken possession of the right to act in the name of the millions-strong mass of workers in the USSR, are pursuing within international organizations a criminal policy of concealing from other nations of the world the true condition of workers in the USSR, a policy of deceiving and confusing working countries outside of the USSR.

D [*sic*] that the workers of the USSR must collectively launch a struggle for free trade unions that may be attained only as a result of destroying the class of Bolshevik magnates and reconstructing the USSR on the principles of free independent states of all peoples, genuine democratic order in them, and a classless society.

7. The congress of the VLKSM [All-Union Leninist Communist League of Youth: Komsomol] has also taken place in Moscow. The congress exposed, first and foremost, the powerful bureaucratization and formalism within the Komsomol; second, the indifferent attitude of Komsomol members to so-called political-educational work; third, the radical attempts of the Bolshevik ruling clique to raise, by means of a whole number of appropriate measures, the ideological and moral level of Komsomol youth, including in schools, and to bind it to their policies. Today, ideological corruption is increasingly spreading in the very ranks of Komsomol youth, and it is increasingly more difficult for the party magnates to keep young people under their influence.

8. In early 1949 "elections" were held to the so-called people's courts, which, like every other election in the USSR, were only a mockery of genuine elections and democracy. As a result of these "elections," the so-called people's courts were filled not with people who are ready to stand on guard for the interests of the people and to abide by the high principles of justice but with people who will mercilessly trample on the principles of justice, guided by the criminal laws of the Bolshevik magnates.

9. By strengthening his dictatorial position, Stalin eliminated a whole number of leading members of the Bolshevik ruling clique (Voznesensky, Popkov,

Goliakov, and others).<sup>29</sup> This phenomenon, the constant elimination of leading members of the ruling clique and purges in the party's lower ranks, is germane to all dictatorial, totalitarian systems, especially the Stalinist one. However, all the changes in the personnel of the ruling clique do not signify any change in the essence of the USSR's domestic and foreign policies. Such a change can take place only as a result of the destruction of the Russian-Bolshevik Party.

10. The policy of national oppression of the ordinary masses, which is generally characterized throughout the USSR as overt criticism of Bolshevik orders, open articulation of desires for change, and the building of a better system. In a number of countries this dissatisfaction has grown, and is continuing to grow, into an active struggle for national and social liberation. The broadest national liberation struggle is being waged in Ukraine, followed by the Baltic countries. An anti-Soviet struggle also exists in Belarus, Moldova, and among the peoples of the Caucasus. Intensified, forcible collectivization in western Ukraine, western Belarus, Moldova, and the Baltic countries is leading to the wider enlistment of the ordinary masses in the struggle.

#### *On the Situation in the Ukrainian SSR*

1. The central point characterizing the situation in the Ukrainian SSR continues to be the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle. Despite all its efforts and intensified strikes, the enemy has not managed to destroy the Ukrainian clandestine revolutionary liberation movement anywhere or to sever its links with the millions-strong masses of the Ukrainian people who support it devotedly and sacrificially. On the contrary, the Ukrainian national liberation movement has expanded its influences and continues to expand them.

2. In 1948–49 the Bolshevik occupiers continued to impose the collective farm system of serfdom in western Ukraine. As a result of harsh terror, vile savageries, and abuses aimed at the population, they managed to collectivize a significant proportion of the villages in western Ukraine. The western Ukrainian peasantry, supported by the OUN, has mounted and continues to mount heroic resistance to Bolshevik collectivization, as a result of which the Bolsheviks have not achieved the total collectivization of western Ukraine, and a huge number of established collective farms exist only on paper or are very weak. Collectivization and the merciless plunder of grain have led to the

29 Nikolai Voznesensky was responsible for central economic planning in the Soviet Union during the war. He was executed on 5 March 1949 for his alleged anti-Soviet activities in Leningrad and posthumously rehabilitated in 1956. Pyotr Popkov served as the CPSU's first secretary in Leningrad in 1946 and was also a member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. Arrested in 1949 and sentenced to death, he survived to become ambassador to Poland in March 1953. The chairman of the Supreme Court of the USSR was I.T. Goliakov.

immense impoverishment of the western Ukrainian masses, which in a number of raions is marked by starvation.

3. Continuing the policy of the physical extermination of the Ukrainian people, the Bolshevik aggressors have once again deported many Ukrainians to Siberia (partial deportations in the ZUZ, deportations for the non-fulfilment of the “minimum” in the SUZ). In order not to alert the population and thereby not give them a chance to escape and hide from deportation, as well as with the goal of concealing the appalling deportations from the world, the Bolshevik occupiers recently adopted the method of partial but frequent deportations, instead of the methods of mass, one-time deportations, which they have pursued up until this time.

4. Through the mobilization of an unpaid force for industry, the Bolshevik oppressors have carried out the latest call-up of young people to so-called FZO schools, especially in the SUZ. Young Ukrainians have mounted resistance to this call-up. In many raions, and even in entire oblasts, it has been almost completely disrupted in others. Young people, shipped out for work in the system of the so-called FZP schools, are fleeing en masse and hiding or finding other jobs.

5. The XVI congress of the Muscovite agentura in Ukraine – the CP(B)U – took place in the month of January. The congress demonstrated the entire immensity of Ukraine’s persecution and plunder by the Russian-Bolshevik aggressors and the utter subordination of the CP(B)U to Moscow.

*Secret*

## II.

### *Basic Tactical Tasks*

1. To focus the entire Organization’s attention on the most urgent problems: the problem of Dazhboh (4) and the problem of Orlyk (5).<sup>30</sup>
2. To ensure the Organization’s moral and political control in the entire terrain of its operations.
3. To reduce combat operations to a minimum necessary for such control.

### *Organizational Guidelines*

1. To continue to implement the guidelines of the POUN [leadership of the OUN ] from 1946 to 1948 as continuously urgent, in particular the guidelines pertaining to the problems of Dazhboh and Orlyk. To recognize as non-urgent those points in the 1946–48 guidelines, which contradict later guidelines on the given issues.

<sup>30</sup> Dazhboh – a strategic OUN plan that included decreasing the number of overt military engagements while organizing a partial legalization of the underground, in hopes of clandestinely increasing the influence of the underground within civil society.

2. To explain to the cadres the substance of the switch to clandestine forms of struggle, such as the adoption of maximum secrecy in daily life and in action. To wage a struggle against the Organization's losses by continuous training and educational work in the sphere of secrecy, particular[ly] where it has weakened. All violations of the fundamentals of secrecy pertaining to Dazhboh and Orlyk are to be harshly suppressed, including guilty parties handed over to the Organizational Court.
3. Ultimately to liquidate those forms of the underground's non-secret work with the population, which led to the obvious unmasking of the population vis-à-vis the occupiers.
4. To stamp out local patriotism among the cadres and instead to inculcate an attitude of unity.
5. To combat manifestations of decline in the militancy of cadres and, with the aid of combat operations, to nurture a healthy, offensive stance.
6. To intensify educational work among the cadres. Responsibility for cadre morale lies above all with territorial leaders.
7. To liquidate the vestiges of the formal, martinet-like attitude between a superior and a subordinate, and through the educational stance of superiors to achieve conscious discipline of a revolutionary.
8. To stimulate the growth of low-level members by engaging them in practical political work.
9. To teach and to demand that leading cadres of all levels plan work for the summer and winter periods.
10. To liquidate superfluous and non-rational encounters and to simplify reporting, and to use the time achieved as a result of this for work on the most important current spheres of our struggle.
11. To pay particular attention and to apply all efforts to obtaining moral and political control over uncontrolled territories.
12. To explain to the cadres the place and forms of our anti-collective farm struggle. Indicate that the anti-collective farm struggle in its current forms is being waged in non-collectivized villages and in the sector of newly and weakly organized collective farms. In well-established collective farms we are struggling against exploitation and for bread.
13. To ensure strict unification and control over finances. To demand the recording of so-called additional funds on the raion level and the inclusion of all additional funds into the cash book, beginning with the nadraion and higher.
14. To abide strictly by the principle that the Organization's money and documents are not stored in the residences of underground members.



*Propaganda Guidelines*

1. To struggle for a rapprochement between western and eastern Ukrainians, particularly young people, to apply efforts both in print and verbal propaganda to liquidating the alienation that still exists today between both parts of the nation.
2. To urge peasants in as yet uncollectivized villages to continue decisive resistance to collectivization; in newly organized collective farms – to the broadest sabotage and struggle against them; in well-established collective farms – to the active, solidarity-oriented struggle of the peasants for bread [and] against economic and physical exploitation.
3. In propagandistic-journalistic production, pay attention to our lack of popular propagandistic-agitational literature that would be accessible to both the broadest western Ukrainian and eastern Ukrainian masses. The authors of this kind of literature should orient themselves towards our technical capabilities and not exceed the limits of short, easily duplicated brochures.
4. To provide a field with clandestine educational literature for young people. In addition to magazines for young people, also edit individual publications for them, designed in a literary fashion in the form of small booklets. For this purpose, use the memoirs of participants of our struggle and design [them] in a literary fashion.
5. To organize the delivery of literature to the east by various possible methods. Literature is not to be sent by post.
6. To develop our propaganda technique. This pertains especially to those territories that do not have printing presses to this day. Each nadraion should have its own printing press. To maximize secrecy in the sector of small technical units [*zvena*].
7. To use printed literature thriftily. To try to ensure that each of our printed leaflets is read by the largest possible number of people. Literature is to be borrowed, and after people read it, it is to be passed along to others.
8. In the printing of literature, to abide strictly by the order established in the *Guidelines* of the HOSP [Main Propaganda Centre] from 1949, as well as additional guidelines in this regard.
9. To design in propagandistic fashion all actions in the field that require such design (action against the Russians, against lackeys, the destruction of clubs, etc.).
10. To review and simplify reporting along the propaganda line.
11. To implement the propaganda directives and guidelines contained in the *HOSP Guidelines* (1948 and 1949) and in the guidelines of the KOPs [Krai Propaganda Centres].

*Guidelines for the SB*

1. To apply all efforts to the professional training and growth of SB cadres, which alone offer the possibility of constantly replenishing the Organization's losses in this section.
2. To liquidate shortcomings in the state of morale and the political training of SB cadres.
3. To continue SB training among field leaders and the general mass of cadres in the Organization.
4. To intensify cooperation between field leaders and SB bodies. To reach the point where SB cadres are interested in all the affairs of the Organization, not just their own bailiwick.
5. To ensure maximum secrecy of the SB's work. Those who are guilty of revealing secrets are to be prosecuted.
6. To pay the most diligent attention to vetting novices and legals.
7. To liquidate superfluous SB red tape.
8. To create trust among the people to the just resolution of affairs by SB bodies.
9. To pay attention to and to familiarize yourself with the character of organizations that arise among young people (secret intelligence or illegal) and to adopt appropriate measures in those cases.
10. To disband doubtful small units [*zvena*] and to place the vetting of people concerning whom there are reservations under the control of raion and nad-raion SB operatives.
11. To order the mass liquidation of networks of s/o's [secret informants], and in that case to expose less dangerous secret agents.
12. To carry out the liquidation of eastern secret agents only in cases of the agent's particular activeness. In all other cases, seek the cessation of the agent's activity through educational-propaganda methods.

*Dazhboh*

1. To make the cadres aware that only the replenishment of the Organization's ranks through the enlistment of novices into the underground and the organizing of legals will allow the Organization to continue existing and operating.
2. To explain to the cadres that this work is full of dangers for the Organization and therefore must be treated diligently and carefully.
3. To order field leaders and SB bodies to cooperate as closely as possible in this sphere and to decide the case of each individual novice or legal jointly.
4. The replenishment of the underground with novices is to be done in accordance with the needs of the field, keeping in mind that in ..... there should be at least ..... old and new underground members.
5. Before each novice is accepted into the underground, test his/her endurance, militancy, and dedication by means of assassinations. Do not establish

strictly designated deadlines for carrying out an assassination. Novices are to be trained appropriately, and advantageous conditions for carrying out the task are to be created.

6. Regardless of their educational level, novices spend from one to 2.5 years among the rank and file. All novices are treated equally with older underground members.

7. Depending on the prospects for the growth of novices, they are to be paired with those people who can provide them with the proper upbringing and training (novices with older people).

8. It is desirable to deploy novices to distant fields of operations and to inculcate the feeling of unity in them.

9. Above all, to accept into the underground such novices who present the prospect for growth.

10. Legals are to be organized according to the principles outlined earlier .....  
At .....

11. Young peoples' candidate apprenticeship is a minimum of six months in the countryside and one year in a city and a high school. The first two months are the familiarization stage, the next four months are the training and work stage. A novice spends six months in the underground according to his candidate apprenticeship.

12. To ensure the maximum secrecy of contacts and work of legals.

13. To provide each legal with a trainer-educator.

14. In the shortest possible time to provide legals with basic ideological-political and conspiratorial training. To provide legals with extensive and systematic training and upbringing.

15. To explain to educators that all shortcomings in the clandestinity, upbringing, and training of a legal will lead to his expulsion from the Organization.

16. To pay particularly careful attention to especially trustworthy legals, who in time may be brought into the underground and assigned work with regard to legals. Among prospective legals, include all who may be useful in this sphere.

17. A cipher key to the field from OLEH [acronym for Organization of Legals] is to be made and kept on the nadraion level. It is to be encoded by a book cipher and hidden separately from the archives.

### *Orlyk*

1. All forms of work among Orlyk members are the sole method for the spread of the Organization in the SUZ and the victorious completion of our revolutionary struggle.

2. To order the Organization's cadres to consult constantly with SB bodies in the sector of work with Orlyk members.

3. To train cadres morally and practically for the conditions of working with Orlyk members in their fields.

4. To teach cadres to love work with Orlyk members, indicating success in this to them.
5. To seek out various possibilities for encounters and carrying out propaganda work with Orlyk members, who have not seen us yet to this time (from larger cities, raion centres, etc.).
6. To create opportunities for establishing contact with the native areas of Orlyk members.
7. *Okruha* leaders are responsible for the formation of Orlyk members.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 7, fols. 403–12.

DOCUMENT 22: ORDER OF SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE  
UPA: CESSATION OF UPA ACTIVITIES (1949)

HVSh

*Billeting place, 3 September 1949**Order No. 2*

In accordance with the decision of the UHVR, dated 29.8.1949

- 1) By the end of 1949, terminate the activities of all UPA subunits and headquarters.
- 2) Transfer the right to award members of the revolutionary liberation movement from UPA headquarters to various underground centres.
- 3) Transfer the right to nominate members of the revolutionary liberation movement to the rank of non-commissioned officers from UPA headquarters to various underground centres.
- 4) Leave indispensable agendas of the IV Department of the Supreme Military Headquarters (Organization/Personnel) for processing data on those nominated and awarded, as well as for nominating to the rank of officers those UPA members who, for technical reasons, were not nominated by late 1949.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

Brigadier General T. Chuprynka  
Supreme Commander of the UPA

For distribution to:

HVSh:	2 copies
UPA-West:	1 copy
UPA-North:	1 copy
UPA-South:	1 copy
Group 2:	1 copy
Group 3:	1 copy
H 4:	1 copy
HOSP:	1 copy
Total:	9 copies

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 271/.

DOCUMENT 23: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE  
OUN LEADERSHIP (1950)

Field Postal Service no. 3826

[In the top-right corner are handwritten superscriptions: 1951 and four indecipherable words]

*Instructions*

(From June 1950 and July 1951)

Field Postal Service no. 3826

*June 1950*

*Instructions*

*I. The International Situation*

*a) The general situation:*

- A peaceful situation continues to exist.
- A cold war is becoming more routine.
- Hopes for an imminent war are fading.
- Fear of war on both sides is quite strong.
- The mobilization of all economic resources for increasing military potential is taking place.
- Psychological mobilization for a future war is ongoing.
- The reckless destruction of opposition movements is being carried out.
- The impossibility of a peaceful settlement of relations and the inevitability of war are obvious, but the possibility of its onset should be accepted within some five years.

*b) The USSR:*

- Russian chauvinism is escalating to the farthest limits, which clearly confirms the Bolsheviks' stake on the Russian people right now and even more so in a future war.
- An intentionally zoological hatred of future military adversaries is being cultivated as a strong factor in the masses' spiritual mobilization for a future war.
- A far-reaching cleansing of its milieu through planned terror is taking place; terror against national revolutionary movements is escalating; in particular the goal is to kill all will to resist right now and in the event of war.
- However, the inability to kill the will of nations to their own statehood (Ukraine, the Baltic republics) within a short period of time is eminently clear.
- Also evident is the inability to satisfy the needs of the working masses,

and therefore the masses dissatisfaction on the national-political and social planes will continue to grow.

- The current situation is giving rise to the people's strong desire for war, with which they clearly link strong hopes for a change in the current hated order.

*c) Ukraine:*

- Efforts to destroy the base of the revolutionary movement – the ZUZ (deportations, resettlement, arrest, forcible creation of the Komsomol, etc.) are not abating, but on the contrary: they are escalating feverishly.
- In tandem with moral-spiritual and physical destruction are efforts to deprive the revolutionary movement of its economic base as well.
- The escalation of the direct struggle against the Organization (mass roundups, garrisons of Interior Troops, OOP [Maintenance of Public Order], massive agentura network, etc.) continues.
- The people's partial disillusionment in a speedy war and change is observed (growing indifference in the face of the forcible organization of collective farms, deportations, etc.).
- A situation is emerging whereby people are not doing anything voluntarily for the Bolsheviks benefit, but are doing everything under duress.
- As well, support (practical, active, not moral) for the revolutionary movement is arriving only from part of the nation; the rest are standing by passively, in abasement.
- It has been observed that, as a result of terror, persecutions, and other Bolshevik practices, the people lack strong faith in their speedy liberation.
- There is hardly any support for the regime among the people; there are very few Soviet activists among the people, even those who have been forcibly dragged into Bolshevik organizations (Komsomol, administration, collective farm institutions, strybyky, etc.) are passive or even active enemies of the Bolsheviks.
- The entire nation desires change and war, and is waiting for it; an orientation towards foreign forces (above all, American) and a lack of faith in their own forces and the success of revolution are observed among part of the popular masses.
- Thanks to the OUN's work, an increase in national consciousness and revolutionary activity is noted in the SUZ.
- All this is creating opportunities for the existence and work of the revolutionary organization in all the Ukrainian lands.

## II. Our Forces

- To submit a complete assessment of the situation in a specific *Organizational unit*, putting forward all the main positives and negatives that comprise the given situation, it is very important to show the cadres all the possibilities for developing further clandestine-revolutionary work.
- In general, the following may be said about our forces:
  - a) A high ideological-moral state continues to exist among underground cadres (heroism, steadfastness, endurance).
  - b) The growth of underground cadres is noted in all respects (training, practical work).
  - c) As a result of the protracted struggle, terror, shrinking of work, and losses, real exhaustion and hopelessness, are noted among some cadres, but even this part is disciplined and has a complete understanding of the crucial need for further struggle, although it is functioning without passion and sometimes falls into fatalism – indifference.
  - d) The low level of knowledge and Organizational-practical formation is continuing to shrink among the low-level cadres.
  - e) The full worth of new underground members may be confirmed.
  - f) The question of instructors in many areas has been resolved unsatisfactorily, even though in today's situation this issue is of paramount importance.

## III. Tasks

### a) Faith:

- It is crucial to strengthen and reinforce the people's faith in the idea of the USSD faith in their own strength, and conviction regarding the need for a liberation struggle. Only the existence of a strong, fanatical faith will eliminate the temporary apathy and disillusionment.
- To cultivate everywhere national-political consciousness in such a way as to have as many state-thinking people as possible in all the expanses of Ukraine.

### b) The Organization:

- The Organization is faced with three main tasks: maintaining the Organization, preserving cadres, and enlisting new cadres.
- It is necessary to install the Organization in all territories.
- Our path of struggle: a strong Organization that is active everywhere – revolution, war as an auxiliary factor.
- Right now the central problem is Dazhboh.



#### IV. Tactics

- 1) The ideological-political character of the revolutionary struggle is fundamental (not armed, not terrorist). Terror is to be applied only to higher-ranking individuals of the enemy apparatus as a *purely political* tool.
- 2) Strict secrecy is to be maintained in all respects: a) daily life, b) actions, c) clandestinity of the forces of the OUN and its capacities, particularly in writing and conversations, etc.
- 3) The OUN should not demonstrate its forces locally so as not to draw unnecessary blows.
- 4) Build a realistic force of the revolution (cadres of members). Have organizationally formed cadres of your own people everywhere (in Ukraine, the USSR, in all spheres of life).
- 5) The masses forms of struggle must not be demonstrative! Therefore:
  - a) passive resistance, non-implementation of governmental directives, delaying implementation, partial or half-way implementation.
  - b) do not become active in an anti-Bolshevik direction, but maintain and reinforce dissatisfaction through constant and hardly perceptible criticism of the current order.
  - c) actively oppose and act against the Bolsheviks only individually or in small vetted groups (two to three people), upholding the strictest secrecy (e.g., hawking revolutionary literature, punishing lackeys, etc.).
- 6) Make educational and training work mandatory for members. Every member is obliged to cultivate and train at least two new members over one to two years.

#### V. Methodology

- 1) Organizational work must be established in a fundamental manner; do not rush; do not go for a fleeting effect.
- 2) Strengthen the concrete leadership through the work of low-level cells (kushch units, a separately operating group).
- 3) Leaders should spend more time in low-level cells of the Organization, which are subordinated to them, training them and teaching them by means of concrete tasks.
- 4) The basis of leadership must be not the report-instruction but the thorough mastery of the entirety of issues and forms of work of the subordinate, on the one hand, and precise, straightforward tasks with simultaneous instruction on how to implement them in a given field, on the other. With every task that is assigned to a subordinate for implementation, it is advisable to verify whether the subordinate knows how to carry it out and whether she/he has

all the necessary means and possibilities to complete it. Subordinates must be comprehensively trained and educated, not “pumped.” At the same time, always be specific, list real possibilities and [the real] situation, avoid “giving lectures” on the topic of work.

5) In the work with subordinates hold normal Organizational meetings with a specific program of work and training in all directions.

6) In order to maintain appropriate internal relations between a superior and a subordinate, it is also necessary:

- to liquidate an egoistical understanding of OUN issues in individual organizational cells (“my” economy, “my” people, “my” field, etc.).
- to teach cultural coexistence (friendliness, sincerity) to all underground members.
- to guard against military forms of relations among underground members and vis-à-vis the population.
- a superior should demand inner discipline from his subordinates, and only then formal, external [discipline]. Therefore, he must be a leader and father, always and everywhere.

## VI. Cadres

Apply the following division of cadres:

a) *From the standpoint of individual worth:*

- 1) Member – underground member; new underground member; member – a legal, someone older; member – a legal youth.
- 2) Candidate (an older youth).
- 3) Sympathizer (usually someone older).

b) *From the standpoint of the current attitude to the struggle:*

- 1) activists: those who are taking part in the struggle *right now*.
- 2) reserve: those who are not participating in the struggle right now but are preparing for it *in the future*, and especially during the period of war and state building.

At the same time:

- candidate apprenticeship is to be designated individually (from one to several years).
- maintain only individual links with reserve cadres, precisely assign them future tasks and prepare them for them.
- *Do not recruit* women into the underground without a particular need for this; it is better to form them into reserve cadres (member, candidate, sympathizer).

### *VII. Dazhboh*

- All points in last year's instruction are still current.
- Meetings are to be arranged mainly at dead drops (establish pre-arranged alibis).
- Carry out systematic training.
- Keep meetings and work maximally secret. All letters from legals are to be burned immediately after use. At the same time, they should be printed or written with the left hand.
- Concrete tasks:
- 

### *Training*

- Familiarization with the terrain and orientation in the terrain in the daytime and night-time (village, city, highways, paths, buildings).
- Reconnaissance-informational tasks (e.g., description of a person, enemy movements, information from various milieux, etc.).
- Help with the organization of food deliveries and articles necessary to the underground.
- Acquisition of skills (photography, radio technology, driving, shoemaking, tailoring, etc., which may be needed in the underground).

#### b) *Organizational*

- Hawking of revolutionary literature.
- Searching for and setting up an underground residence.
- Technical jobs.
- Communications (trips).
- Combat-terrorist actions.
- Trips for informational purposes.
- During the move into the underground, apply all possible means of clandestinity. In the underground it is most preferable not to assign work in one's own field.

#### *Tasks for the legal member:*

- Information about the surroundings.
- Hawking of literature.
- Ideological-moral influence on the surroundings (but not political agitation).
- Planning and preliminary measures for seeking out new members.
- Special tasks corresponding to a specialty.
- Special tasks for those who are in the ChA, FZO, VUZes, schools, factories, the Komsomol, etc.
- No matter what the tasks, they should in no way *unmask* the legal member!

VIII. *The East*

ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands]:

- Arrange meetings and, through propaganda, work on those who come from the SUZ [eastern Ukrainian lands] and are working in the ZUZ.
- Gather and study data on various locales and milieux in the East (keep the sources of information secret).
- Organize the delivery of revolutionary literature and national-educational books to the East.
- For the above-mentioned purposes the following should be used to the maximum: resettlements, FZNs, deportation for work, etc. (With regard to the FZN: do not issue appeals not to go!).
- Establish and maintain the broadest possible friendly ties with eastern milieux (the ChA, workers, the intelligentsia, functionaries, et al.).
- Teach everyone who has the possibility to go somewhere to the east or to meet with “easterners” how to conduct propagandistic explanatory work about the revolutionary liberation movement and to explain their task in the East to them (national awareness-boosting and educational work).

*In addition to this:*

- To carry out work among eastern Ukrainians about their being groomed as members and sympathizers.
- To create, under various pretexts, contact points in the SUZ with legal members.
- To create organizational cells and direct them (a legal member crosses from the ZUZ, knowing the milieu, into the underground in the SUZ).

b) The SUZ:

- Organize contact points (houses).
- Search for candidates and carry out work on them.
- Master not the field but milieux where members can be found.
- The main task is *training and cultivating a member!*
- The main cadres are youth (younger), mainly of good quality (future leaders).
- Train organizational leaders from among the local element; implanting the Organization in the SUZ only from among members from the ZUZ is not realistic!
- Keep all work in strict secrecy, particularly in its initial stage so that the enemy does not even have a clue about our activities.
- The external appearance of underground members is to be adapted to local conditions.
- Intensify sensitivity to enemy approaches, agentura activities, and other

dangers leading to failure (the possibility of being captured alive, poisoned food, etc.).

- For every group try to accept one local underground member (keep such an action in the strictest secrecy!).
- Study the possibilities of establishing an organization among workers and in the city.
- In political-propaganda work among the population wage a decisive battle against the Russians' superiority and your feelings of inferiority.
- Along with all other means, raise the population's national-political awareness; connect the resolution of all social questions as closely as possible with the existence of the USSD; pose and resolve the national question separately from the social [question as] doing the opposite is unfeasible and harmful.

### *IX. Organizational Matters*

#### *a) Reporting:*

Prepare the following types of reports:

- a) sociopolitical survey that would provide a description of the most noteworthy facts and events at a given time in a given field (quarterly).
- b) survey of a situation in a field (at any time).
- c) information report of the SB (quarterly).
- d) report on propaganda work (every half-year or once a year).
- e) news from the SUZ, on the basis of various sources and information.
- f) general and specialized, accurate informational military reports.
- g) reports on meetings, excursions, etc.

In reporting, always uphold the principles of strict secrecy, particularly when this concerns the east. Do not include in written form such information that, if it falls into enemy hands, can lead to arrests or other repressions against the individuals mentioned in the report.

#### *b) The office, correspondence:*

- Restrict office work to the most crucial minimum.
- Do not use typewriters for non-essential writing and use them maximally for multiplying propagandistic-educational publications.
- When writing, remember the principle: "Everything that is written will fall [into enemy hands]!"
- In correspondence it is obligatory to use a code, cipher, individual pseudonyms, special designation of functions, special marking for dates, etc.

#### *c) Communications:*

- Organize crossings of rivers, fields, etc. properly and keep secret.

- Institute all possible security measures when transporting people and important mail (advance reconnaissance, inspection of places at risk, etc.).
- Place the question of storing mail (oil-cloth sacks, good and safe storage, hiding mail during billeting) on an appropriate level.
- With regard to the existence of a communications post on the territory of a kushch, designate the communication post's relationship to the field organization and the tasks concerning Organizational work in the field; however, remember that the first and main task of the communications post is communications work.

### *X. Propaganda*

- Carry out political propaganda action with the assistance of popular national-educational and popular revolutionary-political literature among the widest circles of the public. From this angle, select and publish new literature.
- Issue current leaflets in mass runs.
- Distribute literature to areas where there are no Organizational cells. Exploit all possibilities for sending and transmitting revolutionary literature to the eastern oblasts of Ukraine and to all possible areas of the entire USSR.
- For training purposes use books with national content (old publications) and certain Soviet publications (the *Kobzar*, works of the Ukrainian classics, like Lesia Ukrainka, Stefanyk, Kotsiubynsky, Franko, etc.).<sup>31</sup>
- Order cadres to study the basic high school disciplines (history, geography, literature, languages).
- In low-level cells the teaching of history, geography, literature, and revolutionary literature is to be carried out from the standpoint of the practical application of this knowledge in conversations with the population.

### *XI. Security Service*

- Last-year's instructions are still current.

<sup>31</sup> The *Kobzar* is a book of poetry by Ukraine's national bard, Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861). Lesia Ukrainka (1871–1913) was one of Ukraine's foremost female poets. Vasyl Stefanyk (1871–1936) was an influential modernist writer and political activist. Ivan Franko (1856–1916), an anti-Marxist socialist, was one of western Ukraine's most important poets and prose writers, nominated for the 1916 Nobel Prize. Mykhailo Kotsiubynsky (1864–1913) was an impressionist writer whose works focused on Ukrainian life at the start of the twentieth century.

- Conduct professional training with cadres, particularly with novices and legal members.
- Conduct constant vetting of cadres, particularly new ones, and heighten sensitivity to the a-v [penetration agent] sector!
- Develop only the most interesting individuals from the external agentura.
- Continue to study new methods of struggle and the structure of the Bolshevik police agencies.
- Strictly uphold the principles of secrecy when writing SB reports.

## *XII. Miscellaneous*

### a) *The Komsomol:*

- The Komsomol is an ordinary adjunct of the AUCP(B), an organization that is blatantly hostile to the people; therefore, we are combating the Komsomol as this kind of an organization in all respects.
- Young people should not voluntarily join the Komsomol.
- In the case of forcible membership in the Komsomol, which is taking place right now, do not issue calls to young people to mount resistance to extreme limits so as not to enable the Bolsheviks to carry out a purge among young people against the background of joining the Komsomol.
- There are various ways of joining the Komsomol: a) in the city, in school, b) in the countryside.
- Our attitude is to be where young people are, therefore it is also necessary to carry out revolutionary work in the milieu of Komsomol members, placing the struggle on the plane of resistance to Bolshevik influences from the inside, appealing to Komsomol members to apply passive resistance within the Komsomol organization (not become activized, not carry out directives, attend church, etc.)
- Address Komsomol members in revolutionary publications, exert influence, cultivate.
- Treat Komsomol members depending on their attitude to the people and its liberation struggle; therefore, it is necessary to following an internal dividing line between lackeys, sell-outs, and agents, and honest, typical patriots; do not treat all Komsomol members as traitors.

### b) *The collective farm:*

- Have our people in collective farm administrations or [in positions able to put] influence on an administration.
- By all possible means create a solidarity front of all collective farmers against the state's exploitation and robbery.
- Hold up the state grain deliveries, do not voluntarily give more than the

plan calls for, do not sell to the state voluntarily.

- Do not build up the collectivized sector of the collective farm.
- Fight for an increase in wages for the workday.
- Agitate and encourage collective farms to supply themselves with grain.
- Issue calls to hide grain (in view of the repressions and robbery).
- The OUN should always operate as an active defender of the collective farmer against Bolshevik exploitation! Therefore:
- Punish those members of the collective farm administration who are robbing and abusing the collective farmer and actively serving the Bolshevik government (warning by means of a leaflet, meeting, various forms of punishment, like a cash fine, material punishment, etc.); liquidate only convinced enemies of the people.
- It is not directed to destroy collective farm property; instead it is reasonable to destroy threshers, transport, et al., during state grain deliveries in order, thereby, to obstruct the rapid looting of the collective farm.
- Do not agitate for sabotage of sowing work.
- Make the collective farmers aware that only the complete liquidation of the collective farm system in the Ukrainian state can fundamentally change the peasantry's situation for the better.

c) *The OOP:*

- By means of leaflets [and] encounters exert influence in ideological-political respects on members of the OOP and their families.
- Liquidate only those activists who are the most dangerous to the liberation movement; recruit the rest for cooperation (tasks: information, assassinations of raion police and party heads).
- Achieve the complete non-activity of the OOP or lead them to their self-liquidation in case of need; disband the OOP yourself.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 7, fols. 413–20.



DOCUMENT 24: INSTRUCTIONS: POSSIBLE OUTBREAK  
OF THE THIRD WORLD WAR (1950)

From the Instruction for the month of June 1946

*Tactical Guidelines during a War against the USSR*

1. In the event of a war against the USSR, the Ukrainian liberation movement will have the most favourable political situation for becoming completely free politically and socially and building a sovereign, united state.
2. We emphasize most clearly that no one will make us a gift of true liberation in order to live freely in their own sovereign state; the Ukrainian people must achieve and build such a state with their own efforts.
3. It is entirely natural that in a war situation the constant (permanent) liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against Bolshevik-Russian occupation will strengthen significantly, heading towards its complete expression in the forms of a nationwide liberation uprising (revolution in the narrow, technical sense of that word).
4. By a nationwide liberation uprising we mean:
  - a) the all-round mobilization of all the people's forces, spiritual-moral and material-physical.
  - b) the steering of those forces towards the utter destruction of the occupier, his state-political and socioeconomic institutions in Ukraine.
  - c) and their inclusion in the creative process of building a free socio-political life in our own state, in the spirit of the ideas and program of the Ukrainian Revolution, so as to consolidate for a lengthy period of time the freedom achieved by the people and to facilitate the comprehensive and complete growth of the entire people.
5. However, a war situation, and even the destruction of the occupier, does not entirely enable the enslaved nation to bring the liberation struggle to its natural conclusion – the construction of a sovereign state. For example, the war between Germany and the USSR (1941–45) was only a change of occupier for a whole array of enslaved nations; in the end, the liberation struggle and armed uprising of the Indonesian peoples against the Japanese occupier led to a new Dutch occupation. There are many such examples in the history and contemporary life of enslaved nations. The Ukrainian people must be aware of the possibility of such a scenario and therefore should not appease themselves with unfounded hopes and illusions. On the contrary, they must be ready for a struggle for complete liberation, obviously by applying such forms and means of struggle that will be the most reliable and most goal-oriented in the changed political situation.

6. In a war situation it is tactically correct and exclusively goal-oriented to raise the popular masses to a general armed uprising against the occupier at the very moment when his main forces, as a result of military actions, have broken down and a general destabilization of the entire state and police apparatus is beginning. Premature uprisings bring the people to very great bloodshed and usually have poor prospects for success.

*Practical Guidelines*

*Stage I (mobilization, onset of war)*

7. For the most part, those subject to military conscription hide from mobilization individually in places arranged beforehand.
8. Those subject to military conscription who are taken by the occupier into the Red Army by force are to be ordered:
  - a) [to conduct] propaganda of the revolutionary ideas and slogans in the Red Army.
  - b) to desert.
  - c) to cross over to existing insurgent units.
  - d) in the frontline situation, to cross over to anti-Bolshevik Ukrainian liberation formations that exist beyond the front (to the opposite side).
9. Carry out our own mobilization to the UPA:
  - a) when there are practical possibilities to maintain units while safeguarding them from destruction by the enemy.
  - b) in correspondence with stores of weapons and ammunition (unarmed units are not to be created with the hope of acquiring [them] in the future).
  - c) as far as possible, appoint command personnel to head units.
10. Conduct mass propaganda within the Red Army about the speedy collapse of the USSR and by all means disseminate revolutionary ideas, slogans, and appeals.
11. Warn the general population about the possibility of mass physical extermination to which the Bolsheviks will want to resort during the retreat from Ukraine.
12. In the event of the forced evacuation of people and property, oppose by all means; in particular, blow up and burn down bridges and destroy roads so that the enemy cannot ship property out of the Ukrainian lands.
13. Gain propagandistic control over units of strybky and other formations of that kind, and urge them first of all to carry out overt armed attacks against the NKVD, NKGB, [and] the militia for [their] rehabilitation before the people for their lackey service.

*Stage II (Frontline Failures, Breakdowns, Retreat)*

14. With all existing forces strike at the retreating enemy, particularly the police, in order ultimately to destroy the enemy's last strongholds in the Ukrainian lands and to acquire the means necessary for the struggle, particularly ammunition and weapons.
15. Carry out a general mobilization to the UPA and, within a short period of time, bring the mobilized masses to complete military-organizational order and combat readiness.
16. Fully cleanse the territory of the Ukrainian lands of occupiers and [their] institutions:
  - a) Elements hostile to the Ukrainian liberation movement are to be destroyed unconditionally (the police, the highest ranks of the party, leading Russian-chauvinistic and imperialistic cadres of the state economic apparatus, etc.).
  - b) More important "aces" of the occupying government are to be detained under arrest for thorough questioning and identification of the [crimes] secretly committed by the occupier.
  - c) Red Army units that are found on the terrain of activities of the liberation insurgent movement are to be urged, by means of propaganda, to cross over to the side of the Ukrainian Revolution, or intern them after being checked: Ukrainians are to be enlisted in the UPA, non-Russians are to be sent back to their native land, and Russians are to be kept prisoner .
  - d) Treat employees of the occupying state economic apparatus in a friendly fashion so that during their service they do not inflict harm on the Ukrainian people; this particularly concerns Ukrainians and, partly, non-Russians.
17. Install a revolutionary, administrative-economic government in liberated (cleared) areas, particularly in cities, in the name of and under the brand name of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) as the revolutionary Parliament of the Ukrainian people, creating a Provisional Rural People's Administration in villages, a Provisional Raion People's Administration in raions, a Provisional Oblast People's Administration in oblasts. Provisional Administrations are to be organized according to models that have existed until now, summoning to work the better part of Bolshevik specialist workers. During this transitional stage, apply the principle of proposing candidates for leading, responsible positions up to the raion level, inclusively, and in the countryside practise open, general elections.
18. Install members of the Organization only in the main leading places of the administrative-economic apparatus, which are truly necessary for managing

this sphere. For the most part, enlist the broadest masses of the people in work in all spheres of life. Leave the main forces of the Organization in reserve for political work, particularly in the SUZ. During the transitional temporary stage of state reconstruction, the OUN carries out its political guidance role in all spheres of the peoples' life through its members and sympathizers who work in various functional posts in all state-social, economic, and other institutions, as well as in the military apparatus.

*Stage III (The Arrival of Western Allies in the Ukrainian Lands)*

19. The attitude to the Anglo-Americans and their allied armies and political organs will proceed from their attitude to the idea of Ukrainian Statehood, the revolutionary armed-insurgent struggle of the Ukrainian people and their political and military organizations. Through their stance the Ukrainian people should not provide any grounds for such relations to be detrimental or hostile.
20. The attitude to the Polish army as part of the Western allies' army is the same as towards other allied armies.
21. In the event that the Poles attempt to set up a political-administrative government in the ZUZ as the former part of the earlier Polish state, oppose this most decisively.
22. We uphold the ethnographic principle of constructing national states, and therefore we do not recognize any claims of our state neighbours (Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Russians) to any part of Ukrainian ethnographic territory, and, if necessary, we shall defend our national territory by all existing forces and means. In that direction, both the organization and military units must make the proper preparations beforehand in order to be able to defend the Ukrainian national state with success.
23. We recognize as the supreme state government in Ukraine only one that will derive from the will of the people, and we will defend its sovereign rights by all means. We will regard any attempts to impose foreign will, foreign state institutions, or puppet governments on the Ukrainian people as a renewed occupation, and we will launch a struggle against that in such forms and by such means as will be most successful.
24. In all controversial questions in local areas, refer to the UHVR and the UPA as competent to resolve such matters.

*Additional Instructions, 1950*

1. The outbreak of the war in Korea is greatly exacerbating the international situation.<sup>32</sup> The direct engagement of the USA in this conflict and the provocative stance of the Muscovite-Bolshevik bloc may lead to the outbreak of the Third World War.

<sup>32</sup> The Korean War began on 25 June 1950 and ended with an armistice on 27 July 1953. The forces of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea fought against those of the Republic of Korea. South Korea was aided by the United Nations while North Korea had the support of the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

2. In the event of a war breaking out between the USSR and the USA, adopt indispensable measures to safeguard people outside the underground who are necessary to us.
3. Prepare the underground for war.
4. Caution the cadres against exposing secrecy, especially during the first period of the war (the period of mobilization and the early months of the war) maintain complete equilibrium. Suspend external actions in order not to give the enemy a reason to apply special repressions. During this period the enemy will be using troops marching through against us.
5. It is highly likely that at the beginning of the war the Bolshevik bloc will have successes. It is better prepared for war, and on the whole it is [rest of sentence is crossed out]:
  - a) [The Western bloc] is much less prepared for war.
  - b) The main force of this bloc, the USA, is very far away from the theatres of military actions against the USSR and,
  - c) It is a significantly less capable military machine, which has always been typical of democratic states. Inform the cadres and the people about the possibility of such events developing. Indicating the larger industrial and general economic potential of the West, on the one hand, and the hatred for the Bolsheviks of the nations that are enslaved by Moscow and of the working masses, on the other; explain that in the final result the Bolshevik bloc will indeed lose the war.
6. Do not take part in any demonstrative actions. Safeguard the forces until the decisive moment; this means until the approach of the military front to the Ukrainian lands or until the weakening of Bolshevik forces on these fronts, without regard to their (these fronts) distance from Ukraine.
7. Appeal to the people to demonstrate initiative in organizing a Ukrainian independent government in all places where, for various reasons, it was not possible to create a revolutionary underground.
8. Everywhere exhibit the national Ukrainian character of the new liberation-state action (flags, the national state emblem, the hymn, etc.).
9. In place of the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists, the remnants of the capitalist-landlord "one and indivisibility" and social imperialists of the Kerensky and Vlasov type are preparing to enter from across the border and seize power in the entire USSR, including Ukraine. With their federalist and pseudo-democratic slogans they will be seeking to unite the Ukrainian popular masses for themselves. In advance, reveal to the Ukrainian masses the true face of the restorers of the Russian Empire in [its] new forms, and call upon the people to [launch] a decisive struggle against them for the separation of Ukraine from Russia and for the right of all nations enslaved by Bolshevik Moscow to independent state existence.

July 1950

DOCUMENT 25: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE  
OUN LEADERSHIP (1951)

Field Postal Service no. 3826

July 1951

*Instructions**Brief tactical guidelines*

Listed here are only the most general directives as a supplement to the instruction from the month of June 1950, and only in such a form as allowed by secrecy.

1) *Carry out all organizational work “quietly,” without publicizing it.*

a) Put an end to all external actions that are not crucial to the Organization’s normal functioning.

b) Combat operations (ambushes, assassinations, the liquidation of enemy agents, etc.) may be carried out only in exceptional, crucial cases, with the permission of superiors.

c) Conduct propaganda work only on an individual basis and in strict secrecy; in particular, do not disseminate slogans publicly and through leaflets. Hand out revolutionary literature only to those individuals who have a hostile attitude to the regime and to sympathizers of the liberation movement. Try to disseminate revolutionary literature and other propaganda publications in such a way that the enemy will not be able to find out about their appearance in a given milieu or locale.

d) Also carry out supply work, the collection of funds, expropriations, etc., “quietly” and disguise them appropriately.

2) *Direct all energy towards purely Organizational work, above all to selecting, raising, and training new cadres –*

a) Devote the main attention to those milieux where appropriate candidates for membership may be found.

b) In the course of work with new cadres keep in mind all our experience thus far and all dangers that are connected with the selection of new candidates.

c) Select as candidates only those individuals concerning whom there is complete certainty that they truly meet all the requirements that are demanded of genuine revolutionaries (idealistic, brave, hard-working, talented, etc., and above all – confident). Beware of those who annoyingly thrust themselves on the Organization or the underground. Do not apply the execution of assassinations as a method for verifying the reliability of candidates for membership in the underground.

D) [*sic*] Hold systematic meetings and training sessions with candidates, and

within the shortest period of time complete first-degree training with them (based on the *Path to Freedom*).

e) Treat work with candidates as a top-priority Organizational matter.  
 f) Communications with cadres possessing legal status is to be maintained uninterrupted, regardless of the change of their location (ChA, FZN, a factory, etc.).

g) Only the worthiest members, whose reliability has been verified by a number of facts, may be brought into the underground.

3) *In the work with underground cadres focus the main attention:*

a) on comprehensive ideological-political formation, and particularly on the understanding of the main tasks of the Ukrainian liberation revolution and the crucial need for a clandestine struggle.

b) on preparations for work with new cadres.

c) on preparing cadres for independent Organizational work in the event that communications with superiors is interrupted.

4) *Caution all members about various MGB intrigues and adopt appropriate counter-measures. In particular, pay attention to the following MGB intrigues:*

a) capturing [members] alive in houses, at meeting places, during couriers' marches, in hideouts, etc.

d) [*sic*, = b] placing mines in discovered cans, uninhabited hideouts, in packages of mail, inside a radio battery, etc.

c) poisoning foods, medicines, etc., sleep-inducing drugs in all kinds of foods (bread or other baked goods, milk, tea, salt, etc.).

d) various other intrigues that are used in a given area.

*How to apply counter-measures:*

a) Frequent checks of the work of all couriers at posts down to the most trivial detail, and particularly after the winter.

b) At meetings only one courier from both sides meet directly; others remain at a firing distance. Meeting places are to be selected in such a way that an ambush cannot be organized without being noticed.

c) During marches all Organizational superiors should have their own reliable bodyguards. They meet with the necessary people at a certain distance from the meeting place, in a location that has been thoroughly checked beforehand.

d) Enter residences with great caution, and others may enter them only after a check.

e) In houses, as well as food from houses, [food] is not to be consumed by everyone at the same time. In every house, regardless of its reliability, an ambush may be expected or some other underhanded plotting by the enemy with the goal of capturing [people] alive.

f) Pre-arrange appropriate signs for packaging mail. Suspicious mail is to be opened in the open air, not in a group, applying every degree of caution (e.g.,

tear open a package behind cover, at a certain distance).

g) In places where cans are buried, in hideouts, make unnoticeable marks, and open everything with extreme caution, and [this should] only [be done] by one person.

h) Do not purchase medicines or other items, mainly tinned foods, from speculators, individuals who have been exposed, or those suspected of being secret agents.

i) Teach the cadres about their conduct in the event of their treacherous capture by the enemy. Every revolutionary must know that under no circumstances can he betray Organizational secrets, betray his friends in the underground or [those] with legal status, or collaborate with the enemy.

j) Also apply all other counter-measures corresponding to those applied by the enemy in a given area of intrigues.

5) *Reports:*

a) Propagandistic: prepare once a year.

b) Sociopolitical: quarterly, listing only the most important information, but in a timely fashion.

c) Lists of those killed, deported, etc.; present other statistical data as separate attachments.

d) Present military reports and information of special importance separately.

e) At every opportunity inform your superiors about the situation in the field.

6) *Correspondence*

It is strictly forbidden to make any kind of important notes on Organizational matters.

*Note:*

For reasons of secrecy, the instructions from 1951, just like the instructions from 1950, are offered mainly and completely only in verbal form; only a brief, most essential disposition is given in written form in order to better facilitate the issuance of instructions in verbal form.

*Pp* [Field Postal Service] 3826 ( - )

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 7, fols. 421-2.



DOCUMENT 26: DECISIONS OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE  
OUN LEADERSHIP (1952)

*Billeting place, 20 May 1952*

To 66

*Brief Survey of the Political Situation*

Since last year the political situation in international relations has practically not changed. The tense relations between the two blocs – the Eastern Bolshevik and the Western – are not decreasing. On the contrary, they are constantly deepening, although they are not becoming too exacerbated.

It is not possible to state with any certainty when, how, and where a military conflict will ultimately emerge between these blocs. The only thing that is certain is that a war is inevitable.

At the present time both sides are preparing intensively for war in all respects – in particular, what is especially noteworthy is that they are preparing their rear-line services in the event of war. The USSR is consistently finishing off all opposition movements in their satellite countries and struggling for the definite liquidation of liberation movements and organizations inside the USSR, particularly in Ukraine. The Western bloc is doing the same thing with communist movements and organizations, although not as consistently and acutely.

In the main, the peoples of the Western bloc do not want war; they fear it and would be glad to preserve the existing situation for as long as possible at any cost. Only an insignificant segment of Western society clearly realizes the gravity of the danger to their nations from the USSR and sees war as the only solution. Western society is becoming accustomed to the idea of the war's inevitability, very slowly and very reluctantly. The aggressive nature of Soviet policies, regardless of all the Soviet games of peaceableness, is greatly helping in that even Western citizens are slowly sobering up and beginning to think in terms of war. The most pacifistic moods, caused by fear of the USSR, have sway in England, France, and the rest of Europe. England is making every effort to prevent war from happening, but even if there should ultimately be a war, then [it will attempt] to postpone it to the latest possible time: in English this is called a "wise" policy. Obviously, the Bolsheviks, who know full well the heart-felt desires of Western citizens, are stinting on nothing in order to strengthen those pacifistic moods of theirs.

I believe that a certain indicator of the change of course in international politics may be the "Korean affairs." As long as "they gab" in Korea, they will also continue "gabbing" in all other places. When they finally begin fighting for real in Korea, then it is to be expected that it will come to war in other places,

which, obviously, will lead to the next world war. It is difficult to guess who will be the first to begin fighting for real. It appears that this will rather be done by the USSR, although an American initiative is also not excluded.

In the preparations for war, particular attention should be paid to those actions of both blocs that are aimed at subverting the forces of the opponent from within. In the case of the Western bloc, these are:

a) assisting various émigré parties, organizations, and movements that are hostile to the USSR.

b) the creation under their influences of various émigré anti-Soviet organizations, like the Union for the Liberation of Russia, Freedom Committees, Free Europe, etc., etc.

c) and in the USA an official law has legislated assistance to those forces that are struggling against the USSR and, as the Soviet press reports, some kind of measures are being adopted in order to form military national units.

However, all this is taking place only in the emigration, and only in the emigration are they seeking, through propaganda, to dislodge the Bolsheviks' positions inside the USSR. However, the extent to which the Western bloc is seriously preparing the émigré forces of various nations for vigorous actions against the USSR and its satellites may be illustrated by the following fact. At the demand of representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement abroad that official circles of the Western bloc raise the issue of the Ukrainian people's struggle and their underground liberation organizations and begin to talk about this struggle (in the press, on the radio, at conferences, etc.) and support it politically, they declared, among other things, that right now they cannot do this because this may "irritate" the USSR too much, and even some other states of that same Western bloc may view this as a deliberate attempt to cause war with the USSR.

Obviously, there are many other reasons why the Western world is silent about our struggle. Our neighbours, the Russians and Poles, are working very intensively in that direction, as well as (no matter how strange) some Ukrainians, who do not consider it possible to link their propaganda actions abroad with an illegal struggle and illegal clandestine organizations. Starting in 1951, this situation has changed somewhat for the better for us, but it is still not the kind that we need and the kind it should be.

I am citing this fact so that when you listen to the radio, you can have at least a rough idea of all those émigré Russian, Polish, etc. anti-Bolshevik organizations and movements, and not connect greater hopes for an imminent war with their intensified propaganda. They exist and act only "just in case," as an eventual auxiliary factor in the event of the war itself.

In the case of the Bolsheviks, they, not reckoning with anything, are carrying out their subversive work in the countries of the Western bloc full steam

ahead and by various paths, exploiting for this both their legal communist parties, peace committees, trade unions, societies for friendship with the USSR, as well as illegal, clandestine, subversive, and espionage organizations. For these “allies” of theirs within the Western bloc, the Bolsheviks do not stint on anything and, it should be admitted, in them they have quite reliable support. Since early 1952 the intensified activity of pro-Bolshevik forces inside Western bloc countries would indicate that the USSR has the intention to introduce even acuter policies than heretofore. The preparation for an acuter course on the part of the USSR is also attested, among other things, by the very sharp tone of Bolshevik propaganda both inside and outside. In any event, the internal blows that are being struck at various countries of the Western bloc by the actions of pro-Bolshevik forces are considerably greater than the “blows” that émigré forces organized in the West can inflict on the Bolsheviks.

As well, even these propaganda “blows” at the Bolsheviks, organized by the states of the Western bloc through the radio, are so “toothless” and often so absurd, mainly the *Voice of America*, that they irritate and offend even those people who are hostile to the Bolsheviks, not to mention Soviet sympathizers, who have all grounds to laugh heartily at such “blows.”

However, in summarizing all these points in time, it must be stated that the forces of the Western bloc are larger and more reliable than the forces of the Soviet bloc, and in the event of war, the collapse of the USSR is inevitable, but on condition that the Western bloc does not commit, with respect to the nations enslaved by Russia, the same kinds of errors, or similar ones, that Hitler did in his time.

I am not writing about the situation inside the USSR: it is more or less clear to all that they are fated to live in this accursed prison of nations. I would like to point out one thing: that the Kremlin rulers and their servants in the so-called republics, including in Kyiv, want at any cost to liquidate as quickly as possible all the organized forces of the Ukrainian liberation movement and similar movements of other enslaved nations, particularly in the Baltic republics and the satellite countries.

#### *On the Situation within the Organization*

In the struggle against us, in contrast to what has been happening until now, the Bolsheviks are broadly adopting not only the vilest treacherous actions (poisons, sleep-inducing medications, mines, etc.) but also the immense forces of Chekist troops (ten thousand to fifteen thousand) in relatively small terrains (forests, fields) or several populated areas. At the same time, they are searching so thoroughly that almost always they discover hideouts or bunkers when they have at least approximate data that such are located in a given area. As a result of such mass, protracted, and frequent actions, the Bolsheviks have managed to achieve some successes in the struggle against us. Many people, both leaders

as well as low-ranking members, have perished. In many areas the situation is similar to ours (and even worse in some places). I am not writing in greater detail for reasons of secrecy.

*Tasks at the Present Time*

The main tasks and tactics continue to be the same as those summarized in the instruction of 1950 and supplemented in 1951. All this you have received. Keeping in mind the state of the Organization in the territory under your control, I am providing addenda to these instructions:

a) At all costs, preserve the Organization's cadres. The first and main task with respect to this question is to keep cadres in a well secreted place. Without this safeguard, there is no question of any kind of consistent and enduring organizational work

b) Cease all external work, all external appearances, actions, etc. that can provide the Bolsheviks with proof or only signs of the existence of the Organization's actions in a given area (village, kushch, raion). In particular, stop publicly disseminating propagandistic literature (slogans, leaflets, etc.) where the Organization is operating.

c) Channel all energy into internal Organizational work: educating and training underground cadres, especially novices; searching for new cadres among legals; political awareness education and training; developing the Organizational network; maintaining communications.

d) Prepare all Organizational cells for independent, long-lasting Organizational work in the event of interrupted communications, and inform them and assign concrete tasks in the event of war.

e) Secure uninterrupted communications by all possible means.

f) In view of the fact that there are cases where all information about the Organization's archives perishes with the death of the Organization's clandestine members, it is therefore crucial that individuals living legally also know the location where the archives are hidden. Those individuals may be our legal members or sympathizers, but who are absolutely secret, trustworthy, and honest.

The main thing, I repeat once again, is to preserve the Organization's cadres until the decisive moment!

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 7, fols. 423-5.



PART TWO

The Struggle of the Ukrainian  
Liberation Movement, 1940–50



## The Formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Its Tactics and Training of Soldiers

DOCUMENT 27: ORDER OF THE UPA COMMAND IN VOLYN  
ON SELF-DEFENCE IN VILLAGES

30 August 1943

### *On the Organization of Self-Defence in the Countryside*

#### *Order no. 8*

*To All Okruha, Nadraion, and Rural Commandants of the Rear Line Services*

Under the impact of the failures at the front and internal demoralization, the enemy is seeking in their final convulsions to destroy our people. In doing so, they are not particular about the means: against the defenceless population they are using well-armed army units, hired gangs of secret collaborators, [and are] resorting to treacherous provocations. In connection with this *I Order*:

Leaders responsible for Organizational mobilization in Military Okruhas to begin the immediate organization of self-defence. Every nadraion, raion, and village must become a military camp, and all the people capable of defending and attacking – soldiers. Self-defence is to be organized in keeping with the attached instruction, taking into consideration local conditions, such as the location of the centre, political prospects, the moods of the population, etc.

In nadraions, raions, [and] centres immediately to begin the systematic military training of young people to teach military order, do practice marches, trial alarms, etc., and field service. Everyone must know the lay of the land well. All self-defence measures are to be prepared and implemented in the utmost secrecy, abiding by the general rules governing conspiratorial work.

Organizational-mobilization responsible leaders are to report on the state of the organization of self-defence on the twenty-fifth day of every month.

[...] 30 August 1943

[...] Military Headquarters

(-) Colonel "Honcharenko"



*Glory to Ukraine!*

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(-) “Klym Savur”<sup>1</sup>

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 206.

<sup>1</sup> “Klym Savur” was the nom de guerre of UPA commander Dmytro Kliachkivsky (born 4 November 1911, Zbarazh; killed in an NKVD ambush near Rivne, 12 February 1945). Colonel “Honcharenko” was the nom de guerre of Leonid Stupnytsky, chief of staff in the UPA-North military district, codenamed “Zahrava.”

DOCUMENT 28: ORDER OF THE SUPREME MILITARY  
HQ ON UPA STRUCTURES

HVSh  
IV Organization

*Billets, 18 December 1943*

*Order No. 2/43*

In view of the differing political and territorial conditions in individual krais, the initial formations of the Ukrainian Armed Forces (UPA/UNS) proceeded along different paths. In order to eliminate all differences that arose during that period and to unify and bring together all these units into one military form, I order:

*I. The Military Dependence of the Ukrainian Armed Forces*

The supreme authority over the Ukrainian Armed Force is the [Ukrainian] Supreme Liberation Council. The actual leader of all military actions and activities is the supreme commander of the UPA. His auxiliary body in administering the totality of military affairs in all territories is the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA.

The territorial commanders of the UPA are subordinated to the supreme commander of the UPA. Each of them conducts the totality of military affairs in his territory with the assistance of headquarters, the chiefs of which are directly subordinated to him. The Territorial Military Headquarters [KVSh] manages the purely military affairs of the territory. Commanders of Military Okruhas with their corresponding headquarters (Military Headquarters of the Military Okruha, VshVO) – are subordinated to the territorial commander of the UPA.

All operational units are subordinated in their territory to the commander of the Military Okruha (and his VshVO), and through him to the territorial commander of the UPA (and his KVSh) to ensure that commanders of operations units do not wield territorial authority simultaneously.

*II. Military Ranks and Functions*

As a result of various trainings in various armies, lengthy absence from the army, provisional military training in various military courses, [and] the incorrect awarding of ranks to various individuals during the period of the liberation struggles, now, very often, there is no proper military knowledge behind some military ranks, and it is very difficult to find a common denominator for those various ranks. Therefore: until such time as the question of officer ranks is finally resolved, the HVSh is introducing functional officer ranks in all territories by separate order.

### *III. Disciplinary Punishments and Legal Conduct in the Army*

Until such time as proper regulations books are issued, unit commanders have the right to hand down disciplinary punishments to their subordinates in the degree corresponding to the regulations books of a regular army (Russian, German, or others). At the same time, commanders of independent units enjoy the rights of battalion commanders. The lowest-ranking commander with the right to punish is the company commander or leader of an independent platoon.

In view of the special circumstances of the military life of our units, which do not permit the issuing of many punishments, as is the case in regular armies, officers also have the right to apply, depending on the circumstances, other types of punishment not foreseen by military regulations books. However, those punishments cannot abuse either the health or dignity of a soldier (physical beatings, torture, starvation, undignified or mocking actions, etc.). Nevertheless, so-called Cossack trials are permitted, in which a verdict, particularly for serious violations (robbery, theft, poor conduct outside the unit, etc.), is handed down by the unit assembled for the trial. In this case, physical punishments are permitted. After the Cossack trial and completion of the punishment, the soldier enjoys all the rights of a soldier. The unit commander confirms the verdict of the Cossack court with the right to mitigate the punishment.

Cossack courts cannot be used for any trivial violations. They are used also in those cases where a soldier should be sent to a Court Martial for a given violation, but this is not possible at the given moment. A Cossack court is convened by the unit commander. In cases of serious crimes, when even the slightest delay in executing the punishment would seriously endanger the unit, territory, or individual persons, or if the guilty party tried or could evade punishment through escape or release by an enemy, the commander has the right to execute the death sentence without a trial. After the execution of such a verdict, the commander must immediately forward this case and materials for consideration and confirmation by the Court Martial.

The Court Martial examines all serious violations on the part of soldiers, civilians in military service, and prisoners if these violations do not fall within the competence of individual commanders, as well as violations the civilian population, which are directed against the army, its actions, property, institutions, and individuals.

Courts Martial, consisting of three judges, a prosecutor, and a defender, are convened by the commander of a VO [Military *Okruha*] and higher-ranking commanders.

Verdicts of Courts Martial with respect to non-commissioned officers are confirmed by commanders of VOs with the right to launch a re-examination

of a case. Verdicts issued to officers and individuals who hold or held various posts in the army (non-military) at the time of the violation are confirmed by the Territorial Commander.

Courts Martial issue verdicts in keeping with their own conscience. Commanders cannot influence the degree of punishment.

*IV. The Question of Military Publishing Houses and Terminology*

Territories may print translations from foreign languages according to their own volume. Military regulations books, even temporary ones, require the approval of the HVSh. With regard to terminological matters, the terms used in official HVSh publications, the regulations books of the UNR [Ukrainian National Republic], and Ilnytsky's German-Ukrainian dictionary must be upheld.

(–) “I. Chornota”<sup>2</sup>

Head of the HVSh

(–) “T. Chuprynka”

Supreme Commander of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 217r–v.

<sup>2</sup> “Ivan Chornota” was the nom de guerre of Dmytro Hrytsai, who served as acting chief of the Supreme Military HQ of the UPA.

DOCUMENT 29: INSTRUCTIONS OF UPA SUPREME MILITARY  
HQ ON RANKS AND GRADES

HVSh  
IV Org.

*Billets, 19 December 1943*

*Instruction no. 3/11  
Military Ranks and Functions*

The Ukrainian army (UPA/UNS) recognizes the following division into military ranks:

*A. Privates:*

1. Rifleman, artilleryman, cavalryman, pilot, pioneer.
2. Private first class, senior artilleryman, senior cavalryman, etc.

*B. Non-Commissioned Officers:*

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Junior:                            | 2. Senior:                                 |
| Corporal ( <i>Vistun</i> )            | Staff Sergeant ( <i>Bulavny</i> )          |
| First Lieutenant ( <i>Poruchnyk</i> ) | Master Sergeant ( <i>Starshy bulavny</i> ) |

*C. Officers:*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Junior:                             | 2. Staff or Senior:                        |
| Second Lieutenant ( <i>Khorunzhy</i> ) | Major ( <i>Maior</i> )                     |
| First Lieutenant ( <i>Poruchnyk</i> )  | Lieutenant Colonel ( <i>Pidpolkovnyk</i> ) |
| Colonel ( <i>Polkovnyk</i> )           |  |

*D. Generals:*

- Brigadier General (*Heneral-Khorunzhy*)
- Lieutenant General (*Heneral-Poruchnyk*)
- Colonel General (*Heneral-Polkovnyk*)
- General of the Army (*Heneral armii*)
- Marshal (*Marshal*)

Senior privates and junior non-commissioned officers may be appointed on the recommendation of company commanders or commanders of equal-ranking or higher military stanytsias – commanders of Military Okruhas.

Senior non-commissioned officers are appointed on the recommendation of commanders of Military Okruhas – krai commanders.

Junior officers are appointed on the recommendation of krai commanders – the supreme commander of the UPA.

Senior officers (staff) and generals on the recommendation of the supreme commander of the UPA by the Supreme Liberation Council.

Any UPA soldier who demonstrates the proper military knowledge and has at least a so-called incomplete high school education (eight years completed

in a ten-year school, four years in the new-style gymnasium, six years in the old-style gymnasium, or others that correspond to those schools).

Graduates of UPA officer candidate schools, who have a mandatory minimum general education, but have not received the first non-commissioned officer's rank, may be granted the title of "Youth."

Military officer ranks obtained in all armies up to now and in military courses recognized by the HVSh, corroborated by the appropriate documents or at least two witnesses, are treated as titular until they are verified and confirmed by the Verification Commission.

In view of the above, as well as in view of the difficulty of verifying what military rank is truly concealed at the present moment behind a given military rank, ranks obtained from that time are only a military qualification, which in and of itself does not sanction any military posts or functions.

Until such time as those matters are settled, officership (so-called military superiority) in the Ukrainian army will be based on a *functional system*.

An officer is one who functionally fulfills a higher task. Between two equal functional officer ranks, the one who has a higher titular military rank (qualification) is the senior one.

Chiefs of staffs (or adjutants) and inspectors are answerable to commanders of immediately higher units. Independent responsible leaders (chiefs of headquarters departments) are answerable to chiefs of staff of individual entities.

All orders and letters are signed by commanders and chiefs of staff with their full first name, surname, and function with the notation *v/o* (*vykonuiuchy oboviazky* = acting). Officers with titular ranks have the right to list their military rank in front of their name and surname (e.g., Stepan Nedobyty – acting company commander or Captain Vasyl Hrab – acting battalion commander).

The following functions exist:

1. Squad leader (*roiovy*), platoon leader (*chotovy*), company commander (*sotenny*), battalion commander (*kurinny*), commander of a regiment, division, etc.
2. Warrant officer (*bunchuzhny*) in a company, adjutant (*adiutant*), head of a regimental staff (*nachalnyk Shtabu polku*), etc., company medic, battalion doctor, regimental commissary, etc.

Functional rights connected with the execution of a certain function become invalid from the moment of [illegible] or transfer from a given function.

Try whenever possible to appoint for functions people with the appropriate military knowledge and rank.

Try to provide people who hold higher functional posts and do not have the appropriate training with the opportunity to obtain retraining, so that they will attain a certain rank. The same functional principles are obligatory for operational tactical units as for krai ones. A krai corresponds to a division, a

Military Okruha – to a regiment. The same principles are obligatory for headquarters and adjutants as for the krai.

Graduates of current and future UPA and UNS non-commissioned officer candidate schools obtain appropriate titular ranks and officers' ranks once they have passed an exam before the commission in the presence of a representative of the HVSh.

Chiefs of staff are confirmed by a higher commander on the recommendation of his chief of staff. Chiefs of Krai Headquarters and commanders of Military Okruhas are confirmed by the supreme commander of the UPA on the recommendation of the head of the HVSh.

(–) “Ivan Chornota”                      (–) “T. Chuprynka”

v/o Chief of the HVSh                      v/o Supreme Commander of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 218r–v.

DOCUMENT 30: ORDER OF COMMANDER OF UPA-WEST ON  
UKRAINIAN PEOPLE'S SELF-DEFENCE

UPA-West  
KVSh

*Billets, 20 January 1944*

*Order no. 1/44*

*UPA-West:*

In accordance with the decision of the Supreme Liberation Council dated 5 December 1943, the territory of the UNS's military activity is called UPA-West.

In addition to the new name UPA-West, the old name UNS may be used.

*Publishing matters:*

In order to facilitate training, every Military Okruha has a print shop at its disposal. If it cannot have a print shop, it must have a cyclostyle.

Create supplies: of paper, stencils, and ink.

I permit various translations of military books from foreign languages upon prior declaration of such an intention to the KVSh. The KVSh standardizes the publishing issue in such a way as not to publish the same books in several VO of the krai.

*Reporting:*

Report in writing to the commander of a VO at the KVSh every week on Thursday. In addition, extraordinary reports are sent when: reporting about an intended enemy action, during the action itself, and following the action. Those reports are to be sent with the notation "alarm." "Alarm" reports are to be carried by a special courier. Those reports must be delivered to the KVSh within twenty-four hours of being written.

By 18 February 1944 the commander of a VO at the KVSh will be provided with two telephone numbers: one that is active, and the other as a fallback, [with] the place and code for how to call them.

*Communications:*

Military communication lines must be ready and operational by 20 February 1944 in accordance with the plan submitted for communications. Auxiliary military lines must be built by 1 March 1944.

Until such time as the military lines are built and set up, all lines of the Organizational Section are for army use.

*Hideouts:*

As a rule, all units camp in forests. By 15 March 1944 all units must have 2 (two) reserve camps. By 15 April 1944 – 2 (two) more, so that by 16 April 1944 there must be 5 (five) camps.



Food supply lines, food transfer points, and food storehouses must lead to every camp.

Sites of camps and storehouses are designated by the commander of a VO in coordination with commanders of units and territorial leaders.

In keeping with order no. 2 of 18 December 1943, units themselves build camps.

The military network of a territory must have excavated hideouts and storehouses near them by 20 February 1944.

Reports on the course of the construction of camps, hideouts, and storehouses of the VshVO are submitted every week in general, and in detail during personal meetings with representatives of the KVSh.

(-) "Demyd"

Adjutant, VO

(-) "V.A. Berkut"<sup>3</sup>

Acting Commander of UPA-West

3 attachments: Order of the HVSh no. 2/43, instruction of the HVSh no. 3/11.

Tactical instruction (from the HVSh)

HDA SBU, 13-376-62-040.

<sup>3</sup> "V.A. Berkut" was the pseudonym of the acting commander of UPA-West, Oleksander Lutsky. The acting adjutant was "Demyd."

DOCUMENT 31: ORDER OF UPA SUPREME MILITARY  
HQ ON MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

*Order 1/44*  
*Concerning the Organization of Military Headquarters*

*HVSh*  
*IV Org*

*Billets, 23 January 1944*

*Order 1/44*

*I. The Organization of Military Headquarters*

The following scheme of the structure of a military headquarters is introduced on 23 January 1944 for the organization of military work in the UPA:

A military headquarters is headed by a chief of staff who, in the absence of the commander, acts as his deputy in military affairs.

The following departments are subordinated to the chief of staff:

- I. Operations Department (*Op.*)
- II. Intelligence Department (*Roz.*)
- III. Rear Department (*Tyl.*)
- IV. Organizational-Personnel Department (*Orh. Pers.*)
- V. Training Department (*Vyshk.*)
- VI. Education Department (*Vykh.*)

Individual departments are headed by directors of departments (*nach. Vid.*).

Individual departments of a headquarters are to be expanded on individual levels according to need.

A special department of inspectors may exist under the commander (*Insp.*).

*II. Military Secrets*

Inspections in the UPA have determined that instructions concerning military secrets and the use of ciphers and codes in the army are respected inconsistently.

It is ordered that all subordinates be instructed in the importance of preserving military secrets, and all further shortcomings in this matter are to be punished in accordance with the punitive orders of the UPA.

[signature]

(-) "O. Perebyinis"<sup>4</sup>

Chief of the HVSh

[signature]

(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Supreme Commander of the UPA

<sup>4</sup> The nom de guerre of the chief of the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA, General Dmytro Hrytsai (1 April 1907–22 December 1945), was "Perebyinis." Executed in Prague.

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HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 220.

DOCUMENT 32: GUIDELINES OF UPA SUPREME  
MILITARY HQ ON MILITARY ACTIVITIES

*Instructions concerning the Work of Military Headquarters*  
Addendum to HVSh IV Org. no. 1/44 dated 23 January 1944

*I. Tasks of a Military Headquarters*

A military headquarters is a commander's body for commanding an army. The main task of a military headquarters is to ensure that a commander has the possibility to adopt well-grounded decisions in a timely fashion and to implement them.

Therefore, a military headquarters:

1. Carries out the stationing of army units in the field or at the front.
2. Maintains permanent and continuous communication with military units and institutions subordinated to it. Command of the army is founded on communication, the efficiency of which is the complete responsibility of the military headquarters.
3. Gathers information about the enemy, stationing, strength, and plans in order to inform the commander in a timely fashion about a danger that is threatening his units. On the basis of a report submitted to him about the enemy and the stationing of his units, the commander adopts decisions and issues appropriate commands.
4. Concentrates in its hands data on military units and institutions under its command – the command staff, numerical strength, weaponry, supply, food supplies, training, and morale, and at the commander's request provides him with detailed information about the state of his units.
5. Drafts the commander's orders and forwards them to be carried out by military units and institutions subordinated to it, and also accepts reports from military units and institutions subordinated to it, and submits them to the commander. A military headquarters diligently monitors the exact implementation of orders handed down by the commander, and the forwarding upward of full reports in a timely fashion.
6. Manages the supply of food, supply units, and weaponry for military units and institutions under its command, and supervises the evacuation of rear line installations (hospitals, economic bases, etc.).

*II. The Location of a Military Headquarters*

The location of a military headquarters and stationing of the headquarters' individual departments should be selected in such a way that:

1. as much as possible identical communication will be ensured between the headquarters and all military units and institutions.

2. to preserve secrecy from enemy intelligence (encounters with the civilian population), enemy sabotage and terrorism units, and enemy aviation.

3. To ensure rapid communication within the headquarters among various departments. Departments of the headquarters or individual department heads should not be farther away from the chief of headquarters and each other than the distance covered by an infantryman in five hours.

4. In the event of evacuation, a military headquarters may be moved to another site without harming the continuity of its work. (Several additional sites for the headquarters should be selected in advance if an evacuation is required.)

5. The headquarters' liaison point will be no farther from the location of the entire headquarters than the distance covered by an infantryman in one to 1.5 hours.

### *III. The Organization of the Work of a Military Headquarters*

The headquarters is headed by a chief of staff, who is also the commander's deputy during his absence.

The chief of staff has the following rights and duties:

1. He manages the work of the headquarters subordinated to him and is responsible for this to the higher-ranking chief of staff and his commander.

2. Controls the work of his staff and lower-ranking staff.

3. Submits his contribution for the confirmation of chiefs of staff and heads of individual departments of lower-level staffs subordinated to him.

4. Drafts the commander's orders, signs them together with the commander (on the left side) and transmits these orders to given individuals for implementation. The commander should not issue any military order without conferring with his chief of staff. Whenever this must be done in exceptional cases, it is crucial to inform the chief of staff about the contents of the order as quickly as possible.

5. Accepts reports from lower-level staffs and military units and institutions subordinated to him, and forwards them to the commander. All reports should be addressed not to individual persons but [to] a prearranged cipher of the given headquarters. The commander and his chief of staff have the right to open notes bearing a given cipher.

6. Relays current matters to the commander and offers his opinion concerning the resolution of these matters.

The heads of individual departments of a military headquarters have direct control over the departments under their command. They are answerable to the chief of staff for the effectiveness of the work of their departments.

Heads of departments at military headquarters are the administrative superiors of the heads of lower-level staffs. The department heads of one headquarters cooperate with each other and therefore must have direct communication.

Written reports are submitted to the commander through the chief of staff, while oral reports are submitted to the commander in the presence of the chief of staff or to the chief of staff.

[signature]

(-) "O. Perebyinis"

Chief of the HVSh

For distribution to:

[signature]

(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Supreme Commander of the UPA

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HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fols. 221-2.

DOCUMENT 33: ORDER OF UPA SUPREME MILITARY  
HQ ON MILITARY DISTINCTIONS

*HVSh*

*Billets, 27 January 1944*

*Order no. 3/44*

*I. Military Awards*

Starting on 27 January 1944 the following military awards for combat merit, work on behalf of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, and for battle injuries are introduced in the UPA:

*A. Military Merit Awards*

1. Military Award 1st Class – Gold Military Merit Cross 1st Class. This distinction is awarded by the Supreme Liberation Council on the recommendation of the supreme commander of the UPA.
2. Military Award 2nd Class – Gold Military Merit Cross 2nd Class. This distinction is awarded by the Supreme Liberation Council on the recommendation of the supreme commander of the UPA.
3. Military Award 3rd Class – Silver Military Merit Cross 1st Class. This distinction is awarded by the Supreme Commander of the UPA on the recommendation of a krai commander of the UPA.
4. Military Award 4th Class – Silver Military Merit Cross 2nd Class. This distinction is awarded by the supreme commander of the UPA on the recommendation of a krai commander of the UPA.
5. Military Award 5th Class – Bronze Military Merit Cross. This distinction is awarded by a krai commander of the UPA on the recommendation of the commander of a Military Okruha (Group).
6. Military Award 6th Class – Distinction in an order issued by the Krai Military Headquarters. This distinction is awarded by a krai commander of the UPA on the recommendation of a commander of a Military Okruha.
7. Military Award 7th Class – Commendation in an Order issued by the VO. This distinction is awarded by a commander of a Military Okruha on the recommendation of a commander of an individual unit.

The lowest military award for military merit is Recognition by Order of a commander of a subunit.

Military awards for military merit may be acquired by any soldier of the UPA without distinction as to rank and function for military merits during his service in the ranks of the UPA.

*B. Merit Cross*

For special work for the Ukrainian Armed Forces, military and civilian personnel may obtain a military award – the Merit Cross of the appropriate class.

1. Gold Merit Cross. This distinction is awarded by the Supreme Liberation Council on the recommendation of the supreme commander of the UPA.
2. Silver Merit Cross. This distinction is awarded by the Supreme Liberation Council on the recommendation of the supreme commander of the UPA.
3. Bronze Merit Cross. This distinction is awarded by the supreme commander of the UPA on the recommendation of a krai commander of the UPA.

#### *C. Awards for Battle Injuries*

For awarding UPA soldiers wounded in battle, awards for battle injuries are being introduced. Each individual injury, from one to five, is denoted by a silver star, and from six to ten, by a gold star worn on a ribbon worn on the flap of the left pocket. All additional injuries are denoted by a combination of gold and silver stars.

#### *D. Commemorative Medal of the UPA*

All military personnel and civilians who took part in UPA battles or rear-line institutions, as well as those who in any way contributed to the building of the UPA, are awarded the right to wear the Commemorative Medal of the UPA.

### *II. Recommendations for the Awarding of Merit Crosses and Military Merit Crosses*

1. All UPA soldiers and civilians who have made particular contributions to the development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces are to be recommended for the awarding of the Merit Cross.
2. All UPA soldiers who have distinguished themselves by particularly courageous acts are to be recommended for the awarding of Military Merit Crosses, in keeping with distinctions of lower classes.

With regard to recommendations under points 1 and 2, an exact description of the service, circumstances, and witnesses must be provided.

### *III. Functional Decorations*

For the classification of seniority in the UPA based on the functional system, functional decorations that are worn on the left pocket flap and on uniforms on the upper left sleeve are hereby introduced.

Thus:

1. Supreme commander of the UPA: a silver trident with an oak leaf.
2. Krai commander of the UPA: a red trident on a patch in the shape of the Roman numeral V.
3. Commander of a Military Okruha (Group): three red V-shaped patches.
4. Commander of a detachment: two red V-shaped patches.
5. Battalion commander: one red V-shaped patch.
6. Company commander: three red stripes.
7. Platoon leader: two red stripes.



8. Squad leader: one red stripe.

Chiefs of staff, inspectors, heads of departments at military headquarters, and individual employees of military headquarters wear yellow-coloured decorations depending on their function. All decorations are worn on a red background.

Of the various decorations pertaining to functional seniority, the most senior individual is one who wears a yellow-coloured decoration.

The form and dimensions of functional decorations are listed in addendum no. 1/44 dated 27 January 1944.

As soon as someone is transferred from a current function, the functional decoration is to be returned to his superior.

#### *IV. Military Classes Pertaining to the Fallen on the Battlefield of Glory*

All UPA soldiers who, in carrying out certain functional senior positions, have fallen on the Battlefield of Glory are to be submitted for naming. With regard to the submission of recommendations, the following norms should be followed for individual functions:

1. For a squad leader: corporal, sergeant, staff sergeant.
2. For a platoon leader: staff sergeant, master sergeant, second lieutenant.
3. For a company commander: second lieutenant, first lieutenant.
4. For a battalion commander: first lieutenant, captain.
5. For a commander of a detachment: captain, major.

#### *V. Merit Cross and Military Merit Cross for the Fallen on the Battlefield of Glory*

1. All UPA soldiers and civilians who during their life made special contributions to the development of the Ukrainian Armed Forces are to be put forward for the awarding of the Merit Cross.

2. All UPA soldiers who, in carrying out their duties, distinguished themselves in battle in a particularly courageous manner and met their deaths on the Battlefield of Glory are to be put forward for the awarding of the Military Merit Cross.

With regard to recommendations under points 1 and 2, an exact description of the service, circumstances, and witnesses must be provided.

[signature]

(-) "O. Perebyinis"

Chief of the HVSh

[signature]

(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Supreme Commander of the UPA

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DOCUMENT 34: ORDER OF UPA SUPREME MILITARY  
HQ ABOUT OATH

HVSh  
IV Org

*Billets, 19 July 1944*

*Order no. 7/44*

*I. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council*

The Grand Assembly of the Supreme Liberation Council (HVR), which was held on 11–15 July 1944, adopted the name: Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

*II. The Oath of a Soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army*

The following oath is obligatory in units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army starting on 19 July 1944:

I, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, having taken up arms, solemnly swear with my honour and conscience to the Great Ukrainian People, to the Holy Ukrainian Land, to the blood shed by all the Finest Sons of Ukraine, and to the Supreme Political leadership of the Ukrainian People:

To fight for the complete liberation of all the Ukrainian lands and the Ukrainian people from the invaders and to attain the Ukrainian Independent United State. In this struggle I will not spare either blood or life and will fight to my last breath and ultimate victory over all of Ukraine's enemies.

I will be manly, valiant, and courageous in combat and merciless to the enemies of the Ukrainian land.

I will be an honest, disciplined, and revolutionarily vigilant warrior.

I will carry out all the orders of my superiors.

I will strictly uphold military and state secrets.

I will be a worthy fellow soldier in combat and in combat life to all my comrades in arms.

If I violate or deviate from this oath, then may I be punished by the strict law of the Ukrainian National Revolution, and may the disrespect of the Ukrainian People fall upon me.

*III. Method of Accepting the Oath from UPA Soldiers*

The method of accepting the oath from UPA soldiers is in the addendum [below] to order no. 7/44.

[signature]

(-) "M.D. Buchenko"<sup>5</sup>

Chief of the HVSh

For distribution to:

[signature]

(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Supreme Commander of the UPA

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HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 232.

<sup>5</sup> "M.D. Buchenko" was another pseudonym for the chief of the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA, General Dmytro Hrytsai.

DOCUMENT 35: ADDENDUM TO ORDER OF UPA  
SUPREME MILITARY HQ ON SWEARING OATH

*Addendum to the HVSh IV, Organizational Order no. 7/44, 19 July 1944*

*Method of Accepting the Oath from UPA Soldiers*

1. UPA units take the oath through a representative of the HVSh, KVSh, or the VshVO. Try to ensure that before the oath ceremony a member of the clergy conducts a divine liturgy or a prayer service for the UPA.
2. The day for swearing the oath is to be considered a holiday.
3. Units swear the oath on the State Emblem/Standard/Trident.
4. The text of the oath – HVSh IV, Organizational Order no. 7/44 dated 19 July 1944 – is to be distributed to UPA soldiers for familiarization.
5. A unit assembles for the oath in square formation, in ceremonial dress.
6. A brief speech about the importance and significance of the oath.
7. Drill commands and procedure: “Attention! Present Arms/Trident. Step forward for the oath. Salute. Look at the Trident.” Three non-commissioned officers march in with the Trident into the centre of the square and stand at attention: one holds the Trident, while two stand on either side, facing the Trident. The commanding officer completely faces the Trident and salutes. Then he turns to the units and commands: “Eyes straight ahead, present arms, order arms, stand at ease. Representatives for the oath, step forward.” One private from each platoon, or if several companies are swearing the oath, then from each company, steps forward to within one foot from the Trident, and then stands at ease. “To the Oath!” All the assembled snap to attention, shift their left leg a half-step to the side, at the same time shouldering arms, sloping arms, and with the right hand remove their headgear, transferring it to the left hand, and raise two fingers of the right hand. The representatives who stepped forward place two fingers of their right hand on the Trident. The commander reads out the complete text of the Oath, slowly, loudly, and distinctly, enunciating every word of the Oath, and all the soldiers repeat it out loud after him.  
After the Oath is completed, the commanding officer issues the orders: “The Oath is completed, representatives, step back.” The unit returns to its previous position, and the representatives return to their previous places. “Attention! The National Hymn.” The entire assembly (choir) sings the National Hymn. After the Hymn is sung, “Present arms, step back with the Trident.” The commanding officer salutes the Trident. After the Trident is carried away, he commands: “Present arms, shoulder arms, at ease.”
8. After the Oath, the units sign the text of the Oath, squad by squad.
9. After the Oath, dismissal is followed by some musical-literary entertainment.

[signature]

(-)

Chief of the HVSh

[signature]

"M.D. Buchenko"(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Supreme Commander of the UPA

For distribution to: UPA-West – 1 copy  
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UPA-South – 1 copy  
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Total: 5 copies

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 234.

DOCUMENT 36: INSTRUCTION: POLITICAL TRAINING IN  
THE RANKS OF THE UPA

1 November 1944

*Provisional Instruction concerning Military Training and Political Work for the  
Political Training of Platoons and Companies*

The political instructor is to train every UPA soldier into:

- a) a full-fledged Ukrainian citizen conscious of his duties and rights.
- b) politically literate.
- c) and a model soldier.

By instilling these basics in the soldiers, the political instructor strengthens the combat capacity of the UPA as a revolutionary liberation force of the Ukrainian People. In order to reach this great goal, the political instructor:

a) will awaken in the soldiers an unshakeable faith in the strength and invincibility of the Ukrainian People.

b) will unconditionally strengthen the soldiers' trust in their political leadership and their military command.

c) will awaken in the soldiers hatred of the predatory imperialists and awaken in them love for their own people, affection and sympathy for the peoples who are enslaved by the imperialists, and will establish with the enslaved peoples a lasting friendship for joint cooperation and a struggle against the imperialists-enslavers for the free national states.

d) will awaken in the soldiers hatred of the imperialists, the imperialistic wars that destroy nations, and at the same time will develop in them the sole correct understanding of the need in our current stateless situation for a revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

e) will bind the soldiers of the UPA to the Ukrainian people with the tightest knots, never to be loosened, in such a way that the people will abide by the UPA always and everywhere, even in the most difficult situation, and will comprehensively expend all its creative forces on cooperation with the UPA and its victory over the enemy occupier, and during the period of the creation of the Ukrainian State – on its consolidation and its all-round development.

f) will turn UPA soldiers into strong-willed, typical, knightly, highly principled, and foremost defenders of the Ukrainian people.

g) will fashion revolutionary soldiers with initiative, proficient at ably carrying out their commanders' orders and, in time of need, to command by themselves.

h) to develop in UPA soldiers the understanding that only complete success in the position occupied by each soldier will bring the UPA and the Ukrainian people complete success over the enemy occupier.

i) will strengthen the soldiers' understanding that the Ukrainian and other peoples will be able to liberate themselves from enslavement only as a result of the launch of a revolutionary liberation struggle in the entire USSR, in the national ethnographic lands, systems of free national states, including the Ukrainian Independent State.

Above all, political instructors must themselves demonstrate the above-mentioned qualities and act in accordance with them. Above all, [they] must educate by their own example. Political instructors must be present in every life situation in which the soldiers find themselves: in battle, on marches, at rest, at games. The political instructor must be where his presence among the soldiers will bring the greatest benefit, where the soldiers require the greatest moral support from him. Of course, the political instructor has his own place assigned beforehand by the commander: either as his second in command (when the political instructor is a military specialist) or as a commander of a certain unit, or as a rear-line worker.

The political instructor must always and everywhere be a role model worthy of emulation. The political instructor rallies around himself the finest and most capable soldiers who, besides carrying out their daily and constant military duties, know how to find the time and willingness for more political training work on themselves and other soldiers, and to help them attain the necessary military and political achievements.

The political instructor must focus particular attention on the work among the best members and turn them into a powerful, exemplary nucleus equal to other soldiers, in no way unprivileged, a strong skeleton of our revolutionary-liberation army.

Through the great assistance that the political instructor gives to his commander, as a result of the political-educational level of the general mass of soldiers being raised, with the exemplary, highly valuable, constantly functioning top revolutionary soldiers, who without any privileges and with even greater duties, as the leaders of our revolution, together with the rest of the soldiers, will proudly carry forward the flag of our revolutionary liberation struggle. The commander, political bodies, and the general mass of soldiers will merge into one invincible, spiritual, and military unit, the revolutionary liberationary UPA.

In launching political work in the part of the army that has been assigned to him, the political instructor must acquire a fundamental knowledge of the given military unit as a whole and each soldier individually, the non-commissioned officers, and officer cadres. Here he must have a fundamental grasp of:

a) the intellectual level of the unit (the soldiery and the command staff).

- b) national awareness in the unit.
- c) the social composition of the unit.
- d) the military-political maturity of the unit.
- e) the unit's combat readiness.
- f) the revolutionary depth of the unit.

The political instructor will personally get to know the military unit assigned to him: through a meeting and conversation with the soldiery, through frequent conversations with each individual soldier, through observation of the daily life of the soldiery, its work, progress in its education, in their coexistence with each other, in encounters with the population, in his relations with his superiors, etc. Also required is the most frequent exchange of views between the political instructor and the command staff, as well as frequent discussions and assessments of each soldier and the search for new work methods.

The political instructor must learn the specific feature of his military unit as quickly as possible. The political instructor has designated hours for political educational work within the schedule of daily tasks. In addition to the hour set aside for political education, the political instructor uses every minute of his spare time, beyond the normal task, for personal meetings with the soldiers. The political instructor will best learn about the soldiers from the minor details of the soldiers' daily lives, and even more so from personal matters.

The political instructor will question each soldier about his life history. This will be the basis of getting to know the soldiers. Further work will be added to this. When the political instructor looks into each sphere of the soldiers' lives, studies it, when he expends efforts on this without sparing either energy or work, he will obtain the basic material for getting to know the soldiers and will formulate a correct view of military-training political work.

Individual familiarity with each soldier allows for:

- a) the correct utilization of a soldier or group in the assignment of combat tasks.
- b) the selection of suitable people for deepening and strengthening military-educational political work among the soldiery.
- c) the safeguarding of the soldiers from bad habits stemming from evil actions.

The political instructor will discuss other topics in peacetime and in wartime, before and after a battle, before and after a political action. On other topics, after a victorious battle, and on others – after a lost battle. He will select other topics during rest periods, and others during normal activities, regardless of whether the soldiers are rested or tired.

The political instructor must be not only a teacher for the soldiers, who teaches them dry political materials. Above all, he must be an educator. To bring up, develop a soldier's thinking, to teach him how to think, to interest



him in issues that are important to him, to teach how to search for the sources of knowledge, and, in the meantime, to offer basic political materials in the most accessible and lively form.

To raise soldiers in the military-political spirit means to teach them how to take advantage ably and comprehensively of their military-political knowledge, their aptitudes for the revolutionary-liberation work of the Ukrainian people and their complete victory.

Teach the soldiers the history of Ukraine; present it to them in an accessible, lively manner; convey the causes behind historical events. Approach history as a political person, not as a chronicler. Connect historical events of the past with the demands of today, compare the events of our history with the life and events of foreign nations. Examine the causes of our enslavement; link this with our geographical and geopolitical situation, with our natural resources, with our national temperament. At the same time, indicate that the Ukrainian people must be a great and powerful nation so that it can resist the foreign encroachments on their lands and wealth. How it arose in the great days [of] our history, the era of our power, great figures who led the people to a mighty life, the heroic deeds of knights and of the people [so] that in those great days, through the heroic exploits of knights and the efforts of the entire people, we approached the brilliant horizon.

Point out our place in the world in the past and today both as a military, political, and economic entity and cultural centre. Indicate the great work that the Ukrainian nation has already done in terms of the development of humanity during the period of its existence. Make an accurate connection between the history of Ukraine and the histories of other peoples, the politics of Ukraine in various periods and the international politics of those same eras, its cultural [and] economic life and the life of other peoples.

In teaching politics to the soldiers, do not present political materials in a dry manner, do not present only dry figures, diagrams. Connect politics with the daily life and needs of the people. Compare the economic capacities of the Ukrainian people with those of other peoples.

Do not talk about various kinds of politics with a soldier: about principled politics, opportunistic, real, non-real – he will arrive at that point by himself. After all, he must always and everywhere take a principled stand and approach our cause realistically.

Constantly inform the soldiers about international politics, always orient the soldiers towards current events. Connect daily world events into an interesting, accessible topic. Within a topic capture the entirety of the political, cultural, and economic life of all peoples [and] military actions in such a way that the soldiers will constantly have an image of the vital hopes of the world.

Constantly inform the soldiers about the life and work of Ukrainians in the lands of Ukraine and beyond its borders. [Illegible word] the soldiers in the course of our political educational work, about our leading people, about the role and work of the revolutionary-political organization of the Ukrainian people, about the actions and feats of the UPA.

Teach the soldiers our basic resolutions, for what, with whom, against whom we are fighting, who is our enemy, who is our friend. Teach the soldiers how to resolve daily problems correctly.

Explain and fundamentally instruct the soldiers in our nationality policy in the USSR. Teach [them] to hate enemies, occupiers, imperialists who are oppressing and exploiting the people. Teach the soldiers to be interested in all political affairs, to take active part in political life either as a soldier or as a civilian after the war, to carry out the orders of their political leadership, the issued orders of the military command. Teach the soldiers to understand the need for a leading political organization in the life of nations and in our life.

Teach the soldiers to understand that the army is entirely for the needs of the political leadership, for the restoration by armed force of the political goals of the nation's political leadership.

Talk without fail about heroism, knightliness, self-dedication. Base everything on concrete examples. Look for examples in our past, in the princely and Cossack eras, in our liberation struggles from 1918 to 1920, on the heroes-revolutionaries of our revolutionary era, on the great number of UPA heroes. The soldiers-revolutionaries of the UPA proved their great knightliness, self-sacrifice, and heroism in 1943–44, in the battles against the German and Russian imperialists. Instill in the young soldiers-revolutionaries those great knightly traits and raise them up to become worthy emulators of our glorious ancestors or today's knights of the UPA. Each soldier will find in the new and old history, in the actions of the UPA, knights-revolutionaries, patrons whom they will emulate, swear to their shadows that they will complete the deed that was begun by them.

Talk to the soldiers about conscious discipline. Base this on examples. Every day you will find bad and good examples, accurately observing the daily life of the soldiers. On a daily basis point out the soldiers' flaws, point out their good aspects and deeds. If a soldier did not wash and there was no serious reason for this, he is undisciplined. If he did not tidy up his gear, he is undisciplined. If he did not carry out his assigned tasks accurately, [if] a soldier did not muster correctly on time for assembly, he is undisciplined. If he does not uphold the daily order, he is undisciplined. If a soldier did not treat the population in a propagandistic manner, he is undisciplined. If a soldier did not salute his superior correctly, he is undisciplined, etc. There is a whole range of everyday examples that must be constantly talked about and the bad corrected. With

all this are connected: tardiness, laziness, indifference to duty, disobedience, lying, etc.

An army, especially a revolutionary army, is the most perfect and the greatest [illegible word] human community in the life of humanity, unanimous in all thoughts, deeds, execution of tasks, in discipline. Therein lies the strength of an army, therein the perfection of an army, therein its battle capacity, therein its victory. An army is inspired by great features, both the individual soldier and the whole army are raised in unconditionally conscious discipline, heroism, self-sacrifice, in unanimity of thinking and deeds based on military-political consciousness, knowing your military art – this is the unsurpassed strength of the people.

Today the enemy is fighting only with weapons in a combat line. The enemy is resorting to duplicity, treachery. He is dispatching agents in order to learn the military secrets of the opposing side, in order to destabilize the opposing army from within, in order to carry out assassinations of leading figures, leaders of the opposing army.

The political army will present the leading slogan of everyday work: “Beware the enemy agent among us; Wage a merciless struggle against the enemy agentura among us; Keep military secrets.”

The political instructor’s every lesson, every talk and meeting with soldiers, should begin: “Keep military secrets!” Teach the soldiers how to preserve military secrets. Sometimes, a soldier automatically talks about what he should not, talks where no talking should take place, where he listens to a masked enemy agent or obtains information from there. One cannot talk about everything with every Ukrainian. A secret will remain a secret when it is known to the smallest circle of people. Each soldier, each army, especially a revolutionary soldier, must be simultaneously a conspirator. What a soldier does in the army, where he is going and coming from, what he eats, how he prays, who his commanders are, what tasks he has been assigned – all this must be closed to non-military people, [must be] the biggest secret. “Do not discuss a matter with just anyone, only with those who need to know” – this is the golden rule of a soldier-revolutionary. Today all the more so it is crucial not to reveal military secrets because, first of all, we are enslaved and are operating in a sea of enemy forces and living amidst millions of enemy agents; second, we are constantly meeting with the general populace, which, apprised of our military secrets, may reveal them involuntarily to the enemy. Teach the soldiers how to keep military secrets, teach them how to become revolutionaries-conspirators.

Train the unit in collective conspiracy. In addition to political educational lectures and collective meetings with the soldiers, in addition to the oral transmission of scientific military training and political materials, soldiers must be educated by means of a good press, organizational political literature, leaflets, brochures, books. Teach the soldiers to read the press and

literature beneficially and skilfully, to understand properly, to pick out the essence. Question the soldiers about what they have read, correct erroneous understanding of an article or a book, expand on what the soldiers have not found in the literature. Develop critical thinking in the soldiers. Teach the soldiers to read together all the political literature and more important articles from our and the foreign press; explain, convey the general line of what has been read in a very accessible way; summarize what has been read or, even better, let the soldiers summarize, and the political instructor expands on and corrects all the errors. Teach the soldiers to love and to want to read literature and seek out knowledge.

Do not always search for serious topics for meetings with the soldiers. Political education work in the army should be lively, interesting, varied. Scholarly topics are to be interwoven constantly with topics related to upbringing. Liven them up with examples, interesting accounts, facts from life. From time to time even light humour and satire are required during lessons for refreshing thought and easing a pensive and heavy atmosphere.

Every encounter between the political instructor and soldiers, and lesson, must be very thoroughly prepared and elaborated by the political instructor. A topic is brief, dynamic, substantial, scholarly, interwoven with topics related to upbringing. Every day talk about military discipline, about military secrets, every day in a different, non-boring, often in a satirical-humorous form, with an appropriate segue to scholarly material.

Speak to the troops simply, briefly, dynamically, without a surfeit of foreign words, without artificial high-flown expressiveness. Speak in a commanding manner. The army is accustomed to listening to orders, and teaching materials must be conveyed to it in the form of commands.

Organize shows, evenings of humour. Here, involve the general soldiery in the preparations and participation. They themselves will decorate the site of a show, they themselves will prepare the program. The political instructor directs, corrects, amplifies. Solemnly mark the most important national holidays with an appropriate program. Teach by means of recalling this event. National holidays are to be celebrated in a serious atmosphere.

Honour the graves of those soldiers who have fallen in battle. Decorate them with wreaths, with flowers, tidy them consistently, inscribe who rests there, when and where he fell, how he was of service to the fatherland. Frame the graves with sod, cut out paths, surround them with palings, install a cross. Educate by means of the deeds of the fallen. Respect historical traditions – raise the soldiers on them.

Respect heroic soldiers and commanders. Recount their lives, their deeds, learn from their great knightly traits, imitate them. Talk about them.

Respect our state, national, and revolutionary flags, medals, awards.

For relaxation, organize entertaining games frequently.

The political instructor teaches the soldiers songs: military, historical, and folksongs, primarily marching songs. Only select heroic songs, without crying, without tears, weeping, complaining, death. Songs must raise knights, victorious heroes for us, who are hard as the flint of creators, not those who bemoan our bitter fate. Teach our beloved Ukrainian songs, military, heroic ones that inspire [the soldiers] to go forward to victory, which will awaken the most petrified, the most inert, and inspire to combat deeds and victory.

In selecting educational topics, one must always keep in mind military activities, military training or actions. The political instructor, in keeping with military tasks, actions, campaigns, battles, according to the terrain, the enemy, the season of the year, the day, etc., must prepare an appropriate topic.

Before a battle, get the soldiers ready appropriately for combat. Discuss broadly and in an accessible manner the idea of the battle, support them morally, fire them up, mobilize. *We must win!* – the soldier goes into battle with this thought and belief. And he will win. After the battle, discuss the battle, the soldiers deeds, good and bad aspects of the battle, its significance for the revolutionary liberation cause.

In the event of the enemy's victory, also [necessary] are appropriate guidance of the soldiers, moral support, encouragement for further actions. Generate the resolve to correct the evil, to take vengeance.

The insurgent must burn with the desire to fight, to seek victory, and to attain victory.

The insurgent must love the army, the struggle. The insurgent must live through the army and its deeds.

The insurgent must be a knight.

The commander and the political instructor must raise them to become like this. Instilling knightly traits in a soldier is halfway to victory. Before the soldiers carry out political actions, every action must be discussed thoroughly by the political instructor. The political goal of an action must be indicated. They must be morally prepared.

The soldier must always be prepared to meet with the people, with foreigners, with allied enslaved peoples. They must know how to educate the people, the general public, act propagandistically among the people, never push them away, but on the contrary: bind the people to himself. Never do harm to them. He never takes anything by himself, but asks if he needs something.

In the eyes of the people, the soldier must be a model of honesty, perfection, discipline. He must be a knight. The people only wish to see him that way, and the soldier can appear among the people only in this way. In the army the people desire to see their defender, leader. The people want to see their pride in the Ukrainian army (the UPA). The political instructor must fundamentally prepare the soldiers for an encounter with the people.

On foreign territories, soldiers must behave very propagandistically so that foreigners will see their friends in the Ukrainian army, and in the soldiers – worthy successors of our glorious knighthood famous throughout the world.

Conduct towards national minorities on our territory must be most propagandistic and friendly.

Towards the enemy-looter the soldier must feel unquestionable hatred; he must live by the great desire to smash the forces of the enemy invader and expel him from our land.

For the soldiers, the political instructor must be the liaison with their families, with their native areas. The soldiers must be constantly informed about their native areas, about the life [and] work there of their family and friends. The political instructor must familiarize himself with these matters.

The political instructor is interested in the soldiers' families, their normal situation, cultural life, and material condition. The political instructor must be a "doctor" to the soldiers. He heals the soldiers spiritual wounds. He is a diversion for the soldiers. During periods of a soldier's moral depression, breakdown, or vacillation, during a period of difficult internal experiences, the political instructor arrives with diversions and good cheer. He must heal the soldier of his spiritual sickness, reawaken him to a heroic life and knightly deeds.

The command composition of the military unit in the army replaces the soldiers' parents. The commander of a military unit performs the role of a demanding, categorical, strict punisher of violations, but tactful father. In the army the political instructor replaces the mother, who heals wounds, who, even though she demands that her children carry out the father's demands, always justifies the father in this. He creates a friendly family atmosphere within the military family.

The political instructor must develop in the soldiers respect for diverse types of work, understanding of the need for various actions in societal and state life, respect for the farmer, the worker, the miner, the collier, the day labourer, the working intelligentsia.

Every soldier must comprehend that his soldier's work will be successful and he will then achieve victory when all types of work are carried out honestly, because all of them help the soldier through being carried out, and they supplement the military art.

War is the labour of the entire people, all their strata and social groups.

The political instructor must awaken to the utmost limits the soldier's ideological love of his native land, of all its territories, of its nature. Each part of the Ukrainian land is the soldier's most intimate side. For the soldier there are no closer or farther territories in Ukraine. He is a master of Ukraine, everywhere her defender in all places. If there are illiterates in a military unit, the political instructor must teach them how to read and write.

The political instructor must exert supervision everywhere. The soldier's life does not pass him by. He himself is its participant and co-creator. At the same time, he is a researcher and harsh critic of individual soldiers and the entire soldiery. This is experience for him.

And it is necessary to create a new lifestyle, a new type of person, a soldier/revolutionary, hard as granite, with a strong will, full of ideals, nationally aware, a great Ukrainian patriot – creative, daring, brave, honest, courageous, politically literate, a modern knight, who carries his labour and life at all times for his idea, his people.

To break with old practices that were introduced to us through long years of slavery, to live a new life, the heroic life of a creator of a new reality, of a soldier/revolutionary. And in this new life the political instructor is the very first.

He is the right hand of his commander. He is his helper in the supervision, control, assessment of people, and, above all, the education of the army. In order to carry out his task fully, the political instructor must not spare his energies and labours but devote himself entirely both to national military-educational and political work in the army. He himself must constantly learn and grow. In his spare time he devotes himself to political educational work among the people. The unbreakable bond between the army and the people and the joint action of the people and the army depend on him.

The political instructor prepares the soldiers to learn how to conduct constant agitation work among [enemy] soldier[s] in order to destabilize [them] morally and pull them away from the aggressive struggle, and even to bring them over to the side of their own idea. In a combat situation, the political instructor must be thoroughly familiar with the tasks that his commander has received from above, and with the tasks that the commander of the unit has issued.

The political instructor must know the military art and be versed in it. He must know how to assess a political-combat situation accurately.

In the name of the commander, the political instructor constantly and everywhere ensures that the soldiery is carrying out its tasks accurately and conscientiously.

In skilfully utilizing the finer, more idealistic, leading revolutionary members of the military unit in the military-instructional political work among the soldiery, with the appropriate moral stance of the revolutionary members of the army, of a healthy, exemplary fighting nucleus of the unit, through the merging of the soldiery, the political-instructional, and command composition of the unit into a single spiritual, highly moral, and fighting whole, supplemented by a highly moral commander, the unit has achieved its goal.

1 November 1944 Educational Department of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 63, fols. 15–20.

DOCUMENT 37: INSTRUCTION: TACTICS OF THE UPA'S  
STRUGGLE – GUERRILLA WARFARE

*Guerrilla Warfare*

*Confirmed for temporary use by all UPA units*

*/–/ M.D. Vuchenko*

*Kyiv, 1944*

*Most Important Rules of Combat*

*(from the Statute of Field Service of the Army of the UNR 1921, ratified by  
Supreme Otaman Symon Petliura)*

Every soldier should master the following general, most important rules of combat:

1. Perish yourself, but rescue your comrade.
2. Move forward even if the soldiers in front are being killed, because God is not without mercy, and the Cossack is not without destiny.
3. Do not fear death, no matter how difficult the situation you will certainly attain victory.
4. If it is difficult for you, then it is not any easier for the enemy and perhaps even worse than for you; you see only your own difficulties, and not the enemy's, but he too has difficulties. Therefore, never lose hope and be courageous and persistent.
5. When you defend yourself, strike, don't just hit back. A better method of defence is to do the attacking.
6. If you still have a weapon in your hands, the Cossack mother has not yet died.
7. He who is more persistent and more courageous, not stronger, wins the battle; the enemy is also sometimes courageous; sometimes it is not possible to attain victory in two or three goes; then it is necessary to go for a fourth time until you attain your [goal].
8. More or less competent directives facilitate the attainment of the goal with the fewest losses, but they only lessen [them]; it will be attained only by the one who has reckoned with dying sooner than achieving that which he desires.
9. No matter what unexpected obstacles may arise on the road to the goal, it is necessary to think about overcoming them, not about how bad things are.
10. There is no rear line in a decent unit, and no flanks; the front is wherever the enemy is.
11. No matter how unexpectedly the enemy may appear, you must not forget one thing: that he can be killed either with a bayonet or fire. It is not difficult to choose one of the two, but a system is the ultimate issue. When the enemy is close, always [use] bayonets; when he is far away, at first [use] fire, then bayonets.



12. There is never a situation from which one cannot exit with honour.
13. There are no changes during a battle. Once you are engaged in a battle, you stay in it until the end. There will be assistance, replacement – never.
14. As long as you fight, free the healthy ones; as soon as you overcome the enemy, remember the wounded. The one who tends to them during a battle and leaves the ranks is a scarecrow, not a merciful person. There are medics for offering assistance to the wounded.
15. If you are an officer, do not interfere in the affair of a junior if you see that he is conducting it well during a battle, you will have enough on your own plate. Those who concern themselves with whatever everyone else should be doing will neglect his own. Every military rank should have its own field of independence and responsibility. An officer should ensure that each soldier does what he is supposed to, and not indulge anyone.

### *The Fundamentals of Guerrilla Warfare*

1. The fighting methods of guerrilla units differ fundamentally from the fighting methods of regular army units. Offence, defence, an encounter battle, manoeuvring are the main types of combat of regular armies, while guerrilla units, using manoeuvring as broadly as possible, use methods that are secondary for a regular army: various types of ambushes, attacks, and actions of a subversive nature.
2. Guerrilla units are mostly armed with light infantry weapons; therefore, not possessing adequate methods for crushing and destroying the enemy, they very rarely make use of such forms of combat as offence and permanent defence. Where there is a need to clear a certain territory of the enemy or to destroy an enemy garrison in a certain place, guerrilla units make wide use of attacks, capitalizing on unanticipated moments and taking the enemy by surprise.
3. Guerrilla warfare uses mobile defence in cases of extreme need, most often only in order to delay the enemy, to have the ability to regroup a unit and exfiltrate it from the territory under threat. In the majority of cases, guerrilla units operate independently, without possessing on the flanks neighbours that act in concert with them. Therefore, during a battle it is always crucial to remember this and to protect the flank not only by means of observation but also with firepower methods.
4. Even small guerrilla units that make wide use of various types of fighting and manoeuvring capably can create the impression of a huge force. Surprise attacks and ambushes are ably connected with actions of a subversive nature, which are mainly aimed at destroying the enemy's means of communication and liaison; they disrupt the administration, sow uncertainty among the enemy, and prepare the groundwork for the general toppling of enemy rule.

5. In order to have the greatest freedom of manoeuvring, possibility for attacks and ambushes, a guerrilla unit should be very familiar with the area of its operations, the “manoeuvring space.” Well organized reconnaissance should help it in this regard.

The commander of a guerrilla unit should always gather intelligence on:

- a) places where enemy units are stationed.
- b) the strength and composition of enemy units, and changes that have been introduced in this respect.
- c) what enemy units are doing.
- d) the morale and combat capability of enemy units.
- e) the weapons of enemy units.

On the basis of this information, the commander of a guerrilla unit will be able to predict enemy actions against his own unit and react to them in an appropriate, timely fashion, and to plan his actions. Under such circumstances, the possibility of being surprised by the enemy will be reduced to a minimum.

6. The commander of a guerrilla unit should have detailed knowledge of his unit’s manoeuvring space. He should know the following things about his unit’s manoeuvring space:

- a) settlements, their size, location, population size, and its attitude to the unit, inconspicuous approaches to the settlements.
- b) routes and lines of communication between settlements, bridges, and other highway installations.
- c) places that are suitable for organizing ambushes and approaches to them.
- d) a railway route, places that are suitable for derailing a train and for attacks and approaches to them.
- e) places that are suitable for billeting a unit and, in case of need, for defence or for exfiltration, and inconspicuous approaches to those places.

Always aware of the situation and the terrain of his operations, the commander of a unit will be able to manoeuvre in it appropriately. Therefore, he should try to ensure that his unit is always mobile, ready at any minute to change its billeting place, and not be burdened with excess baggage that must be handed over ahead of time with a receipt to the territorial authority or to its own hiding places, if any have been organized. That is why a unit should have as few wagons as possible and use packs for transporting extra munitions and heavy weapons.

That is why a unit should have as few wagons as possible and, for transporting extra munitions and heavy weapons, to [*sic*] use packs.

[No. 7 missing]

8. Individual guerrilla units that are located in neighbouring territories must automatically maintain constant tactical communications with each other. These communications should serve the goals of mutual information about

the enemy and, in case of need, of mutual assistance, cooperation during the execution of individual actions, and mutual security. It is the sacred duty of a guerrilla unit – in the event of an enemy attack on a neighbouring guerrilla unit – to assist this unit with all existing forces and means. It is necessary to establish ahead of time prearranged signals that would make it possible to summon assistance and distinguish your own units that are arriving with assistance from enemy units. Unit commanders should maintain the utmost secrecy over these signals. During the execution of operations requiring larger forces and methods or during the execution of operations at one and the same time in a larger territory, commanders of neighbouring units reach an understanding about cooperation. It is forbidden to retreat from combat without an order from the joint leader, and, in the case of an understanding between two commanders – without an announcement and agreement of the neighbours.

9. As regards the transfer of the wounded and sick as well as required clothing and food, an understanding must be reached with the revolutionary authorities of the territory.

10. The commander of a guerrilla unit must often resolve rather complex questions pertaining to the unit's life and struggle completely independently, without the direct and constant leadership on the part of his superiors. Therefore, a commander should not be afraid of assuming responsibility but should demonstrate initiative. He should carry out all his actions seriously and in a well thought-out manner, and constantly perfect his unit in combat and political terms. It must be kept in mind that the military art, and particularly the art of guerrilla warfare, is constantly being perfected and enriched directly on the battlefield, occasionally through the deeds of ordinary fighters and commanders. It is the duty of commanders of all ranks to know how to spot and catch the good self-startership of individual fighters and commanders with respect to new devices and forms of guerrilla warfare, to expand and perfect them. The commander should analyze (summarize in detail) his unit's every battle, revealing additional and negative aspects of a battle, methods of eliminating exposed shortcomings, and to discuss these issues thoroughly with the commanders under him, and, if possible, also with the fighters. This is the only way that a unit will improve itself, and its combat capability will increase.

11. In the life of a guerrilla unit there will be times when the unit will find itself in a very difficult situation, for example, encircled by larger or smaller enemy units, very often without sufficient food and adequate clothing or footwear. Then, the conduct of the unit commander himself will have a decisive impact on the unit's morale. The commander's cold-bloodedness, equilibrium, endurance, good mood, and his considered decisions and orders imbue the fighters with confidence, decisiveness, and endurance in order to overcome the difficulties. And the reverse is true: excessive fuss, confusion, and nervous

shouting, contradictory orders can sow discouragement and panic even in the best unit and lead to its perdition. Therefore, every commander, in addition to his work with his subordinates, should scrupulously nurture in himself crucial soldierly traits.

12. A unit commander should know how to unite the unit around himself. He will achieve this not by indulging his subordinates but by establishing firm discipline and order. Not a single bad or good incident within the unit should escape the commander's attention. He should mercilessly punish those who serve inattentively, cowards, and panic-mongers, but single out and encourage those who are conscientious, show initiative, the brave, and those who are devoted to the cause to carry out even finer deeds. He must take care of the material security of all his subordinates, especially the sick and wounded, until they are transferred to the care of the territorial power, and even afterwards to foster among the soldiers friendship, brotherhood, mutual respect for one another, mutual assistance on the battlefield among the soldiers and the sacrificing of their own life in order to save a commander or a comrade in exceptional cases.

13. Again, each soldier should not fear assuming responsibility for the leadership of the entire unit; if the need arises it should be kept in mind that who acts the worst is the one who fears responsibility and does not take anything upon himself.

### *The March*

#### *A. General principle*

14. The characteristic feature of guerrilla actions is constant movement. Guerrilla units move on foot, on horseback, and rarely – on wagons in the winter, additionally on skies, boards, or sleds. It should be remembered that it is best to move on foot and on horseback, and to transport ammunition in packs in the winter – on skis and sleds. Moving by wagons or sleds with unsuitable harnessing exposes the secrecy of the unit and binds it to the road. Guerrilla units usually move at night and also under cover of rain, a snowstorm, etc., when a regular army usually hides. Movement usually takes place along impassible roads, paths, and, in extreme cases, along roads. While moving, one should remember to conceal oneself. The general mission of a march is to arrive at a designated point and to maintain the unit's cheerfulness and combat capability. Therefore, every march must be carried out in an organized fashion, i.e., according to a designated order and within a designated time frame. This requires a march to be carefully prepared.

#### *B. Preparations for a march*

15. After adopting a decision for a march, the commander of a guerrilla unit should make a thorough study of the terrain and the route of movement on

a map or with the assistance of local people. In using local residents, the true direction of the march is to be concealed from them by querying them about various opposite directions.

16. In studying roads, the commander pays special attention to areas that are dangerous from the standpoint of the possibility of the marching unit being ambushed by the enemy (forests, settlements, narrow areas, ravines, meadows, etc.). If it is possible, the road should exclude the danger of an ambush by the enemy's armoured (Panzer) and aviation forces, especially in daytime.

17. With a clear picture of the road, the unit commander plans out the time frame of the march, the order of movement, the composition and method of security, prearranged markers and signals for communicating with security teams, anti-aviation, and other actions in the event of an enemy ambush, and a place for assembly in the event of dispersion.

18. Prior to the march the commander organizes reconnaissance, reckoning that right before the march he has information about the road's degree of risk, about its suitability for a march, and about obstacles. In the event of danger, for example, in sending out reconnoiterers, the unit's direction and intent may be revealed to the enemy, the commander may ignore it and rely only on information obtained from the civilian population or an intelligence network, if one exists.

19. Prior to departure, a unit commander issues the order to prepare for a march to subunit commanders. The order to prepare must be issued within such a time frame before the march as to allow the unit to prepare itself for the march. Constant preparedness for marches is an additional trait of guerrillas.

20. The order to prepare for a march should contain:

- a) information about the enemy.
- b) the time and place of departure.
- c) security for the march and its commander.
- d) the subunits' preparation time for departure.
- e) special instructions (supplies of food, ammunition, medical service, methods of concealment, etc.).

21. The commander of the security unit is also provided with:

- a) the time for preparing security for the departure and the mission.
- b) the route march.
- c) dangerous places, to which special attention must be paid.
- d) security method.
- e) prearranged markers and signals for communicating with the main forces, for sounding an air alarm, etc.
- f) special instructions concerning weaponry, munitions, etc.

22. After obtaining the order to prepare, subunit commanders issue their subordinates the order to prepare for a march.

23. Squad leaders personally check:

- a) the correctness of binding feet and donning footwear.
- b) the fitting of clothing, gear, and weapons.
- c) that all traces of the squad's stopover are removed.

If it is necessary to cross a swamp or generally during inclement weather, try to apply grease to footwear.

After making sure and confirming that the squad is ready for the march, the squad leader reports this to the platoon leader.

24. After obtaining information from the dispatched reconnoiterers, the unit commander issues the order to march out. The order for the march should include:

- a) information about the enemy.
  - b) the mission of the march (goal of the march), the route of the march, the time of departure and arrival at the designated place.
  - c) the order of [the] march.
  - d) security (method of security, composition of the security team, the commander).
  - e) actions in the event of an encounter with the enemy.
  - f) prearranged markers and signals (for communicating with the security teams, anti-air).
  - g) an assembly area in the event that the unit is taken by surprise and disperses.
- The order is followed by answers to questions, the repetition of the order by subunit commanders, and the commander of the security team, and verification of watches.

25. Subunit commanders, including the squad leader, issue the order to their subunits in keeping with their mission.

26. After the unit's departure, the commander himself, or through a specially assigned officer or non-commissioned officer, inspects the unit's abandoned place of stationing in order not to leave behind any traces or items that might betray the unit.

### *C. Executing the march*

27. In order to preserve the unit's strength during the march, short and long stops (rests) are designated. Short rests (ten minutes) are taken every fifty minutes of the march, except for the first one, which takes place after the first half-hour of the march so that the soldiers can correct everything on themselves that is bothering them, causing or eliciting sound. During rest breaks on the road the soldiers leave the road by the right side. During short breaks gear can be rearranged and, if conditions permit and with the commander's permission, a change of footwear and smoking are allowed.

28. During a rest break it is forbidden to sit or lie on the bare ground (risk of catching a chill or lupus), and during cold weather – to sit on the ground at all.

If there is a possibility, then during a rest lying down is permitted so that the legs are somewhat higher than the torso.

Prior to leaving after the break, mainly at night, commanders should check whether all the soldiers are in the subunits and whether something has been forgotten at the rest spot.

It should be remembered that smoking is absolutely forbidden at night because even the slightest flame is seen from very far away.

29. A longer rest is given usually after the completion of at least half of the designated route (fifteen to twenty kilometres). The rest period lasts from one and a half to two hours. The place for a rest break is to be selected in such a way that it will afford the unit the best conditions for combat readiness from enemy aviation and the best rest as possible (protection from rain, wind in the summer, from the sun, and in the winter – from cold) and an advantageous exfiltration route in the event of an enemy attack.

During a longer break the unit usually eats some food.

30. During all breaks at night, care should be taken to ensure that the soldiers do not lie down (danger of falling asleep) and[/or] wander off. During departures on a march make doubly sure that everyone is present and that nothing has been left behind. In squads, firmly establish who is responsible for whom, because in this way one takes better care of the other and notices another's inefficiency.

31. Walk with a full, even step. Therefore, it is ordered that an experienced officer or non-commissioned officer, who will standardize the speed of the march, be assigned to the head of the column.

32. The soldiers' personal load mass is [to be kept] to a minimum. Gear, weapons, and ammunition must be matched in such a way as to be the handiest for carrying and using, and so that they do not clank (mainly at night).

33. Heavy infantry weapons and extra ammunition are to be placed in packs, on sleds, and, in extreme cases, on wagons.

34. During a march it is not permitted to leave the column. Permission is requested in truly crucial cases. Without the commander's permission it is not permitted to leave your place in the column, sit on a sled or wagon, wander off, or lag behind.

35. During a march every soldier should move behind the soldier ahead of him and [is expected] to pass on orders, reasons for a stop along the column, and, during rest breaks, the duration of the break. At night and in the forest and near the enemy, whisper from ear to ear.

36. The sick and exhausted are to be taken away only when the campsite is changed. Two caretakers are to be assigned to each sick individual.

37. It is permitted to speak in the column only with the commander's permission, but never at night.

38. During a rest break drinking a lot of water is not permitted. Water may be drunk only after a brief rest or, at the very most, immediately before the departure, and only small sips, keeping the water in the mouth for a long time.
39. At night, light-sound concealment must be kept in mind. During marches on dark nights, mainly along impassible roads and in the forest, adopt the practice of holding onto a piece of each other's clothing, by a cord that runs along the column or [what] the soldiers at the head of the column attach to their backs – squares of white fabric, pieces of white paper, or pieces of phosphorescent bark (in the forest).
40. During a sudden change of the march direction, slow down the speed of the march and place a sentry for indicating the new direction of the march. After the entire unit switches, the sentry joins up with the rear of the column.
41. While crossing a swampy terrain, certain leaders are to be selected, who use a safety cord that passes from front to back between the ranks.
42. In encountering obstacles, slow down the speed of the march and place a sentry to assist in crossing over an obstacle. After the entire unit passes the obstacle, the sentry joins up with the unit.
43. During very cold periods, pay attention to exposed parts of the body (ears, nose, hands, face). Practise mutual inspections of those parts of the body in order to catch the first signs of frostbite.
44. Heavy or specialized weaponry is grouped near the unit commander or someone designated by him.

#### *D. March Security*

45. After receiving the order to prepare, the commander of the security unit should:
  - a) study the route of the march on a map or with the assistance of people who know this route (remember not to reveal the direction of the march).
  - b) learn the dangerous spots, from which the enemy can launch an ambush.
  - c) place terrain markers on the road, or next to it, which must be searched.
  - d) formulate a plan for organizing security.
46. After verifying the preparedness of his own unit for executing the mission, the security commander reports this to the commander who assigned him to security.
47. At the start of the march the security team is issued an order with the following content:
  - a) information about the enemy.
  - b) the mission of the security unit.
  - c) the route of the march (dangerous places, terrain markers that must be inspected, etc.).
  - d) method of executing the mission.
  - e) prearranged markers and signals.
  - f) a deputy.



48. The order to the reconnaissance units lists:
- a) the senior reconnoiterer (search).
  - b) the mission of the reconnoiterers and method of execution.
  - c) the route of the march.
  - d) prearranged markers and signals.
49. After issuing the order, the security commander checks to see if everyone has properly understood the mission and whether they have correctly learned the prearranged markers and signals.
50. The general task of security measures:
- a) to protect the unit from an unexpected enemy attack on land and from the air.
  - b) to provide the security unit with the most advantageous conditions for switching to combat formation by capturing advantageous positions and reconnoitering unnoticeable approaches that come up in the enemy's rear.
  - c) in a timely fashion to inform a superior about danger or discovered obstacles.
  - d) to eliminate insignificant damages en route and at river crossings.
51. During a march a guerrilla unit is protected on all sides. Depending on the risk from the territory, between one-ninth and one-third of the unit's forces are enlisted for security. The main attention is focused on the direction of the greatest threat.
52. The security team's distance from the main forces depends on the visibility of the territory (the less visibility the shorter the distance between the security forces and the unit being protected). However, this distance should be such that the protected unit will not be surprised by machine gun fire.
53. There should be uninterrupted visual communication between the unit and the security team. In terrain with poor visibility this communication is maintained with the help of a chain of liaisons.
54. In terrain through which it is difficult to move beyond roads, the unit commander can refrain from dispatching flanking security teams. In such cases, dangerous areas on the sides of the march route are searched by reconnoiterers from the frontal security, and within the column reinforced observation on the flanks is to be organized.
55. In areas with intensified enemy movement (roads, railways) or in places where the enemy may appear, a unit commander can dispatch scouts (listeners) ahead of time. Their task is to reconnoiter and inform the commander about enemy movements. After the unit passes those areas, the scouts (listeners) rejoin the column.
56. Regardless of the security method, observation and listening are to be organized in the column on all flanks as well as air observation.
57. During a night march the security force is usually reduced. The distance between the security forces and the unit is also reduced depending on the

darkness of the night. However, this distance should be such that it would rule out an enemy ambush at a close distance. The flank security forces are dispatched a short distance exclusively to those places where there is a risk of ambush from a close distance. The marching unit should make the widest possible use of listening and maintaining silence.

58. During a march a unit should be in complete combat readiness at all times and in all directions.

59. Security teams send out reconnoiterers. The march order of the reconnoiterers and the nucleus is the same during reconnaissance. Visual communication is mandatory between the reconnoiterers and the nucleus, and the reverse. The distance among the reconnoiterers is between twenty and forty metres and, at night, such that they will have visual communication and can communicate in whispers. The senior reconnoiterer advances where it is most convenient for him. The commander of the advance security force advances together with the advance reconnoiterers and, in other security forces, where it is more convenient for him. The security forces keep their weapons at the ready.

60. When entering settlements and forests, conduct yourselves with caution and carry out brief but thorough visual observation before doing so. The advance security forces cross the forest in skirmishing formation, and the flanking security forces, in closed formation. After passing through a forest, roll up the skirmishing formation. When passing through a forest, pay special attention to tree stumps, crowns of trees, piles of brushwood, and generally places where an enemy might be hiding and strike at us from the rear.

61. During movement the security force should abide by the fundamental principles of concealment. In a forest do not advance along roads, through clearings, and along the edges of a forest because all this is naturally under enemy observation, and even fire. Run through crossroads and leave behind sentries who will indicate the direction of the march. At destroyed bridges and on roads with signs indicating that they are mined, leave sentries who will indicate a detour of those areas. After the column passes through, the sentries rejoin it.

62. The commander is to be informed about all kinds of uncovered obstacles. Suspicious objects are not to be handled before a thorough examination to see if they are mined. In dangerous areas reconnoiterers should pay attention to such signs of mining as pieces of wire, ropes, thread, piles of straw, hay, or grass, mounds of earth, or signs of freshly turned earth.

63. It is mandatory for reconnoiterers to search places that are advantageous for ambushes. Approach those places with the utmost caution.

64. The commander is to be informed immediately about the sighting of the enemy. During a skirmish with the enemy, only the security team spreads out and occupies positions advantageous for combat. Small enemy groups are

taken prisoner, and if this is impossible, then they are to be destroyed with fire, grenades, bayonets.

65. During a repelling action, strong pressure on the part of the enemy, the rear security team holds him off with bursts of fire, destroying roads and artificial barriers. In places that are advantageous for organizing ambushes and difficult for the enemy to pass through, they set up ambushes. Sometimes during exfiltration, the unit commander assigns the security team the task of providing covering fire at all costs during the time that it takes for the unit to break free of enemy harassment.

66. The security team informs the unit commander about an enemy that has not spotted the unit and proceeds according to his order.

67. During brief and longer rest breaks the security team halts at the commander's signal, which he has sent either after reaching a position or point designated beforehand. During short breaks, the commander of the security team stations pickets. Reconnoiterers (search parties) remain in their places and continue observing, while the nucleus is in hiding. During a longer rest break, the security team continues to function as an outpost or sentry.

68. The marching speed of the security team is adapted to the main unit's marching speed. In terrain in which it is difficult to move about, the unit commander should reckon with the security team's possible speed of movement and, in accordance with it, standardize the speed of the unit's marching. In such terrain, practise frequent changes of scouts, reconnoiterers, or the security team in general.

69. When incoming enemy aviation is spotted, at the signal for aviation alert, everyone conceals himself by taking advantage of hiding places in the terrain, and, in their absence, they drop to the ground or crouch and place weapons and all illuminating objects underneath themselves or in shaded areas. It is important that all movement stop as soon as possible. During an air attack, the unit should move as little as possible, maintain silence, and suppress panic.

70. When enemy tank forces are spotted, the security team should alert the unit and try to reach some kind of terrain, anti-armoured obstacles (a forest, buildings), and not interrupt the process of looking for the enemy. Anti-armour weapons, if any exist, take up firing positions.

71. If the commander wants to elude the enemy unnoticed, then he can divest himself of the security team, especially flanking ones. If it is crucial to get past the enemy and keep movement secret, then the march takes on the character of creeping from one point to another. In this case, the commander takes personal charge of the movement of the security team, deploying it from one visual point to another and imperceptibly following in the footsteps of the unit's security team.

## *Billeting*

### *A. General principle*

72. The stationing of a unit for a longer rest period that is supposed to last at least several hours is called billeting. A guerrilla unit can halt for billeting in a forest or a settlement. Billeting in a forest is advantageous in that here a guerrilla unit can best conceal itself from enemy observation and cluster rather densely, which, again, requires little time for being placed on combat alert. A settlement is the best place for a unit to get rest and to eat. But the difference is that the enemy can discover the unit more quickly, and, as a result of the unit's dispersal among individual lodgings, more time is required for placing them on combat alert.

### *B. Organization of billeting*

73. If, while organizing a march, the unit commander sends an advance party to reconnoiter the road, then he can also assign it the task of selecting and preparing the billeting place. In this case, the unit commander issues the intelligence commander information concerning:

- a) the billeting place.
- b) the unit's numerical composition.
- c) the method for positioning the unit.

74. After carrying out reconnaissance and informing the unit commander about this, the commander of the reconnaissance unit, after setting up an appropriate security team, should plan the following:

- a) places for positioning the units (subunits).
- b) the commander's place (usually in the middle of the stationed subunits).
- c) organizing the safety of billeting (places for the sentries and preparation).
- d) the area for assembling for an alert.
- e) the location of the medical service.
- f) an eventual spot for the kitchen and the camp's supply column.

After planning the billets, the reconnaissance commander prepares a sketch of the unit's billets and its security, and sends it to the unit commander or hands it to the unit commander while reporting after his arrival at the billeting place.

75. If a unit commander does not send out reconnoiterers in advance, then all the jobs listed in Article 74 are carried out by the unit commander himself after arriving with unit at the billeting place.

76. After arriving at the billeting place and planning the positioning of the unit and its security, the unit commander issues a command, in which he lists:

- a) the order of positioning the unit (subunits) and services.
- b) the strength, composition, and security commander.
- c) the area for mustering for an alert.

d) directives in case of an alert.

e) a supplementary place in the event of a battle and approach routes to it.

f) password, identification, and prearranged markers and signals.

77. If a unit stops for billeting in a forest, then, if possible, the billeting place should have dry ground, be near water for drinking and cooking, and offer the possibility of concealment from enemy aviation, wind, and inclement weather, and be inaccessible to the enemy's armoured weapons.

78. Units in a billet should group together as densely as possible. During quartering in a settlement, do not divide squads but billet them together in houses or stables (barns). If a squad is not quartered together, then the squad leader is billeted with the machine gun. In billets, weapons are placed farther away from openings (doors, windows) so that at any moment they can be used. On principle, a guerrilla always and everywhere keeps his weapon close at hand.

79. In billets, military secrecy is to be maintained with the utmost strictness. It is forbidden to talk with strangers about military affairs or in such a way that they will hear about the unit's composition, its weaponry, tasks, name of the unit, its commanders, etc. Always remember that a guerrilla unit operates in the surroundings of enemy administration, armies, and their agents, that the enemy will seek by all means possible to collect data about a unit in order to destroy it more easily. Remember that even among a population that is friendly to us, wavering individuals can always be found or those who under threat of torture or death can betray a unit. Therefore, always and everywhere uphold the principles of conspiracy as strictly as possible.

80. At the billeting place the unit's medical service should designate places for: obtaining water for drinking and cooking, watering the horses, washing, and places for latrines.

81. In the billets the unit's warrant officer designates places for the kitchen, the supply column, and the order of serving food. Remember that those places must be well concealed and that the civilian population, among whom there could be an enemy intelligence agent, is not loitering near them.

82. The entire unit should be aware of:

a) the assembly area in the event of an alert.

b) the billeting places for your immediate superiors, which must be kept in strict secrecy.

c) the unit commander's directives in the event of an alert.

d) an additional assembly area.

In addition, the soldiers are informed about the areas where they can smoke and the location of latrines.

83. The cleaning of weapons is done by the whole unit at the same time and according to an established order so that at least two-thirds of the existing weapons are always ready to be used.

84. During a departure from billets, make sure that all traces of the unit's stay are removed from the place of billeting, which could betray it to the enemy, and that the actual march direction is concealed.

### *C. Billeting security*

85. In billets the guerrilla unit, no matter where it is situated, is always protected by its own forces on all sides. Even in those cases where not the entire unit but only several fighters stop for a rest, under no circumstances is it permitted for everyone to rest at the same time. Some fighters should rest, and others should carry out security duties.

86. Guerrilla units in billets are protected by:

- a) their own, constant reconnaissance for the enemy.
- b) direct security.
- c) reconnaissance among the civilian population if it assists us.

87. For security, a guerrilla unit assigns between four-thirds [*sic*] and one-ninth of its forces depending on the degree of threat and the territory.

88. A guerrilla unit should always use territorial security, that is, billeting in places that are convenient for temporary defence and exfiltration in the event of a surprise attack by the enemy.

89. Until such time as billeting security is in place, the guerrilla unit is protected by the march security. After arriving at the place of billets, the unit commander should personally familiarize himself with the territory. If the reconnaissance team sent in advance has prepared a sketch of the deployment of the unit and its security, then the unit commander verifies the feasibility and correctness of the outlined security system. If no reconnaissance has been done, then he develops this plan personally.

90. After surveying the territory and planning the security system, the unit commander issues the security team an order with the following content:

- a) information about the enemy.
- b) the unit's mission.
- c) the commander, task, and composition of the security team.
- d) method of executing the task.
- e) challenges and responses, prearranged and identification markers and signals.
- f) the direction of some of our own units.
- g) duration of duty (shifts).

91. The security commander organizes security in accordance with the unit commander's order. Members of the security team should be placed in such a way that the entire area surrounding the billets is under close observation so that the enemy cannot creep up to the unit unnoticed.

92. Small guerrilla units (down to a squad) are protected by field sentries, listeners (scouts), watchers, and alarm sentries. In addition, larger units are

protected by sentries and pickets. In certain cases, when a commander wants to keep the existence of his unit secret, then regardless of the unit's force, he can limit himself to field sentries and listeners (scouts). Remember that the best protection is your own active reconnaissance and well-placed intelligence network comprised of the civilian population, if it is assisting us.

93. A field sentry consists of two fighters: a senior sentry and sentry. It is dispatched for the protection of guards or for the immediate protection of the guerrilla unit. The task of the field sentry is to watch out for the enemy and warn their superior about the enemy's arrival. The sentry stops individual enemy soldiers and people who are crossing the security line.

94. The field sentry is subordinated to the sentry commander (if there is one) or the commander of the security unit. The senior sentry and sentry are stationed in such a way that they are unseen by the enemy and have a good field of vision and the possibility to communicate with each other in a low voice, by signs, and at night – by whispering. They carry out observation together. The sentry is subordinated to the senior sentry and carries out his commands. The field sentry must always have weapons loaded with a full number of cartridges, and they do not let them out of their hands and grenades are ready to be thrown.

95. The field sentry does not let through anyone from the enemy's direction nor from the direction of the unit's billeting, with the exception of reconnoiterers and scouts from your own unit and immediate superiors, if they know the necessary password. All others are detained by the sentry with the challenge: "Halt! Who goes there?" at such a distance that the detained individual cannot throw hand grenades at the sentry. The detained individual is ordered to drop his weapons, raise his hands, and turn away from the sentry in the opposite direction. The field sentry keeps their weapons ready to fire. Then, using a prearranged call, they summon the sentry commander and hand over the detained individual. The commandant should always be accompanied by one or two fighters. The detained individual is not permitted to move or speak.

If, after the challenge of "Halt!" the person approaching the sentry does not stop, the sentry repeats the challenge, "Halt!" and fires.

96. Concerning the appearance of the enemy, the field sentry informs, by means of a prearranged signal, until it [*sic*] receives the response, "Understood." In crucial cases, the senior sentry can order the sentry to report to his superior about the enemy's appearance verbally. As an enemy unit approaches the sentry, the field sentry, after informing their superior about this, on his command or signal leave according to the route assigned to them to the indicated spot.

97. Depending on weather conditions (winter weather), the field sentry is changed every two hours and even every hour (or half-hour). For continuity

of work (observation), the change takes place one by one, so that the senior sentry is replaced by the sentryman, and the sentryman – by a fighter from the sentry team.

98. In certain cases requiring observation of a certain territory (edge of a forest, small clearing, roads, places where an enemy detachment is stationed), the unit sends out scouts (listening post). In providing security for the place of billeting, scouts have the following tasks:

a) to visually observe and listen for the enemy in certain important directions.

b) to inform the unit about the appearance of the enemy and his force, which is advancing in the unit's direction.

Scouts are comprised of three fighters – one of them is senior. The scout conceals himself in a spot from which it is most advantageous to make visual and aural observations. The scout is always at full combat readiness. He is not permitted to smoke or talk. The scout does not detain small enemy groups of two or three fighters and solo individuals but, upon the appearance of a large enemy unit, the senior scout informs the commander who dispatched him by means of a prearranged signal.

99. During an unexpected enemy attack, the scout opens fire and retreats along the indicated route, continuing to observe the enemy. During a battle fought by a unit (sentry) the scout rejoins it (if there were no special directives in this respect).

100. At night the scout uses his hearing more than his sense of sight, and therefore installs himself in such a place from where he can hear well and from where the surrounding area is clearly visible. During the day in a tree, at night – on the ground. The scout does not cover his ears with anything, especially at night.

101. Visual communication between the scout and the commander who dispatched him is mandatory. If the terrain does not allow for this or if the scout must be stationed farther away, then intermediary sentries must be placed between the scout and the commander, tasked with transmitting prearranged signs and signals that the scout conveys to the commander, and vice versa. In this case, the scout and intermediary sentries must thoroughly verify their knowledge of prearranged signs and signals.

102. The scout carries out his assignment for the period of time designated by the commander, and he is not relieved until the end of his assignment.

103. Reconnaissance teams in the billeting security system are used for scouting out the territory not covered by sentries and pickets, for communicating with neighbouring pickets, for verifying the audibility of their security measures, and for control over order in the place where a unit is quartered. A reconnaissance group usually consists of two or three fighters, one of whom is senior.



104. In places where the enemy might spot them, reconnoiterers advance by running from one visual point to another. Fighters in the reconnaissance group advance one after the other at such a visual distance that they can communicate with each other in whispers, and at night, in direct proximity of each other with their weapons ready for firing.

105. At night (when there is fog, snowstorms, rain) reconnoiterers should stop frequently, listen, observe, and generally make sure that their gear does not clank. In moving through a forest, complete silence must be observed, and care must be taken not to snap dry branches or make rustling sounds, and in going through shrubbery, gear must not clank.

106. While moving about, reconnoiterers track the enemy and the terrain. Everything that is noted is reported to the commander to whom they have been sent (sentries), and after obtaining information there, they return to the commander who dispatched them, and they report everything to him.

107. Guerrilla units station pickets (consisting of a squad or a platoon) to protect more important directions.

108. Depending on the circumstances, a sentry group may be assigned the following tasks:

- a) to discover the presence of an enemy and warn the unit (picket) about this.
- b) to detain the enemy by means of a battle until such time as the unit (picket) switches to battle order.
- c) not to permit individual enemy reconnoiterers, small groups, and local inhabitants to cross the security line.

109. After being informed about his task, the commandant of the sentry unit leads the sentry unit by a secured march to the place where they are to carry out their assignment. After their arrival at the designated spot, he stations them in concealed areas, stations a lookout, familiarizes himself with the territory, and places machine guns in firing position. March security remains in place until such time as the field sentries are pulled back. After familiarizing himself with the area, he assigns the task to the sentry unit; indicates the locations of the machine guns (machine gun), grenade launcher, and fighters; divides the sentry unit into shifts; and issues instructions concerning the improvement or camouflaging of the position. In addition, the sentry commander provides:

- a) the locations of the field sentries.
- b) things to which special attention must be paid.
- c) locations of neighbouring sentry units.
- d) the directions from which their own reconnoiterers may appear.
- e) identification signs, signals, challenges, and responses.

The sentry commander personally stations field sentries, with which he maintains visual communication.

110. After stationing the field sentries, the sentry commander establishes contact

with the neighbouring sentry unit (on the left). If a sentry unit is being organized in this spot for the first time, it sends the commander of the unit (picket) a report with a sketch indicating the sentry unit's stationing and readiness.

111. At night the sentry unit usually changes its daytime positions and stations itself closer to the unit (picket), and field sentries – closer to the sentry unit. Weapons are readied for night shooting. The change of position usually takes place at dusk and dawn, at which time the night/day sentries are stationed for the first time – only then are the preceding ones relieved.

112. During the duty period, one-third of the sentry unit carries out the duty, one-third is in combat readiness, and one-third can rest.

113. Larger guerrilla units or formations in the security system station pickets in strengths from a platoon and up. The stationing of a picket takes place similarly to a platoon.

114. The tasks of the picket are:

- a) to provide security for resting troops from an unexpected enemy attack.
- b) during an attack by superior enemy forces, to delay them by combat in a position that is prepared for the protected units to give battle, which would facilitate the detainment of the enemy and escape from it in case of need.
- c) to warn protected troops about the appearance of enemy aviation.

115. Pickets and sentry units are strengthened by armoured weapons and heavy infantry weapons if a unit has [them] at its disposal. In front of the defence position, prepare anti-tank obstacles well, or in general choose picket positions according to anti-tank obstacles.

116. The picket commander issues the picket an order with the following content:

- a) information about the enemy.
- b) your position and that of neighbours and their tasks (generally).
- c) the tasks of the picket.
- d) which units (your own) are stationed in the forefield.
- e) locations of the outpost and the pickets.
- f) locations of listeners (scouts).
- g) locations of alarm sentries.
- h) challenges and responses, and identification signs.
- i) signals for communicating with the sentries, for summoning the commander of the picket, convoy, and the departure of sentries or listeners.
- j) the time of readiness.
- k) the improvement and camouflaging of positions.

117. If the process of securing the billeting drags on into the night and will last longer, then before dawn the picket commander should walk around the security line and make necessary corrections. For the night, machine weapons are to be prepared during the day for night shooting.

118. When a picket is relieved in keeping with the march security, the picket together with its security units (sentries, field sentries, listeners) remains in the places where its duties were discharged until such time as the march security crosses the billets' security line. Then the picket joins up with the column.

### *Secret Intelligence*

#### *A. General principle*

119. All actions undertaken by guerrilla units, both combat operations as well as those connected with their movements and billeting, require accurate reconnaissance. The commander of a guerrilla unit gathers intelligence non-stop before, during, and after a battle by all means that are accessible to him, regarding intelligence gathering as the main manoeuvre, struggle, and security of his unit.

120. Reconnaissance should provide the commander, in a stable and timely fashion, with the most detailed data about the enemy that is located in the manoeuvring space of the guerrilla unit or in direct contiguity with it. Very often the careless execution of reconnaissance, as well as its underestimation, is the reason behind a unit's significant losses and failures, and even its destruction. And the reverse is true: well-executed intelligence gathering is the guarantee of the unit's success.

121. The main types of reconnaissance that are applied by guerrilla units are:

a) *combat intelligence*, which exclusively serves combat goals (data on the enemy are acquired either by your own units [reconnoiterers] or by observing the enemy's movements). This type of intelligence should provide the following information: where, when, how many, what kind of enemy units, their weapons, and what they are doing.

b) *terrain intelligence*, which provides data possibilities for a struggle and manoeuvring, offered by the terrain.

c) *secret intelligence*, which gathers data on the enemy by means of secret agents, who simultaneously must combat intelligence-gathering by enemy agents.

122. The commander of a guerrilla unit gathers intelligence with the forces of his own unit over such a distance and with the expectation that the data he requires will reach him on time, provide him with time to prepare a planned action, and would exclude the possibility of his unit being surprised by the enemy.

123. The commander of a guerrilla unit should gather intelligence in a *planned manner*, so that the entire area of the guerrilla unit is under constant reconnaissance organized by the unit in such a way that the enemy's slightest movement does not pass unnoticed. Therefore, the unit commander should have

at his disposal a special network of intelligence agents, who have a designated area for carrying out reconnaissance. To such intelligence agents the commander issues, personally or through a special officer (non-commissioned officer), tasks, the intelligence method, and means of relaying the obtained information to him.

In addition, the unit commander tries to utilize both intelligence sources as well as telephone and telegraphic eavesdropping (if there are devices for this), interrogation of prisoners and the local population, personal observation of the battlefield and, through his observers and subordinate commanders, exchange of information and sources of communication among individual guerrilla units. For the verification and supplementation of data acquired by the above-mentioned methods and for the acquisition of data that these methods were unable to provide, the unit commander organizes one-time intelligence gathering with the assistance of reconnoiterers, whose number and force will depend on anticipated difficulties during the gathering of the required information.

#### *B. Preparation for reconnaissance*

124. After adopting a decision to dispatch reconnoiterers on intelligence gathering, the unit commander issues the senior reconnoiterer an order to prepare the reconnaissance group to march out.

125. The dispatching of the reconnaissance group is conducted personally by the unit commander or a special officer (non-commissioned officer). The order issued to the reconnaissance group in the presence of the senior reconnoiterer and his deputy includes the following points:

- a) information on the enemy.
- b) the mission of the reconnaissance group (what the commander wants to know).
- c) from where to send the first report and subsequent ones (from where, when, and to where).
- d) the composition of the reconnaissance group and its weapons.
- e) identification markers and signals.
- f) the commander's prognostications concerning the site of his own billeting.
- g) time of return.

The command is followed by questions and explanations, repetition of the order, and synchronization of watches.

126. After receiving his task, the senior reconnoiterer should study the terrain in the given direction from a map or with the assistance of locals, indicate the route for moving and returning, the order of the march, signals for communicating with the reconnoiterers, and verify the readiness of the reconnoiterers to depart. Also verify whether the fighters have any documents or notes, and if so, then confiscate them and hand them over to the unit.

127. Then the senior reconnoiterer leads the reconnaissance group to the staging area, orients it in the territory, and issues an order.

*C. The Work of the Reconnaissance Group*

128. The work of the intelligence-gathering reconnaissance group consists of marching to the place where it will carry out its mission, executing the task at the designated place, and returning.

129. The reconnaissance group will advance along the shortest route, which should also offer the possibility of moving surreptitiously in the presence of enemy observation and exclude the potential for surprise (bushes, edges of forests, roadside ditches, overgrowth, shores of lakes, etc.).

130. Reconnoiterers are protected on all sides, depending on the circumstances and the terrain, by searches or simply observation. The distance between the reconnoiterers and the nucleus of the reconnaissance team, depending on the territory, is equal to one or two grenade throws. Visual communication to the front and rear must always be maintained. Besides carrying out reconnaissance and observation, reconnoiterers are protected for the entire period of the march by flanking fire from the security team. The reconnoiterers' movement should be long-lasting and rapid. Small reconnaissance groups (several fighters) are protected exclusively by observation and fire.

131. In dispatching reconnoiterers, the senior reconnoiterer should tell them: the distance, direction of the march, what must be learned, what kind of terrain objects must be examined, signals and prearranged signs during an encounter with the enemy (tanks, infantry, cavalry).

132. The movement of the reconnoiterers and the nucleus consists of the gradual occupation of observation points on the route being covered. At observation points the nucleus conceals itself, while the senior reconnoiterer and a sentinel observe, and upon the reconnoiterers' signal, "The road is clear," they advance farther.

133. Encountering obstacles, the reconnaissance group reveals the presence of passages or detours, and, in their absence, it overcomes the obstacles and advances farther.

134. The reconnaissance group bypasses places that attract special attention, for example, dams, bridges, settlements, unless it has the task to investigate them. If the reconnaissance group cannot crawl through forest cuttings, sanitized areas, open passages from forest to forest, etc., then it runs through in skirmish formation.

135. The reconnaissance group should gather intelligence surreptitiously, without revealing itself to the enemy. Therefore, in encountering individual enemy soldiers or weaker enemy reconnoiterers, the reconnaissance group should attack the enemy, if this does not expose it, and capture it without firing or destroy with a bayonet. Shooting and grenades are used only in the event of

a surprise attack. During an encounter with a stronger enemy, the reconnoiterers try to evade it without a battle, but in the event of a battle, they try to leave it as soon as possible. After leaving a battle and confusing the pursuers, the reconnoiterers continue to carry out their task, after informing the commander who dispatched the reconnoiterers about this.

136. After being vetted, civilians travelling in the direction of the reconnoiterers' designated location must be turned back, told which indirect route to take, or ordered to lie down to wait for a certain period of time, or weapons will be used in the event of a refusal to obey. Individuals who are walking opposite the reconnoiterers (away from the direction in which the reconnoiterers are moving) must be questioned thoroughly, and if they have important information, they are to be sent under convoy to the commander who dispatched the reconnaissance group. However, this does not release the reconnaissance group from continuing its journey to the designated place. During the questioning of civilians, the goal and direction in which the reconnaissance group is marching are to be concealed.

137. The reconnaissance group bypasses settled areas, unless it has an order to reconnoiter a particular settlement. In that case, the reconnaissance group stops before a settlement, and reconnoiterers reach the outermost buildings, examine them from the outside, after which [one reconnoiterer] enters the residence, takes a hostage, asks questions about the presence of the enemy, while a second fighter keeps guard outside so that, in the event of danger, he can inform the nucleus and arrive with assistance for the one who is inside. The same is done in the next house. If the statements of individual residents tally, then they give a signal to the senior reconnoiterer that the "road is clear." The hostages are to be kept close during the entire crossing of the settlement, and they are released only during the departure from the settlement. During the departure from the settlement the reconnaissance group is to conduct itself in such a way that the population is not aware of the actual direction of the reconnoiterers' movement.

138. Nighttime is most advantageous for reconnaissance. Therefore, in order for the reconnaissance group not to be discovered by the enemy and captured, it should move as quietly as possible and ensure that weapons and gear do not clank, not speak, and not smoke. Orientation must be done more by hearing and seeing, step carefully and lightly, and get your bearings according to angle coordinates and orientation marks noticed in daytime. Make frequent stops and listen closely. In encountering the enemy, act with determination and decisively attack without firing. After capturing prisoners and completing the mission, depart quickly under cover of darkness. The moment of surprise must be fully exploited.

139. If a small forest needs to be searched, then the reconnoiterers go through the middle of it and along the edges. Reconnoiterers cross larger but sparser

woods in skirmishing formation. While combing through a dense forest, you must search it lengthwise, parallel to roads. During the search pay special attention to stumps and crowns of trees, bushes, piles of branches – in a word, all places where an enemy might be concealed.

140. Only reconnoiterers pass through small groves and bushes, the nucleus goes around them. Reconnoiterers search a narrow area by passing through it and along the nearest indirect roads. The nucleus stops at the entrance to a narrow area until such time as it receives word from the reconnoiterers about the results of the search. If the narrow area does not present any risk, then the nucleus quickly passes through it. During a search of heights, reconnoiterers do not climb the ridge but search it by crossing its sides and the opposite slope. In searching a deep precipice (ravine), the reconnoiterers advance along its base and sides, while the nucleus advances along the edge of the ravine. Reconnoiterers should first check a building from the outside by walking around it surreptitiously, and then inside do a methodical search of all the premises, rooms, cellar, and attic. While inspecting all kinds of terrain objects (farms, hamlets, forests, etc.), pay close attention to raised and other advantageous spots from which the enemy could carry out observation (a tree, roofs, windows, etc.).

141. Reconnoiterers gather information about the enemy usually through observation, and at night, by eavesdropping, they supplement the acquired data with information that they obtain from the civilian population. If it is not possible to acquire the desired data in this manner, then the reconnaissance group obtains it by means of a battle. The reconnaissance group wages a battle cautiously, more in an effort to determine the enemy's strength and his grouping according to the enemy's firepower and locations of machine weapons, and about the enemy's intentions – from captured prisoners.

142. The reconnaissance group's movement vis-à-vis the reconnoitered enemy has the character of "feeling" out various points from all accessible sides. If an enemy must be reconnoitered in billets, then in addition to data on enemy forces, weaponry, and morale, it is important to obtain information on what his security measures look like, as well as the method of their regrouping for the night, which usually takes place at dusk.

143. If that type of reconnaissance does not produce the desired results, then the required information must be obtained by force. In those cases, a battle or a demonstration by means of battle is not always necessary; sometimes it is enough to capture a prisoner. Therefore, the reconnaissance unit acts in such a way that it can organize an ambush.

144. Sometimes, in pursuit of the goal of reconnaissance, guerrilla units launch surprise attacks (combat reconnaissance). This is reconnaissance that usually takes place at night or in favourable daytime conditions (fog, rain, snowstorm)

in order to obtain crucial information by capturing prisoners or seizing certain documents. A surprise attack is carried out after a thorough earlier reconnaissance of the terrain, artificial obstacles, positions of the enemy's firepower, and the order of carrying out duties in the daytime and at night. The objects of the surprise attack are selected depending on the designated mission and the results of earlier reconnaissance.

145. For a surprise attack, select strong, brave, and agile fighters who know how to orient themselves well and operate at night and how to maintain silence.

146. The lightest gear is to be taken for a surprise attack. As for weapons, take as many machine guns, grenades, and devices for removing obstacles as possible.

147. Preparations for a surprise attack are made in the utmost secrecy, and it is carried out unexpectedly without preliminary shooting and shouts of "Glory."

148. The senior member of the reconnaissance group sends the dispatching commander a report from those places and within the deadlines listed in the commander's order. In general, a report is sent in the following cases:

- a) upon the discovery of obstacles on the route of the march.
- b) upon the first encounter with the enemy.
- c) upon an encounter with soldiers from another unit, if this was not predicted.

- d) upon the discovery of an open enemy wing.

- e) upon reaching the reconnaissance objective.

Further dispatches are sent by the senior member of the reconnaissance group according to the accumulation of information. Every dispatch should contain a brief resume of the preceding report.

149. The commander who dispatches a reconnaissance group should keep in mind that, in demanding many reports from the reconnaissance group, he weakens it. Therefore, request only truly crucial ones.

150. A report must contain:

- a) the place from where the report has been sent (accurately, according to a map or terrain objects).

- b) the time the report was sent (minute and hour).

- c) the commander's pseudonym (surname), to whom the report is being sent.

- d) detailed contents of obtained data and from where they originate (from personal observations, from civilians, etc.).

- e) what the senior reconnoiterer is doing or thinking of doing next.

- f) a signature on the report.

- g) a brief recapitulation of the preceding report.

151. The senior reconnoiterer should remember that even the best report loses its value if it is submitted late or does not arrive at all. Therefore, in sending reports, the time required for submitting the report and whether this report



will still be valid at this time are to be taken into consideration. For greater certainty, very important dispatches should be sent by dual routes.

152. As a rule, the return route chosen by the senior reconnoiterer himself is a different one from the one that the reconnaissance group has already covered in order not to stumble into an ambush that the enemy may have organized, having observed the reconnaissance group's movement. Occasionally, a reconnaissance group is forced in some sectors to return by the same road, for example, in order to take away a wounded or sick soldier left behind in some spot during the march en route to the mission. After the return, the senior reconnoiterer reports to the commander who dispatched him, verbally repeating the data contained in the preceding written reports.

### *Attacks on Enemy Objectives*

#### *A. General principle*

153. Attacks are the most widespread form of guerrilla warfare. Guerrilla units carry out attacks on: enemy garrisons stationed in settlements and beyond them, enemy supply bases, individual communications objectives (bridges, railway stations), places where prisoners are held, etc.

154. The goal of an attack may be:

- a) the capture of crucial materiel.
- b) the destruction of an enemy garrison.
- c) the destruction of certain objectives.
- d) the release of prisoners, etc.

155. An attack may be applied to the entire enemy objective or enemy garrison or only to part of it. This depends on need and the correlation between your forces to enemy forces.

156. Very often a well planned and prepared attack allows your own smaller forces to achieve victory over a significantly stronger enemy. Therefore, in order for the enemy not to get wind of a planned attack prematurely, the preparations for it should be carried out in the utmost secrecy. Not everyone who carries out one job or another in connection with the preparations for an attack should know why this work is being done. Only a very limited circle of individuals can know about it. It is best if only the unit commander knows about it in the unit.

158. The foundation of an attack's success is well-planned reconnaissance of that objective and the approaches to it, for which the attack is being planned. Intelligence is organized by the unit commander himself with the forces of his own unit. At the same time he takes as much advantage as possible of assistance provided by the local population, appropriate intelligence bodies, etc. But reconnaissance must be carried out in a concealed fashion so as not to increase the enemy's awareness.

159. When an attack on an objective or an enemy garrison in a settlement is being prepared, then the unit commander should familiarize himself as thoroughly as possible with the layout of the settlement, the location of streets, buildings, and enemy objectives. When it is necessary to attack individual buildings, then attention must be paid to whether this is a wood or brick building, and what kind of garrison troops are housed in them.

160. During an attack on an enemy garrison it is crucial to obtain intelligence about the total population of the garrison and its location, officers and their attitude to the troops, the location of the enemy administration in various places of the settlement, enemy weapons, order of carrying out duties in the daytime and at night, the composition and strength of the enemy's security, the order and time when guards and sentries are relieved in the daytime and at night, the order and routes of reconnaissance group movements.

161. It is crucial to execute a thorough reconnaissance of the enemy's system for defending the objective of the attack; artificial and natural obstacles; the deployment of firepower; the system of fires, trenches, ditches, communications; [and] the preparation of separate buildings for defence (whether there are windows, cellars, movable obstacles, etc.)

162. Concealed approaches to the attack objective, the possibility of moving to where the enemy least expects it (river, swamp, etc.), must be thoroughly studied. If there is a possibility, the unit commander himself should gather intelligence about the locale and the attack objective.

163. Reconnaissance must be carried out non-stop. All collected data must be carefully verified because some proportion of it may be false. It should be remembered that, right before the attack, significant changes may take place among the enemy (withdrawal of the enemy, arrival of new enemy forces, changes in billeting, changes to the security method). Therefore, reconnaissance must be carried out until the very moment of the attack and immediately prior to the attack in order to give the unit commander the most current data on the enemy and the attack objective.

164. It is crucial to reckon with the possibility of neighbouring garrisons coming to the aid of the enemy. Therefore, it is also necessary to gather intelligence about the forces of neighbouring garrisons, their weaponry, and means of transport in order to learn the approximate time when they will manage to arrive at the site of the attack.

165. On the basis of information obtained through reconnaissance, the unit commander designates the strength of the unit required for the attack, the division of the unit's forces into groups for carrying out individual tasks, and the commanders of these groups. Sick and weak soldiers and those who are unfit for combat are to be excluded from the unit during the period of the attack. Occasionally, the unit commander should personally select people for the attack.

166. The unit commander should carefully think through the plan of the attack. The following questions should be resolved:

- a) the time of the unit's departure.
- b) the march route, the method of grouping the unit during the march, security, prearranged markers and signals.
- c) the starting positions for the beginning of the attack and the method for providing security for them.
- d) the forces of the assault unit, the time and method of the attack, the method of using firepower immediately prior to and during the assault, the method for collecting acquired materiel and prisoners, methods for destroying materiel that cannot be taken away.
- e) the strength of the units securing the place of the attack, the time when they are supposed to leave the unit, when and where to return, what destruction they are to carry out, what equipment to take for this, the time frame for carrying out destruction (premature destruction increases the enemy's attention).
- f) the strength of the reserve unit, the assignment envisaged for it, the place of duty (usually at the line of departure), the sign for launching the battle.
- g) the organization of the supply column and its protection, the waiting place (if the removal of acquired material goods is planned).
- h) identification sign, battle password (in order to distinguish your own troops from enemy troops during confusion and darkness).
- i) signs marking the beginning and end of the struggle (during a battle the latter is repeated several times).
- j) the method of extricating yourself from the enemy, who ensures this exfiltration, and in what way.
- k) the first assembly area (usually at the line of departure) for regrouping the unit, bandaging the wounded, arranging prisoners and war trophies.
- l) a second assembly area is envisaged in the event that the unit scatters and also in order for those who did not make it in time or were unable to arrive at the first assembly area (this place should be well known to everyone, farther away from the enemy).

167. After securing the plan of attack, the unit commander issues an order to prepare the unit, confirms all the organizational details of the attack. After obtaining a report from his subordinates about the unit's state of readiness, the commander issues a verbal order while dispatching the commanders of individual groups taking part in the attack.

168. The order contains the following points:

- a) the location of the enemy.
- b) the commander's intentions.
- c) implementations: departure – time of departure; route of the march;

groupings of the unit during the march; security method; the line of departure and the security method for it; the task of the security team for the march; its commanders and strength; the assault group; its commander, strength, and tasks; the reserve group; its commander, composition, and prognosticated use.

d) communications: prearranged markers during the march, prearranged markers during the time of the battle, the sign signalling the onset and end of the battle, the first assembly area (in the event that the unit scatters and so that those who are late can rejoin it), synchronization of watches.

e) supervision of food supplies, munitions, equipment, and special materiel.

f) location of medical post (usually at the line of departure).

g) evacuation: organization of the supply column; its commander, bodyguards, travel route, time, and place designated for waiting; communications with the commander at the designated waiting place; evacuation of prisoners and war trophies; commanders who are responsible for this; the assembly area during the battle.

h) additional instructions: method for individual camouflaging, instructions to the commander who remains behind with those not taking part in the attack.

168. After the order is given, each of the commanders of individual groups repeats his assignment, asks questions about points not understood, and obtains explanations. In an abbreviated form corresponding to a group's task, group commanders repeat this order to their soldiers.

169. The soldiers must be thoroughly familiarized with the location of the attack objective so that they will be properly oriented.

### *C. Execution of the attack*

170. The best time for an attack is a dark night, a heavy snowstorm, rain, etc.

171. During the approach march to the line of departure, move as quietly as possible in close ranks with the security team nearby, maintaining march discipline as strictly as possible, bypass the enemy, the commander with the security team in front.

172. After arriving at the line of departure, conceal the unit from enemy observation and allow it to take a brief rest. At the same time, do the following:

a) Secure the line of departure immediately after arrival.

b) Dispatch additional security teams, if this has not been done earlier.

c) Supplement the reconnaissance data on condition that this does not increase the enemy's listening capability. If, at the last moment, the reconnaissance group increases the enemy's listening capability, then it is better to leave it, restricting yourself to the data obtained from scouts and local intelligence, if such exists.

d) establish contact with the supply column if there are plans to take war trophies.

e) final instructions if some changes to the envisaged plan concerning supplementary intelligence have ensued.

173. Efforts should be undertaken to ensure that the slightest movement is not made at the line of departure because this may increase the enemy's listening capability and, ultimately, expose the attack plan.

174. The move from the line of departure to the attack objective should take place as carefully as possible in the form of watchful creeping. At this time a specially selected and prepared group destroys enemy security teams with as little noise and the fewest shots as possible, if necessary, firing with special silencers.

175. A direct attack should be sudden, unexpected by the enemy, without shouting when bayonets and stiletto daggers are used. Grenades are to be used exclusively for grouped enemy targets (toss into buildings and other premises).

176. Enemy machine guns that are clearly visible by their firing are to be destroyed by a flank attacks with grenades or by firing your weapons. At all cost, the assault group is to maintain closed ranks during the entire duration of the battle.

177. If an attack is made on a building housing an enemy garrison, then it can be set on fire in order to illuminate the enemy and blind him. If an attack is being made on several buildings or an entire settlement, then at the start of the action buildings are not to be set on fire because darkness will facilitate the attack. This may be done at the conclusion of a successful action, if there is no danger of being pursued by enemy fire. Illumination will be beneficial during the collection of prisoners and war trophies.

178. The commander can use the reserve for:

a) augmenting the efforts of the assault unit, in order to boost success.

b) assisting the security team of the attack if there is an unexpected threat from some direction immediately before or during the battle.

c) auxiliary actions during the collection of prisoners and war trophies.

d) providing security for the unit's retreat after the executed attack.

179. Captured materiel and prisoners are gathered at a designated post. The prisoners may be order[ed] to carry captured materiel and, in order to distinguish them in the darkness, they are to be ordered to remove their upper clothing (shirts). Equipment and materiel that cannot be taken is to be destroyed.

180. During an attack on a railway station and highway bridges, whose mission is to destroy them, the assault group, following the destruction of the attack objective, takes on the role of direct security team for the group that has been assigned to carry out the destruction. During such an attack, when the work of preparing and executing the destruction has to last for a longer period of time, it is necessary to dispatch farther-flung security teams on both flanks of the objective (up to several kilometres) with the task of detaining transport

by means of derailments or by creating obstacles. If an attack is to last a short time, then you can restrict yourselves to dispatching less distant security teams (up to four hundred metres), also assigned the task of preparing derailments or obstacles on both sides of the objective.

181. During an attack on a junction railway station with the goal of bringing the movement of the railway junction to a standstill, carrying out destruction and damage to the station premises, corresponding to the size of the junction, the strength and technical capabilities of your own unit, it is necessary to designate the order of importance of the acts of destruction and then the areas of destruction after the destruction of individual objectives. Depending on the unit's capability, all or some of the more important areas are destroyed. Regardless of the general security of the action, every group that is executing an assigned destruction receives an element of direct security. During the planning of an action targeting a railway junction it must be remembered that here it is easy to encounter enemy transport. Therefore:

a) Immediately prior to the attack, get a "prisoner" by capturing one or several railway employees or by capturing a separate railway station located on the periphery of the station.

b) Through the placement of appropriate signs, block off the entrance to the stations and also prepare the derailments.

c) Isolate military transport, if any is found at the station, by means of heavy fire or, when we have sufficient forces for that, terrorize it by means of a sudden strike, selecting wagons carrying personnel (officers) as the main striking point.

182. During an attack on enemy objectives in cities, the following additional principles must be upheld:

a) independently of the security teams stationed in the directions of the threat, always use security teams directly at the place of the action.

b) the reserve unit is to be held near the place of the action, ready to be used in an especially threatening direction.

c) secure the return route, leading a strong reconnaissance group at the entrance to the city with the task of holding this place until the arrival of your own unit.

d) if the unit's forces permit it, carry out a demonstration in another spot in order to tie up the enemy there and distract its attention from the place of your own unit's main efforts.

e) during an attack on barracks, block all entrances and secure main ones both inside and outside.

If there are insufficient forces for a simultaneous storming of all barrack buildings, do not divide into smaller groups but carry out an assault as a whole against the main building, isolating yourselves from the rest of the buildings by delivering fire.

f) If an action is planned over a longer period of time, then the place of the action is to be isolated by artificial barriers (barriers of carts, fences, etc.). Isolation by means of barricades will be indispensable even during short-term actions if the enemy has an armoured truck (they can be used at night, as practised in battles for settlements).

g) Remember to destroy electricity and telephone lines, and if we have the appropriate forces, then destroy the central electricity and telephone stations.

h) If the goal of an action is the capture of materiel, then it is necessary to make a careful plan of the issue of transportation means, which, during the first assault, must be kept farther away and brought up in groups as the materiel is collected for loading.

In the event that captured automobiles are used, your own drivers must be prepared in advance or enemy ones should be terrorized [into driving]. Captured wounded and prisoners, who usually have a tendency to panic in these types of situations, are to be kept together and under strict convoy until the arrival at the designated place. The better specimens among the captured prisoners may be immediately armed with captured weapons, assigning an energetic commander to them. Means of transportation are to be envisaged for the sick and exhausted, as well as food for everyone, which must be issued at the second assembly area.

183. In planning a night attack on motorized infantry with or without armoured trucks, the following should also be envisaged:

a) an assault group on the supply column, equipped with flammable materials and your own element of direct firepower.

b) an attack on the supply column simultaneously with an attack on the supply column's security.

c) access to the supply column is to be covered by delivering fire on all sides along the grouping of the supply column.

d) while setting fire to the supply column, take the wind direction into consideration.

e) the group carrying out an assault against the security is to be equipped with flammable devices for waging combat against individual armoured trucks attached to enemy security teams.

184. During an attack on armoured trucks without infantry, the following should be envisaged and prepared:

a) flammable materials (Molotov cocktails, straw, etc.) as well as strings of grenades and explosive materials.

b) noiselessly destroy open sentries in order to find yourselves directly next to armoured trucks before they open fire (there is a dead zone in the immediate proximity of an armoured truck).

c) provide covering fire for accessing the armoured trucks.

d) make sure that the enemy has not attached tripwires to self-detonating mines to the exterior of the armoured trucks.

e) strings of grenades and explosive devices are to be thrown under armoured trucks, but if the entryways are open, then inside. Molotov cocktails are to be thrown above the source of a fire. Twists of straw are to be lit underneath armoured trucks, and if the entryways are open, then shove straw inside and light it.

f) be prepared for the possibility that the armoured trucks may be started up for carrying out a demonstration.

g) establish the division of tasks, designating a separate group for combat against each armoured truck (two at the most), designate the order of acts of destruction in order to avoid losses from friendly fire.

h) choose the time of the assault so as to avoid the consequences of pursuit by enemy armoured trucks, which may begin successfully at dawn.

185. Breaking away from the enemy in case of need is to be preceded by a repeated signal, "End of the action." If the enemy has not been completely overcome, and just part of it is encompassed by the location of the attack, then the exfiltration is to be preceded by heavy fire from grenades, rifles, and machine guns.

186. A retreat takes place in the following order: the front security team, the wounded, war trophies, wounded under convoy, the unit, [and] the rear security team.

187. At the first assembly area the unit is regrouped, the wounded are bandaged, weapons and ammunition are checked, after which the unit marches out to the second assembly area. After ensuring its safety here, a short rest break is given and stragglers are awaited.

### *Attacks on Railways*

#### *A. General principle*

188. The goal of an attack on railways may be:

- a) the destruction of enemy materiel or personnel.
- b) the capture of enemy materiel for your own needs.
- c) paralyzing enemy railway movement.

Therefore, attacks must be carried out together with the destruction of gear and railway equipment.

189. The objects of attacks on railways will be:

- a) military railway transport.
- b) railway transport of military materiel.
- c) armoured trains.
- d) special-designation trains and trains that are especially protected.



- e) passenger trains.
- f) individual motorized handcars, ordinary or armoured.

190. Depending on the strength of a guerrilla unit and its commander's intentions, attacks on railways may boil down to small actions whose goal is to harass the enemy with fire attacks with the simultaneous application of smaller types of destruction, or they can have the character of large actions that, through the destruction of transport and the more serious destruction of railway buildings, can lead to the complete stoppage of railway movement.

*B. Organization and preparation of an attack on railways*

191. In planning an attack on railway lines, the commander of a guerrilla unit should have a lengthy preparation for battle, which will entail:

- a) exact knowledge of all railway objects and buildings in the manoeuvring space of a given guerrilla unit.
- b) good organization of reconnaissance of railway movement in the sector being reconnoitered.
- c) good reconnaissance of railway security on railway lines and the railway service in this space.
- d) reconnaissance of terrain sites that are the most advantageous for organizing an attack either in the daytime or at night.

192. With regard to railway objects and structures, the unit commander should have the following information:

- a) station structures from the standpoint of passage capability (how often a train passes through), capacity of station (how many stationary trains may be parked at a given station), the ability to take on fuel and water, stationary or mobile railway workshops, passage and signalling structures, communications structures (telegraph, telephone), standing railway equipment (encampment), manoeuvrable locomotives for night stays, lading ramps, lighting, etc.
- b) trips organized between stations for increasing the travel capacity of a line, their equipment, and capacity.
- c) objects on a line: bridges, passes below and above railway tracks, railway service buildings.
- d) signalling and sound structures of the line, telegraphic and telephone lines, their equipment, and capacity.
- e) route of a railway track: embankments, trenches, curves, descents and rises, crossings over tracks with their security equipment.

193. As concerns the protection of a railway line and service, reconnaissance must provide the following data:

- a) the strength of guard units, their weapons, locations and number of guards, location of sentries, method of outfitting guard units, method of executing and verifying service in the daytime and at night, the guard units means

of communication, protective equipment, moral worth of the defence, and the composition of the command.

b) state of the railway service comprising civilians, the enemy's railway service, individuals for exploitation, location of quarters assigned to the enemy's railway service, their weapons, state of morale, attitude to the local railway service, service schedule at the station in the daytime and at night.

194. Reconnaissance of movement must be based on good intelligence and direct surveillance of movement. The basic principle is for the commander to be very familiar with each transport slated for attack. Therefore, the method of transmitting obtained data must be planned with particular thoroughness. If this work does not help, then attacks will be improvised and, as such, may have negative consequences. In addition to reconnaissance and observation, telegraphic and telephone eavesdropping can be extremely useful.

195. Reconnaissance of the terrain, together with familiarity with the route of the railway track, will show places that are most advantageous for launching attacks. Those places should meet the following requirements:

- a) sections of track that cross a terrain ditch.
- b) sections of track on especially high embankments.
- c) curves and descents of the track, which would facilitate mechanical derailment.
- d) a good line of departure, which would facilitate a retreat after an attack.
- e) the opportunity for a surreptitious approach to the line of departure and during the exit without attracting the attention of the local population.

196. With the above-mentioned reconnaissance data at his disposal, the commander of a guerrilla unit plans the attack and divides up the unit's forces. The basic groups during an attack will be:

- a) the assault group assigned to the battle.
- b) a group to provide covering fire at the site of the attack.
- c) technical groups together with their security teams, assigned to carry out derailments, destruction of materiel and telephone and telegraph lines.
- d) a reserve group for boosting the results of the assault, assisting with the collection of war trophies, bolstering security teams, if the need arises, as well as providing cover for the retreat. If an attack is to take place at a station and not at a place between stations, then taking control of the railway station must also be planned.

197. The tasks of these groups will be:

- a) the assault group assigned to the attack on transport, to routing the enemy convoy, and to terrorizing the railway service (personnel), and, during an attack on the enemy's transport, to the struggle against the totality of enemy forces, and, in the final phase of a successful attack, the assault group also takes part in destroying materiel or taking away war trophies.

b) the group of security teams for the assault unit secures the location of the attack by the assault group by blocking off threatening directions.

c) technical groups – usually three, each with its own security team. The first is assigned to derailling transport at the site of the attack, destroying locomotives as well as telegraph and telephone lines and, later, destroying military materiel and captured railway equipment. This group usually receives additional tasks: to prepare bilateral derailments at the site of the attack in the event that planned destructions in places farther away from the site of the attack are undertaken. The second and third groups are assigned to carry out bilateral derailments at a distance of three to four kilometres from the site of the attack. Sometimes, if the crucial need to launch a battle against derailed transport is envisaged, then the security team of this group must be appropriately equipped with fire weapons. Depending on the target of the attack, the forces of your own unit, and the commander's intentions, you may limit yourself to one technical group used at the site of the attack. This will be mainly in the event that the commander plans an exclusively gunfire attack or an attack of short duration without capturing war trophies.

d) the reserve group remains in the departure position: for boosting the efforts of the assault group if enemy resistance proves too fierce, reinforcing with part of its own security team if danger appears from some direction, providing security for the departure.

If the removal of war trophies is planned, then the reserve unit receives at its disposal means of transport, provides security for them, and with part of its forces cooperates during the lading of the war trophies.

e) the assault group on the station, if an attack on transport is organized on a railway station (with the goal, during the attack, of seizing control of the station by destroying its defence, means of communications [telephone, telegraph]). During the entire period of executing its tasks, it keeps railway station personnel and civilians who are found there at this moment in a state of terror. 198. After thoroughly planning the attack on transport, the unit commander issues an order to prepare the unit and its equipping for the attack. After obtaining reports from his subordinate commanders concerning the preparedness of the subunits, he issues an order to the commanders of individual groups. The order contains:

a) the locations of the enemy and your own forces.

b) the general mission of the unit.

c) the commander's intent (generally with regard to the method of executing the mission).

d) execution: the commander of the attack and the composition of his unit; the place, time, and target of the attack; the line of departure and the method of providing security for it; the march, time of the march, order, security.

e) The execution requires: an assault group – commander, composition, mission, method of securing the site of the attack, method and route of retreat; technical groups – commanders, composition, security, prognostications.

f) communications: during the march to the line of departure, at it, during the attack, retreat, and the commander's location in each of these cases, the sign signalling the beginning and end of the attack, identification markers, battle password, prearranged markers, assembly area (the first after the attack is usually at the line of departure, the second – farther away), in order to bring the entire unit to order as well as, in the event of the unit's dispersal, to synchronize watches, set up telephone eavesdropping.

g) contingencies: in the event that the enemy is encountered en route to the line of departure as well as before an attack during the time spent at the line of departure unanticipated events that may occur during the attack and the way to react to them.

h) camouflage (method for personal camouflaging).

i) provisioning with food, ammunition, special devices and materiel for the technical group, and gear-related details.

j) evacuation of wounded prisoners, captured materiel executors responsible for that, assembly areas (the first usually takes place at the line of departure).

k) repetition of the command by group commanders, questions, and explanations.

Group commanders repeat this order in abbreviated form to the soldiers, and only that which every soldier needs to know.

### *C. Execution*

200. As a rule, the march to the line of departure is done in closed formation by the unit, with the security team nearby, in silence and secrecy, skirting settlements, and along the road previously reconnoitered, without engaging in combat with the encountered enemy if there is no certainty that we will destroy him without shooting. As a rule, places occupied by the enemy are to be bypassed. If there is a planned removal of captured materiel, then certain difficulties are caused by the question of a necessary supply column. For the sake of conspiracy, it is best to organize a supply column at the last minute and draw it up separately, farther away from the line of departure. Do not take a supply column with you under any circumstances because this binds the unit to the road and exposes its secrecy, and, as a rule, a unit should advance along areas without roads.

201. At the line of departure the first task will be to secure this area. Only then is this followed by overpowering the sentries of the station guard, if there is a dispatching of technical groups to outlying bilateral destructions, arrangements for telephone eavesdropping, establishing communications with the supply column, bringing the security teams to the site of the attack, preparatory jobs of the technical group at the site of the attack, and finally, waiting for transport.

202. The work of technical groups is based on the following principles:

a) Technical groups dispatched by the commander from the line of departure march to their designated spot alongside the track, in keeping with the principles governing the movement of reconnoiterers. Go around an encountered enemy without engaging in combat with him. A technical group engages in combat only if it is ambushed. After arriving at the designated place, the technical group occupies the line of departure after a brief reconnaissance and destruction of the railway guard.

b) Telephone and telegraph lines should be pulled down at the same time as the attack is taking place because premature destruction may arouse the enemy's listening capability.

If the lines are on both sides of the track, then they must be destroyed on both sides. If we are dealing with double tracks, then the derailment must be prepared individually on each of the tracks because in the conditions of war, mostly with regard to more important transports, very often a train is deliberately sent along a nonessential track.

c) A derailment may be partially set up immediately after arriving at the site, and the complete derailment at the first sounds of combat at the site of the attack. It may happen that a commander who has carried out the derailment ahead of time will strike the transport before the technical groups (dispatched to the right and left of the site of the attack) arrive at the designated area. In those cases, the technical group carries out its task in the place where it can hear the sounds of combat at the site of the attack. The site of the work, if it is to be well executed and without nervousness, must be secured. Decide on communication signals with the security team (bird sounds, etc.). The work itself must be completed with every caution, mainly silence.

d) Enemy guards that pass between the worksites are to be allowed through, interrupting the work during the risk period. The same applies to trains that are running prior to the attack. Working handcars, individual civilians from the railway service are to be overpowered without noise, ensuring that they do not escape, mainly because of the proximity to the station. Release them only once the action has been carried out.

e) Technical groups together with their security teams engage in combat only if they are ambushed. They are allowed to open fire on enemy guards, passing trains, as well as on a train derailed by them only once they hear the sounds of combat at the site of the attack.

f) After the task is completed, the return to the assembly area takes place only when the noise of battle stops at the place of the attack. The return route should be reconnoitered in advance.

g) After derailing a train, the technical group that is working at the site of the attack begins its further work to damage the locomotive.

203. The assault group's strike method depends mainly on the nature of the object it is attacking. The general rules are as follows:

a) A general strike against a train is preceded by the collective throwing of grenades, which should take place at the same time as the train is stopped.

b) Before the train is stopped, at an appropriate sign from the commander, deliver sudden machine gun and rifle fire at the train, directed mainly at the front, rear, and middle of the transport.

c) The capture of the train is to be launched by a closed single unit from the front or the rear of the train according to a rolling system from the most advantageous side of the track, and cover the other side with machine gun fire. In addition, it should be kept in mind that transport, mainly troops, are usually protected on both sides of the track by covering fire, while the front and rear are poorly guarded or completely unguarded. Sometimes it is possible to strike a blow with two groups, at the front and the rear.

d) Strike without shouting; during the action restrict yourselves to issuing brief crucial commands to the enemy and to your own group.

e) The signal, "End of the action" is to be repeated several times, and the retreat itself is to be preceded by brief, urgent terrorist firing. Do not retreat straight to the sides of the railway track, but for some time move along the track in order to evade side fire from the transport.

f) Overpowered individuals may be used for unloading war trophies, and, to distinguish them at night, order them to remove their coats and shirts.

204. During a daytime attack on an army transport, we obtain the best results on a sector of the track that crosses over a ditch. In that case, damage to the track must be carried out from front to back. The site of the damage is to be controlled by successful machine gun fire, and the transport terrorized by hand grenades tossed from a height along its entire length. Setting the train on fire should be done from the front or the back but never at both ends. During the liquidation of the transport, firing groups deliver fire along the transport, counteracting efforts to abandon the cars. At the same time, part of the train that has not been captured must be harassed by rifle and machine gun fire. Do not allow individuals to disembark from the cars. Order [them] to throw weapons and ammunition out of the cars and lock the disarmed people in the cars (with locks, wire). Special attention must be paid to the passenger cars (for officers) of the transport. Illumination of the battlefield by setting the transport on fire is to be used only during the final stage of the attack and only if the enemy's firing devices do not threaten us. If the object of an attack is armoured truck transports, then it should be reckoned that there may be troops on board the armoured trucks, and some armoured trucks will try to disembark from the platforms (lorries) to engage in battle on the ground.

205. During an attack on transport with army materiel, the main attention must be focused on the service and personnel cars. The overpowered convoy of the transport and railway service is to be gathered in one car and locked inside. If we are thinking of taking war trophies, then above all it is necessary to obtain instructions from the commandant of the convoy and the train conductor about the more important transported materiel. For the safety of your own unit, cars with explosive and flammable materials are to be marked with visible markers during the time of the attack, and destroy them only at the last minute.

206. During an attack on modern armoured trains, it should be kept in mind that a train consists of two sections: a combat section and baggage train. The combat section usually consists of a locomotive, four combat cars, and two platforms (lorries) and comprises substantial artillery and machine gun firepower. In comparison to the firepower along both sides of the track, the firepower at the front and the rear is relatively weak (the fire of one cannon and, at most, two machine guns at the front of the train, and the same force at the rear). The train has a skilled unit of railway sappers and a small infantry unit for conducting searches on both sides of the track, but it is incapable of operating for a longer period and at a greater distance. The armoured train is characterized by low capacity for night combat.

The principle of waging combat against armoured trains is as follows:

a) in the daytime, make wide use of mining combat; under favourable conditions use so-called “blind locomotives” that are specially attached to the combat section.

b) carry out the blowing up of a train from the track during its movement as widely as possible. Particularly advantageous for this is a track that runs along a high embankment, curve, or slope. Destroy the personnel that exits from the train with gunfire.

207. During an attack on a passenger train we also apply the following principles:

a) For terrorizing the passengers, mainly military ones, as well as for stopping a train at a designated spot with the application of breaks (if no other method for stopping the train has been used), at one of the earlier stations we can install a fighting group on a train as ordinary passengers.

b) During heightened enemy control, the weapons for this group may be loaded at the last station before the area of the attack.

c) The fighting group that has been stationed on the train reconnoiters it during the journey, and at the moment of the train's derailment it strikes the convoy or individual soldiers that are on board, mainly officers, and then it eases the work of the assault group and points out the main objects.

d) If the situation in the planned place of the attack does not lead to a derailment, then the internal group stops the train with the help of breaks and

begins to act only when it confirms the strike of the exterior group. If, for any reason, this does not take place before then, the internal group travels farther and disembarks at the next station. In this case, it is necessary to maintain all caution because the stoppage of the train will elicit suspicion.

e) The external assault group assigns the order unit the task of keeping the passengers in a state of terror. This unit stations sentries on both sides, which do not allow anyone to exit or look out of the cars. Brief instructions issued to the passengers in your native language and the language of the enemy are to be preceded by firing off terrorizing shots.

f) The assault group sweeps through the train from the most advantageous side, and on double-track lines, from the side of the second track in this case, more sentries from the order unit are to be stationed on the other side.

208. During an attack on handcars, use the simplest derailment methods, for example, by throwing logs of wood, railway ties at the last minute, by placing a wagon, prepared beforehand, on railway crossings, etc.

Attack armoured handcars on high embankments or deep trenches at railway crossings, which offer the possibility of concealing yourselves behind railway structures.

### *Ambushes*

#### *A. General principle*

209. Ambushes are the most frequently practised tactic of guerrilla warfare. They are used against an enemy who is on the move. The most successful ambushes are those organized by small guerrilla units. The execution of an ambush requires an experienced unit commander and subunit commanders. Therefore, in cases where we want to carry out an action against a larger enemy unit, it will be better to organize a number of smaller independent ambushes executed according to the terrain and time frame.

210. The plan to organize an ambush is made by the unit commander on the basis of obtained reconnaissance data or as a result of his own observations. Depending on the time that the commander has for organizing an ambush, it will have the character either of a swiftly organized action or the character of an action that is planned down to the last detail. However, regardless of the time available to the commander, the preparation for a successful ambush must be thorough and well thought out.

#### *B. Organization and preparation of an ambush*

211. In preparing an ambush, the commander of a guerrilla unit should carefully weigh the following main components of the ambush:

- a) selection of the site of ambush.
- b) selection of firing positions.



- c) selection of the place in which to wait, and approaches to it.
- d) deciding on the method of spotting while awaiting the enemy.
- e) the signal for open fire and cease fire.
- f) method and route of exfiltration.

212. The attack site must offer good conditions for delivering surprise fire on the enemy without allowing him the ability to protect himself from the results of this fire (ditches next to roads, areas overgrown with greenery, etc.)

213. Firing positions must correspond to the following conditions:

- a) good concealment for firing weapons.
- b) the possibility of an attack by the most successful delivery of fire (the closer the location of the attack the better).
- c) the possibility of a concealed retreat and disappearance under cover of the terrain, which would offer protection from enemy fire during the return from the ambush.

214. A location for lying in wait is chosen when the selected firing position is too close to the attack site, thereby giving rise to the risk that the enemy's flank security teams will be able to uncover the ambush ahead of time. The unit moves from its concealed location to firing positions immediately before the attack by delivering fire. If the firing positions are located beyond the reach of the enemy's security teams, then the ambushing party waits in those positions. However, the unit should avoid remaining too long in the firing positions because in such cases it is difficult to conceal the movement of individual soldiers in the position, and because of that the ambush may be exposed. In addition, keeping soldiers on alert too long in the positions exhausts them for nothing.

215. The commander of the ambush personally carries out watching for the enemy. If the advantageous visual post is too far from the place of concealment, then direct communications should be established between the commander and the visual post or with the aid of a chain of communications. In this case, it is necessary to give thorough consideration to prearranged signals for relaying the results of the spotting and to verify the perfect mastery and swift transmission of those signals by spotters and couriers.

216. The beginning of the attack by fire follows a signal given by the commander, and it must be so planned that at the very moment that this signal is issued, all devices for delivering fire at the moment of opening fire have their appropriate targets. The fire-delivery tasks for individual fire weapons are designated by the commander, indicating the sectors of fire on the road along which the enemy will be advancing. Try to ensure that the fire does not encompass too large a sector of the road because concentrated fire will be more successful. The signal to cease fire will depend on the enemy's reaction and conditions of the retreat. If the firing positions of the ambush permit and

there is a possibility for disappearing behind the cover of the terrain, which offers protection from enemy fire, then the ambushing unit delivers fire for as long as possible.

217. The exfiltration follows automatically after the signal, "Cease fire!"

218. Groupings in the firing positions are made with particular attention to the direction from which the enemy is supposed to appear. Spotting should be carried out in a 360 degree fashion so that the appearance of the enemy from an unexpected direction does not take the unit by surprise. At the waiting location there should be combat readiness in all directions, good spotting, and sentries must be stationed at a distance of the reach of a hand grenade.

219. Depending on a unit's task and strength, the commander assigns the task to the following groups:

a) the assault group, with the task of destroying the enemy with grenades, delivered fire, bayonets.

b) the barrage unit cuts off the enemy's route of retreat with the goal of detaining the enemy or blocking the section that is slated for destruction. Obstacles produce the best results if they are used in the form of surprise attacks immediately before the assault. Depending on the circumstances and the means at your disposal, they will be: ropes (wires) stretched across the road, barricades fashioned out of trees lying by the side of the road or fences dismantled at the very last minute, well-camouflaged depressions, mined fields, and bridges detonated at the very last minute, etc. Obstructions employed prematurely heighten the enemy's attention.

220. After planning and preparing the ambush, the unit commander issues a command. Depending on the available time frame, a complete or abbreviated order will be issued to commanders of individual groups. The order contains:

a) the enemy's position and your own.

b) the unit's task – generally.

c) execution: waiting place, firing positions, security method.

d) the task, in detail: assault group – commander, its composition, task, exfiltration route; barrage group – commander, its composition, task, indispensable materiel, and equipment exfiltration route.

e) communications: commander's place (usually with the assault group); observation assembly area in the event of a rout (known to everyone), which will also be the assembly area for all individual units after the ambush is completed; prearranged markers, identification signs, the signal for the beginning and the end of the action, synchronization of watches.

f) miscellaneous: instructions in the event that the enemy discovers the ambush prematurely; details relating to security, camouflage, evacuation of the wounded and war trophies; questions, explanations, and repetition of the order.

With this order, group commanders convey in the briefest possible form to their soldiers that which they should know (what they need to know).

*C. Execution of the ambush*

221. In the waiting place the unit should be well camouflaged, protected, and ready to engage in combat in the event that the ambush is exposed ahead of time. The commander personally takes part in watching for the enemy and also organizes supplementary surveillance. At the appropriate time, the assault group begins to move forward surreptitiously to the line of departure.

222. The unit's brief stay at the line of departure, the signal for the beginning of the attack, the throwing of grenades, and sudden, concentrated fire together with the creation of artificial barriers. [*sic*] The duration of the struggle is established by the commander depending on the effect of the ambush, the enemy's reaction, and the destruction of equipment.

223. In certain cases, if circumstances demand it, and maintaining silence, especially at night, is crucial, we can, with regard to smaller enemy units (patrols) carry out the attack exclusively with bayonets, without giving warning of it by delivering grenades and rifle and machine gun fire, or by shouting "Glory!"

224. Ambushes of enemy armoured trucks succeed best at entrances to settlements (the first buildings), in a forest, on a road skirting a deep trench. Artificial barricades should be well established here. The usually ensuing moment when military trucks are stopped provides a good opportunity to launch an attack because a detachment of trucks is in the habit of opening up apertures in order to have a better field of vision. Then the selected riflemen assembled near the commander fight against the targets that are coming out with simultaneous fire, and at this signal the assault group destroys the armoured trucks with explosive materials (e.g., Molotov cocktails, straw shoved inside the trucks). Here, an appropriate choice of the route of exfiltration will be important, which would exclude pursuit by the enemy's armoured trucks.

225. During ambushes of supply trains, it should be kept in mind that, as a rule, the enemy supply train is usually under convoy. The grouping of such a convoy is usually strongest at the front and significantly weaker in its individual parts and at the back of the supply train. In planning an ambush against a protected supply train, you should keep this in mind and isolate yourself from the head with the most intensive firing unit.

226. During an ambush of an enemy that is advancing by means of a secured march, it is crucial to remember that the units that are the most aware and best prepared are the security units. Therefore, the ambush lets the front and flank security teams go by and strikes at the head and the rear of the main column. In selecting the wait site, you must remember that the enemy's flank security teams can prematurely expose the ambush. Therefore, the wait site should be

chosen beyond the reach of the flank security teams, and you should crawl up to the firing positions once the flank security teams pass by. Attacks on marching enemy columns must be extremely urgent and short-lived in order to avoid pursuit by the enemy, who will get his bearings and regroup.

227. During the exfiltration repeat the signal, "End of battle" several times, and the assault group retreats under cover of fire weapons designated for this by the commander and which, on the signal of "End of the battle," react with a burst of fire, after which it too retreats.

228. After the battle, speedy exfiltration along designated roads to the assembly area, in certain cases by individual groups (barrage group, assault group).

229. Following the battle the unit regroups at the assembly area [and] an inspection of the condition of people, weapons, and ammunition takes place, followed by the march to the designated site.

### *Actions in Forests*

#### *A. General principle*

230. A forest is the best place for stationing a guerrilla unit in every season of the year. It is the most advantageous place for hiding from the enemy. During an attack a forest is the best place to hide from enemy observation and bullets.

231. In stationing itself in a forest, a guerrilla unit should maintain silence first and foremost. It is permitted to speak only in low voices. It is forbidden to sing, make noise, and yell, and shooting takes place only during an attack by the enemy.

232. Avoid moving along roads, through clearings, cuttings, along the edges of a forest because these places are most often under enemy observation and fire. The enemy lays ambushes against guerrillas on roads, in cuttings; therefore, you must advance along impassible roads.

233. Conceal your tracks and enter and exit a forest especially close to the site of the unit's deployment during a rainfall or snow storm, when the tracks will be washed away or covered up. Walk on firm and rocky ground, which leaves hardly any traces. Avoid moving over grass, especially tall grass because signs of crushed grass can indicate the guerrillas' presence and direction of movement. During a group's movement, step into the tracks of those who have gone before you or over friable ground so as not to create a path.

234. Do not leave any traces around a guerrilla unit's area of stationing in a forest. Freshly cut trees, broken branches, prearranged markers in the form of various cuts and slashes left on trees can lead the enemy to the unit.

235. When building bonfires, maintain the rules of camouflage. Bonfires are to be built in depressions and in specially excavated pits. On the sides and the top scatter earth and branches.

236. If a unit stations itself in dugouts in a forest, it is crucial for each dugout to have at least two entrances. If there is time, then the dugouts are connected to each other by communication trenches. Covered trenches are built near the dugouts. Erect obstacles at the entrances to encampments. If you are able, mine the entryways to the encampment.

237. Roads, cuttings, edges of forests (especially in small forests) should be under constant observation. Therefore, lookouts are posted in those places as well as areas that present the greatest risk of the approaching enemy. Their task is to warn the unit about the enemy's arrival, his numbers, and direction of movement. In the daytime such lookouts are stationed in trees offering a wide field of vision, and at night – on the ground so that it will be possible to hear better. For transmitting data from the lookouts, devise prearranged signals. The transmission of signals should be reliable and speedy.

238. A unit is stationed in a forest in an area that is advantageous for defence. A young, thick forest conceals a unit well but does not provide protection from enemy fire.

239. In a forest, especially with inadequate security, the enemy can easily approach the stationed unit surreptitiously. Because of this, the unit should station itself in such a way as to assure 360-degree defence. The unit commander, together with his bodyguards, stations himself in the centre so that in the event of an attack it will be easier for him to direct the battle.

#### *B. Battles in forests*

240. A battle in a forest is one that takes place between sides that are located close to each other, usually a couple of dozen metres. Therefore, an especially important role is played here by hand automatic weapons that provide a rather large concentration of fire in the surrounding area, thereby tying up movement on the opposing side to a significant degree. Prior to a battle in a forest, direct the soldiers' attention to the fact that shooting that takes place in a forest is more demoralizing, because of its sound, than target-reaching and that shouts of "Hurrah!" should be responded to with a loud shout of "Glory!" Generally speaking, shouting "Glory!" in all hand-to-hand combat demoralizes the enemy and boosts the determination of your own soldiers.

Grenades are to be used rather cautiously in a forest battle because they ricochet off trees and become lodged in them [and], when thrown, they can easily harm your own units. Therefore, if a forest is not a tall one or the terrain surroundings allow it, in a forest grenades are tossed over the tops of trees.

242. Firing positions in a forest are usually chosen in trees, behind thick trees, stumps, and logs. Individual riflemen best occupy positions in trees with hand automatic weapons. Tall trees with thick crowns are selected for this. In the winter, when trees are covered with snow, don white coverings as camouflage. Riflemen in trees can be located at a certain distance ahead of their unit, and

during the battle they can fire at the enemy completely surreptitiously, tracking the battle sounds. While the enemy harries the guerrilla unit, individual riflemen can climb up trees and fire at enemy commanders and soldiers, thereby demoralizing and sowing panic among [them], and hampering their harrying efforts. In this case, small groups of guerrillas can climb up trees, let the harrying enemy through, climb down from the trees, and strike him in the back. The destruction of the enemy from behind distracts his attention from the guerrilla unit being harassed.

243. During the exfiltration it should always be remembered that the enemy can chase the unit into certain seemingly undefended areas where he has laid ambushes. Therefore, advance reconnaissance of exit routes is obligatory.

244. If the enemy blocks off the route of retreat by setting fire to the forest, then do not be afraid but advance through the fire because during a fire a forest does not burn everywhere. In particular, places with a preponderance of leafy trees are often not touched by fire, and you should endeavour to cross in those areas, and the smoke from the fire will conceal the departure of the guerrilla unit. Remember that the sector of the forest that has been set on fire is usually never, or poorly, protected by enemy forces.

245. Forests offer the possibility to creep up surreptitiously to a unit. Therefore, during a battle in a forest there is always the risk that a unit will be encircled. In order to avoid this, during the battle the unit commander should always organize 360-degree security for the unit. Each soldier who spots the enemy in some new direction or enemy reinforcements should immediately inform the commander about this. Avoid a lengthy battle in one spot, and as much as possible use your own manoeuvring. Send groups of guerrillas to strike the enemy's flanks, to go around and encircle him. It should be remembered that in a forest it is extraordinarily difficult to determine the strength of a unit against which you have to fight. Therefore, the unexpected appearance of individual, even small, groups of guerrillas in various places within the enemy's battle order can significantly deceive him with regard to the strength of the guerrillas, sow panic in its ranks and, because of this, enable the guerrilla unit to smash a stronger enemy.

246. Owing to the fact that a battle in a forest usually takes place at a short distance between the two sides, the enemy can hear the orders of the guerrilla unit's commander (and vice versa) and instantly react to them. In this case, it is better to issue indispensable battle orders ahead of time and by means of signals that have been fully mastered by the soldiers. Those signals – the best are sounds – should be simple, understandable, and easily transmissible. Upon hearing the signal-order from the commander, all the soldiers should repeat it until such time as a soldier has confirmed that his neighbour has heard it and passed it on. In order to trick the enemy, very often the commander of

a guerrilla unit also issues deliberately loud, incorrect orders to nonexistent guerrilla units (subunits), which the enemy hears and then launches unusual movements against them. It should be remembered that enemy commanders act the same way in order to trick a guerrilla unit.

### *Exit from Battle*

#### *A. Nature of a guerrilla unit's defence*

248. Guerrilla units do not engage in forced combat unless the relation of forces and circumstances in general allow the guerrillas to smash the enemy with a decisive and determined blow.

249. In certain cases (an unsuccessful ambush, attack, enemy dragnet operation, etc.) guerrilla units are forced to defend themselves. At the same time, the unit commander should remember that a protracted battle in one spot is not advantageous for guerrillas and must be avoided. Surprise attacks and high mobility are the main foundations of guerrilla unit actions. Therefore, if a unit finds itself in a defensive situation, then it always fights confrontationally, that is, part of the forces defends itself and part operates provocatively in the enemy's rear and flanks. However, a guerrilla unit applies even this tactic for a brief period of time.

250. In avoiding defensive battles, a guerrilla unit always uses [a] defensive grouping, even during a brief rest break. This group should have support in the terrain, which is convenient for concealed rear line manoeuvring (edge of a forest, settlements close to a forest, small forests offering easy passage into larger ones), flanks that are difficult to circumnavigate, good conditions for observation, good conditions for delivering fire, as well as natural obstacles (swamps, lakes, rivers). It is also important for this terrain to make an approach to the defensive position impossible from the front and sides for enemy armoured weapons (natural obstacles in front of the defence line and on the flanks) and good concealment from aviation.

251. If a defensive grouping has flanks that can be easily gone around, then it is crucial to secure these flanks with good observation and fire. Carry out harassing actions (attacks, ambushes) against an enemy that is trying to circumnavigate them. It is necessary to avoid dispersal of forces and to group together in as concentrated a manner as possible so that the commander can lead the entire unit. The commander should have at his disposal a reserve force that is usually stationed closer to the flank in greater danger and which protects the rear at the same time.

252. If a unit commander intends to carry out a harassing manoeuvre against the enemy's flanks, then it is crucial to cover such a manoeuvre by means of a demonstration action in another spot. If this cannot be done, then move from

the site from defence to a seeming counterattack or at least tie up the enemy with heavy fire.

253. If there are no prospects for victory following a brief battle, the guerrilla unit should quickly break away from the enemy and try to evade pursuit.

*C. Exit from a battle*

254. A guerrilla unit's exit from a battle takes place only on the order of its commander. The exit takes place in an organized planned fashion and according to the order established by the commander. It is mandatory to bring out all weapons, ammunition, the sick and wounded, and as far as possible, food supplies.

255. Exit from a battle is a very difficult and important aspect of the combat life of a guerrilla unit. Its successful execution is possible only where strict order and discipline exist in a unit. During the exit from a battle, panic – the worst enemy during tense combat – can easily break out among the soldiers. Therefore, it is the duty of each commander to put a stop to manifestations of panic as dexterously as possible and, in crucial cases, to adopt the most extreme measures vis-à-vis those who are panicking to overcome confusion and pointless running about.

256. After receiving the order to withdraw, commanders of subunits, including the squad leader, issue their subordinates the order of retreat, and the places and along which routes to retreat. Closed places are selected for a retreat. Open places are to be crossed by jumps and runs. In a squad, cooperation is mandatory between the machine gun and the riflemen. The machine gun covers the riflemen's retreat with its fire, and the reverse – the exit of the machine gun is covered by riflemen's fire. In a squad the machine gun is the last to retreat, along with the squad leader.

257. Exiting a battle and breaking away from the enemy are to be executed as secretly as possible [to] distract the enemy's attention by means of actual or seeming action. Use demonstration carried out by a designated subunit or the entire unit in order to deceive the enemy. Very often there is a possibility to bring your unit out past the enemy's flank, which is on the move, or at intervals among individual enemy units or subunits, which increase as a result of the denseness of the forest and difficulties in maintaining communication. If the enemy has not discovered the place where we are staying or stationing, then maintain the greatest possible silence, try to let the enemy approach as near as possible (even a couple or half a dozen steps), depending on the forest's visibility, and then attack his encirclement with concentrated fire from all fire weapons. At the same time, remember that the enemy may be advancing in several columns at a certain distance. Therefore, you should immediately secure yourself with reconnaissance and firing preparations, and meet the new enemy line with a concentrated and unexpected delivery of fire, like the first one. Breaking out of encirclement is best done in a dense forest, where observation



and communications are made difficult and individual enemy columns cannot come to each other's aid, so that they do not shoot each other. Remember that firing in a forest is not very successful and, instead, increases the impact of demoralization. Avoid shooting at random because this is just a waste of ammunition, and very often you can be shot by friendly fire. Principle: heavy fire when encountering the enemy and silence after breaking away from him.

258. Sometimes, during dragnet operations, the enemy uses mounted units that dismount in the forest. If, after breaking out of enemy encirclement, a guerrilla unit does not deceive the enemy and will be retreating where the enemy will figure out the direction of the retreat, then the dismounted enemy cavalry unit mounts the horses and by means of rapid movement races ahead of the guerrilla unit, dismounts again, and lays an ambush against the retreating guerrillas. Therefore, [follow this] principle: after breaking away, change the direction of the retreat, maintain the greatest possible silence and hearing capability, and protect yourselves on all sides. In the daytime try not to let yourselves be pushed out of the forest into an open field.

259. If the enemy is trying to pursue a retreating unit, then detain him by bursts of fire or by organizing ambushes in advantageous spots, for which individual subunits are to be designated. After executing their task, those subunits (usually the best) should retreat along a different road from the one taken by the unit in order to distract the enemy's attention from the unit and to lead him onto a misleading route. If it is impossible to break away from the enemy in the daytime, then prolong the manoeuvre until dusk in order to break away from the enemy under cover of night, preferably without combat.

260. During a battle and exit from one, reconnaissance should be functioning non-stop. The whole time it should be informing the commander about the enemy's strength, his grouping, about weak spots in this grouping, about the approach of fresh enemy units, about changes in the enemy's deployment, about exit routes and the degree to which they are threatened.

261. If a unit has been encircled, then in this case reconnaissance must be carried out particularly intensively, and the weakest spot in the enemy's grouping is to be sought. For breaking out of enemy encirclement a unit is selected of the most courageous, staunch, and experienced guerrillas. This group is armed with the best weapons, usually automatic. The group's mission is to break the enemy encirclement at a designated site. After breakthrough the group concentrates its efforts on the flanks of the breakthrough site in order to expand the breakthrough area. This group should detain the enemy and secure the unit's return down to the last possibility, occasionally even at the cost of its own perdition.

At this time, the rest of the guerrilla unit, after having organized a 360-degree field of fire defence, exits the encirclement. The first to exit the encirclement

is the group that suffered the most during the battle in encirclement. Led out together with it are the sick and wounded. At this time, the subunits that are providing fire cover for the exit from the encirclement should deliver the most intensive fire. After the unit's departure the group providing cover fire breaks away from the enemy and heads towards the unit by adjacent routes.

262. After breaking out of the encirclement, immediately regroup the unit, inspect weapons, ammunition, bandage the wounded, and march to the designated site. The enemy may lay ambushes on the exfiltration routes; therefore, it is mandatory to carry out non-stop reconnaissance of the exit routes.

263. The commander's steeliness, together with well-planned leadership during the exit from the battle, is the main prerequisite of a unit's successful exit even from the most difficult situation.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 63, fols. 33–86.

DOCUMENT 38: NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS (NCO)  
STAFF TRAINING PROGRAM

*Appendix no. 1*

*UPA-West*

*Sian*

*Lemko Training Division*

[Handwritten in top-right corner: "Baturyn"]

*Billets, 3 May 1946*

*Training Program for Non-Commissioned Officers*

The program encompasses 410 hours of study. The *curriculum* includes the following subjects:

1. Field Service and Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare	165 hours
2. Drills	30 hours
3. Weapons Knowledge	34 hours
4. Political Instruction	45 hours
5. Study of Terrain and Topography	25 hours
6. Pioneer Service	32 hours
7. Marksmanship Training	22 hours
8. Internal Service	20 hours
9. Communications	8 hours
10. Organization of the Army	3 hours
11. Military Commissary System	4 hours
12. Knowledge of Gas	4 hours
13. Intelligence	10 hours
14. Medical Service	8 hours
I. Field Service and Tactics of Guerrilla Warfare	165 hours
1. General principles (fundamentals of infantry combat operations, infantry subunit fire)	2 hours
2. General duties of the commander	2 hours
3. The individual rifleman and his general duties	2 hours
4. The individual rifleman during an offensive – selection and change of position	4 hours
5. The individual rifleman during a defensive	8 hours
6. Special duties of a rifleman:	
a) Sentry	4 hours
b) Field guard	4 hours
c) Listening (eavesdropping)	2 hours

d) Reconnaissance in intelligence gathering	4 hours
e) Other duties (machine gun-feeder, courier, sniper, watcher in expeditionary and expeditionary combat defence)	2 hours
7. Rifleman squad (general principle) and reconnaissance squad	8 hours
8. Squad in offensive combat	10 hours
9. Squad in defensive combat	10 hours
10. Squad in expeditionary and combat protection in offensive combat	12 hours
11. Heavy machine gun squad (general principle) in offensive combat and defence	4 hours
12. 45mm infantry cannon in offensive combat and defence	4 hours
13. Rifleman platoon (general principle) and a platoon in intelligence and on intelligence gathering in guerrilla warfare	10 hours.
14. Rifleman platoon in offensive combat	8 hours
15. Rifleman platoon in defensive combat	8 hours
16. Marches (ordinary, supported, guerrilla), and a platoon in expeditionary bodyguard unit	12 hours
17. Billets (quartering, encampment, billets of a guerrilla unit and platoon)	10 hours
18. Sudden attacks (raids)	10 hours
19. Ambushes	8 hours
20. Forest battle	4 hours
21. Battles in populated areas (villages, cities)	4 hours
22. Nature of guerrilla battles and departure from battle (retreat)	6 hours
23. Attacks on railways	4 hours
<i>II. Drills</i>	30 hours
A. General comments (essence and goal of drills, division of drills, types of training, method of execution, command, order)	2 hours
B. Individual training without a rifle (basic positions: attention, rest, marching, running, turning, kneeling, dropping, rising)	3 hours
<i>C. Individual Training with a Rifle</i>	
a) Basic positions: attention, rest, arms	4 hours
b) Marching and running, turns, kneeling, dropping	4 hours
c) Salutes (with/without a rifle)	2 hours

*D. Closed Formations*

- 1) Rifleman's squad (assembly, forming ranks, roll call, turns in place, marches, etc., turns during marches, changes of orders, prayer [morning and service], reports) 8 hours

*E. Open Formations:*

1. Combat formation of a squad/rifleman's ranks, skirmish line, column 2 hours
2. Combat formation of a platoon (in a line of squads, two lines, wedge forward, wedge backward, rhombus, two lines of squads) 3 hours

*III. Weapons Knowledge* 34 hours

1. Russian and German rifles (description, weapon properties, dismantling, assembling) 4 hours
2. Degtiarev machine (description, weapon properties, dismantling, assembling) 6 hours
3. MI German machine gun (description, weapon properties, dismantling, assembling) 4 hours
4. PPSH machine pistol (description, weapon properties, dismantling, assembling) 4 hours
5. Maxim heavy machine gun 8 hours
6. Grenade (description, weapon properties, method of throwing) 4 hours
7. Mortar (general description) 2 hours
8. Short pistols (FN, Tokarev) 2 hours

*IV. Knowledge of Terrain-Topography* 25 hours

1. The study and assessment of terrain (terrain and its component features, importance of terrain and its tactical features, method of studying terrain) 2 hours
2. Gauge (general concept of the gauge, methods of using a line gauge, determining map scale) 2 hours
3. Terrain objects, their significance and rendering by temporary markers 5 hours
4. The architecture of a terrain and its characteristic features, method of depicting the architecture of a terrain on paper, determining the height of a cut and the height of horizontal areas according to the height of a point, determining the slope of a mountain, determining points and invisibility fields on a map [number missing] hours

5. Military topographic maps and their use  
(division of military topographic maps and their use,  
creating maps, copying maps) 3 hours
  6. Terrain orientation (general concepts of orientation,  
compass and surveying compass, approximate  
orientation by the sun, stars, terrain markers,  
orientation by maps, azimuths, marches according  
to an azimuth, designating targets according to a map) 2 hours
  7. Sketches, surveys (general rules for drawing sketches,  
measuring distances in a terrain, methods of studying  
sketches, march sketch) 4 hours
  8. Creating graphic and combat documents  
(features of sketches, drawing orientation sketches) 5 hours
- V. Pioneer Duty* 32 hours
1. How troops entrench themselves on the battlefield  
(instruments and machines, self-entrenchment during  
combat, engineering works in a defence) 4 hours
  2. How troops mask themselves during combat  
(natural masking, artificial masking) 2 hours
  3. Barricading (obstacles) (explosive materials and  
sapping work, anti-tank obstacles, anti-infantry  
barricading, smashing barricades) 18 hours
  4. Roads (reconnoitering roads, building roads) 2 hours
  5. Fording (crossing fords, swimming across a body  
of water, crossing over ice, special fording devices,  
accelerated fordings) 4 hours
  6. Bridges (reconnoitering bridges, building bridges) 2 hours
- VI. Marksmanship Training* 22 hours
- A. Ballistics* (theory of projectiles)
1. General principle, internal and external ballistics 4 hours
  2. Flight path of a projectile and terrain 1 hour
  3. Force of bullet penetration, dispersal, area of  
dispersal 3 hours
  4. Elements of projectiles 2 hours
- B. Rifle Marksmanship Training*
1. General principle (task, science of shooting, the  
instructor's role, methodological guidelines) 1 hour
  2. Aiming (aiming errors, factors influencing aiming,  
aiming practice, error triangle) 3 hours
  3. Assembling and dismantling a rifle, gauging  
distance, firing discipline 2 hours

4. Shooting at airplanes	2 hours
5. Shooting stances	4 hours
6. Machine gun marksmanship training	1 hour
<i>VII. Internal Service</i>	20 hours
1. Status of a soldier and his duties, soldierly traits	1 hour
2. Soldier's discipline	2 hours
3. Agenda in the military barracks	2 hours
4. Non-commissioned duty officer and rifleman of a unit, order in the barracks	2 hours
5. Punishments	3 hours
6. Guard duty	5 hours
7. Army personnel (principles of dependence), rights and duties of a superior and a subordinate, soldierly conduct	4 hours
8. Saluting	1 hour
<i>VIII. Military Commissary</i>	4 hours
1. General principle	1 hour
2. Food supply	2 hours
3. Ammunition supply	1 hour
<i>IX. Organization of the Army</i>	3 hours
1. General information about the organization of the armed forces, organization of a Soviet infantry regiment	2 hours
2. Organization of a German infantry regiment	1 hour
<i>X. Communications</i>	8 hours
1. Goal, task, and essence of communications: spiritual, physical, tactical communications, communications centres	3 hours
2. Electronic communications, special communications, organization of communications units	2 hours
3. Technical communications	3 hours
<i>XI. Knowledge of Gas</i>	4 hours
1. Gas attacks (characteristics and their division, methods of gas attacks, influence of weather and terrain, tactical use of gases)	2 hours
2. Anti-gas protection (types of anti-gas protection, active and passive defence, conduct during a gas attack, first aid assistance to gassed soldiers, food and water, cleaning the terrain, sentry-alarm duty)	2 hours
<i>XII. Intelligence</i>	10 hours

1. What is intelligence, its goal, aim, and struggle, the division of intelligence into general, propagandistic, subversive, et al.	1 hour
2. Methods of intelligence struggle	1 hour
3. History and structure of the NKVD from the Cheka to the NKGB, division into departments	2 hours
4. Secret agent-operational work	1 hour
5. Intelligence and counter-intelligence (offensive and defensive)	1 hour
6. Division of intelligence into a) general, b) army (on land and at sea)	? hours
7. Confidants, recruiting, selection of materials, meetings (personal and written queries), technique of communicating by ciphers, codes, and invisible ink	1 hour
8. Intelligence during peacetime and war, its task, the struggle against an enemy intelligence	1 hour
<i>XIII. Medical Service</i>	8 hours
1. Hygiene of a rifleman (personal hygiene, washing, underwear, clothing, footwear, hygiene during a march, billeting, regulations regarding rest)	3 hours
2. Self and mutual assistance in combat (emphasize comradeship – duties vis-à-vis the wounded on the battlefield, staunching blood, bandaging, transport)	? hours
3. First aid in certain emergency situations (fainting, sunstroke, fracture, sprain, drowning, crushing, shallow breathing)	? hours
<i>XIV. Political Instruction</i>	45 hours
1. Reasons behind the introduction of political instruction work in the UPA and its main tasks [assigned] to commanders and riflemen for the provision of the most comprehensive formation necessary for accomplishing the mission of the avant-garde	1 hour
2. The struggle for the USSD and our main tasks: a) What is the UPA fighting for, the UPA as an elite force, avant-garde, and nucleus of independent Armed Forces in general	2 hours
b) The Supreme Ukrainian leadership of the Ukrainian people, the UHVR	
c) Our political tactics	2 hours



3. Basic tasks and traits of commanders, political instructors, and riflemen
- a) The state-social order of Ukraine from the times of the princely era and the Cossack Period, the founders of the organization of the Ukrainian army, Sviatoslav the Conqueror, Volodymyr Monomakh, Yaroslav Osmomysl, Sahaidachny, Khmelnytsky, Mazepa [latter name added by hand], et al. 5 hours
- b) Rebirth, Shevchenko 3 hours
- c) The era of the liberation struggles from 1917 until today – USS [Ukrainian Sich Sharpshooters], UHA [Ukrainian Galician Army], Army of the UVO [Ukrainian Military Organization], OUN, UPA 3 hours
- d) Ukrainian spirituality as the eternal source of the Ukrainian people's struggle 2 hours
- e) Description of the popular masses against the backdrop of the struggle for their independence 2 hours
5. Ukraine's place in the current international configuration of forces:
- a) Ukraine's situation "on the edge of two worlds" 1 hour
- b) Our mutual relations with closer and farther neighbours, vital interests that bind us to them 2 hours
- c) Ethnographic limits and Ukraine's area in square kilometres 1 hour
- d) Mountains, rivers, cities 1 hour
- e) Ukraine's natural wealth and industry 3 hours
6. The Bolsheviks at the present stage:
- a) Elements of the USSR's strengths and weaknesses 2 hours
- b) The ideologically compromised nature of Bolshevism (description of the Bolsheviks' foreign policy) 1 hour
7. Our national and religious holidays 2 hours
- a) Responsibility and traits of a commander 2 hours
- b) Organization of the political instruction apparatus, relationship between the commander and the political instructor 2 hours
- c) Relationship between the commander and riflemen 2 hours
- d) Indispensable customs, basic rules of conduct (emphasis on the importance of civilized behaviour on the part of UPA commanders and riflemen during encounters with the native population and foreigners) 3 hours
- 4 [sic]. Organization of the Ukrainian Army and development of Ukrainian militarism in connection with the crystallization of political thought and the construction of the Ukrainian people's state life throughout history

## DOCUMENT 39: ORDER: TRAINING CAMP ROUTINE

[hand-written in upper right-hand corner: "Baturyn"]

*Appendix no. 3*

*UPA-West*

*Billets, May 1946*

*Sian*

*Lemko Training Division*

*Order no. 2*

1. All training participants are completely subordinated to their direct and indirect superiors.
2. I forbid everyone to leave the camp area and go into the village for any reason without my permission. After exercises it is also forbidden to stray from your quarters farther than fifty metres without the permission and knowledge of the platoon commander.
3. I forbid engaging in any kind of correspondence (to accept and send mail relayed from hand to hand).
4. Training participants are obliged to observe organizational-army relations.
5. All conspiratorial principles are to be upheld. I forbid loud talking or shouting, singing, knocking. A fire may be lit only with special permission and then only with dry wood.
6. I hereby announce the following agenda:
  - 5:00 Reveille
  - 5:10–5:25 Gymnastics
  - 5:25–5:50 Washing and cleaning of quarters
  - 5:50 Prayer
  - 6:00–6:30 Breakfast
  - 6:45 Morning report
  - 7:00–11:30 Morning activities
  - 12:00–13:45 Lunch break
  - 13:00 Service report
  - 14:00–18:50 Afternoon activities
  - 19:00 Daily order
  - 19:30 Supper
  - 19:30–20:45 Free time
  - 20:45 Evening inspection and prayer
  - 21:00 Lights out

Gymnastics and washing (with the exception of a qui-vive period) to be carried out shirtless.

7. The non-commissioned duty officer is responsible for maintaining daily order. He is supervised by the duty officer.

8. Everyone sleeps in full combat readiness (wearing footwear, a belt, with weapons at hand). Footwear may be removed only after activities, if no others are planned.

9. In the event of an alarm, everyone assembles in full gear at the alarm square under the leadership of their commanders. No items are to be left behind in the quarters, and under no circumstances any weapons or ammunition.

In the event of a raid, individual subunits occupy positions in the area of their encampment in the direction of the enemy and await further orders.

The alarm square for the training division is located among the barracks for Commander Lastivka's unit, near the kitchen.

10. Proper cleanliness and order are to be maintained in the quarters and in the camp area (do not litter or leave any food leftovers, papers, etc.). The squad leader is responsible for order near the quarters; the unit's duty officer for order in the camp area.

11. I forbid all camp participants to loiter in the area of the kitchen, except during breakfast, lunch, or supper, and the magazine in general.

Only designated individuals have the right to enter the magazine or be in the kitchen area (warrant officer, official, duty officer, and cooks).

12. I will severely punish violations of individual points of this order.

(-) "Baturyn"<sup>6</sup>

Acting Camp Commander

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 63, fol. 43.

6 "Baturyn" was the nom de guerre of the acting commander of the training division of the Lemko company of UPA-West, operating west of the Curzon Line.

## Directives of the Insurgent Authorities

### DOCUMENT 40: DIRECTIVE OF UPA COMMANDER ON MILITARY FIELD COURTS AND REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNALS

15 May 1943

#### *Directive*

of the command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army on punishable crimes and on the establishment of military field courts and revolutionary tribunals in the lands of Ukraine under the jurisdiction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, issued on the basis of the Directive of the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army dated 1 May 1943, as the supreme and sole sovereign power of Ukraine.

*Article I.* Anyone who commits a serious crime, that is, a criminal act aimed at the detriment and against the interests of the Ukrainian people, against their legal government, against the lives of individual citizens of Ukraine, against the property of the Ukrainian people and the property of individual citizens, specifically:

1. Collaborates with the enemy and acts to the detriment and against the interests of the Ukrainian people and their legal government.
2. Belongs to an organization that operates to the detriment and against the interests of the Ukrainian people and their legal government.
3. Carries out sabotage, that is:
  - a) Deliberately destroys and wrecks means of communications, work benches, factories, sowing, stores, etc., which belong to the Ukrainian people.
  - b) Intentionally fails to carry out or prevent certain actions, thereby causing harm to the Ukrainian people.
4. Engages in disruptive actions, that is:
  - a) Acts with the assistance of military units hostile to the Ukrainian people.
  - b) Carries out some kind of military action with the goal of distracting the attention and strength of the Ukrainian Armed Forces.

5. Owns or uses weapons illegally.
6. Engages in espionage, that is, who engages in intelligence work and investigates military, economic, industrial, etc., secrets, the moods of the Ukrainian public as well as the activities of individual persons and informs the enemy about this.
7. Unlawfully kills or seeks to kill a person or through another illegal action causes the death of some individual.
8. Arbitrarily leaves the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or the unit to which he was assigned, or place of work in the UPA's rear-line network, to which he was assigned, with the goal of evading military duty or work in general, or in an assigned unit or place of work in particular.
9. Goes over from the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army to units of the enemy army or enemy partisan detachments.
10. Obligated to carry out military service in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, refuses to bear arms and fight against the enemy, thereby weakening the defensive force of the Ukrainian people.
11. Robs, that is, with the aid of weapons and other dangerous devices, by means of threats or violence takes possession of someone else's property.
12. Destroys other people's property by arson.
13. Belongs to a gang or organization that engages in robbery, arson, subversion, espionage, sabotage, or destruction of other people's property by other means.
14. Steals, that is, illegally appropriates the property of the Ukrainian people (the property of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or Ukrainian institutions) or individual citizens of Ukraine.
15. Abuses trust, that is, illegally appropriates the property of the Ukrainian people (the property of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army or Ukrainian institutions) assigned to him.

Will be punished by the supreme wartime penalty – death.

*Article II.* Every individual who is guilty of committing a serious crime, is of sound mind, and has reached seventeen years of age is subject to punishment.

*Article III.* For the legal examination of cases and issuance of sentences to parties guilty of committing the serious crimes listed in *Article I*, military field courts and revolutionary tribunals are instituted.

*Article IV.* Until such time as a legal directive is established in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and network of permanent court bodies, in every separate case the commander of a UPA group convenes military field courts and revolutionary tribunals consisting of three individuals and also confirms verdicts.

*Article V.* Military field courts examine cases and hand down verdicts in indictments of UPA riflemen, commanders, and auxiliary personnel who are under the direct jurisdiction of a military command.

*Article VI.* Revolutionary tribunals examine cases and hand down verdicts in indictments of all other citizens of Ukraine.

*Article VII.* This directive acquires its force of law on the day of its promulgation.

*Billets*, 15 May 1943

Commander of the  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army  
(-) “Klym Savur”

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fols. 1–3.

DOCUMENT 41: DIRECTIVE OF THE SUPREME COMMAND OF  
THE UPA ON THE LAND QUESTION

15 August 1943

*Directive*

on the land issue of the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army as the supreme and sole sovereign authority in the liberated lands of Ukraine, dated 15 August 1943.

1. All lands with their waters, above-ground and underground riches of Ukraine constitute the property of the Ukrainian people.

2. In all the lands of Ukraine liberated by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from the Muscovite Bolsheviks and the Germans:

a) The collective farming system introduced by the Bolsheviks is fundamentally abolished and private peasant ownership is introduced.

b) All the lands of former landowners (*filvarky*: manorial estates) and lands of former colonists are transferred to the ownership of Ukrainian peasants.

3. The division of collective farms and Soviet state farms, farms of former Polish colonists into private property among independent landless and small farms is to be carried out by local civic administrations validated by the UPA and land commissions elected by public assemblies.

4. The standard allotment for independent private farms is to be such a quantity of land that, on the one hand, would allow the possibility to carry out completely self-sufficient farming and, on the other, that can be worked by the labour of a given family.

5. If the majority of a collective farm does not want the collective farm to be divided into private independent farms, then the collective farm members may continue to engage in collective farming on the basis of cooperative principles. This kind of collective farm is the exclusive property of the members of a given collective farm.

6. Machine-Tractor Stations (MTSs) are the joint property of a given raion, which they service on a cooperative basis.<sup>1</sup>

7. The private lands of peasants of Ukrainian or other nationalities, who died during military actions or were murdered by the Bolsheviks, Germans, or Poles, are to revert to the ownership of their relatives to the fourth generation, and if there are none – to the poorest peasants of a given locale.

<sup>1</sup> Machine-Tractor Stations (MTSs) were Soviet-organized rural agencies providing collective farms with agricultural machinery and technical support, starting from 1928.

8. Land, as the greatest property of the Ukrainian people, may not lie fallow, but all of it must be worked and sown. This will be taken care of by farming administrations that are answerable for their activities to the UPA.

9. All forests and bodies of water are the joint property of the Ukrainian people. The exploitation of forests and bodies of water is established by a public administration. Forest husbandry is managed by the Forest Administration appointed by the UPA.

10. This directive becomes valid on the date of its issuance.

Glory to Ukraine!

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(-) "Klym Savur"

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 122.



DOCUMENT 42: DIRECTIVE OF THE SUPREME COMMAND OF  
THE UPA ON UKRAINE'S TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION

1 September 1943

*Instructions*

*concerning the establishment of an administration on the territory of Ukraine,  
issued by the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army as the  
Supreme and Sole Sovereign Government in the Liberated Lands of Ukraine,  
dated 1 September 1943*

*Article 1.*

(1) The territory of Ukraine is divided administratively into: 1) villages and cities, 2) districts [*raiony*], 3) counties [*okruhy*], 4) regions [*oblasti*].

(2) Cities are divided into: a) towns that, like villages, are under the jurisdiction of raion administrations, 2) cities that are under the direct jurisdiction of county (okruha) administrations, c) cities that are under the direct jurisdiction of oblast administrations, and d) cities that are under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or Council of Ministers. The division of cities is determined by the size of the population as well as economic and strategic factors.

*Article 2.* The administrative bodies of the government:

- 1) in a village: village administration
- 2) in a city: a) municipal council, b) municipal administration
- 2 [*sic*]: in a raion: a) raion council, b) raion administration
- 3) in an okruha: a) okruha council, b) okruha administration
- 4) in an oblast: a) oblast council, b) oblast administration

*Article 3.* Village and municipal councils are elected by the residents of a given village or city by equal, secret, general, direct voting from among the permanent residents of a given village or city who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age. All mentally healthy, permanent residents of a given village or city, regardless of gender, who have reached eighteen years of age have the legal right to vote.

*Article 4 (1).* A raion council is elected by village and municipal councils that are under the jurisdiction of a given raion from among the residents of a given raion who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age.

2) An okruha council is elected by raion and municipal councils that are under the jurisdiction of a given okruha from among the residents of a given okruha who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age.

3) An oblast council is elected by okruha and municipal councils that are under the jurisdiction of a given oblast from among the residents of a given oblast who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age.

*Article 5 (1).* Village, municipal, raion, okruha, and oblast councils have the right, based on the spheres of competence assigned to them within the limits of their territory, to issue instructions, etc. and are auxiliary and advisory bodies of the given administrations.

2) The head of a given administration is the head of village, municipal, raion, county, and oblast councils.

3) Village, municipal, raion, county, and oblast councils are comprised of between twelve and sixty members, depending on their size and the size of the population.

*Article 6.1. (1a)* A village administration consists of: a head, his deputy, and a secretary. b) a municipal administration consists of: a head (mayor), his deputy, and a secretary.

2) A raion administration consists of: a head, his deputy, and a secretary.

3) A county (okruha) administration consists of: a head (*starosta*), his deputy, and a secretary.

4) An oblast administration consists of: a head, his deputy, and a secretary.

6.2. Municipal, raion, county, and oblast administrations also have an appropriate number of department heads [*referenty*].

*Article 7 (1).* A village administration and a municipal administration, which are under the jurisdiction of a raion, are elected by the appropriate councils from among the permanent residents of a given territory who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age and are confirmed by the appropriate okruha *starosta* (okruha head).

2) A raion administration and a municipal administration, which are under the direct jurisdiction of a county administration, are elected by the appropriate councils from among the permanent residents of a given territory who have the legal right to vote and have reached twenty-one years of age and are confirmed by the appropriate county *starosta*.

*Article 8 (1.)* A county (okruha) administration and a municipal administration, which are under the direct jurisdiction of an oblast administration, are designated by the appropriate oblast administration.

2) An oblast administration and a municipal administration, which are under the direct jurisdiction of the Ministry of Internal Affairs or Council of Ministers, are designated by the Minister of Internal Affairs or Council of Ministers.

*Article 9.* Department heads of municipal, raion, county, and oblast administrations are appointed by the appropriate administration and confirmed by the appropriate higher administration.

*Article 10.* Village, municipal, raion, county, and oblast administrations are the executive administrative bodies of the higher authority of an appropriate council. At the same time they are the controlling body of administrative power and have the right, based on the spheres of competence assigned to them within the limits of their administrative territory, to issue various types of instructions, orders, circulars, announcements, etc.

*Article 11.* The spheres of competence of municipal, raion, county, and oblast administrations and councils include all matters of an administrative, economic, cultural-educational, [and] policing character, as well as certain military questions and questions relating to legal matters of an economic nature.

*Article 12.* This instruction becomes valid on the date of its issuance.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(-) "Klym Savur"

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 120.

## The OUN Security Service (SB OUN)

### DOCUMENT 43: RECORD OF INTERROGATION OF NKVD AGENT, VASYL OHORODNYK

2 December 1944

#### *Record of Interrogation*

Ohorodnyk, Vasy, village of Eumena [*sic*], born 1921 in the village of Lidava, Zdolbuniv raion, Ukrainian, incomplete higher education. Member of the OUN since 1941. In the ranks of the UPA – student at an officers' school, company commander, deputy battalion commander under the pseudonym of "Khvyliia." An NKVD agent since 1944 under the secret agent pseudonym of "Merynsky."

My secret agent work in the UPA begins in the month of May 1944. The NKVD agent Battalion Commander Lykho approached me and declared openly that all the higher UPA commanders, leaders of the organization in the field, already have contacts with the NKVD; the struggle for Soviet Ukraine, everything that existed until this time, is only a political adventure of a small group of people. After the great April action everything fell apart, the adventurers scattered. Now work must be launched along the new line of cooperation with the USSR. It is necessary to draw over to our side all those who still believe the adventurers, so that in future the Soviet government will amnesty them and grant citizens' rights.

After those words he proposed that I cooperate with them in keeping with this new line. I agreed to this. They did not give me any special tasks; he only said to carry out his orders. At the time I was his deputy. Concretely, he informed me that Kovalenko and Tykhy are cooperating with the NKVD. Within a short period of time a meeting took place with NKGB representatives, who arrived from Ostroh; they may have been representatives from the oblast, the surnames were Rasichenko and Zhukov. On our side Lykho and I were present. The meeting took place in the farmsteads of Zavydiv. First of all, Lykho introduced me as his close associate. Later he reported about his secret agent work, specifically:

a) He has expanded and is expanding the secret agent network in the unit, provided the pseudonyms of recruited commanders and riflemen, he mentioned me, Tykhy, riflemen Nedolia, Dovhy.

b) He is sabotaging work and the implementation of his superior commanders' orders. On the demand of Commander Yasen, he did not send him troops in a timely fashion, and even when he did so later, they turned back.

We obtained the order: 1) to sabotage the orders of the group's command. The fulfilment or non-fulfilment of those orders is to be reported to the NKGB. An announcement about which order can be implemented and which is to be sabotaged is to be obtained only from there. We were ordered to keep our army inactive, not to carry out any actions.

After the meeting Lykho left for a meeting with leader Le. I remained with the unit, having gathered all the people to the forest. Lykho brought back an order to launch combat operations against the Soviets. Through the courier Myloserdna he immediately came to an understanding with the NKVD and ordered me to send the army into the field, but in "groups of five." This was supposed to weaken the army's combat capacity. Then rumours began to spread among the UPA and the population that Lykho is conducting hostile work.

Then a second meeting was set up for early July. The same representatives as before came to our meeting point, Kundel's little grove, under our brand. On our side, Lykho, Kovalenko, and I took part. The NKVD men reported that Lykho's identity is so exposed that he has to resign from command and organizational work, simulating an illness (tuberculosis of the bones), but in reality he was completely healthy. He was also supposed to put forward Kovalenko's candidacy for his position and me as his deputy. As for the scope of work, I was supposed to direct military [work] exclusively, and Kovalenko in the field together with Tykhy. In order to mask our actions, it was permitted to carry out minor actions: thus, the order was given to ambush a car on the Ostroh-Zdolbuniv highway.<sup>1</sup>

Inside the army it was necessary to conduct demoralizing propaganda, undermining trust in the UPA command and leadership of the organization, and to recruit adherents. Since the meeting we have been making efforts so that Kovalenko and I will be confirmed in the new positions. Confirmation was supposed to come from Commander Yuda, about whom I learned from Kovalenko that he also belongs to the agentura. Here it was necessary to overcome several difficulties. Commander Roman decided to move our unit from the Zdolbuniv area to other areas; however, commander Yuda convinced Commander Roman that it is more reasonable to leave us in our territories,

<sup>1</sup> The highway linking Ostroh to Zdolbuniv is found in Rivne oblast. The distance is thirty-two kilometres.

which he did, and he confirmed us in the above-mentioned positions. At that time Kovalenko “fell ill,” simulating typhus, and he said that he must remain in this forest. I then meet with Yuda and obtain an order from him to return to the field and carry out work, having taken over the entire army from Lykho. At the same time he turns to me as an agent recommended by Kovalenko, and he has secret agent work in mind. Kovalenko remained as though he were sick, but in reality in order to arrange certain agentura work issues. Lykho hands the army over to me very reluctantly, having written to Yuda that he remains my advisor, and he requested that he be allowed to retain his bodyguards and stay with the unit.

I deal with the concrete work of seeking out and recruiting new workers-adherents. After returning from the Obhiv area, Kovalenko heads into the field in order to set up a secret agent network. I remain with the army. In order to mask my agentura work, I think about carrying out some kind of combat action. Earlier a meeting took place at the home of Kovalenko’s sister in Seledchyna, near Zdolbuniv. There we received an order to carry out an action against Mirotyn [Myrotyn], in order to set the Czechs against the UPA.

During that meeting I hand in my first report about secret intelligence work. I describe the state of the secret agent network in the army then I report on the state of the army in general and in detail. Kovalenko gives a report on the work carried out in the field. He reports the existence of six courier points: Derman, Myloserdna / Handzia, Zastavie / Oksana, Hiupnyn [*sic*]/ Dovhy, Hryniv area / Dibrova and Kaminy / Ploska, Olen, and Ruta Uizdtsi – (do not know yet).

The representatives order me to report on other units that are in the forest. After the meeting I give Charivnyk an order to carry out an action against Mirotyn. The work of expanding the network is proceeding quite successfully. I am recruiting all officers and non-commissioned officers all the way to squad leaders inclusively. Kovalenko is going again to the Obhiv area and is carrying a report about the Mirotyn action in order to throw dust in people’s eyes. He is taking people with him from the non-commissioned officers and miners’ school and has been assigned a mission by Commander Roman to mine the bridge on the Horyn River and the railway. Before carrying out this task, we attend another meeting with the NKVD men, where they are supposed to decide whether to carry out this assignment or to sabotage it. We are permitted to carry out fully all the orders that come from commander Roman, in the given case the one about the bridge – to go there and, without conducting any combat operations, to go back. Kovalenko goes east with the unit, he clambered over the Kuniv [Kunyn] swamps. He wore out and starved the army and, without doing anything, he returns. After this, he sets out to see Commander Roman with a report about the raid. In the meantime, Hlieba’s point falls. The SB arrests Tykhy, Ponury, Dzvin, [and] the latter manages to escape and

inform me about everything that happened. After some time Kovalenko falls. Alarmed, I inform the Zdolbuniv NKGB and request instructions. I receive a reply to remain in place and continue further work. In order to distract the SB's attention from myself and to mask my work, it is proposed that I carry out any actions that I can, to carry out all orders from above accurately along the organizational line, to bring the unit to combat order, so that in the event of an inspection no one could pester [me]. Some time passes, I am not arrested. I have the impression that I have not been exposed, and I continue my work peacefully. I manage the secret agent network in such a way that I am recruiting officer and non-commissioned officer personnel and rank-and-file soldiers, approximately eighteen people.

The state of the agentura network in the army (in my unit) is the following:

- a) commanders of the unit – Charivnyk, Palma.
- b) platoon leaders – Nalyvaiko, Yastrub, Tur.
- c) squad leaders – Kruk, Puhach, Kruk, Vyshnia, Solovei.
- d) riflemen – Chubchuk, Lytok, Viter, Strybok, Oleh, Viiun from Charivnyk: Shpak, Bereza, Skoblyk, Olkhovy; I do not remember any others.

As for the unit, the NKVD was supposed to turn it into our people so that it would be subordinated to the orders of the NKVD organ. By this time a total of eighteen riflemen were recruited. It was still necessary to work on recruiting the rest. Nevertheless, as a military entity, the unit is already in the services of the NKVD, and its command personnel consists exclusively of secret agents.

As for NKVD agents in the Zdolbuniv area, the following individuals are known to me:

Bohun – former nadraion leader responsible for supplies and materiel, he arranged many issues with Kovalenko [and] 2) Sirko – military commandant in the Zdolbuniv area. After Kovalenko's fall, I was appointed commander of a detachment and along with this I was supposed to head the secret agent network in the detachment. In connection with this matter I was summoned to Commander Tyrsa. En route to him I was arrested by an SB organ.

I confirm the veracity of this with my own signature:

(-) Ohorodnyk, Vasyl – “Khvyliia”

2 December 1944

HDA SBU, 13-376-54-006.

## DOCUMENT 44: GUIDELINES FOR ACTIVITIES OF THE OUN'S SB

Strictly confidential!!!

16 December 1944

1) *Personnel matters*

- a) Only people from the Organization can work in Security, and vetted ones at that.
- b) It is forbidden to accept people for Security who have been released from prison or have escaped from one; inform superiors about such cases.

2) *Security work*

- a) All political issues that exist in a territory belong to Security.
- b) There is an interest in criminal cases only if there is an unquestioned order of the territorial leader; in other cases – no.
- c) Matters of a disciplinary nature do not belong to Security.
- d) The territorial leader or the Organizational court resolves disciplinary matters in the field.
- e) Criminal cases in the Security centre are dealt with by Security itself.

3) *Cooperation*

- a) To be subordinated directly to the territorial leader.
- b) Inform the territorial leader about all issues.
- c) Cooperate with responsible leaders of military sections.
- d) Cooperate with other sections of the Organization.

4) *Work*

- a) Recreate an accurate picture in reports on roundups and every weekly report.

In every report on roundups, provide the number of captured people and their names and surnames, with the date of birth, what position is held in the Organization. How the Bolsheviks carried out the roundup, at what time they began it, when the roundup ended, why approximately so few people were caught. Try to determine who carried out the roundup. List the armed troops doing the roundup. Why the given people were released, where they were interrogated, who was inspected. List accurately who was killed or captured, how old, the Organizational position. Also list what was burned, what was looted in the village, how much cattle was seized, and the like.

- b) Maintain a card index of NKGB and NKVD personnel.
- c) Keep lists of arrested and released people.
- d) Keep lists of people who were shot and those who escaped.
- e) Population statistics noting how many went into the Red Army, how many to the UPA, and how many there still are.
- f) Plans of governmental and military centres.
- g) Write announcements. Here note an accurate biography and his work, a



description of [the] person. Then provide material on him.

h) Carry out initiative work in security.

#### 5. *Processing of Cases*

1) Only Security has the right to arrest people.

2) A person who is raiding and has no time to inform the proper figures may be arrested by any member of the Organization or nationally aware Ukrainian. Such arrests can be carried out only in exceptional cases.

3) In the field, make sure that the membership knows whom to inform if there are some urgent matters.

4) It is not permitted to bring arrested people to houses, but mainly to where they live.

5) Make use of open arrests only in extreme cases.

6) Mask arrests in various ways.

7) Isolate arrested people both from acquaintances and from the civilian population.

8) With regard to cases, avoid people who are not from security (they blab later).

9) Keep security work extremely secret as well as the network itself.

10) Carry out work in a planned and systematic fashion.

11) Draft work plans.

12) List the order of cases (serious and less serious).

13) Do not apply collective punishment (severe punishment).

14) Permission for liquidation should be issued by the higher leadership.

15) If it becomes necessary, then punishment can be carried out publicly (e.g., near a church, during a meeting). Here the most unimportant ones are to be liquidated.

16) Use posters on which we announce who was punished, for what, and how. Inform the entire territory about this.

17) People named by an agent must be checked thoroughly.

18) Pay close attention to contacts.

19) Carry out ambushes against the NKVD as well as the militia; take away those killed in ambushes and hide so it is not known whether we took them alive or dead.

20) Pay attention to acquiring NKGB and NKVD archives.

21) Hand in all kinds of enemy literature or directives.

22) If an agent exposes [someone] during interrogations, and other territories are mentioned there, immediately inform superiors or other territories.

23) In work, complete a case to the end; submit larger-scale cases to superiors.

24) During any actions against the *Liakhs* [Poles] (militia or other administrative apparatuses), list the reason in reports.

25) It is forbidden to provide contacts to people who were outside the Organization for a long period of time.

26) At meetings with contacts do not speak to people in the Organization about various matters.

27) Place people whose identities have been exposed in the underground.

16 December 1944

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-007.

DOCUMENT 45: DIRECTIVE ON BANNING ALCOHOL USE BY  
UPA SOLDIERS AND UNDERGROUND MEMBERS

15 April 1945

*Order no. 16/35*

*for implementation by kushch leaders, SKV, commanders of UPA units,  
and all members, candidates, and sympathizers of our revolutionary  
liberation movement*

In connection with today's political and military events that are unfolding all around us, the so-called great imperialistic war in the world and its brutal savagery and unruliness of anarchy indicate that the decline of the fighting imperialisms will come, and the war will end with revolutions of the enslaved nations. Great historical events are also being unleashed, which will enable the enslaved nations to make their own decisions about their freedom and fate. Our nation too will make its own decisions about its freedom and fate, it will face the questions: to be or not to be, to create a state life or to accept the ignominy of slavery. Already in the current reality Bolshevik slavery is compelling us to take this stand. And therefore today the Ukrainian nation has taken the stand to be and to live a state life. Therefore, it is creating a self-defence struggle whose goal is to preserve the Ukrainian nation and its spiritual and political achievements and not allow itself to be destroyed physically. Therefore, the struggle is becoming increasingly more determined, and in the struggle against the Ukrainian people the Bolshevik-Stalinist clique is employing unprecedented methods of destruction (mass mobilization, throwing Ukrainians into the first line of the front, mass murders, massacres, arrests, tortures, provocation, deceit, spreading drunkenness, starvation in prisons, raping). Gangs of Stalinist brigands are carrying out terrorist actions, holding drunken orgies, raping Ukrainian women and girls. By means of drunkenness they are demoralizing the Ukrainian citizenry and its revolutionary forces. In this way they are seeking to tranquilize the keenness, honour, and spiritual stance of the Ukrainian citizenry. The storm of war and the Bolshevik-German-Bolshevik slavery in the years from 1939 to 1943 created a general atmosphere of drunkenness both among the Ukrainian citizenry and among the Ukrainian revolutionary forces. Stalinist Bolshevism is reinforcing this atmosphere as a method of struggle against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. Drunkenness tranquilizes keenness, honour, and breaks the will to resist. This method of struggle enables the spread and development of provocations among the Ukrainian citizenry and strikes at our forces, encountering little resistance. And, therefore, many victims on our side fall frequently as a result of this, for

it is precisely through drunkenness that some comrades lose keenness, and the enemy exploits this and strikes at our weak side.

In connection with this, I am appealing to you, Comrades:

The long, difficult path of the revolutionary liberation struggle and the attainment of our cause are still ahead of us. The struggle has only now acquired the form of the Ukrainian people's self-defence against the enemy's brutal terror. In this struggle the Ukrainian nation is already laying the foundations in the creation of the Ukrainian Independent United State in the ethnographic Ukrainian lands. It is waging a political struggle and placing in this all the work and achievements of the Ukrainian nation. It is becoming an overall struggle, and it will be decisive on our side. Only a revolutionary liberation struggle based on our own forces, with faith in our strength, will produce a victory in this great contest. In order to withstand this cruel time and to be prepared for even more brutal methods of struggle against the Bolshevik-Stalinist clique, we must understand always and everywhere: we must be strong, keen, decisive, and sober, [and] fully maintain the spiritual political stance and honour. This will allow us to endure this brutal time and to attain our victory. We must always and everywhere remember the commandments:

"You will attain the Ukrainian State or perish in the struggle for it."

"You will not permit anyone to tarnish either the glory or honour of your Nation."

"You will avenge the death of the Great Knights."

*I therefore order:*

In accordance with the leadership's order from above, I forbid the use of alcohol (vodka, spirits, moonshine).

In keeping with this order, anyone who uses alcohol will be considered as an individual acting under the influence of an enemy atmosphere and as a wrecker of the Ukrainian people, as a provocateur who is acting in accordance with enemy instructions.

I order the entire body of the leadership and commanders of units to take responsibility for putting a stop to the use of alcohol among their subordinated comrades, to explain the above-listed reasons behind the ban on the use of alcohol as a destructive bad habit – a poison that breaks a person's resistance and will.

All those comrades who do not obey this order and continue to use alcohol are to be found guilty and severely prosecuted.

The use of alcohol cannot go unpunished. All those who use alcohol must be punished. If the body of the leadership or commanders of units make excuses for guilty parties, they will be severely prosecuted as those who abet this evil atmosphere (the enemy's).

In connection with this, the following punishments are to be applied:

1. The punishment of public censure.
2. Intellectual punishment (memorization of literature and the like).
3. Physical punishment (drills).
4. Punishment by caning (from 15 to 50; do not punish with fewer than 15).
5. Death penalty.

Comments on the use of punishments and their application

Above all, it is necessary to take into consideration a person's character, ambition, honour, and spiritual stance. Apply a penalty in such a way that the punishment of the guilty party is instructive, not demoralizing. One must keep in mind that at the present time an atmosphere of war has been created, which fosters drunkenness. Apply the penalty of caning to those comrades who are not helped by other types of punishments. Apply the death penalty to those comrades who are spreading drunkenness, are inveterate drunkards and, because of this, are demoralizing the Ukrainian citizenry. And they are acting as provocateurs.

*Attention:*

I instruct the body of the leadership and commanders of units to bring this order to the attention of all members, riflemen, candidates, and sympathizers of our revolutionary liberation movement by reading it aloud.

This order goes into force on 15 April 1945.

Report on the implementation of this order by 25 April 1945.

*Billets*, 15 April 1945

*Glory to Ukraine!*                      *Glory to the Heroes!*

(*Kremin*)

HDA SBU, 372-48-2.

DOCUMENT 46: REPORT ON TERRORIST ACTS OF SB  
FIGHTING GROUPS IN THE KALUSH AREAKalush Area  
25 September 1945*Report**on the terrorist actions of raion SB fighting groups for the period  
from 10 August to 15 September 1945**Dolyna area:*<sup>2</sup>

On 10 August 1945 at 22:00 hours the raion fighting group of the Vyhoda area, numbering six fighters under the command of Comrade Chort, shelled the raion centre of Vyhoda. The shelling took place in this manner: First, several rockets were fired, and afterwards machine guns opened fire at the same time from several sides, at the NKVD and NKGB buildings and a wood distillery. The firing lasted around ten minutes. The Bolsheviks fired off a few rifle rounds in the direction of our men.

On 15 August 1945 in Tysiv a raion SB fighting group from the Bolekhiv area under the command of Comrade Vovk ambushed several Bolsheviks and strybyky. During the skirmish one NKVD man was seriously wounded in the stomach and one strybok in the leg. Right after the first shots the rest of the Bolsheviks, who were in between the houses, attacked the fighting group, but they retreated without losses.

On 24 August 1945 a raion SB fighting group from the Rozhniativ [Rozhniativ] area numbering eight fighters under the command of Comrade Arshenko ambushed Bolsheviks who were forcibly confiscating a quota of grain in the village of Hrabiv. The fighting group fired on the Bolsheviks and took back several wagonloads of looted grain. The Bolsheviks scattered in a panic, reporting afterwards to the raion centre that they had been attacked by a large Banderite force.

On 25 August 1945 a raion fighting group from the Bolekhiv area numbering ten riflemen under the command of Comrade Vovk carried out an ambush against Bolsheviks in the village of Kniazholuka, on the Svicha River.

2 Kalush is a city located in the western Ukrainian foothills of the Carpathian Mountains. Vyhoda is a small settlement in the Dolyna district, about 41.5 kilometres west of Kalush. Ukraine's oldest narrow-gauge railway connects Vyhoda with Mizun. Bolekhiv is a small town about 22.2 kilometres northwest of Vyhoda and forty-nine kilometres west of Kalush. The Sukil and Svicha rivers run through Kalush. Rozhniativ is situated twenty-two kilometres to the southwest.

A special NKVD fighting group from Vyhoda drove into the ambush. During the shootout one NKVD man was killed and four Bolsheviks were wounded.

On 26 August 1945 Comrades Sokolenko and Malyna, fighters of a special fighting group, assassinated the head of the municipal council in Bolekhiv, Dmytro Kvasnyshyn. Kvasnyshyn was the most active communist among the local Ukrainians in Bolekhiv, and he spoke out forcefully against our movement. After the assassination of the head of the municipal council there were several incidents in which heads of factories, local people, and easterners-communists refused to speak out openly against us at meetings, declaring that they do not want to die from a Banderite bullet.

On 31 August 1945 a raion SB fighting group from the Bolekhiv area, numbering ten fighters, fired on the city of Bolekhiv with machine guns and submachine guns. The city was fired on from two sides, from the suburb of Dovzhka and Bania.

On 10 September 1945 a raion SB fighting group from the Vyhoda area numbering seven fighters under the command of Comrade Chort carried out an ambush on the narrow-gauge Vyhoda–Solotvyna–Mizun railway. The fighters detained a car that had just driven up at the time, dispersed the service personnel and woodcutters who were driving to work, and then blew up the car with two loads of mines. The car was completely destroyed.

On 15 September 1945 a raion SB fighting group from the Bolekhiv area numbering twelve people shelled the city of Bolekhiv from two sides. After rockets were launched, three machine guns and several submachine guns opened fire in the direction of stationed NKVD troops and other military units. A great panic broke out in the city. At this time a theatre from Kharkiv was performing in the city. When the shelling began, those present at the performance as well as the artists jumped out of the windows and doors and scattered every which way. Military men and party members were shouting in the hall, “Alarm! Banderites are attacking the city!” and they dispersed, each one into his own hole.

In addition to these actions during the reporting month, SB fighting groups destroyed equipment at dairies and the archives of village soviets in the following villages: on 19 August in the village of Tysiv on 22 August in the villages of Herynia and Hoziiiv, 24 August in the villages of Cholhany and Pidberezh, on 9 September in the village of Novoshyn.

*Billets*, 25 September 1945 III-171a

HDA SBU, 13-376-58-023.

## DOCUMENT 47: LIST OF INDIVIDUALS LIQUIDATED BY THE SB

14 December 1945

*Blacklist**List of liquidated informants and lackeys of the Soviet government*

- 1 Morda, Hryhorii, born 1930 in the village of Petrychi, Krasne raion, Ukrainian. Arrested by the Olesko NKVD, was used as an informant in prison cells, then sent into the field as an intelligence agent.
- 2 Dmytrak, Yevhenia, born 1927 in Yablonivka, Busk raion, Ukrainian female, education seven classes of public school, behaved immorally in relation to the Bolsheviks, carried out intelligence work in the village among the youth, informed on girls. She brought food to the forest for purposes of provocation.
- 3 Dmytrak, Illia, born 1890 in the village of Yablonivka, Busk raion, Ukrainian, education four grades of public school. Was a village headman under the Germans. Was in the service of the Gestapo. He betrayed people to Germany, was involved in arrests, now he was collaborating with the NKVD. He informed on people to the NKVD and sparked roundups.
- 4 Helich, Ivan, born 1880 in the village of Yalykhovychi, a Pole by nationality, education four grades of public school. Spotted lads in the forest digging a hideout. He instantly led in the Bolsheviks. Our boys escaped the encirclement.
- 5 Vasylykiv, Maria, born 1910 in the village of Beniv, Zolochiv raion, Ukrainian, delegate of the village soviet. Was an obvious lackey of the NKVD and the Soviet government. Publicly liquidated.
- 6 Krokiv, Ivan, born 1897 in the village of Pidlyssia, Olesko raion, Ukrainian, head of the village soviet. Had contacts with the NKVD.
- 7 Harasymchuk, Anastazia, born 1925 in the village of Baratyn, Pidkamin raion, Ukrainian, education four grades of public school. Hid out in his home, later gave himself up, was recruited by the NKVD as a secret informant.
- 8 Riabchuk, Ivan, born 1926 in Yankivtsi, Zhytomyr oblast, Ukrainian, sergeant in the Red Army. Was captured in the act of robbing in the village of Uhortsy.

*Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!*

PAPA

*Billets*, 14 December 1945

HDA SBU, 13-376-51-038.



## DOCUMENT 48: PLEDGE TO COOPERATE WITH THE SB

USB  
SOV

1947

*Commitment*

I, the undersigned citizen  
resident of the village of ....., raion of .....,  
oblast of ....., understanding the current difficult situation of the  
Ukrainian people under Bolshevik occupation, witnessing the daily suffer-  
ing of the civilian population under the bestial terror of the NKVD and their  
henchmen for the consolidation of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian  
people, promise determinedly and voluntarily to cooperate with the secret  
organs of the USB.

I am to carry out all the obligations placed on me precisely and uncondi-  
tionally. I will report constantly and truthfully in established points about the  
movement of NKVD troops, the Judas work of agents and the administration  
amidst the population.

I will keep my cooperation with the USB and assigned secret tasks in strict  
secrecy not just from outside people but even from my closest family. For trea-  
son and not keeping a secret and not carrying out tasks I will be responsible  
before the Revolutionary Court (including the death penalty).

I am to sign all materials supplied by me with the pseudonym .....

I confirm the above commitment with my own signature.

Signature .....

Day ..... 1947

Authorized SOV

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-102.

DOCUMENT 49: INSTRUCTION: ON THE APPLICATION OF  
PUNISHMENTS FOR OUN MEMBERS

27 March 1949

*Punishments*

The cadres must know that there is accountability for every word and deed in the Organization. Therefore, leading cadres must educate their subordinates accordingly and, on the other hand, all cadres themselves must beware of committing acts deserving of punishment and not abuse words.

If we must indeed punish someone, then it is necessary to make sure that this punishment improves the person but does not kill ambition in him; therefore, with regard to punishment it is necessary to be very cautious and to approach each person individually. Excessive punishment kills ambition and kills the desire to work.

Proceedings are instituted against cadres for the following offences:

- 1 For the deliberate murder of an underground member or shooting at him (unjustifiably).
- 2 For the unjustified liquidation of civilians.
- 3 For the liquidation, albeit justified, of civilians.
- 4 For the liquidation by means of family culpability.
- 5 For the blatant refusal to carry out an order.
- 6 For raising hands during battle.
- 7 For crossing over to the enemy or attempting to do so.
- 8 For betraying an organizational secret to the enemy.
- 9 For sabotaging the Organization's work.
- 10 For drunkenness to the point of loss of self-control and the possibility of ending up in enemy hands in such a state.
- 11 For deliberately infecting another person with a venereal disease.
- 12 Those with incurable venereal diseases.  
In all the above-mentioned cases, the punishment is death.
- 13 For betraying an Organizational secret to anyone.
- 14 For deliberately shooting oneself.
- 15 For intentionally causing the decline of civilians.
- 16 For the theft and squandering of the Organization's property.
- 17 For theft of public property.
- 18 For crossing the Organization's political line.
- 19 For offences in the sphere of jurisprudence.
- 20 For the decline of people caused by anyone. In regard to all the above-mentioned offences, special cases are punishable by death.
- 21 For the accidental shooting of someone or shooting at someone or of oneself.

- 22 For the dissemination even of justified suspicions or facts against someone among underground members or civilians who are not competent in this matter.
- 23 For unjustifiably casting suspicions or slanders both at underground members and civilians.
- 24 For inappropriate behavior of subordinates towards their superiors and the converse.
- 25 For inappropriate behavior of underground members towards the populace.
- 26 For becoming unmasked.
- 27 For the failure of leading cells to punish desecretization.
- 28 For the failure to observe the principles of secrecy. For talkativeness causing unmasking.
- 29 For the careless implementation of an order.
- 30 For the unjustified non-implementation of an order or its unjustified incomplete implementation.
- 31 For the unjust resolution of controversial issues among the populace.
- 32 For drinking alcoholic beverages.
- 33 For moving around alone.
- 34 For the wilful exchange of weapons.
- 35 For not taking care of weapons.
- 36 For leaving weapons farther away from oneself than at arm's reach.
- 37 For using a camera without the permission of competent figures. For photographing forbidden scenes or installations.
- 38 For retreating from the enemy without having put up resistance.
- 39 For the failure to observe the principles of sending mail.
- 40 For informing superiors erroneously.

In general, institute proceedings against all members of the underground for an act that does not conform to instructions or which contravenes these instructions.

Usually, only the TOS or the SAP can hand down the death penalty. In exceptional cases, the death penalty may be handed down by the raion leader (SAP) or a specially convened court (TOS). But the raion leader or court convened by him can hand down the death penalty only in those cases where a postponement of the matter or the delivery of the guilty person to superiors can bring harm to the Organization.

In situations where cases have secret-intelligence colouration, the case is to be handed over to the SB. Here too, if the postponement of the case could bring harm to the Organization, the case may be decided by the raion leader. However, the raion leader cannot transfer those competencies to anyone.

*Billets*, 27 March 1949

*Glory to the Heroes!*

(A.)

DOCUMENT 50: INSTRUCTION:  
ON THE SAFEGUARDING OF SB ARCHIVES

R 31

Strictly confidential  
Do not recopy.  
September 1949

*On safeguarding secret materials of the SB*

SB materials are extraordinarily valuable. The enemy is applying every effort to capture them. And it should be said that, owing to the fault of some careless leaders of SB sections, he manages to do this from time to time. In order to prevent this, we are offering here instructions concerning the safeguarding of SB archives and the treatment of secret materials. All the above-mentioned measures must be implemented as soon as possible following the receipt of these instructions and upheld unconditionally [and] constantly.

- 1 The transfer of an entire archive or part of it, as well as of individual secret materials, into enemy hands, or their destruction (by exposure to water) is the responsibility of the responsible leader of the SB of a given territorial cell to which that archive or those secret materials belong. Here we note straightaway that the loss or destruction of secret materials may be justified only in those cases where they truly could not have been saved or at least destroyed, and where all the instructions concerning the safeguarding and treatment of secret materials enumerated here were followed. The loss of secret materials caused as a result of carelessness, laziness, lack of foresight, or forgetfulness on the part of responsible leaders of the SB, must always be punished as severely as possible by the appropriate superiors.
- 2 An archive should be buried in a hermetically sealed (with rubber) twenty- to forty-litre capacity milk can or in another such solid container. Do not use cans sealed with rags. Before being buried, a can should be inspected for holes or cracks in some place, and [to be sure] that it does not leak or is not already rusted somewhere. It is best to bury an archive in a forest, in such a place where it can be well disguised. If there is no forested terrain, an archive can be buried in a field or a village, without, however, the knowledge of civilians. A permanent archive should be buried at a depth of forty to sixty centimetres, and a temporary archive – at a depth of ten to fifteen centimetres. The responsible leader of the SB should be present during the inspection of the can's solidity as well as during its burial and masking. A freshly buried can should be

- inspected after the first heavy slush to see whether it is leaking anywhere. Every year in springtime the state of the archive must be checked.
- 3 The following people should know about the place of concealment of an SB archive: the responsible leader of the SB to whom that archive belongs his clerk-archivist, two fighters of the given SB centre, and the responsible leader's organizational superior. It is good if someone from among the responsible leader's higher superiors also knows about the place where the archive is concealed; it makes no difference if this is along the functional or organizational line. In the event of the death of one of those who knows about the archive, it is necessary to familiarize the next underground member with the archive, so that the number of people who know about the archive will always be the same – five to six people. If an archive is contained in several cans, it is good to ensure that each can is known not to the same two fighters, but two different fighters for each single can.
  - 4 In an SB raion centre the entire archive is located in a single can. In a nadraion there should be both a temporary and a permanent archive. The same materials should be in both the permanent and the temporary archive. If, however, there is only one copy of some materials, then, if those materials are required for work, they are stored in the temporary archive. But immediately after their use they must be moved to the permanent archive. The permanent archive is for storing materials that have been completely used and are not required for current work. It is opened only in order to place in it fresh packets of unrequired materials, and never in order to take something from it. It serves as a reserve in the event of the loss of the temporary archive, and it should be preserved for us during the building of the USSD. It is obvious that such a permanent archive should be safeguarded even better than the temporary archive. A permanent archive should be known only to the most reliable people – moreover, to different ones from those who know about the temporary archive (fighters are meant here). Great care must be taken so that in the event of the death of one of those who knows about the permanent archive, a new person will become instantly familiarized with it.
  - 5 Only a responsible leader of the SB or his clerk may open an archive (permanent or temporary), take certain items from it, or add new ones to it. The only ones who cannot do this are fighters who know about the archive. As well, the superiors of the responsible leader of the SB, to whom the archive belongs, who know the place of its concealment should avoid cases of visiting the archive in the absence of a given responsible leader of the SB or his clerk. A responsible leader of the SB or a clerk should personally supervise how the archive is disguised after

every opening, and in case of need (when it is already more difficult to mask in this spot) – to move it to another location.

- 6 An SB archive should not contain items or materials that do not belong there. A responsible leader of the SB or a clerk constantly keeps a list of materials that are in the permanent and temporary archives, under this title: *List of the Permanent Archive of the SB Centre of \_\_\_* or *List of the Temporary Archive of the SB Centre of \_\_\_*. Two copies should be kept of such lists. One of those copies is left in the can that contains these materials; the other is in the can with the temporary archive. Once again, one list of the temporary archive is left in the temporary archive, and the second copy is held close by the responsible leader of the SB or the clerk. If an archive is stored in several cans, then one must note which can contains which materials. The materials that are enumerated in those lists should be recorded according to the proper groups in order to facilitate the rapid retrieval of necessary materials and to maintain order. These are the groups: 1) SB instructional materials about the SB; 2) general organizational instructional materials; 3) SB training literature; 4) training literature about secrecy; 5) informational reports (in case of need, this group can be divided into subgroups, for example, reports from individual raions, nadraion reports from the territory of Lviv or other cities reports from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR or the USSR data concerning the organizational scheme of the MVD-MGB et al.); 6) reports from informants of the IS [informational network] (those not included in informational reports or announcements); 7) announcements-obituaries; 8) announcements about s/o [secret informants]; 9) announcements about obvious lackeys (blacklists); 10) announcements about independent underground members; 11) announcements about cadres, a-v [penetration agents]; 12) announcements in connection with a death (investigative reports in connection with a death, report of a death); 13) documents (personal and all others), photographs. Not only original documents are included here but also duplicates or copies of them as well as information about where one document or another was acquired. In these lists are to be recorded materials that are printed as well as those that are handwritten. In recording individual materials, one must provide: the complete title, author (or the one who prepared it), number of pages, and the date when the given material was printed. Packets with especially important materials should be lacquered and secured with a seal by the responsible leader of the SB himself or his clerk, so that even those fighters who know about an archive will not be able to read them. There must not be confusion in an archive. The proper materials should be packed into individual packets and secured with a

proper inscription indicating what is found in a given packet. During the retrieval of materials from an archive or placement of new ones there, it is necessary to introduce the proper changes into the appropriate list of the archive, so as not to create chaos in what is at the top of [ongoing] work and what is stored in the archive and what is stored in which place.

- 7 As a rule, all secret materials should only be in an archive. However, sometimes it is necessary to have some of those materials at hand for work on them: for study for transference to others during a briefing for excerpting, for recopying, and the like. In this case, it is necessary to remember to remove only that which is necessary for immediate work for some brief period of time (a few days): never remove at the first go a larger number of these materials because in fact some are worked on, while the others lie around completely unnecessarily in a hideout or in a bag. After completing work on some materials, return them to the archive and only then remove fresh materials. The SB section leader or clerk who removed them for work is responsible for materials removed from an archive, even in the event that at a given moment those materials are in the care of some other individual. The most important materials removed from an archive should be in one's pocket, and less important ones – in the bag of the one who removed them. Even during a stay in a hideout, secret materials should not be scattered on various shelves but packed in a single bag. Such a bag should be in the exclusive care of the one who is working on the given materials at that time: it must not fall into the enemy's hands. During journeys a responsible leader of the SB or clerk who is responsible for such a bag carries it himself. In certain cases, he can hand it over to the care of his fighters (not strangers), but only those who are aware of the responsibility connected with the loss of the bag (but even in this latter case, it is not the fighter who is responsible for the bag but the responsible leader of the SB himself or the clerk). During a stay in a forest camp, the bag is to be buried in the ground far from the camp or, if it contains materials that are being worked on, it must be kept with you, so that in the event of a retreat it is not left behind. While staying in a hideout and working on secret materials in it, one must constantly remember that, in the event of leaving the hideout – if only for one day – without people, the secret materials are to be stored in the temporary archive or taken with you. It must not happen that all the people leave the hideout and secret materials are left behind in it. As soon as work on the secret materials is completed, they must be returned at once to the archive and stored in the appropriate packets.
- 8 Any secret materials of the SB can be read only by the responsible leader of the SB to whom those materials belong, his clerk, and their functional and

organizational superiors. No one apart from them. Obviously, SB fighters cannot read those materials. Of the materials enumerated above in points 1–13, all cadres can read only two SB materials, specifically: *To Heighten Revolutionary Vigilance* and *How the MVD-MGB Are Overcoming the So-Called Counter-Revolution in the USSR*, and all materials about secrecy. Some other materials of an SB training nature or any other kinds of secret materials may be assigned for reading to individual members only with the specific permission of the okruha responsible leader of the SB. In the event that some responsible leader of the SB obtains any kind of secret materials, but it is not clearly indicated on them or in a separate note to whom they can be given for reading, then one must always assume that they are designated only for a given responsible leader of the SB and his organizational superior. As well, responsible leaders of the SB cannot give those or other secret materials of his centre for reading to other section leaders or even his superiors who hold a higher position than [them] in the SB or along the organizational line, if they are not organizationally connected to and acquainted with. Also, it is forbidden, without special permission, to copy by hand or type on a machine as well as to disseminate any secret materials of your own or other centres.

- 9 In the event of the loss of an archive or part of it or even of individual secret materials, the responsible leader of the SB to whom those materials belong reports upstairs. The first part of such a report accurately enumerates what specifically fell into enemy hands, and the second part lists the circumstances of the loss of those materials. The form of such a report should look this way:

R 31

*Billets*, day (date)

*The Question of the Loss of Secret Materials of the SB*

*Announcement*

- I. The day (date) that the following materials fell into enemy hands (or were destroyed or lost):

1. ....

2. ....

- II. Circumstances behind the loss of the above-listed secret materials.....

.....

(–) signature of the SB section leader who was responsible for the lost materials

(–) name of the related SB centre



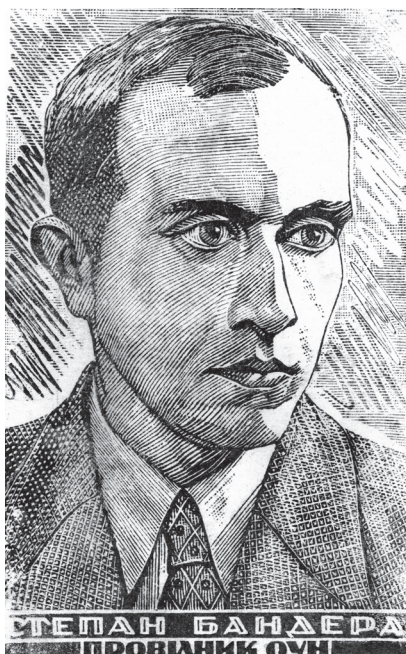
If the loss of secret materials took place in a raion centre of the SB, then five copies are made of such an announcement: one remains in the archive of the raion SB centre, two remain in the nadraion [SB centre], and two in the okruha [SB centre].

With the object of implementing these instructions effectively, all responsible leaders of the SB are ordered to maintain constant control over the archives of the responsible leaders accountable to them. Also control which secret materials are kept by responsible leaders of the SB or their clerks in pockets, bags, hideouts: whether they are in fact being worked on at the given time.  
September 1949

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-016.

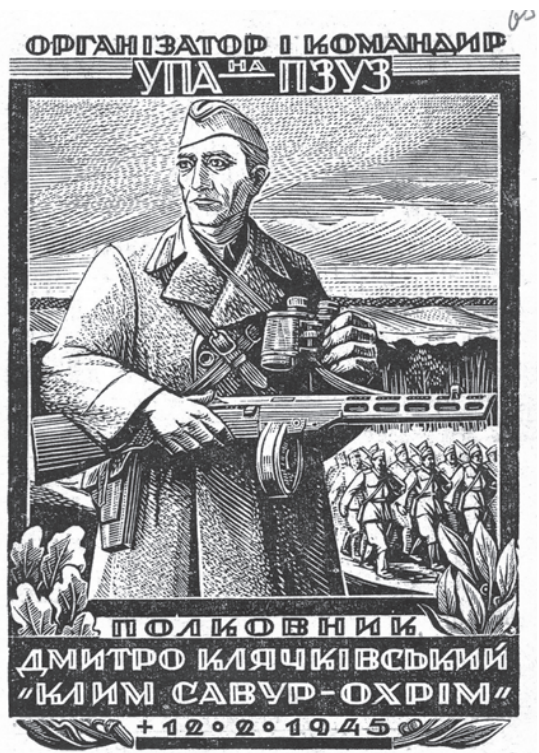


The first congress of Ukrainian nationalists (Vienna, 1929), where the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was established. From left to right, first row: Julian Vassian, Dmytro Andrievsky, Mykola Kapustyansky, Yevhen Konovalets, Mykola Stsiborsky, Yakiv Moralevych, Volodymyr Martynets, Mykola Vikul; second row: Ivan Malko, Osip Boydunyk, and Dmytro Demchuk.



Engraving of Stepan Bandera by Nil Khasevych.

Engraving of  
Dmytro Kliachkivsky  
by Nil Khasevych.



An engraved portrait of  
Roman Shukhevych by  
Nil Khasevych, 1950.



Roman Shukhevych, Dmytro Hrytsai,  
and Kateryna Meshko during  
the Conference of Enslaved Peoples,  
21–23 November 1943, Rivne region.



The commander-in-chief  
of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army,  
Roman Shukhevych  
(Taras Chuprynka, 1907–1950).  
This photo was used in a forged  
Soviet document, 1945.



A photograph of Roman Shukhevych used in a forged Soviet document, 1948.



Vasyl Kuk,  
UPA commander-in-chief,  
1950–1954.



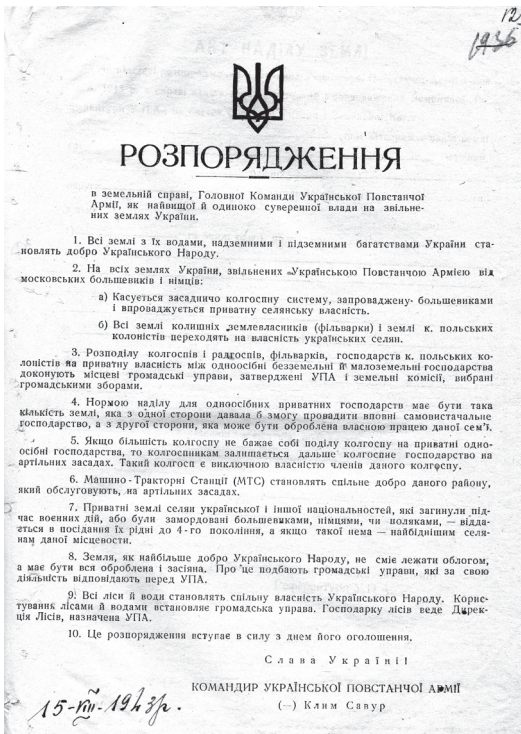
President of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, UHVR, Kyrylo Osmak (1890–1960). Arrested in 1944, he died in the Vladimysky Central Prison.



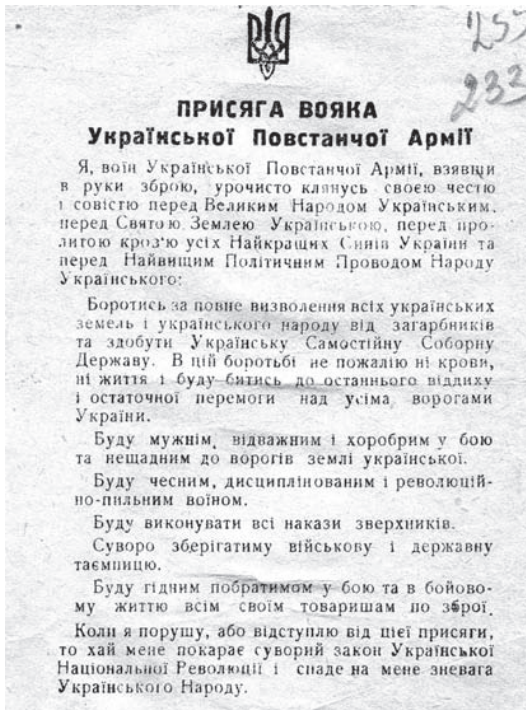
Portrait and trophy photo of Colonel Vasyl Sydor, “Shelest” (1910–1949), commander of the UPA-West. He died in battle with the NKVD, 17 April 1949.



Kateryna Zarytska, “Moneta” (1914–1986), organizer and leader of the Ukrainian Red Cross and Roman Shukhevych’s liaison. Arrested in 1947, she was sentenced to twenty-five years in prison.



Orders issued by the UPA's supreme command, 15 August 1943.

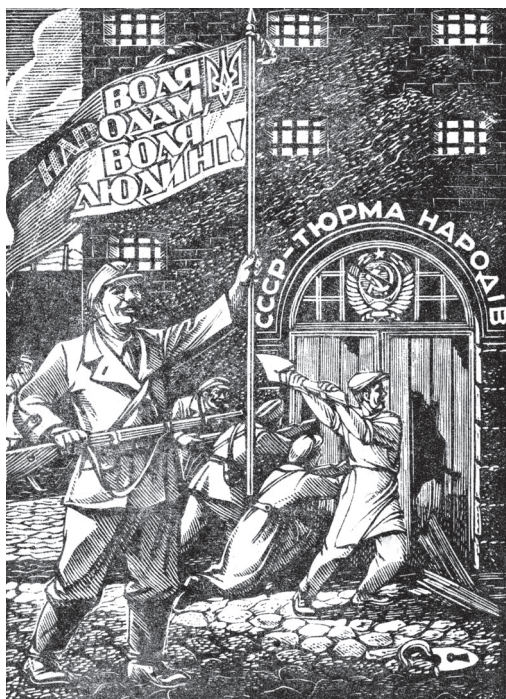


The oath of the UPA soldier as approved by the UHVR, introduced 19 July 1944.



A UPA NCO swearing the oath in the Black Forest (Stanislav oblast), 1944.





Engraving by Nil Khasevych,  
*Freedom to the nations! Freedom  
to man!*, 1948.



Engraving by Nil Khasevych,  
*Freedom to the nations! Freedom  
to man!*, 1949.



Unidentified insurgents.



Unidentified UPA men in a hideout.



An unidentified UPA unit.



An unidentified UPA unit.



Young insurgents.



UPA soldiers preparing pork.



An insurgent Easter in 1946, Sambir region.



Easter in Sian, Yavoriv region. Second from left, Vengrin Stepan, "Shuvar"; first from right, Galabud Mykhailo; standing, Ivan Husyak (in "Sian" company).



Commanders of the UPA Peremyshl battalion (January 1946).



A 200-ruble bofon issued for Easter, 1948.



A 200-ruble bofon from 1949.



A 200-ruble bofon from 1950.



A nurse providing aid to a wounded insurgent.



Standing in the middle, Dr Bohdan Kruk, "Melody," with wounded insurgents, a security guard, and a nurse, in the village of Zatvarnytisa, Beskid district (Lemkivshchyna), 1946.



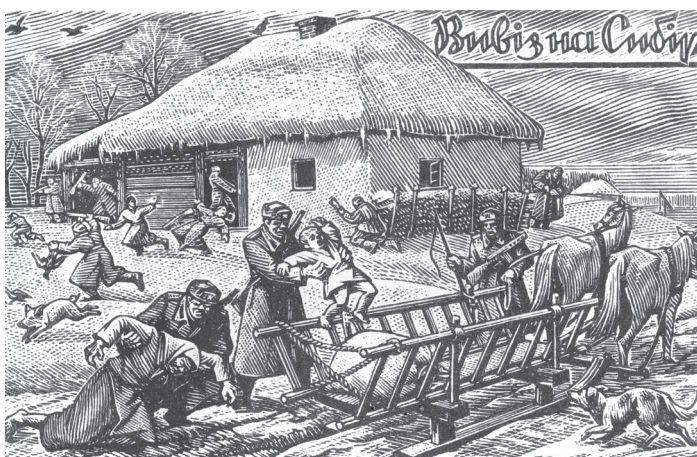
Deportation of Ukrainians during Operation Vistula being carried out by the Poznan Internal Security Corps Battalion, April 1947.



Deportation of Ukrainians during Operation Vistula, April 1947.



Engraving by Nil Khasevych, *Deported to Siberia*, 1950.



## Other Structures of the Liberation Movement

### DOCUMENT 51: ORDER OF UPA COMMANDER ON THE UKRAINIAN RED CROSS

12 November 1943

#### *Order no. 21*

for Group Commanders, Commandants of Military Okruhas, the Ukrainian Red Cross

To this day the medical question has not been properly settled. There is a lack of the necessary number of medical stations outfitted appropriately to conspiratorial needs. There is no proper place and use of medical personnel in medical stations. There are no separate competencies for doctors – responsible leaders of the Ukrainian Red Cross for a medical station. There are no regulation books that would normalize the work of medical stations and confer a certain organized form on them. There is no control over medical stations, management of pharmaceutical items, management of the property of medical stations.

*I order:*

1. The post of leading doctors in Groups is to be abolished. All of the medical work in the army is to be transferred directly to the Ukrainian Red Cross in Military Okruhas.
2. In every Military Okruha the Ukrainian Red Cross will appoint a medical chief, who will be responsible for the health of the army, workers in the underground, the civilian population. The medical chief is answerable to the Ukrainian Red Cross.
3. Medical stations, which belong directly to the medical chief through the head of a medical station, are to be established in various strategic territories. Medical stations are bound by the strictest secrecy.
4. Casualty clearing stations for sick soldiers (separate ones for civilians) are to be created at certain distances from medical stations. Under no circumstances may casualty clearing stations betray medical stations. The sick in casualty

clearing stations are moved to medical stations only by special couriers on duty at casualty clearing stations.

5. Access to medical stations is granted only by: a) personnel assigned to them, b) controlling bodies of the Ukrainian Red Cross, c) Group commanders, d) commandants of areas in which medical stations are located, e) certain authorized Group commanders or commanders of VOs.

6. All medical personnel, higher and lower, both in the army and the rear line services, are to be subordinated to medical chiefs. Medical personnel attached to military units belong organizationally to the commander of the military units in which they are carrying out their medical service and, administratively, to medical chiefs.

7. Strict control over the economic management of medical stations and all medical work is to be instituted by the Ukrainian Red Cross.

8. If the need for military protection of medical stations arises, Group commanders will assign certain military protective units that will belong organizationally to the head of the medical station and, administratively, to the Group. So that protective units are not demoralized by remaining in one place, they are to be rotated periodically. Protective units must be specially selected and trained for protecting medical stations.

9. All medical questions in the army and the rear line services, medical station issues, their reliance on pharmaceutical [and] auxiliary economic issues are to be normalized immediately by regulation books.

12 November 1943

*Glory to Ukraine!*

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

/“Klym Savur”/

[signature]

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 215.

DOCUMENT 52: INSTRUCTION: ORGANIZATION OF THE  
UPA'S MILITARY FIELD GENDARMERIE (VPZh)

Copy

1944

*Instruction*  
*on the Organization of the UPA's Military Field Gendarmerie*  
(Draft)

1. The Ukrainian United Independent State, dreamed of for hundreds of years, is being created by the UPA's force of arms in enemy surroundings, the deep rear line services, and strict conspiratorial conditions.
2. The cruel revolutionary reality demands strict laws, orders, on the implementation of which depends the attainment of the Great Goal.
3. The enemies that surround us are seeking with all their might to undermine our struggle from the inside – spies, provocateurs, [and] saboteurs are being placed in the warriors ranks.
4. Unaware, spineless elements that have stepped onto the thorny path of the national struggle, having encountered difficulties on their path, are frightened of them and are retreating, involuntarily becoming traitors of their nation. A traitor is not only someone who has involuntarily sold out the nation's interests to the enemies – a traitor is also someone who, having launched the struggle, has abandoned it.
5. The Military Field Gendarmerie of the UPA is appointed to oversee that revolutionary laws and orders are upheld in the UPA.

*General Duties of the VPZh UPA*

6. The Military Field Gendarmerie is formed out of the finest forces of the UPA.
7. Revolutionary awareness of one's office, exemplary discipline, and steadfastness are the traits that the personnel of the VPZh should possess.
8. Called upon to supervise the upholding of revolutionary legality [and] implement orders in the UPA by means of appropriate command factors, the VPZh should be principled in its activities, disinterested but fair and conscious of its office.
9. If all our activity requires deep conspiratorial conditions, then the VPZh should exist in secrecy all the more, and its personnel should monitor this diligently.
10. VPZh bodies have the right to monitor the field of its activities in the following matters:

- a) Desertion.
  - b) Unauthorized leave (unauthorized leave longer than two hours is considered desertion).
  - c) Failure to carry out an order.
  - d) Theft and sale of state-military property.
  - e) Drunkenness and amorality.
  - f) Monitors the working order of the army's means of communications.
  - g) Abuse or exceeding service rights granted by army instructions.
  - h) Betrayal of the UPA's interests.
  - i) Espionage.
11. The VPZh carries out its designated duties through the permanent presence of VPZh representatives in military units, control of the administered territory.
12. The VPZh may initiate an investigation of one violation or another:
- a) After the forces of the VPZh establish the fact of a violation.
  - b) On a commander's recommendation.
  - c) After obtaining the fact of a violation from other sources.
13. If the VPZh captures enemy intelligence agents or spies, after exploiting them for their own interests, it should hand them over to the group's intelligence unit.
14. In order to achieve greater success in its work, the VPZh may organize a secret intelligence network in the UPA and in its field of operations.
15. On the demand of a unit's intelligence division, the VPZh should keep captured soldiers of enemy armies, partisans of foreign ideas, [and] deserters under its protection, bearing full responsibility for this.
- The Organization of the VPZh
16. A VPZh unit is organized at the headquarters of each army group, consisting of:
- a) A commandant of a VPZh group.
  - b) A deputy commandant of a VPZh group.
  - c) The necessary number of investigators.
  - d) Secretaries.
  - e) The necessary number of military field gendarmes .
17. In every detachment a VPZh group organizes VPZh stanytsias of the detachment, consisting of the following:
- a) A commandant of a VPZh stanytsia.
  - b) A secretary of the stanytsia.
  - c) The necessary number of military field gendarmes.
18. A detachment's VPZh stanytsia is subordinated administratively to the commander of the detachment on the professional side; it is subordinated to the VPZh of a group.

19. All uncovered facts of a violation of the established order in the UPA [and] VPZh stanytsias in a detachment are to be immediately brought to the attention of a VPZh group, which carries out an investigation in connection with it.

20. The duties of a VPZh stanytsia of a detachment is only control of the army and a detachment's field of operations.

21. A VPZh group hands over all investigated cases to the decision of a group commander.

#### Duties and Rights of VPZh Personnel

22. The commander of a VPZh group is directly subordinated to the chief of staff of a group and should:

a) Direct the work of a VPZh group and control the work of VPZh stanytsias in detachments.

b) Direct the professional training of VPZh personnel.

c) Develop a monthly work plan for the VPZh.

d) Assign tasks to VPZh stanytsias and military field gendarmes, accurately indicating the deadline for completion.

e) Prosecute violators of the VPZh's order and encourage better gendarmes with more initiative.

f) A commander of a VPZh stanytsia in a detachment is subordinated to the commander of the detachment, and professionally, to the commander of a VPZh group.

His duties are:

a) To monitor the implementation of UPA regulations in the detachment and the field of operations of the detachment.

b) To assign tasks to his subordinated gendarmes, indicating the deadline for completion.

c) To report on completed work to the VPZh group.

24. The deputy commandant of the VPZh assists the commander of the VPZh in his work and carries out the duties of the commandant of the VPZh in his absence.

25. The VPZh investigator directs an investigation of a case assigned to him and is responsible for the veracity of the materials of the investigation.

26. The VPZh secretary carries out the VPZh's office work and is responsible for keeping paperwork in order.

27. If a staff member of the VPZh deliberately conceals or distorts facts pertaining to violations of military laws, then for such abuse he will be severely prosecuted.

28. If a VPZh has at its disposal enough gendarmes to form a subunit, this is carried out by the commander of the VPZh, who appoints commanders to such units.

29. In sending several gendarmes on an assignment, the commander of the

VPZh always appoints a senior from among them, who carries full responsibility for carrying out the task assigned to him.

30. The completion or non-completion of every assigned task should be verified by the commander who assigned it.

### *Arresting*

31. An arrest is carried out:

a) When there is cause.

b) When the guilty party has been caught during the commission of a crime.

c) On the recommendation of a commander.

32. An arrest takes place upon establishing the fact of a committed crime indicated in § 10

33. For an arrest, the commander of the VPZh writes out a special arrest warrant and authorizes gendarmes for this.

34. An arrest without a warrant takes place only when the guilty party is caught during the commission of a crime.

35. Only the commander of the VPZh has the right to issue arrest warrants, and in his absence – the deputy.

36. If some items are confiscated from someone under arrest, the VPZh should issue him a description of the confiscated items, and a copy is to be attached to the case that is opened against him.

37. The VPZh records all arrested individuals in a separate book of arrestees.

38. If several accused have been arrested in one and the same case, the VPZh should hold them separately until the conclusion of the investigation.

39. A separate guard unit headed by the commandant of a unit is assigned to providing services to the arrestees and guarding them while they are under arrest; [he] is simultaneously the arresting commandant.

40. For escaping while under guard, the guilty party carries full responsibility before the army's Court Martial.

41. In VPZh groups a disciplinary unit is formed, in which punishments are meted out to those who have been sentenced by a disciplinary unit.

42. A separate unit headed by a commander, who is simultaneously the commandant of the disciplinary unit, is formed for the protection and servicing of a disciplinary unit.

43. The commandant of a disciplinary unit carries full responsibility for order in the disciplinary unit and upholding the regulations of the disciplinary unit.

### *Searches*

44. Searches in case of need to uncover lost and concealed materials or items or banned [items].

45. For carrying out a search, the commander of the VPZh issues a separate

warrant, and in the event of the arrest of the owners of the premises being searched, the search may be indicated in the arrest warrant.

46. A search is conducted in the presence of the owner of the premises being searched, and if this is a state institution, then in the presence of the director of the institution and two witnesses. The VPZh takes all other present individuals under guard and forbids them to move about freely in the vicinity of the premises being searched.

47. During a search, special attention must be paid to the psychological behaviour of the owners of premises being searched, [such as] nervousness that may indicate the owners' guilt and even help to uncover the location of the objects that are being searched for.

48. After the completion of the search a special report is drawn up, in which the following are indicated: the date on which the search took place, who carried out the search and in whose presence, what (what kinds of items) was uncovered and where (in what location) as a result of the search. It is crucial to indicate in the report that at the time of the search no material damage was inflicted on the owner of the premises being searched, and if there was, then the reason must be indicated. The report on the search is signed by the VPZh official who authorized the search, two witnesses, and the owner of the premises that were searched.

49. If, after the search, some items are seized from the owner of the searched premises, then a separate description of the confiscated items is drafted about this in two copies and signed by the representative of the VPZh, two witnesses, and the owner of the items. One copy of the description is given to the owner of the items, and the other (a copy) is appended to the report on the search and forwarded to the VPZh office.

#### *Investigation*

50. An investigation of all violations of the established order is carried out only by the VPZh through the efforts of its investigators.

51. After receiving materials from the interrogated individual, the investigator draws up an appropriate report, in which the following is indicated: the surname and name of the interrogated individual, his military rank, from which unit, date of birth, place of residence, education, membership in political parties and organizations. After this, the interrogated individual is informed of his legal culpability in false statements, and everything that the interrogated individual admitted is legally described.

52. In order to establish the reality and genuineness (of the confession), the accused must be interrogated several times in one and the same case at the same time, [and] the investigator's questions to the accused should be posed in varying order and in various forms each time. After this kind of multiple



questioning, the investigator should make a detailed analysis of the reports obtained as a result of the interrogations and find those places in them where the accused contradicts himself in his statements. Such a discrepancy in the statements will force the accused to admit the real truth to the investigator. The investigator should draw up a separate analytical report based on such an analysis of the interrogation materials, and after this report is read, the [accused] is interrogated again.

53. An interrogation with the application of physical means of forcing a confession may be carried out in an extreme case, when no other method produces the necessary results, and the accused is steadfast in his conduct during interrogation. Physical means of forcing a confession are a last resort for breaking the moral steadfastness of an accused.

54. An investigator may carry out an interrogation with the application of physical measures for breaking the moral steadfastness of an accused only with special permission from the commander of the VPZh.

55. After the completion of an investigation of an assigned case, the investigator should analyze all the materials that were obtained as a result of the investigation and issue a finding as well as an indictment against the accused.

56. Before all the materials of the investigation are sent to the group commander for a decision, the indictment is read out to the accused, concerning which the accused signs the indictment.

Instructor:       (*Chutka*)

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fols. 4-7.

DOCUMENT 53: GUIDELINES FOR ORGANIZING  
THE UNDERGROUND'S FOOD SUPPLY

*Billets, 27 October 1944*

*Financial Management Section to Raion No. II*  
To the Attention of Comrade Berkut

*Instructions/Comments*

*To the instructions of August and instructions of September 1944*

1. Having spent time in the field, I have determined a whole number of abuses and various shortcomings were permitted by individual kushch managers and their couriers throughout stanytsias owing to the slipshod safeguarding of Organizational property; many things are being wasted. Despite the prohibition, self-defence kushch units are making incorrect use of stored goods, not having approval for this issued from the county and, what is worse, without the issuing of receipts, including who took this property. In keeping with the leadership's instructions, kushch units cannot use supplies from the storehouse, they are not in a formation, but are only a militarized part of the membership, which, in accordance with current conditions, received weapons so that, in keeping with the instructions issued to them, they will protect themselves and defend the population from the enemy camp. A kushch manager must ensure that the feeding and equipping of self-defence kushch units are organized by individual members and self-defence kushch units. Kushch managers do not feel obliged to store up and properly distribute the food contingency in their territory; in the territory they permit the exchange of grain for vodka and a whole array of other shortcomings that I call sabotage, which will be followed, as is known, by the appropriate punishments. During the submission of reports, they can conceal things that were reported in previous reports, or they do not list stockpiled items in the circulation book, but divide it among themselves, without the leadership's permission for this; what is worse, not reporting the committed act, which, in accordance with Order No. 3 dated 27 May 1944, is regarded as theft of Organizational property, for which the guilty parties are to be subject to criminal prosecution. I order the raion managers in this place, following the completion of an inspection, to eradicate the above-mentioned abuses and to advise in the next report about the completion of this work.

2. *Bookkeeping.* All Organizational property that is organized in the territory must be encompassed by the principles of bookkeeping; all expenditures must be carried out with the permission of official superiors, as well as territorial

ones, and signed by selectors (those responsible for expenditures); without documentation, the value of the goods is considered theft. All higher-utility storehouses must have their own warehousemen, who are obliged to keep storehouse books. It is desirable that bookkeeping be carried out by means of a card index system.

3. *Cooperation with the women's network.* It must be affirmed that, with regard to the economic competence assigned to them, women have turned out to be far better than men. The men's network and its economical forces place obstacles for women in the execution of their work competence because of the lack of goodwill to assist and cooperate with women, both in the procurement of goods and in the setting up of manufacturing centres. (These shortcomings are to be eradicated on the spot.)

4. *The organizing of supplies in the event of famine.*

a) It must be affirmed that procurements of grain and other food products, imposed by the latest instructions, are not completely depleting rural farms and their supplies. Our peasants should seek at all costs to sow their entire operable field for the winter and spring (conceal it well in the soil), create reserves of grain and other food products so they will last two years at least, and, in addition, economic forces will definitely arrange for the immediate organization and good concealment in every stanytsia of between fifty and 150 metric hundredweights [*zentner*] of grain for bread and the same quantity of grain for spring sowings. If, however, it is verified that the countryside cannot manage such a quantity of grain for the spring sowings, then this second amount is to be reduced by 50 percent. The last supply of grain should be carefully hidden. It can be distributed only with the permission of the county. This is an iron reserve in the event of a famine, which must be procured 100 percent from the territory, and well stored. All economic forces including up to the *okruha* level are responsible for it. If there is a possibility to extract from the territory more than what [is] stipulated in the above-mentioned quota for the iron reserve, it may be doubled and tripled in view of the great importance of the so-called iron stocks. Notifications about the fulfilment of this instruction must arrive in the county in the form of an economic report (by the special economic manager) by 15 November 1944.

b) Also for the iron capital, every stanytsia must store up between three hundred and eight hundred hundredweights of potatoes (take care to store them well, so they do not spoil during the winter months).

c) Put pressure on economic forces downward so that they will forbid individual farmers from privately killing newborn pigs and cattle, explaining to the peasants that, owing to the destruction of young animals, farms will end up without cattle and pigs. At the same time, the lack of a mentioned animals will lead to and intensify a general famine in individual provinces and in the

krai. Pay attention to improving feeding husbandry, keeping in mind Ukraine's future economic needs. Include in the iron fund and allot to each stanytsia between fifteen and fifty head of horned cattle and an identical number of pigs and sheep. The reporting and distribution of iron stocks in Points B in C must be subsumed under Point A in this part (attention: the assigned supplies of grain from fifty to 150 hundredweights in Point A refer to stanytsias).

5. Today everyone sees clearly that the Bolsheviks, under the guise of war, are seeking to destroy all Ukrainian activists, men and women, and they are attempting at all costs, and they will be exerting even greater efforts, to requisition large consignments of food from the population and to appoint special units to search for our food storehouses. Therefore, it is essential to make sure that all kinds of supplies and clothing are hidden from the enemy, so that we will have a chance to help those very activists whom the Bolsheviks want to destroy, the ones who at present are in units, self-defence kushch units, or other posts in our sociopolitical life, to survive and to [indecipherable] and safeguard them. After an inspection, severe punishments will be handed down for carelessness in warehousing, for negligence, the laziness of proper organizational forces. Once again, I remind you in this place about the inspection of all supplies [of grain] and their safeguarding before rot sets in, and their safeguarding before they are poured in. By 20 November 1944 prepare the following array of items for transport for UPA troops:

Raions II and II will each prepare: 150 pairs of footwear, 150 pairs of warm pants, 150 sheepskin jackets, 150 fur hats, 150 earmuffs, 150 pairs of gloves, 150 pairs of socks, 150 sweaters, 150 shirts, 300 pairs of underwear (undershirts and underpants), 30 pairs of puttees, 300 handkerchiefs, and 150 towels.

Raion One will prepare: 50 percent more of the above-indicated items. Whether you collect from the population via propaganda or confiscate with the aid of military units of self-defence kushch units, this must be carried out thoroughly by the above-indicated deadline, stored in kushch units, and prepared for transport. Kushch units are obliged to render both propaganda and military assistance if this is necessary with respect to recalcitrant citizens. If any kushch leader refuses to provide fighting groups for confiscating the above-mentioned items from the population, this must be reported immediately to the business superior. Those who neglect – that is, do not ensure this – will be strictly responsible for having neglected this matter. There will be no excuses for this because, after the completion of control in individual stanytsias and managers by the PZh and other factors, it has been determined that the population in all raions has concealed grain and the above-mentioned items, without which they, sitting in warm houses, can do without. Procured women's sheepskin jackets or men's light overcoats must be brought in immediately to tailors who will make him over into men's by the above-indicated

deadline. Sheep skins that are tanned and that can be procured in the meantime are to be brought immediately to individual tailors, and you must make sure that they are set to work at once. The same applies to leather for footwear and shoemakers.

Grain that has been ground into flour is to be handed over to the women's network with a receipt, which will turn it into macaroni, Zwieback, and crackers, and delivered to male activist[s], also with the receipt. Baked bread is to be delivered with receipts.

In general, all processed foods must be issued and delivered with receipts and the signatures of those were issuing them and those who are accepting them.

The above instruction must be carried out by means of conferences right down to the stanytsias no later than 3 November 1944.

Raion leaders of economic sections are personally responsible for this.

*Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the heroes!*

HDA SBU, 372-48-1.

DOCUMENT 54: ORDER OF OUN CARPATHIAN KRAI LEADER  
ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OUN AND THE UPA<sup>1</sup>

2 November 1945

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Strictly confidential and top secret  
Only for nadraion leaders and commanders  
of units (companies)*

*Order*

In keeping with the order issued by the KVSh [Krai Military Headquarters] of September 1945, all UPA units stationed in the appropriate fields of operations, with the exception of the administrative leadership, are also subordinated to corresponding territorial leaders. This order ensures that territorial leaders exercise all competencies with regard to tactical decisions of units, with the exception of operational and personal matters, which the higher military institutions [exclusively decide and regulate]. Dual accountability is required of commanders of tactical sectors – to the administrative superior of the ShVO [Headquarters of a Military Okruha] and to the okruha leader. The lowest organizational figure in charge of the tactical scope of units' actions is the raion leader; commanders of corresponding combat units obtain all main tasks from their higher administrative superiors.

With the goal of intensifying and raising political educational work, all political educations and propagandists on the nadraion and higher levels are obliged to establish and strengthen comprehensive cooperation in the sphere of information and exchange of experience. The latter carry full responsibility for the timely and non-stop familiarization of units with all our publications and political information. All responsible propaganda leaders are forbidden to change an aspect of the political education work program in the UPA, which has been developed and approved for service use by the higher command of the UPA.

With regard to the February instructions of 1945 (military guidelines), we are once again announcing, and requiring compliance, that battalions and companies are disbanded as military units. Therefore, all UPA units are to be switched to functioning as platoons, which, in case of need, are to be included in larger units, applying the principle of terrorizing-alarming methods of struggle against the enemy.

1 Yaroslav Melnyk, "Robert," was an OUN leader in the Boiko region of the Ukrainian Carpathians, killed 23 November 1946. His wife, Antonina Korol, was also involved in the underground.

The above order is to be coordinated in detail with the relevant order of the ShVO (September 1945), and, in cooperation with the commanders of tactical sectors, all the indicated demands are to be consistently implemented at once.

*Billets*, 2 November 1945                      (*Robert*)

In accordance with the above order of Leader Robert and order no. 11 issued by commander of the Military Okruha, Captain Hrim, which was announced and revised with the units in October 1945, I am presenting my explanation and directive:

1. UPA units retain their hierarchical military superiors, that is, commanders, from whom they receive basic orders, guidelines, instructions, training materials, to whom they submit reports. First and foremost, a given commander has control over units, internal reorganization, personnel changes, rank promotions, and punishments.

2. In view of the fact that during the period of acute Bolshevik pressure the UPA must rebuild, train itself, and carry out actions according to strict insurgent, conspiratorial methods, often becoming separated far from deployment bases and remaining for long periods without contact with one's direct military superior, the commander of a given unit or subunit makes contact with and is subordinated to the relevant territorial leader. The second most important reason is that the territorial leader is responsible for the political face of a territory, and the unit must carry out work only the way that he orders, without deviations and shortcomings. In accordance with the above, the commander of a company is under the authority of the nadraion leader, the commander of a platoon – to a raion leader.

*Commanders' Duties:*

1. The commander of a unit – a company commander – is not the superior of a raion leader, which means that he does not have the right to issue orders in the Organizational-political respect, has no right to engage him under his direct authority, but has the right to demand intelligence from the raion leader, how to carry out an action, field couriers, billets, information on the field, the press, additional supplies, ammunition. The raion leader does not have the right to issue a unit more than three thousand bullets of one particular type.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fol. 56.

DOCUMENT 55: ORDER ON ESTABLISHMENT OF RELATIONS  
BETWEEN UPA UNITS AND THE OUN NETWORK*Secret**3 December 1945**Glory to Ukraine!**Glory to the Heroes!**Order*

In view of the fact that in this field grave shortcomings have been noticed in the Organizational network's relations with UPA military units, I am commanding:

1. All field leaders and their responsible leaders constantly to monitor, control, and take as much care as possible of UPA units stationed in their areas and to provide them with all necessary things that a given area has at its disposal. I order all leaders in the field always to take an interest in the state of the units, their work, successes, and shortcomings, supply them with the appropriate literature, visit them continuously, hold talks, prepare special lectures, provide them with assistance, and take part in riflemen's holidays, insurgents' bonfires, etc.

2. Establish close contact with the commands of UPA units, thereby achieving the best relations possible and productive harmony.

3. Introduce periodic – bi-monthly – meetings with field leaderships and their representatives with the commands of UPA units stationed in their areas with the goal of accepting reports from them concerning the execution of directives for the last reporting period and the issuance of new tasks for the next two weeks.

4. By 31 January 1946 all Organizational cells will report exhaustively about:

a) Whether relations between the Organizational network and UPA units have been settled appropriately, and what results have been achieved.

b) How has cooperation been established in the sphere of issuing and carrying out combat-propaganda tasks?

c) Has the commanders' complete implementation of the directives of their field or administrative superiors been achieved, and how have they been punished in the event of the non-completion of these directives?

d) How are UPA units equipped with a political education apparatus and what are its successes or shortcomings?

e) How did individual units deal with the assigned "contingent" of tasks?

f) Did all UPA units swear the Oath, and if not, who is responsible for this? The act of swearing in riflemen should be prepared appropriately and organized by the above deadline.



g) Do all the riflemen know the text of the Oath by heart? Ensure this as soon as possible.

h) Have manifestations of demoralization been observed in units; what are the causes of this, and what measures have been introduced to resolve this?

i) Has the SB's work been set up in units (conspiratorially and in the open)?

j) Have the riflemen been suitably familiarized with the methods of the NKVD and the NKGB's agentura work?

k) Did unit commanders inform the field leaderships in a timely fashion about the commands that they received and the ones they themselves issued?

l) What observations and demands were submitted at the bi-monthly meetings, and how were they resolved or settled?

*Comment: Report exhaustively and at length.*<sup>5</sup> I am making nadraion leaders, above all, accountable for the exact and literal implementation of this order.

For the purposes of better illustrating the above, I am attaching a copy of Order no. 14 issued by UPA-West on 10 July 1945.

*Billets* 3 December 1945

(-) "Hryhor"<sup>2</sup>  
OP.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 62, fol. 8or.

<sup>2</sup> "Hryhor" was the nom de guerre of an unidentified member of the underground.

DOCUMENT 56: GUIDELINES FOR ORGANIZING  
COMMUNICATIONS IN THE UNDERGROUND

[Russian-language document]

*Copy*  
*Top Secret*  
*Sole copy*  
*Undated*

*Instructions to Communication Couriers*

Communication is one of the most important sectors of work in the Organization. Communication unites into a single whole different Organizational links [and] leading cells [and] offers the possibility to lead and coordinate the activities of the entire Organization.

The Organization's people – leaders and rank-and-file members – move along communication links for the implementation of their duties, [as well as] various notes, reports, instructions, literature, etc.

If one were to compare the Organization with all its work sectors to an entire organism, then the most apt comparison to communication would be the nervous and blood-transporting vessels that radiate to its most distant parts [and] deliver and bring diverse stimuli and blood.

For this reason, the position that if there is no communication among the different Organizational links and groups then there is no Organization is correct.

The Bolsheviks' intention to capture communication or to sever it is therefore clear. In capturing only a single communication courier, the Bolsheviks can inflict very serious blows on the entire Organization. His assistance will provide an opportunity to control the mail, orientate themselves about the Organization's new instructions and other secrets, about movement along the communication line, the people that proceed along it, [and] mail, and to liquidate all this.

In severing communication, for a certain period of time they deprive leading links of the possibility to obtain very important reports in a timely fashion, and low-level links – of instructions. Disorder in the Organization's work ensues ipso facto.

Work along communication lines in clandestine organizations becomes all the more serious and crucial. For this reason, communication couriers should be reliable, high-minded, able-bodied, solid, punctual, and conspiratorial.

The success of the work of our clandestine organization depends to a greater degree on the first-rate application of the rules of secrecy.

*The Secrecy of Communication Work vis-à-vis Other Members  
of the Organization and the Population*

Only people who have been specially assigned for work on the communication line may become communication couriers or people who, in addition to communication, carry out some other Organizational work.

If communication work is combined with other work then communication must necessarily be regarded as a top priority. Both in the first and second cases, it is forbidden to reveal one's work to people who have not been initiated into the Organization's secrets.

In relation to other members of the Organization, a courier does not have the right to discuss: the nature of his work, addresses on notes and packages, couriers' meeting places, passwords used during meetings, communication points, communication houses, lines of movement along the communication line, quantity of mail, conversations during meetings, items that are transported along the communication line, the people moving along the communication [line]. During possible encounters with other members of the Organization, try to prevent them from seeing the mail, especially addresses.

It is also necessary to keep your work secret from the population. The civilian population should not know about the Organizational and personal past of members who are now carrying out work [and] Organizational plans, especially about communication work. It is necessary to be very careful in conversations not to expose the secrecy of mail addresses among the population. During movement it is forbidden to enter the same house constantly on one and the same days (e.g., for supper, for intelligence, etc.) because this offers the possibility [for the enemy] to orientate itself very quickly about communication and days of communication, and in the case of the secret-agent activity or talkativeness of the house owners, utterly to destroy the communication line. In general, couriers are forbidden to enter suspect, non-secret, or exposed houses.

*Meetings of Communication Couriers*

In our situation, so-called relay communication is used the most, the essence of which lies in the transmission of mail by relay from one communication link to another and thus to the addressee. Communication links situated between two points comprise a communication line.

Couriers meet for the transfer of mail mainly in dead drops on specified days and times. Vicinities of meetings (of the drop) are designated by the Organizational leader with the calculation that it be approximately in between the places where two communication links are stationed. (Responsible) leaders of two neighbouring communication links arrange the concrete meeting place

between themselves. Meeting places must be kept in strict secrecy. Members who are not privy to these secrets are forbidden to discuss them. It is inadmissible for meetings of several Organizational links to take place in the same spot at the very same time.

No traces that could be suspicious are to be left at the drop; it is prohibited to walk over dew, mud, and to trample grass. It is necessary to deal very cautiously with fire, light, especially in an open area. It is permitted to smoke, read, or write only under solid cover. In the event of the discovery of indications that the secrecy of the drop has been exposed, it must be changed immediately. It is mandatory to inform the Organizational leader of every change of drop.

The meeting itself should take place in the following manner: once the drop is approached (depending on the location, twenty to thirty metres), an identification sign (signal) is given. If no one responds, this means that the other couriers have not approached. One goes to the drop and thoroughly surveys the vicinity. The others wait in combat readiness. If he does not detect anyone or anything, he returns to his group and everyone departs to a distance such that it will be possible, remaining unobserved, to wait and at the same time to hear an identification sign. Couriers from the opposite side are to be communicated with only according to secret names. Only one courier each from each side (usually, leaders of links) meets, and they exchange mail or pass people on. The others stand on the side. Once again it is emphasized that meetings should take place only according to a secret name, and only one courier from each side meets.

Conversations along the lines of "I recognized [the courier] by his voice, gait, no one else can pass here, only one of 'ours'" are completely baseless. It is forbidden to use one's Organizational pseudonyms as secret names.

At a meeting it is forbidden to conduct any kind of conversations about one's work in one's drops, but only to hand over mail or corresponding verbal notifications. After this is completed, the couriers disperse.

In individual cases, meetings can take place in special houses or drops. In houses it is necessary to be careful so that the population will not be aware that some kind of special meeting of couriers is taking place, that it does not see mail, addresses, etc.

In houses where meetings take place there should be reliable house owners because, after a certain period of time, they might figure out that these meetings take place periodically, on specific days and even times.

Attention must be paid to the fact that couriers are obliged to make contact on specific days and times, without postponing to backup meetings, except in exceptional cases, without being tardy. In each communication link there should be at least one timepiece.

*Conduct en Route*

To march in military order, in dispersed fashion, not in a group, to listen carefully. The former and the latter safeguard the movement of the entire group. Make an effort to bypass villages, hamlets, dangerous places. When it is necessary to pass through a village, it is essential to march carefully, quietly, to avoid dogs, or to march in such a way as not to alarm them, have weapons ready for firing.

During a march it is not permitted to talk (especially loudly), particularly in enclosed or dangerous places (forests, crossroads, a main road). Always keep in mind that anyone can overhear, follow, [so] try not to leave tracks on dew, on grass, snow, mud, and whenever it is necessary to go across fields. It is better to cover an extra distance of the road than to leave a trail.

En route do not light fires, do not smoke. Change travel routes without sticking to the same “trampled down ones.” Study the district and road well in order not to lose your way.

*Dealing with the Mail*

The work of couriers lies in carrying mail from one point to another and in the transfer of people. From the moment that couriers accept mail (people) to the moment that they hand over all this to the next couriers, they bear full responsibility for it. Mail must not fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks or be destroyed.

Upon receiving mail at a meeting, the leader of a link checks it carefully to see whether it is damaged; if it is, he points this out to the person from whom he is receiving it. For the received mail he signs a receipt that is produced by the one who is handing it over. Such receipts are written by leaders of links at home before heading out with mail to a meeting. They are not to be carried on one's person longer than the [time of the] meeting and from the meeting, after which it is necessary to conceal [them] well.

Optional: make available to the Organizational leader for control within a specified period of time; with the permission of the Organizational leader it is necessary to burn the receipts.

*Sample Receipt*

I confirm receipt of the following mail:

Note addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Notes addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Package addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Packages addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Envelopes addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Roll addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Rolls addressed to \_\_\_\_\_ Number of items

Date –

Transmitted:

Received:

Sign receipts with a corresponding number that is established by the Organizational leader. If mail is found to be damaged, indicate this on the receipt.

In order for there to be an opportunity to sign during a meeting, it is essential for one of the couriers to have a flashlight. In the last resort, a lighter, matches, [or] candle may be used. Near the meeting place it is good to have a secret cache so as not to return with the mail in the event that the meeting does not take place, but to conceal it there on the spot. This ensures that the mail will not fall into Bolshevik hands in the event of a clash between them and the couriers when they will be returning or going to a backup meeting.

Upon receiving the mail, the “couriers” carry it back carefully, making sure that it does not get damaged or wet. Notes must be rolled inside a paper so as not to damage them. Mail must reach the addressee in the same way as it left. Therefore, it is necessary to have canvas or a waterproof backpack. If the mail gets a bit wet en route, it is essential to dry it well without opening it.

The mail must be carried in backpacks or on one’s person; it is not to be carried in one’s hands so that it is not dropped in the event of a skirmish with the Bolsheviks, and to have the possibility to use weapons freely.

At critical moments when there is a risk that the mail will fall into the hands of the Bolsheviks (e.g., the Bolsheviks have surrounded you; the courier is wounded; there are few chances to break out and hide oneself, and the mail must not be handed over to someone else), then it – above all, notes must be destroyed by all means (burned or by some other means). For this purpose, each courier is obliged to carry one hundred to 250 grams of petrol and matches.

If couriers have stumbled into an ambush and one of them is wounded, then, besides rendering assistance to him (comradeship), it is essential to take the mail from him. For this reason all couriers are obliged to know where and by whom the mail is concealed.

If couriers conceal themselves on the surface in the woods or a field, and the mail remains with them for at least one day, then it must automatically be hidden in some kind of hiding place. For this it is best to use a milk can (it closes tightly) or a special bunker. If this is not available, the mail must be hidden for a brief period of time (packed beforehand in a waterproof canvas or backpack) directly in the soil and then masked well.

If couriers hide in a village, then it is crucial to organize such hiding places outside the village so as not to carry the mail back and forth to the village.

If the wrapping of the mail or package has been damaged, then it is necessary to pack it again in the very same way, best of all in fabric, by placing inside, in between the package and the new wrapping, a description of the cause of the damage (faulty storage in the hiding place, en route, etc.), indicating the number of the drop where this occurred.

If the mail is concealed in a bunker, make sure that it does not get damp, wet, [or] gnawed by mice. Best of all, place the mail inside a container, and if the premises are dry, suspend [it] towards the ceiling. It is prohibited to keep mail in a bunker that leaks, unless it is properly secured (in a can). Make sure that in the springtime it is not damaged by water in the bunker.

It is forbidden to keep mail for longer than a day in the bunker where couriers are hiding. In the event that the bunker is discovered by the Bolsheviks, it is essential to destroy the mail.

#### *Dealing with People Moving along the Communication Line*

Often it is necessary to convey Organizational people, leaders, and the rank and file along the communication line. The people who are moving along the communication line are not allowed to talk about communication secrets and other Organizational matters, even in the event that a courier knows that the person in transit is a leading member of the Organization. It is forbidden to reveal one's pseudonyms or the pseudonyms of other people. Address one other as "friend" [*druzhe*], similarly with the starting letters of pseudonyms (friend S) or according to special personal features.

Also address people transiting along the communication line as "friend."

It is forbidden to talk about the names of districts, villages, forests, fields, rivers, etc. through which one transits, even if one is asked about this. In the event of a clash with the Bolsheviks, in order for strangers not to stray in an unfamiliar area, in such cases they must not be allowed to depart, and they must be warned to stick closer to the locals.

It is necessary to have separate bunkers to house people transiting along the communication line. At the approach to a bunker it is crucial to blindfold the eyes at a specified distance. It is necessary to bring people out of the bunker in the same way. As far as possible, do not bring them to houses for supper; best of all, take them somewhere into a garden, barn, or separate room.

Try to avoid cases whereby the local populace discovers a locale, couriers therefore, if [people] are brought into homes whose owners are properly trained and prepared, do not reveal addresses, the number and type of mail. Do not discuss Organizational matters, transiting people, your adventures,

etc., which even in the slightest degree could offer the possibility of exposing Organizational secrets, above all, communication.

It is permitted to talk about the ideas of our revolution, critique of Bolshevism, knowledge of Ukraine, the international situation.

If the above-mentioned instructions are adhered to, one may be confident that bunkers, routes, meeting points, couriers' places of accommodation will be maintained in proper secrecy, and the Bolsheviks will not be able to destroy our communication.

(See p. 10)

*Attention!*

Like other members, couriers are also obliged to fulfill other instructions related to secrecy, as for example: *To the Attention of All Members and Organizational Links, Secrecy, etc.*

No signature

Reference: Copy retyped from a document stored in fond 2, list 43, pp. 312–20.

Exactly: Lieutenant Colonel [handwritten signature] Makhov

1 copy was typed for the collection

Executor: Comrade Makhov

Mb. [unknown] no. 230

Typed by Biletskaia

25 October 1960

HDA SBU, 372-17.



## Resistance to the German Occupation Authorities

DOCUMENT 57: OUN LEAFLET:  
WHAT WE REPROACH THE GERMANS FOR

*For a Free United Ukrainian State  
Freedom for nations and the individual*

*January 1943*

OUN  
*What We Reproach the Germans For*

- The Germans have not allowed the Ukrainian people the right to state life, for the Ukrainian Government created and sanctioned by the people, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, was already arrested in the first days.
- The Germans have not recognized the Ukrainian people's right to political representation, for they arrested the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera.
- The Germans have not recognized the All-Ukrainian Central Organization, for they arrested the initiators of the consolidated action, dispersed the National Councils in Lviv and Kyiv, arrested the leadership of the Red Cross (Kyiv), and, finally, they liquidated it.
- The Germans have divided the ethnographic lands not only among the Hungarians and Romanians (Bessarabia, Bukovyna, the Odesa region, Transcarpathia), but also within their own state system they divided the Ukrainian lands by borders. Lviv – to the General Gouvernement; Rivne and Kyiv – to the Reichskommissariat; Kharkiv and the Donbas – to the military zone in the meantime.<sup>1</sup>
- The Germans are liquidating the cultural achievements of the people, confiscating and destroying historical monuments (museums in Kyiv,

<sup>1</sup> The Reichskommissariat Ukraine was the civilian occupation regime in Nazi-occupied Ukraine, headquartered in Rivne and under the command of Reichskommissar Erich Koch. It existed from 20 August 1941 to 29 August 1944.

the Kyivan Cave Monastery, the Academy of Sciences).

- The Germans are destroying the spiritual and cultural level of the people by closing schools, disbanding publishing houses and the press, introducing harsh censorship over all publications, disbanding central scholarly societies (Academy of Sciences in Kyiv), and, finally, banning the study of Ukrainian history and geography in schools.
- The Germans are taking away nearly all young people from Ukraine for heavy labour in Germany.
- The Germans are aiming at the destruction of the Ukrainian Nation by creating difficult material conditions, destroying the general, minimum living standard (the wages of Ukrainians are 100 percent or more lower than German wages), pushing Ukrainians into the worst housing accommodations, basements and earthen huts, and imposing military taxes and food deliveries on the population, “voluntary” collections (delivery of clothing).

*Glory to Ukraine! Glory to the Heroes!*

January 1943

HDA SBU, 13-376-35-006.

DOCUMENT 58: GERMAN ANTI-INSURGENT LEAFLET:  
MOSCOW IS ISSUING ORDERS TO THE OUN

(This leaflet was dropped by a German plane over the northern part of Ternopil County)

1943

*Listen, Ukrainian People!*

*Moscow is issuing orders to the OUN!*

From the superfluous orders and instructions that have fallen into our hands it is clear that the Kremlin Jews are allied with the OUN, which is allegedly fighting against Bolshevism.

Entrenched in the OUN leadership are agents of Moscow, who are receiving and carrying out the orders of the bloodthirsty Stalin and his Jewish secret policemen [*oprichniki*]. In those secret instructions which will be published shortly, the OUN is defined as a nationally masked Bolshevik combat unit. It is tasked with inciting the Ukrainian people against German rule and creating chaos in the rear lines.

The OUN is a tool of Jewish Bolshevism. The hiding places and headquarters of those hostile elements of the OUN are also known to us. We know the leaders of those gangs: they are supported by Moscow.

*Ukrainian People!*

Do you want the Bolsheviks and the nationally masked plotters to destroy you? Do you want to be cannon fodder for your own enemy? Do you thereby want to cause the destruction of your people in Volyn?

Judeo-Bolshevism, which is witnessing its demise, is seeking once again to delay its perdition through your great assistance and your blood.

Do you want to be a supporter? Do you want your wives, children, your young people and the elderly to fall victim to brutish people?

Remember the sufferings and torments that your people had to suffer for more than twenty years. Remember your murdered parents and sons! Remember the millions of male citizens and female citizens who were deported to the Siberian steppes! Remember the defamed and murdered priests! Remember the destroyed church properties and cultural treasures! Renounce your enemies! The OUN can never champion the national interests of the Ukrainian people.

The OUN and the Bolsheviks are one and the same thing – that is why they must be destroyed!

*The German Administration*

DOCUMENT 59: APPEAL OF THE GERMAN POLICE  
TO THE POPULATION OF VOLYN

*Copy*  
*Spring 1943*

*Proclamation*

For months we were expecting that the Ukrainian population of Volyn would come to its senses and put an end to its absurd resistance to the German police and German army. The entire time the population was warned, incidentally by some of you who have sufficient intelligence and see that the path to the future of the Ukrainian people proceeds jointly with Germany, and not against her. All this was in vain. A small group of insane Galicians, who care only about their own ambition, succeeded in inciting the people to mutiny.

We can no longer tolerate these attempts to stick a knife into the back of the anti-Bolshevik front. As well, we can no longer tolerate a small group of young ignoramuses nudging the Ukrainian people towards perdition.

Our patience has now come to an end!

We are not joking anymore!

We are starting to act without regard to anything.

Everyone who opposes us will be destroyed.

You know that the German army has conquered all of Europe. Do you really think that it will not deal with these funny little groups of brigands and robbers?

Until now we have waited patiently because we wanted to avoid bloodshed.

You thought that this would be our weakness. Now you will become convinced of how strong we are. For all this you can thank your Galician leaders.

Höherer SS und Polizeiführer<sup>2</sup>

HDA SBU, 13-376-35-145.

<sup>2</sup> The Höherer SS und Polizeiführer in Ukraine in the spring of 1943 was Obergruppenführer Hans-Adolf Prützmann.

DOCUMENT 60: INFORMATION ON UPA ACTIONS IN VOLYN  
IN THE SPRING OF 1943

*News from Volyn*

*May 1943*

Throughout Volyn and part of Podillia the guerrillas disarmed Schutzmannschaft stations.<sup>3</sup> The disarmed members of the Schutzmannschaft went over to the partisans, others – back home. In the entire territory of the Generalkommissariat of Volyn and Podillia the guerrillas smashed prisons, punishment camps, a POW camp in Kovno, released forty prisoners from Lutsk, [and] disbanded workers who had been taken for work in Germany from a delousing facility in Tivertsi.

Over a period of three months guerrilla detachments captured Horokhiv, Tsuman, Derazhne, Volodymyrets, Vysotsk [Vysotske], [and] Liudvypil, but after several days' stay they retreated spontaneously from there. The guerrillas have already engaged in more than a dozen victorious battles against the German police. At the end of April they attacked and destroyed a punitive-expeditionary unit in Yanova Dolyna in the Kostopil area. Volynian guerrillas also engaged in skirmishes with Bolshevik partisans operating in Polissia.

The Germans have reinforced their listening capability and enlarged their forces, and fortifications have been built in Stützpunkte [bases]. German planes appear often over the area, even dropping bombs, and Panzer vehicles draw near. The Germans do not enter forests.

As an auxiliary measure in the struggle against guerrilla warfare, the Germans are building up a secret agent network. Good service in this is provided by the Poles, who are very familiar with local conditions. After [the Poles] capture a hostile element for them the Germans burn down entire settlements or individual farms. On 25 April at 4:00 a.m. two German planes dropped incendiary bombs on the village of Postiine, in Derazhne raion. As a result of this, more than a dozen farms burned down, one woman was killed, and several children died of smoke inhalation. From the weapons onboard the plane the Germans then fired on homesteads in neighbouring villages. The Germans also surrounded

3 The Schutzmannschaften were native auxiliary police units established on 25 July 1941 to support the German occupation in the Soviet Union. The captured territories were broken up into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU) and Reichskommissariat Ostland (RKO), further subdivided into regional Generalkommissariate and, finally, into Gebietskommissariate, or sub-regional administrative areas. Gebietskommissar Georg Marschall began his RKU career based in the town of Sdolbunow (Zdolbuniv), later moving to Kostopol (Kostopil) on the Zamchysko River, both in Rivne oblast of western Ukraine. Marschall was evacuated in January 1944. Lutsk is a city on the Styr River in Volyn oblast.

and burned Derazhne to the ground. While escaping, the populace was fired on from the planes, but there were no casualties. There are reports that the Germans attacked villages in Berezna and Kostopil raions. People fled to the woods, and the Germans set fire to the abandoned villages.

In Smyha, in the Dubno area, a guerrilla detachment smashed a German-Polish punitive-expeditionary unit and destroyed fortifications, bunkers, barbed wire abattis, and sawmills. In Satyiv, in the Dubno area, the guerrillas destroyed a spirits distillery. In several villages of Luchyna [Lutsk raion] a battle broke out between the guerrillas and punitive-expeditionary units of Germans, Volksdeutsche, and Poles.

The population of the forested zone, which lived under constant threat from the enemy, was prepared for every eventuality. In the meantime, they are glad that centres of enemy threats have not appeared.

In the face of the danger, the Germans have begun to stir. In dozens of leaflets they are appealing to the Ukrainian people for help to destroy the bandits, who are inflicting damage not only on the Germans but also on the Ukrainians. Individual meetings with the intelligentsia and raion heads took place in all the Gebietskommissariate, during which the Germans sought to influence the youth and draw it away from anti-German unrest, calling such unrest a Bolshevik provocation. At the same time, they threatened to liquidate all unrest with terror.

The Germans improved the conditions of all formations where Ukrainians still remain, raised wages to the German level, and changed their conduct towards them. In place of the Ukrainian [police] the Germans tried to organize a Polish police force, but this has not worked for them. The Poles were afraid of daring to take this step, or perhaps the Germans were afraid of giving weapons to the Poles; it is difficult to say. Units of Poles have only been organized in cities, but in recent times their weapons were taken away, and they were given rubber truncheons. This indicates that the Germans are losing their heads; they themselves do not know what to do in order to resolve the ever-increasing difficulties. Everywhere they are overcome by bad feelings, although they are now clustering only in larger environments.

The Poles are abandoning villages and fleeing to the cities because they say that the "peasants are cutting them down with axes." When the Germans try to send them to Germany they flee once again into the area, create larger concentrations, and fortify themselves there. Here and there the Germans have offered them protection. Because the Poles are provoking and denouncing, the populace feels great hatred towards them. People say that if not for the Polish denunciations, the Germans would not be able to terrorize us so much.

Besides the Poles, our own renegade countrymen [and] various types of rabble that have yoked themselves in service to German punitive units are providing very harmful services. They are the ones who are going on sprees the most,

burning down villages, shooting people. And when necessary the Germans put all the blame for the terror on them, saying: "We are not destroying you. You are destroying yourselves. You are being shot by your fellow Ukrainians."

HDA SBU, 13-376-75-001.

DOCUMENT 61: REPORT ON THE RAID BY HORDIIENKO'S  
UPA UNIT INTO THE ZHYTOMYR REGION<sup>4</sup>*The Raid of Hordiienko's Unit*

29 July 1943

On the afternoon of 15 July 1943, on the Rivne–Zhytomyr highway, in the village of Koryst, Mezhyrich raion, the unit smashed three German vehicles. One pistol was captured. Two planes arrived to provide assistance. During the bombardment three houses were burned down. No other damage was caused.

During the night of 16–17 July our reconnaissance party encountered a Red reconnaissance party. The Reds fled. One rifle and a wagon with a pair of horses were captured.

On 17 July 1943, at 9:00 a.m., a battle against Reds took place near Kamenka, Yarun raion. On the enemy side, there were eight killed and one wounded. Five rifles, five finkas [combat knives], and ten disks for them were captured.

On 17 July during the day en route from the village of Zholobne, Yarun raion, a battle against Germans took place. Thirty-four Germans were killed. Three of our men were killed; one was lightly wounded.

On 19 July, near the village of Viunok, Markhlivka raion, two battles against Germans and *shutsmans* [members of a Schutzmannschaft unit]. Thirty men from the enemy company were killed. Among our men, one was slightly wounded. The enemy retreated.

On 20 July a battle against Hungarians broke out near Shvetska Buda. Six of the fifty Hungarians were killed, and two were taken prisoner. Four rifles, 1,900 rounds of ammunition, and ten grenades were captured. A German company and a Schutzmannschaft platoon, stationed in Shvetska Buda [Shyietska Buda], upon seeing the Hungarians fleeing, fled to Zhytomyr.<sup>5</sup> There were no losses on our side.

On 23 July, at 8:00 a.m., a battle against Germans and *shutsmans* broke out in the town of Kotelnia, Andriushyn [Andrushiv] raion. Our reconnaissance party encountered *shutsmans*. The members of the reconnaissance party killed the horses, and the reconnaissance party quickly figured out what was happening and informed our main force. Twenty enemies were killed and three were taken prisoner. Two automobiles, three rifles, [and] one finka were captured. There was one killed on our side.

4 "Hordiienko" was the nom de guerre of Hordii Vrotnovsky.

5 Zhytomyr is a city in northwestern Ukraine. It was occupied by the Nazis from 9 July 1941 to 12 November 1943 and again from 19 November to 31 December 1943. It was the site of Heinrich Himmler's HQ in Ukraine.



That same day, near Ivnytsia Station, our advance units fired on a train. Two lieutenants and three rank-and-file soldiers were killed. We had no losses.

During the night of 25 July a battle against Germans took place in sawmill buildings on the outskirts of the city of Korystyshiv [Korostyshiv]. Seven Germans were killed and two *shutsmans* surrendered. Three rifles, three grenades, and six uniforms were captured. The Germans fled. There were no losses on our side.

During the night of 26–27 July our men encountered Reds in Vyshneve, near Rekitereve [distorted place-name]. A wagon with clothing was captured. There was one seriously wounded on our side.

On 28 July a battle broke out against a gendarme school from Korostyn [Korosten] between the villages of Shevchenko and Ustynivka, Potiivka raion. Eighty-three from the enemy company were killed, eight were taken prisoner, and five were seriously wounded. Five German officers were killed. Eight machine guns, 8 MPs [Maxim machine guns], 94 rifles, 17 revolvers, 33 grenades, and 6,000 rounds of ammunition were captured. A few escaped in a panic. There were no losses on our side.

*The mood of the masses.* The populace welcomed us well. Upon meeting, they shouted “Glory to Ukraine!” They wept for joy. They recounted their woes under the USSR and Germany. They helped us with food, saying: “Eat, boys, this is the last of it.” They informed us about the Germans and the Reds. The populace said: “We heard that you were coming. The Banderites are striking all the invaders and distributing goods from smashed storehouses among the population.” Our units were indeed doing this (salt was distributed near Kotelnia).

The insurgents also conducted propaganda work. They scattered leaflets everywhere. People stuck the leaflets on the walls of their houses. Right now groups of peasants themselves have been reading them. In some places secret collaborators have been liquidated.

It is said that more frequent raids into eastern territories will spark people’s faith in their own strength.

29 July 1943

HDA SBU, 13-376-66-004.

DOCUMENT 62: ORDER OF THE UPA COMMAND IN VOLYN  
CONCERNING DEFENCE AGAINST THE GERMANS

4 September 1943

*Order no. 11**for Commanders, Commandants, and All Village Self-Defence Detachments*

The Germans are retreating on all fronts. The imperialisms opposing Germany are inflicting serious blows on Germany both at the fronts and in the German rear lines. The revolutionary armies of enslaved peoples, which are striking Germany from within, are significantly weakening the Germans' strength.

The Germans have now gone completely over to looting activities. They are stealing anything and everywhere.

In recent times, the Germans have also launched a stronger offensive against our villages with the goal of looting. On collective farms they are urgently milling and taking away all the grain. They are shipping it out. They are leaving the peasants practically nothing. In recent times they have begun intensively to loot individual farmsteads. They are driving the Ukrainian population to complete economic ruin. They are filling their storehouses with looted items. In the last while, the Germans have also launched an offensive against forested terrains.

*I order:*

1. All areas of larger forest tracts, all forest belts, are to be fortified immediately with barricades, impenetrable trenches, pit traps. Block all entrances into forests. Block all roads that lead to forests, right away on their edges. All blocked areas are to be fortified by pickets, permanent guards. Develop good intelligence work here at the edges of forests, specifically, install a permanent guard at the edges of forests with communication directly to the larger centres. As many times as the enemy removes the barricades from the roads, the roads must be instantly blocked off with barricades the same number of times.
2. The enemy is to be blockaded in his strongholds by means of fighting groups, self-defence units, and intelligence work. Delay his exit into the territories for looting. If possible, liquidate him. This applies both to Germans and Bolshevik partisans.
3. Immediately carry out order no. 8 dated 30 August 1943.
4. Immediately after receiving the order, change all current billeting places. They are all known to the enemy. Sooner or later the enemy will try to reach us there and destroy us. New places are to be selected in great secrecy. Reinforce yourselves there strongly. About a dozen kilometres around, thoroughly build up intelligence work directly dependent on the camp. Use as front defensive

posts small fighting groups and self-defence units stationed away from the billeting place, in the depths of the territory all around at a distance of some dozen kilometres.

5. All combat food supplies are to be distributed throughout secure places, and do not allow yourselves to be robbed.

6. Persuade the peasants to conceal grain and other food products by all possible means; also cloth, clothing, and everything that the enemy can seize during a sudden attack and by which he can profit. Also clear valuable domestic items from houses. Houses may be burned down. We will defend ourselves from every enemy looting attack if we institute first-rate self-defence and intelligence, etc. in villages, in fields and forests, and establish close cooperation with neighbouring villages. Then there will be time to secure ourselves, property, to drive the cattle into the woods or the fields, to prepare a village for self-defence or for departure from it.

7. Make sure that, in addition to a house, each peasant prepares himself a good dugout in which to spend the winter. If the house burns down, the dugout will replace the house. Prepare ahead of time for this, even before the winter. It will hardly be possible to build a dugout in the winter.

We must safeguard everyone, and all together we must defend ourselves from looting enemy attacks, from the physical and material destruction of ourselves.

Act very quickly. Harness all forces to safeguarding all of us. Remember that the final stage of the struggle is the most difficult. And it is coming. We must apply all efforts in order to win victory.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

4 September 1943

Chief of the Military Headquarters:

(-) Colonel "Honcharenko"

Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army:

(-) "Klym Savur"

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 210.

DOCUMENT 63: ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE LIQUIDATION  
OF THE GERMAN AGENT, YURII SOKOLOVSKY

16 September 1943

*Communiqué*

On the basis of the sentence handed down by the Revolutionary Tribunal of the OUN for treason against the Ukrainian people and work to the detriment of its liberation struggle, on Wednesday evening, 15 September of this year, the death penalty was carried out on Yurii (Utio) Sokolovsky.

As a lackey of the German secret police (Gestapo) Yurii (Utio) Sokolovsky was guilty of the following crimes against the OUN:

- 1) Prior to 15 September 1941, he prepared two lists of distinguished OUN members (one list had nineteen members, the other – forty-one), with the private addresses of some. Each of those was arrested at that time, if the hand of the Gestapo reached him.
- 2) In August 1941 he walked with the Gestapo along the streets of the city of Zolochiv and handed over to them five OUN members, whom he knew personally.<sup>6</sup>
- 3) During the entire period of the German occupation of the ZUZ he conducted thorough searches for the distinguished figure of the independence movement, Mykola Lebed.

During the summer months of this year he intensified his efforts and promised: “I will turn all of Galicia upside down and I will catch Lebed.”

May the severe punishment that the traitor justly earned be a harsh reminder to all who would deviate from the path of loyalty to the Ukrainian Nation and act to the detriment of its liberation struggle.

*Billets*, 16 September 1943

Krai leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-117.

6 Zolochiv is a small city located about sixty kilometres east of Lviv.

DOCUMENT 64: REPORT ON THE BATTLES BETWEEN THE  
TREMBITA TRAINING CAMP AND THE GERMANS

*Report  
on the course of Trembita's battles against German police units on  
25–27 September 1943*

On 24 and 25 September the Germans mustered a strong concentration of military and police detachments in the area of Dolyna County, having been apprised earlier that Ukrainian guerrilla detachments had entrenched themselves in the mountains. The information was provided by the Poles. During the night of 25–26 September a unit of a Schutzpolizei battalion, having billeted an auxiliary garrison in Dolyna, comprising around seven hundred men, set out for the mountains by two routes, Perehinske-Ilemia and Vyhoda-Veldizh, with the goal of liquidating the UNS [Ukrainian People's Self-Defence].<sup>7</sup>

At dawn on 25 September a police unit of three hundred people arrived on a narrow-gauge railway train at a place called Sukhodil and from there began to move towards the Trembita camp. For eventual reinforcements, in the villages of Ilemia, Spas, Sukhodil, Perehinske, and Ripne the Germans stationed garrisons of between a hundred and 150 men. Thus, Trembita was surrounded by the Germans on all sides. At around 8:00 in the morning a skirmish began, which turned into a real battle that lasted four hours and forced the Germans to retreat. At 6:00 on 26 September the Germans, reinforced by auxiliary units, attacked our positions; a battle commenced, which lasted until 15:00 in the afternoon. The Germans had fatalities and casualties; on our side there were no losses of people and materiel either in the first or the second case.

Pursued by heavy machine-gun fire, the Germans were forced to organize a retreat.

On 27 September the Germans, numbering three hundred people, having decided to retreat from the mountains, left by commuter train in the direction of Sukhodil. In the meantime, one of Trembita's companies hunkered down in a very advantageous forested mountain area above the railway that passes over a 150- to 200-metre precipice, and opened fire on the Germans from there. After damaging the locomotive, they directed concentrated, non-stop fire at the train cars. During the brief battle the German unit was completely routed without resistance. More than two hundred dead and several dozen wounded were left behind in the area. Our people did not suffer any losses.

<sup>7</sup> Dolyna is a small city in southwestern Ukraine, the administrative centre for the Dolyna raion of what was Stanyslaviv (today Ivano-Frankivsk) oblast of Ukraine.

Submitted by a battle participant.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fol. 94.

DOCUMENT 65: DESCRIPTION OF A BATTLE BETWEEN  
GERMAN UNITS AND THE UPA (AND AZERBAIJANIS)

October 1943

*Description of Battles*  
[written by hand]

On 29.IX.<sup>43</sup> the commanders of the Azerbaijanis in my territory decided to abandon the Germans and come over to the UPA. The first day 142 men came over. Through liaison they were brought to the UPA. This was on 1.X.<sup>43</sup>. That very day I decided to take them into battle. At the time there were German pilots stationed in the vicinity. The *Landwirt* [German agricultural leader] of Ostroh, enraged by the fact that a few days earlier the UPA had smashed the Rozvazh manor and seized all the property from there, wanted to take revenge on the UPA by dispatching the heroic pilots into the territory, one company, in order to locate and take back the seized cattle and property.<sup>8</sup> He himself was obviously also part of that mission.

A UPA unit, together with the Azerbaijanis, laid an ambush for them. The battle turned out to be extraordinarily interesting. The Azerbaijanis were sent out on reconnaissance, and they went to meet them. The Germans, thinking that they were their own people, calmed down, and then the rest of our men and the Azerbaijanis opened fire on the approaching wagons. A battle ensued. Our people occupied a rather advantageous spot. We began shooting from one side, and the Germans started in the other direction; then we opened fire on them. They turned the shooting into a third side, but our fire welcomed them there, too. Thus, they were taken on all sides. The *Landwirt* was killed and his light carriage was captured. Weapons and ammunition were captured. On our side there was one killed (an Azerbaijani), four wounded (Azerbaijanis), [and] one wounded (UPA). The Azerbaijanis fought extraordinarily courageously.

The Azerbaijanis say that they will fight loyally because they see that the UPA is fighting for the liberation of enslaved peoples from all imperialists. The UPA is gaining an increasingly greater reputation among the population, which sees our broad work, which appeals to them. The moods of the masses are lifting.

*Early October 1943*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fol. 16.

8 Ostroh is an historic city in Rivne oblast, located on the Horyn River.

DOCUMENT 66: REPORT ON THE GERMAN ROUNDUP  
AT THE IVAN FRANKO THEATRE IN STANYSLAVIV*Three Roundups at the Ivan Franko Ukrainian Theatre on 14 November 1943*<sup>9</sup>

On 14 November 1943 the premiere of *Sharik* was taking place in the local theatre. The audience was exclusively Ukrainian and the theatre hall was completely filled. At the beginning of Act Three the sound of women and children screaming erupted near the entrance. It was around 18:00. Children and women who had been outside the theatre came into the hall, and Gestapo men and members of the Schutzmannschaft entered behind them. They walked along the walls, stationed themselves at all the doors of the parterre and balconies, and two Gestapo men with rifles [and] two with machine pistols came onto the stage among the artists and chased them down to the public. In the meantime, they ordered the curtain brought down. Then Brandt, the Gestapo chief, with a pistol in his hand, and young Drozdovych came out in front of the curtain. Brandt began to speak and Drozdovych interpreted. He ordered the entire audience to sit quietly in their seats because whoever moved would receive a bullet. They had recently received information that there is something suspicious at the theatre and therefore they must carry out an inspection, and because of this – to interrupt the performance. Afterwards Brandt walked off the stage, and an anxious silence and deathly quiet descended on the hall. After several minutes Drozdovych came and told all the women and children to go home. Some men tried to mingle among the women. It is possible that some managed to do this. At the same time, you could hear “*Zurück*” [German for back] [and] the women were sent out only through one door. And from that moment all the men sat with their nerves on edge, and some were utterly terrified in their seats.

When the women left, all the men were reseated from the parterre to the right half of the hall and [the Germans] began to inspect the empty seats. From one place came the triumphant shout of a Gestapo man, who removed something from between some chairs and handed it over to Brandt. He smiled triumphantly and showed the public the discovered grenade and two pistols. Then he turned to Mr Yaotsky, the head of the UOK [possibly Ukrainian Okruha Committee] in Stanyslaviv and said: “Mr Head! Look at what your Ukrainians bring with them to the theatre to see performances. These are not Poles because the audience is

9 The Ivan Franko Ukrainian Theatre in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk) was set up in 1939 by several western Ukrainian theatre troupes. During the war it employed actors from central and eastern Ukraine, under the patronage of the Ukrainian Central Committee. “*Volksdeutsche*” was a term used by the Nazis to designate Germans on the basis of “race” rather than citizenship, so including Germans living beyond the borders of the Third Reich.



completely Ukrainian.” Then he turned to the audience and threatened that if five pistols and one grenade were found among them, he would treat them far more harshly than he himself anticipated. Incidentally, all the barrels of the rifles, machine pistols, and pistols of the Gestapo men and *shutsmany* were aimed at the audience from the stage, from the doors and balconies. At the very outset they had summoned the entire Ukrainian police force, and the *shutsaky* [members of the Schutzmannschaft] inspected some of them. A personal nine-chambered pistol was found on the policeman Kuzmyn, and he was arrested. The rest were released. Then the civilians were inspected. Incidentally, everyone who was sitting near the place where the pistols had been found were separated and left for the very end. Afterwards, [people] were brought to the stage one by one, documents were checked, an inspection was carried out, and those who were released were seated in the empty part of the hall, while suspect individuals were taken to the office (the theatre administration). A certain proportion of men went through calmly. A young, pale-faced blond man who was being checked was conspicuous. The inspection passed quite calmly. When he was supposed to go down from the stage, a hand came out from behind the curtain and dragged him behind the curtain. (In that spot a hole was cut out, through which a human eye was looking at and observing the audience the entire time, probably some provocateur.) Meanwhile, you could see this blond man, walking behind the curtain, taking something from his hand. After a few seconds those present heard something fall behind the curtain and a doctor was called for. The continuing inspection was proceeding normally.

Suddenly, once again the people present were galvanized by the cry “Glory to Ukraine!” All the astonished people saw a young boy on the stage with a pistol aimed at his head, who was gazing in surprise at the pistol, which had not fired. The Krauts [*nimaky*] threw themselves at him. Then he aimed the barrel at them, ran off the stage, and headed towards the door, where he was caught and handcuffed. A few minutes earlier in that same place the Kraut sadists had massacred a gloomy, curly-haired brunette who had tried to break out of the theatre through several doors. They caught him, put him against the wall, seized him by the hair, and smashed [his head] against the wall, while breaking his ribs with the butts [of their weapons].

No one knew this man; girls from neighbouring villages only said that he was an insurgent from the UNS [Ukrainian People’s Self-Defence], who was walking from village to village.

He too was handcuffed and pushed into the corridor. The inspection continued normally. The parterre had already been checked, and the inspection was moved to the first balcony. After a few minutes there was movement once again: the shout “Hands up!,” a pistol shot, running along the stairs, the tinkling of broken glass simultaneously with rifle shots, shots behind the theatre, and a

final shout from downstairs, “*Gewalt*” [violence]. There was silence in the hall. The inspection was normal. But after those shots a change was introduced, and those present had to hold their hands on their heads. A furious Brandt, foaming at the lips, with a pistol in his hands, jumped onto the stage and said that he would now massacre everyone and prosecute everyone. Covered cars arrived for the arrested men and drove them to the prison. The people who were released were kept in the theatre all night.

Between eighty and one hundred men were arrested in the theatre.

*Arrests, Interrogations, Sentences, Executions in the City in the Month of November  
(Eyewitness Testimonies)*

*The Roundup in the Theatre*

On 14 November 1943 a roundup took place in the theatre during the premier of *Sharik*. Briefly, it looked like this: the Krauts stationed themselves at all the entrances and exits, women and children were released, but the men were checked. Row by row they were led onto the stage, questioned according to their documents, and a personal inspection was carried out in incomplete fashion. Suspects were put in the cloakroom and these were arrested, and released individuals were sent back to the hall again and seated in empty seats. During the arrests [the Germans] governed themselves strictly by an assessment of an individual’s external appearance, signs of intelligence, and similarity to the people who were being sought (a tall or short blond man.) The arrested people in the cloakroom were handcuffed together by five, and two groups (totalling ten) were delivered to the prison. Only some, like Andrii, or Didokha, were handcuffed individually.

Those who were brought to the Gestapo were placed in a single row facing the prison wall with their hands in the air. There were approximately 150 of them. From there they were brought one by one to the office and, later, were placed in groups in the prison cells. Most ended up in collective cells. Again, only some, like Didokha and Andrii, were placed in solitary cells.

On 17 November 1943 at 9:00 a public trial of the Ukrainian victims began in the theatre. The trial proceedings were broadcast by street radio speakers. The audience in the theatre hall was entirely Polish and German.

Huge crowds of the Polish population scuttled over to Mickiewicz Square, where the shootings were supposed to take place, and they even covered the roofs of neighbouring buildings. There were very few Ukrainians, especially men. Two radio speakers were specially set up on the square.

The trial began. A defendant was accused of belonging to and helping or sympathizing with the OUN. The defendants answered only yes or no. The trial was conducted in Ukrainian.

Thirty-five defendants who were captured during the roundup at the theatre were shot on 17 November. All the others [were] named in the preceding executions (see the reports on the case in Nadvirna/Mykulychyn). According to unverified information, on 17 November during the night hours approximately two hundred Ukrainians were shot in front of a huge crowd in the commercial area of the town.

List of Defendants (members of the OUN and non-members)

1. Karpishyn, Mykola, Nadvirna, b. 1901, white-collar worker
2. Shcheniak, Myroslav, Nadvirna, b. 1918, white-collar worker
3. Yosypenko, Vasył, Nadvirna, b. 1914, white-collar worker
4. Bobretsky, Vasył, Nadvirna, b. 1919, white-collar worker
5. Andriovych, Dmytro, Nadvirna, b. 1906, ratted out his brother, an intellectual
6. Andriovych, Emilia, Nadvirna, b. 1910
7. Psanyza, Yurko, Nadvirna, b. 1888, laid-off teacher
8. KOSTYK, DMYTRO (Marko), Nadvirna, *Okr. O.V.* [unidentified abbreviation] ratted out people
9. Hundiak, Mykola, Mykulychyn, b. 1885, peasant
10. Stepaniv, Andrii, Mykulychyn
11. Stepaniuk, Dmytro, Mykulychyn, b. 1910, peasant
12. Boiko, Yura, Mykulychyn, b. 1916, peasant
13. Hastoriv, Dmytro, Mykulychyn, b. 1923, peasant
14. Boiko, Anna, Mykulychyn, b. 1921, peasant
15. Boiko, Antos, Mykulychyn, sentence handed down in absentia, leader of a “gang”
16. Zaiats, Matvii, Brody, b. 1898, released
17. Stefaniuk, Andrii, Mykulychyn, b. 1900
18. Onushchak, Petro, b. 1925, released
19. Onushchak, Yura, Borshchiv, 1921, pseudonym: “Vyhoda”
20. Henyk, Ivan, Takucha, b. 1920
21. Hashparuk, Mykhailo, b. 1885, a Bukovynian
22. Hastor, Maria, did not appear at work
23. Hrychaniuk, Mykola, b. 1922
24. Boiko, Dmytro, Vovchynets, b. 1910
25. Svorak, Dmytro, Pidpechary, b. 1914, sentence set aside
26. Malaniuk, Oleksa, Mykytyntsi, b. 1912, shot
27. Bybyk, Mykhailo, Dubivtsi, b. 1914
28. Hoshovska, Kateryna, Bodnariv, b. 1906
29. Lepky, Bohdan, Halych, b. 1916, high school education, SB county head (special unit)
30. Ivankiv, Oleksa, Rudnyky, b. 1888

31. Lutsyshiv, Mykhailo, Nyzhnyv
32. Dolishny, Ivan, Nyzhnyv, b. 1921, public school education
33. Savchuk, Andrii, b. 1910
34. Pashchak, Vasyl
35. Karamai, Mykola, Yamna, high school education
36. Medynsky, Yurko, b. 1916, gave information about Moroz and Orel and about the murder of Baranovsky, a priest from Dorohiv
37. Didokha, Osyp, Strutyn Nyzhny [Nyzhnii Strutyn], poisoned himself in the theatre
38. Semehen, Vasyl, Lypytsia Dolishnia, arrested at the marketplace, jumped out of a window on the third floor of the prison
39. Katamai, Volodymyr, Yamnytsia, high school education
40. Boiko, Osyp, Vovchynets
41. Smerechuk [first name unknown]
42. Hontaruk [first name unknown], Polianytsia, (father)
43. Hontaruk, Polianytsia, (son)
44. Hontaruk, Maria, Polianytsia, (mother)
45. Hontaruk, Teodozia, Polianytsia, (eleven-year-old daughter, not tried)
46. Hontaruk, Anna, Polianytsia, (daughter)
47. Hrechkivsky, Ivan (director of the POK) unidentified committee Mykulychyn, b. 1895, shot on 17 November together with the above individuals

Attention: The sentence was carried out on the individuals whose names are underlined.

The trial lasted until 2:00 p.m. During this trial thirty-two people were sentenced to death. Three people were released and one was sentenced in absentia. One sentence was set aside, and twenty-six death sentences were executed, and Kostyk, who confessed that Poles and Volksdeutsche fell [on his orders in Mykulychyn, Nadvirna, Halych, Kalush, Tovmach, etc.], was taken for further interrogations, and the sentence was not carried out. He revealed very many pseudonyms.

The shooting of the sentenced individuals began at 2:00 p.m. The victims were led out one by one. Their hands were tied with rope. In addition, each victim was tied to a post that was buried in front of the theatre. There were ten such posts; this means that ten defendants at a time were shot. The defendants conducted themselves quite well – like, for example, Dolishny, Ivan, [who] came out of the theatre, tossed his hair back, and walked proudly to the post. The *shutsaky* did the shooting, two per victim. The first row, which was kneeling, was shot in the chest, the second row, which was standing – in the head. After each liquidation the *shutsaky* were replaced. During the execution you could hear the following shouts from the victims before death: “Glory to Ukraine!”

“Death to the Poles!” “We are dying for Ukraine!” “Avenge us!” The *Baudienst* [construction service in the Generalgouvernement] threw the corpses into cars that drove away somewhere. Afterwards, a fire truck washed the blood off the posts and sidewalks (the *Baudienst* was recruited from among Poles).

Order was maintained by forty Ukrainian policemen and Germans. Hungarians did not perform service. All those present merely observed, and many of them, for example, officers, took photographs. Hrim, a police lieutenant, confiscated the film from them.

One Hungarian officer did not *want* to give [it] back, and they began to scuffle. It is not known how things ended. The Hauptmann of the Schutzpolizei dispersed the Hungarians, who did not want to leave. The heroic death of the Ukrainian victims greatly alarmed the Poles and depressed them.

In the prison:

Those who had been brought from the theatre to the prison (included in the list of the condemned who are now imprisoned) were put inside one cell. On 28 November 1943 they were joined by Didokha and Andrii. On 27 November 1943 the Gestapo sentenced twelve victims to be shot. Among them: Rebei from Poberezh [Poberezhia], Nimchuk and Kostyk, Mykola, a restorer from Nadvirna. Didokha and Andrii were also among them. The next day the sentence was carried out on the ten victims, and the two mentioned above were put in the same cell.

#### *The Case of Dmytro Kostyk*

He sat in one cell with the above-mentioned five women and three men (except for Didokha and Andrii). When Brandt removed him from the theatre, he was brought handcuffed together with the women. The very next day he was uncuffed and given separate handcuffs, and then they were completely removed (even though the rest of the people were handcuffed a full nine days). Until Sunday, 23 November 1943, he went for interrogations three times a day. His psychological state did not change before or after the interrogations. He sat gloomily, silently, did not speak to anyone. Sometimes the women asked him where he was going, what for, what's new, but he never gave any response. Sometimes he only talked about personal matters and said that if he were released, he would now know how to live in the world. He was arrested in Nadvirna at Kuzmiv's. He brought with him one thousand *złoty* [Polish currency] in cash and some valuable jewellery. He was worried that he had left the valuables at home, like a string of pearls, a bracelet, rings with stones, etc., worth around seventy thousand to eighty thousand *złoty*. He said that if the Germans had carried out a search of the house, everything would probably have been lost. Besides that, he did not say anything else. He went normally to give evidence, sometimes he took a hat, sometimes not, and once or twice

he went without a jacket. After all the depositions there were not the slightest marks of any kind of torture on him. When the women squashed lice on him and he would undress, his whole body was unmarked. There was not even a sign of any beating, electric bed, or wound during an escape, as it was said.

There were moments when he would return from the interrogations in a better mood than the one he was in earlier. More interesting incidents: On 14 November 1943 or on 15 November he was taken away at around nine in the morning, and he was gone the whole time until he returned late after lunch. On 16 November or 17 November 1943 he was gone for a long time during the night. When he left at around 8:00 p.m., he returned after two in the morning.

When Didokha first came to the cell, he said that he had learned that an arrested [female] schoolteacher had been exposed by Kostyk from Nadvirna. Then the other one stood up and began saying that it was probably Kostyk, Mykola, a restorer from Nadvirna, who had been making romantic overtures to her and knew her intimately. The spiritual state of this fellow is utterly shattered; weak-willed, resigned.

### *The Didokha Case*

On 23 November 1943 Didokha was delivered to the above-mentioned cell in handcuffs. Judging by the look of his face and beaten appearance, it was obvious that he had experienced severe tortures. He confessed: in the theatre he was supposed to leave unharmed. However, when he was supposed to climb down from the stage, he was grabbed behind the curtain. A provocateur was waiting for him there (unfortunately, he did not name him). The Krauts handcuffed him right away, tied a scarf around his mouth, and began beating him. He fell to the floor and began removing the scarf from his mouth with his hands. Then the Krauts grabbed some sort of digging tool and wanted to smash his teeth in. However, he did not know what was going on and out of fear did not open his mouth. Then a doctor was summoned; his clothing was checked and they gave him a few injections in the arm. He realized only in prison, when the female doctor asked him what kind of poison he had taken in the theatre, that all those measures were used to counteract the poison. Later he was brought to the prison. He was interrogated several times there. He was beaten severely and one time he was on the electric bed. He was also beaten during this. On his hands he showed holes that had been burned by the electrical wires. Of the twelve who were condemned and shot on 28 November, he and Andrii were taken away for some reason and put in this cell. He declared that neither he nor Andrii had ratted out anyone. However, he doubted that he will endure for much longer. His only hope was a pocket knife that he had miraculously hidden. At the same time, his eyes flashed with sparks of energy and will, which indicated that he still had physical endurance and morally he was not finished yet.

*Andrii's Case*

Andrii spoke very little. He said that in the theatre he had wanted to shoot a German, but his pistol jammed. Then he tried a second time and wanted to shoot himself. However, his pistol failed to fire once again. Then he began to flee; however, he was caught, handcuffed, beaten, and thrown face-down on the floor. In the prison he was handcuffed so [tightly] that he showed the handcuffs, which were attached in a different place because in the first one the flesh had been stripped away to the bone. For the entire first week he sat in a cellar on a cold cement floor without a single gleam of light. He is accused of wanting to kill a German, and during the interrogations pressure is being put on him so that he will confess where he got his pistol. During the interrogations they massacred [*sic*] him several times with beatings, and he was on the electric bed two times. He showed the burn wounds on his back and ears. Physically, Andrii looked utterly broken. This was a dead man walking. However, sometimes it was supposed without reason that his will was stronger than his body. The whole time he sat sulking and in silence.

*Comments:*

They are horribly mistreating and massacring in the prison. There are cases where nearly every second day stronger prisoners are summoned to carry the massacred corpses of victims from the interrogation room. Among others, the prisoners recognized Katamai, Volodymyr, from Yamnytsia, who was murdered during the interrogations. People are tortured by the same ones who take evidence. The first form of torture is beating on the spine and the small of the back, even up to one hundred blows. They are counted off by thirty. For variety, they also beat on the head, the face, the hands, the legs, etc. Then they also use the electric bed. This is an iron bed to which a naked victim is tied. Then the bed is electrified, and the electric sparks that fly from the electrical wires burn holes on the body. In the meantime, they administer severe beatings and continue questioning. Only the victims themselves can know about other forms of torture.

HDA SBU, 13-376-74-018.

DOCUMENT 67: REPORT ON THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE  
CHORNI CHORTY GROUP AND THE GERMANS<sup>10</sup>

*From the Fighting Front in the Carpathians  
Battle of the VOP and the Chorni Chorty Group against the Germans  
in Chorny Lis on 27 November 1943*

On 27 November at 12:30 [p.m.] an unexpected German attack began from all sides. At the time, all the riflemen were having lunch in the old camps. I myself was cut off in the new camp. Killing five, I reached my unit, which was in a panic cause[d] by the surprise attack and the complete unfamiliarity with the terrain. Within a short period of time we managed to master the situation. It was not possible to develop the lines properly, so the ring of encirclement was very tight – no more than two hundred Germans in diameter.

The camp manager and his unit, coming to my aid to the new camp, engaged in a battle against the enemy and became encircled. My unit and I struck in that direction at around 15:00 hours, broke through the enemy line in that sector, and made contact with the group that was encircled. During that attack two of my men were killed and six were wounded. The group that was surrounded had one fatality and four wounded and several who disappeared, and it captured a radio transmitter. Joining together, we carried out an attack on the new camp with our joint forces, and recaptured it and took everything away with us. Only insignificant food and supplies remained at the old camp, where the enemy had concentrated all its forces. Night, which had fallen, did not allow for carrying out attacks on the old camp because in the darkness people could easily become confused, not oriented completely in the terrain. At 17:00 hours a retreat began without complications. The enemy had around fifty to sixty losses. The enemy was advancing from Posich with a company. Meanwhile, nothing is known about other directions. At around 17:00 one demobilized battalion that was transporting several wagons with killed men was retreating in the direction of Patsyiv.

A more considerable number of the enemy remained in the old camp because for a long time during the night you could hear shots in that direction and lights were visible. Reconnoiterers, who on the critical day were dispatched to the western edges of the forest, returned to the camp on Sunday morning, where they found many traces of blood in the grass, bloody bandages, and cotton wadding. Only after the battle did I learn that within a few days the enemy had concentrated its large forces in Zavii.

10 Chorny Lis – a forest located in the Tysmenytsia, Kalush, and Bohorodchany districts of the Ivano-Frankivsk region, west of the city of Ivano-Frankivsk. A significant UPA presence was located there.



I myself am among the wounded. My right shoulder above the elbow is stitched, the bone is shattered, I cannot use the arm at all.

Hutsul

(Commander of the Chorni Chorty)

*Billets*, 20 November 1943

HDA SBU, 13-376-66-012.

DOCUMENT 68: INSTRUCTION: CHANGE IN  
FIGHTING TACTICS AND SHIFTING FRONTS

HVSh

*Billets, 24 December 1943. Op.**Tactical Instruction*

*The Germans:* The occupiers' struggle is dragging out. The most important task at present is to actively preserve the most physical, spiritual, and material forces and means of the nation for the decisive moment of struggle. In connection with this, the UPA is carrying out only self-defence actions in the territory.

The goal of self-defence actions is to organize, train, and safeguard – with the smallest losses of our forces and means – the largest number of physical, spiritual, and material forces of the nation for the right moment. The following directives stem from the above thesis:

Self-defence encompasses UPA military units and the civilian population. Military units do not engage in harassing actions against the enemy.

Exceptions: 1) the defence of the civilian population during pacification; 2) in dire straits (e.g., lack of munitions). Therefore, small units are not to be molested but carry out attacks on larger units in order to obstruct pacification actions, or an ambush of a pacification action is set up in order to punish the crime and thereby scare off the enemy from committing further crimes.

With regard to the issue of acquiring munitions, decide on a clash with the enemy: 1) when a sudden attack can succeed with the fewest losses to us; 2) when these are individual clean jobs; 3) when a unit is threatened by the complete depletion of munitions, and the field has no munitions.

Most important: to win time. Each day of winter spent without losses on our side is already a gain.

*The Bolshevik Partisan Movement:*

Continue to carry out surprise attacks on the Bolshevik partisan movement, trying to destroy it completely in order to smoke it out of our territories.

*The Frontline Area:*

Take advantage of the chaos that has emerged in the military reality and obtain as many weapons as possible. During the shift of the front, while withdrawing units deep inside forests, into inaccessible and impenetrable places or, if this is not possible, breaking them up into small fighting groups, try to safeguard them physically. Use advantageous moments in order to acquire and stockpile weapons and munitions.

*The Soviet Reality:*

Do not engage in battle with the advancing Red Army even for the acquisition of weapons. Initially, during the so-called study period, our attitude to the Bolshevik rear line will be standardized by their attitude to us.

In the event of pressure on us, conduct yourselves just like in the German reality.

(-) "Ivan Chornota"

Acting Head of the HVSh

(-) "T. Chuprynka"

Acting Supreme Commander of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fol. 219.

DOCUMENT 69: GUIDELINES OF THE GERMAN COMMAND  
TOWARDS THE UPA

[Russian translation of a German document]

*COPY*

*Secret*

*To the Command of the 8<sup>th</sup> Army Corps*

I-a/I-c no. 299/44 secret

*Corps command post, 29 January 1944*

Brief content: Attitude towards the forces of the nationalistic Ukrainian insurgent army "UPA": (to nationalistic Ukrainian gangs)

It was established long ago that the UPA's activities against the Germans have assumed smaller dimensions and that German soldiers who fell into the UPA's hands, in most cases after their weapons and uniforms were confiscated from them and the uniforms were changed into civilian clothing, were sent back to their unit. In recent days the nationalistic Ukrainian gangs have been seeking to contact (German) troops.

In one case, an agreement of a local character was concluded: the gang will continue the struggle against Soviet gangs and regular Red Army troops; it declines to fight together with the German Wehrmacht or to return its weapons.

However, it will communicate all intelligence materials about Soviet gangs and regular Red Army troops, and in addition it will deliver (to the Wehrmacht) captured prisoners for interrogations.

In its attitude to the UPA, the corps will continue to govern itself according to the following interim regulations:

*A/in general:*

The UPA forces are fighting for a free independent Ukraine and believe fanatically in the achievement of this goal, and for that reason both the Germans and the Russians are its enemies. At the present time they wish to conduct negotiations with us because they view the Russians as more dangerous enemies at the present moment.

Owing to their suspect nature, joint actions with the UPA are out of the question for us in the long run. It too is refusing to fight within the framework of the German Wehrmacht; there are no doubts with regard to the implementation of the above-mentioned agreement of a local character.

*B/In part:*

1. Negotiations with UPA detachments seeking contact must be conducted only through appropriate officers with experience in the struggle against gangs.

2. Use as many of them as possible for the purpose of waging war.
  - a) By force the cessation of the struggle against the Germans. The corps headquarters will be assigning general identification signs necessary for implementing this rendezvous with regard to our troops and aviation forces – separately in each case.  
At the present time, the identification signs are: with regard to our troops: hold the left hand and hold it in front of the face regarding aviation forces – stop and wave your hat above your head.
  - b) By force of the location of the struggle against the Red Army, Soviet and Polish gangs. For carrying out combat tasks with a limited goal set by us, quantities of [~~crossed out in pencil~~] ammunition, etc. may be delivered for the UPA's use. The creation of ammunition reserves by the UPA should be completely ruled out.
  - c) The release of German soldiers and soldiers of armies fighting on Germany's side who are in the UPA's hands.
  - d) The reporting of intelligence data about the Red Army and Soviet and Polish gangs.
  - e) The delivery for interrogation of Red Army prisoners and [~~members of~~] Soviet and Polish gangs captured by the UPA.
3. If it is impossible to achieve negotiations with the UPA or if during the negotiations the representatives of the UPA do not agree with point 2 of our regulations, then we will fight against the UPA just like against others, and we will destroy it.
  - b) In any case, the conduct and result of the negotiations with the UPA are to be reported at once, at first by telephone, to the General Headquarters of I-c.

Commanding General  
Signature (Hauffe)<sup>11</sup>  
General of Infantry

Place for the military unit stamp

Stamp: Commander of the Security Police and SD for Galicia

Signature ( )

HDA SBU, 13-372-36.

<sup>11</sup> General Arthur Hauffe (20 December 1892–died near Lviv, 22 July 1944) commanded the 13th Army Corps, including the 14th Waffen SS Division Galicia, destroyed during the Battle of Brody, leading to the recapture of Lviv, 26 July 1944.

## DOCUMENT 70: GERMAN EXECUTIONS OF OUN MEMBERS

15 February 1944

*Announcement*

Concerning the thirty individuals listed below, who, after my announcement dated 26.1., 24.1., and 5.2.1944, despite the fact that, as a result of the summary trial by the security police, were sentenced to death for crimes committed and were supposed to be pardoned if, during the next three months, no acts of violence were committed on the territory of Kreishauptmannschaft Drohobych and Stryi, first and foremost against Germans or non-Germans who are working in German institutions. The death sentence was carried out today in Horodyshche /10/ and in Kranzenburg /KS/ by means of a public shooting for the following reason.

The executions had to be carried out as a death sentence because on 11.2.1944 an attack was carried out by Ukrainian bandits on the police station in Horodyshche, Drohobych County, during which the station commandant, Roman Kuchabsky, a Ukrainian, Ivan Ortynsky, and the station commandant's cook were taken away, and for an attack on the same day, carried out in Kranzenberg, Drohobych County, during which the German-born public secretary, Tadei Viskinger, Wilhelm Schneider, Siegfried Vekepevets, and Ivan Narma, were all taken away from Kranzenberg and probably murdered. The matter concerns those who were executed after a summary trial by the Security Police.

1. Pecheny, Oleksa, b. 26.03.1907 in Suhriv, Ukrainian, married, resident of Suhriv, no. 120, farmer, for membership in a gang.
2. Pecheny, Volodymyr, b. 26.10.1911 in Suhriv, Ukrainian, married, resident of Suhriv, no. 37, for membership in a gang.
3. Sloboda, Oleksa, b. 27.3.1912 in Suhriv, Ukrainian, married, resident of Suhriv, no. 128, for membership in a gang.
4. Kalynets, Volodymyr, b. 22.12.1904 in Skole Ser-Salo [*sic*], Ukrainian, married, storekeeper, resident of Skole Ser-Salo, 25, for membership in the OUN.
5. Derkavets, Mykhailo, b. 20.11.1912 in Korostiv, Ukrainian, single, forestry worker, resident of Korostiv, for membership in the OUN.
6. Svystun, Mykhailo, b. 1.10.1912 in Korostiv, Ukrainian, single, forestry worker, resident of Korostiv, for membership in the OUN.
7. Yakash, Teodor, b. 16.11.1909 [*sic*: probably 1909] in Nyzhnia Rozhanka, Ukrainian, married, forestry warden, resident of Korostiv, for membership in the OUN; for murdering the German-born forestry warden, Babii, and an attack on a branch of the *Baudienst* [Construction Service] in Sviatoslav.

8. Ushnevych, Eva, née Pankiv, b. 20.7.1905, in Korostiv, Ukrainian, widow, resident of Korostiv, for membership in the OUN.
9. Savchyn, Vasyl, b. 27.8.1910, in Korostiv, Ukrainian, forest warden, resident of Korostiv, for membership in the OUN.
10. Ivashkevych, Mykolai, b. 1.12.1892 in Suhriv, Ukrainian, married, village headman, resident of Suhriv, for abetting gangs.
11. Tuz, Mykhailo, b. 21.8.1917 in Svarychiv, Ukrainian, married, merchant, resident of Svarychiv, for membership in the UPA.
12. Mytsak, Oleksa, b. 25.9.1918 in Storona, Ukrainian, farmer, single, resident of Storona, for abetting bandits.
13. Pyluskevych, Ivan, b. 4.6.1901 in Moldavske, Ukrainian, worker, single, resident of Rosokhach, for abetting bandits.
14. Mandryk, Ivan, b. 20.12.1921 in Rud, Ukrainian, cartwright, single, resident of Rud, for membership in Bandera's organization.
15. Dykiv, Ivan, b. 15.1.1911 in Liashky Dolishni, Ukrainian, single, resident of Liashky Dolishni, for membership in Bandera's organization.
16. Pylypchak, née Lazorko, Paraskevia, forty-six years old, married, Ukrainian, resident of Rosokhach, for abetting bandits.
17. Pylypchak, née Drabinska, Anna, thirty-five years old, Ukrainian, married, resident of Myto, for abetting bandits.
18. Maholia, Vasyl, b. 18.1.1913 in Kropyvnyk, Ukrainian, forest warden, MARRIED, resident of Kropyvnyk, for abetting bandits.
19. Vychak, Mykhailo, b. 10.6.1896 in Kropyvnyk, Ukrainian, forest warden, married, resident of Kropyvnyk, for abetting bandits.
20. Petriv Mykolai, b. 1903 in Kalna, Ukrainian, forestry worker, resident of Kalna, for abetting bandits.
21. Piliak, Mykhailo, b. 2.10.1925.
22. Initski, Emil, b. 24.12.1921 in Komarnyky, Ukrainian, farmer, single, resident of Komarnyky, for abetting bandits.
23. Khomyn, Yurko, b. 1900 in Zalikta [*sic*], Ukrainian, farmer, single, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.
24. Voron, Tymko, b. 30.11.1917, in Zalikta, no. 78, for abetting bandits.
25. Fetsiak, Nastia, b. 1922 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, single, worker, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.
26. Horanetsko, Mykhailo, b. 12.12.1916 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, worker, single, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.
27. Pritsak, Mykhailo, b. 12.12.1922 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, worker, single, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.
28. Fetsiak, Vasyl, b. 2.4.1903 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, director of the fire service, single, resident in Zalikta, for abetting bandits.

29. Pritsak, Vasyi, b. 1.2.1898 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, village headman, married, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.

30. Pritsak, Mykhailo, b. 6.8.1921 in Zalikta, Ukrainian, farmer, single, resident of Zalikta, for abetting bandits.

The entire local population is issued a final appeal to cooperate, in your own interests, to prevent these kinds of attacks; with regard to a criminal or criminals to report immediately to the nearest police station.

All material denunciations that help capture a criminal will be kept confidential.

Drohobych, 15 February 1944

The SS and the Chief of Police in the District of Galicia<sup>12</sup>

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 35, fols. 210–11.

12 Suhriv is a village in Zhydachiv raion of Lviv oblast. The village of Korostiv is located in Skole raion of Lviv oblast. Storona and Kropyvnyk are found in Lviv oblast. Rosokhach is in Chortkiv raion of Ternopil oblast. Drohobych was the administrative centre of Drohobych oblast during the war. The latter was incorporated into Lviv oblast in 1959. Fritz Katzmann became higher SS and police leader for the District of Galicia in August 1941 and was promoted to the rank of general of the police in September 1941. In July 1944 he was made a major general in the Waffen-SS.



DOCUMENT 71: REPORT ON UPA BATTLES AGAINST THE  
GERMANS IN THE VINNYTSIA REGION

*For an Independent United Ukrainian State  
Freedom for nations  
Freedom for the individual  
Death to the German and Bolshevik aggressors*

*From the UPA's battles on the anti-German front  
Announcement of the Ukrainian Press Service, 20 February 1944  
In Defence of the Populace*

Even though they are losing on all fronts, the German aggressors are nonetheless trying to fulfill the commandment of Hitler, the tormentor of the nations of Europe: "Destroy everything that is not German." In retreating from their undeniable comrades, the Bolshevik invaders, they are trying to destroy villages, loot the populace, deport people, and even shoot them on the spot. But they are not succeeding in this everywhere. The UPA, created by the nation, which for practically the entire year of 1943 has defended the people with weapons from the German and Bolshevik-partisan looters, even today is hindering the looting of the peasants.

On 9 January 1944 approximately 150 Hitlerites were driving out to burn down the village of Lysohirka, in Lityn raion, Vinnytsia oblast. A UPA unit stationed nearby rushed to the village [to] repulse [the attackers]. The Germans were routed, the village remained unharmed. During the battle 4 cars, 8 Colt machine guns, 2 regimental mortars, more than 1,000 grenades, several hundred mines, over 35,000 rounds of ammunition, and much else were captured. The German losses numbered more than a dozen; on our side one was wounded. The battle lasted four hours.

On 16 February 1944, at 9:00 in the morning, a German unit entered the village of Forloiv, Ternopil oblast, and began seizing people. Peasants who managed to escape informed the UPA's Siromantsi Unit. The alerted unit, numbering eighty insurgents, headed out to provide assistance. A battle broke out between the Siromantsi and the Germans, which lasted several hours. Realizing their hopeless situation, the Germans retreated at around 17:00 hours. As a result of the battle, eight Germans were killed and two were taken prisoner. Three cars, one motorcycle, one MP [Maxim machine gun], three rifles were captured and destroyed. A cashbox containing 284,085 karbovantsi was removed from one captured car. During the battle the insurgents blew up the bridge over the Hnyla Lypa River, on the Rohatyn-Peremyshliany highway.

On 16 February 1944, sixteen Germans arrived in the village of Antonovets, who looted much cattle, sheep, and also [robbed] eight people. A UPA fighting group in the village of Busha, near Omyha (Dubno area), numbering eight people headed by Commander Sokil, took back the peasants' property from the Germans and returned it to the peasants. The Germans fled.<sup>13</sup>

That is how the Ukrainian people, together with their warriors, the fierce insurgents, are defending themselves and their property.

HDA SBU, 13-376-61-036.

<sup>13</sup> Vinnytsia oblast is located in west-central Ukraine. Ternopil is a city located on the banks of the Seret River in western Ukraine. Dubno is a city on the Ikva River in Rivne oblast.

DOCUMENT 72: EXTRACT FROM THE INDICTMENT  
OF A UPA BATTALION COMMANDER FOR COLLABORATING  
WITH THE GERMANS

7 March 1944

R. 31

Case: ["UPA" handwritten here]  
Battalion commander of UPA group "North"  
Antoniuk- "Sosenko" - "Klishch"  
For negotiating with the German occupier

*Extract from the Indictment*

Antoniuk, Profir [*sic*], codenames: "Sosenko," "Klishch," born 19 September 1909 in the village of Byskupychi, Volodymyr Volynsky raion, Ukrainian, Orthodox, married, incomplete high school education, social origins: farmer, battalion commander of the UPA group "North."

Antoniuk-Sosenko-Klishch is accused of the following: I) An order of the Supreme Command of the UPA strictly forbade all kinds of negotiations with the occupiers. All military personnel and UPA rear line cells were apprised of that order. In violation of the order, Antoniuk-Sosenko-Klishch conducted negotiations with the German occupier, thereby acting against the UPA's general political line.

On the basis of the violations indicated in no. I, I demand that Antoniuk-Sosenko-Klishch be handed down immediate punishment, the sentence of death by shooting.

In billets, 6 March 1944      Head of the Military Section, *Karuspun*

*Verdict*

Convened on 7 March 1944 by an order of the command of UPA-North, the Field Court-Martial consisting of: the head - Commander Omelko; members of the Court, head of the Social Affairs Section Zolotarenko, Company Commander Letun, after examining the case of citizen Antoniuk-Sosenko-Klishch, born 19 September 1909 in the village of Byskupychi, Volodymyrsky [*sic*] raion, acting commander of the Bohun Detachment, confirmed the guilt of defendant Antoniuk-Sosenko-Klishch and sentenced him to the immediate penalty, the sentence of death by shooting.

The defendant is entitled to the right of appeal after twenty-four hours following the pronouncement of the verdict.

7 March 1944

Head of the Court: (-) Commander Omelko

Members of the Court: (-) Head of the Social Affairs Section Zolotarenko

(-) Company Commander Letun

I confirm the verdict.

Commander of UPA Group "North"

(-) Acting Commander "Panas Mosur"<sup>14</sup>

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 62, fol. 72.

<sup>14</sup> "Panas Mosur" was a nom de guerre used by Dmytro Kliachkivsky, Commander of UPA-North.

DOCUMENT 73: ABOUT RELATIONS BETWEEN  
THE UPA UNIT COMMANDED BY MAKSYM SKORUPSKY  
AND THE GERMANS

Lviv Region  
UPA

14 March 1944

*Extraordinary Report*

A UPA battalion crossed over into my area. It was stationed in the village of Chernytsia (Brody area). There were krauts [*nimakys*] there, and in a drunken state they began firing on our people. Our men disarmed them and wounded an officer. Later we bound up his wound and sent him to Brody with an appropriate letter. Then the Germans came to the battalion commander, to the village of Chernytsia. They had a small white flag on their car. Negotiations headed by a communication officer commenced. They came to an agreement whereby neither the Germans will shoot at the UPA nor the UPA at the Germans. The Germans proposed that this battalion occupy Pidkamin and protect these areas from gangs because the troops stationed there were sent to the nearby front.<sup>15</sup> The battalion commander agreed to this. Passwords were established so that they will not shoot at each other. During the negotiations the battalion commander demanded weapons and set up a quota: 10 Maxims, 60 machine guns, 1,560 rifles, 15 light mortars, 4 heavy ones, 100 finkas, 20 pistols, 2 small cannon, 10 binoculars, and maps. The krauts immediately issued 200 rifles, 2 mortars, 6 Maxims, 20 ammunition belts, 2 light machine guns, 12 disks, 32,000 rounds of ammunition, [and] maps. That battalion commander saw only two platoons. The rest are hiding; he only showed the Germans the billeting place; however, he is not keeping all the people even in that spot. The krauts said that they cannot issue weapons because they do not have them at hand. Then the Germans said that they will be taking all the young men with them. Right now they are being used for digging trenches on the old Russian border. The battalion commander objected to this, and the Germans agreed not to take the men for labour. This battalion commander wants to mobilize them to his own units. This policy is being implemented by General Pridman. If our people are arrested, then it is necessary to admit that he is a Ukrainian partisan and to refer to the general and the battalion commander, and then the Germans release [him]. There were already cases where three riflemen and three couriers were released this way.

<sup>15</sup> Chernytsia is a village in Brody raion of Lviv oblast. A Dominican monastery existed in Pidkamin. It was turned into a jail by the Soviets in 1946.

In two counties, Zolochiv and Brody, the Germans forbade the Ukrainian police and all their units to attack our units and fire on them if they are passing by. In all localities the Germans are seeking contacts with UPA commanders and the OUN.

This battalion carried out an action against Polish villages. The Germans placed four small cannon and a small tank at our men's disposal. In this action the battalion went beyond the bounds of the permissible. They shot three hundred Poles, including women. Then our men carried out an action against the monastery in Pidkamin, where there were seven hundred Poles from Volyn. However, they escaped during the night. One hundred and fifty Poles were killed. For this action the Germans wanted to place airplanes and two companies of krauts at our men's disposal. The battalion commander declined. In the monastery they captured large supplies of food, a pharmacy, and much other property.

14 March 1944

HDA SBU, 13-376-61-038.

DOCUMENT 74: INFORMATION ON CORRESPONDENCE  
 BETWEEN UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS  
 AND GERMANS IN TROSTIANETS

*Copy – original*

*3 May 1944*

*To the Leader of the organization to which Palavaha, Vasyl, belonged*

On 8 April 1944 Palavaha [*sic*], Vasyl, a member of your organization, fell victim to an accident in the village of Trostianets.

So that in future such mishaps are not repeated anymore, I am proposing to you a free and open exchange of ideas between a distinguished leader of your organization and our delegate, an officer, both of whom can speak German or Russian.

Transmit our proposal concerning the place, time, and other conditions of the exchange of ideas to the wife of the temporarily arrested Khalupa, Vasyl, who lived in Trostianets, house no. 174. She is to hand over this letter to the office that she visited in the matter concerning her husband.

In order to secure all possibilities for the negotiations, you would have to suspend all anti-German steps.

We will wait for a reply to this letter until 3 May 1944 at 12 noon.

If this letter remains without a reply, we will regard this as a refusal of our proposition, and our mutual enemy, like the Soviets, as one who will benefit from this.

German Command

(The Okruha's reply to the letter of the Germans in Trostianets)

*To the Highly Respected Commander of German Military Units  
 Village of Bozhykiv-Boloshyna*

Passing through the village of Trostianets, Berezhany County, on 2 May 1944 our patrol noticed your letter in a tree near the side of the road, in which you address the leader of the Organization to which Comrade Palyvaha [*sic*] of hallowed memory belonged.<sup>16</sup>

According to our information, Comrade Palyvaha [*sic*], Vasyl, of hallowed memory, belonged to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera and was wounded in a battle against Bolshevik

<sup>16</sup> Trostianets is a town located on a tributary of the Southern Buh River, in Vinnytsia oblast, in the historic region of Podillia. Berezhany is a city in Ternopil oblast, located about ninety kilometres southeast of Lviv.

partisan gangs on 11 April 1944. From this time he was receiving medical treatment in the village of Trostianets, where he was killed by your soldiers on 28 April 1944.

As the superior of Palyvaha of hallowed memory I would like to give you a reply to your proposal for negotiations in order to express our opinion, in which you are interested. Our goal is the Independent United Ukrainian State, and we are waging our struggle for it. We will never abandon this goal of ours, even if the best political situations for us should arise. We are fighting against every enemy that is seeking to overcome our strivings and slowing down our struggle for the Ukrainian State. At the present time we are waging a struggle against our greatest enemy, Bolshevik Moscow, and we do not desire military actions against the German Wehrmacht, against which we are not conducting any actions, for according to our political line we consider this to no purpose. Since you would like to carry out the liquidation of our units (which, as you are being informed incorrectly, are located in Trostianets, where they are not, in fact) or to destroy our villages, we would be forced by you to conduct a defence, which, obviously, is to no purpose either for the one side or the other.

I cannot make a decision about broad-scale negotiations because such matters are decided by the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists to which we are subordinated, and it alone is competent in this. In the matter of a joint understanding between the OUN and the leadership of Germany or between the Ukrainian and German peoples, it is best for your government to address the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, and the Ukrainian Government, who was arrested by the German authorities in 1941.

On my part, I declare once again that we do not desire military actions against German troops, and we are mobilizing all our forces to the struggle against Moscow. The veracity of our words is attested at the very least by the fact that we have already liquidated dozens of Bolshevik parachutists and partisans without liquidating a single German soldier, of which there are many throughout the villages, and we often have the proper occasion to destroy them.

In as much as it will come to a struggle between our troops, it is not we who will cause it but your soldiers or officers.

*Billets*, 3 May 1944    Commander of a group of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

HDA SBU, 13-376-61-041.



DOCUMENT 75: ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT A GERMAN  
ACTION AGAINST THE UPA IN RAVA-RUSKA OKRUHA

Lviv region

16 May 1944

*Information  
about a German action against UPA units on the territory of  
Rava-Ruska okruha*

On 19 April 1944, during an action against the Polish colony of Steniatyn, which was destroyed, and later in a skirmish line at Liashchiv, two kilometres before Lashkiv, UPA units (Yahoda's with Karmeliuk's platoon) were ambushed by a German military unit.<sup>17</sup> Yahoda's units retreated without a battle in the direction of Posadiv. Karmeliuk's platoon, despite a clear-cut order, began an awkward retreat, without the certainty that these were Germans. The Germans opened fire. Karmeliuk fired back; he began retreating in the direction of Posadiv, leaving behind killed men. The Germans tried their luck, crept close to Posadiv, and opened fire with a grenade launcher and machine guns. With solid fire Yahoda's unit forced the Germans to retreat.

Our own losses – more than a dozen killed and wounded. Captured: 1 grenade launcher, 6 grenades for it, 1 machine gun (Colt), 2,500 cartridges.

On 11 May UPA units (Bohdan) launched a battle against the Germans in Kariv, which ended with a defeat for the UPA.

From Rava [-Ruska] and later from Uhniv, Bohdan was informed in advance of the goal of the German action against Kariv and Wandzin. However, he underestimated because he even issued an order not to shoot at the Germans. At that time Yastrub's company was conducting exercises in Kariv, near the reading room.

The German went from Uhniv to Kariv, which the sentry noticed, and [he] informed the company about this. The company commander gave an order to the stanytsia leader, under pain of death, to hold back the Germans at the edge of the village and relayed that once the Germans entered the village, the UPA would begin firing. The stanytsia leader held back the Germans and transmitted the order. The Germans divided into groups and began the attack. Some cars entered the village, some cut Kariv off from the forest side. A skirmish broke out, men were killed on both sides. Yastrub's company began to retreat

<sup>17</sup> Rava-Ruska is a border town between Poland and Ukraine. Steniatyn is a Polish village in Lublin Voivodeship.

through the fields in the direction of Domashiv; here the Germans attacked them so hard that the company was forced to surrender. As a result: 8 killed, 4 wounded, and 40 captured. In addition, the Germans seized 6 Degtiarevs, 1 Maxim, 1 large mortar, many rifles (from all the prisoners), mortar and rifle munitions, a lot of equipment. Four civilians were killed and six were taken as hostages.

The battles in Wandzin began at noon; the Germans began firing on the village from Mykhailivka. Morozenko's company, which was stationed there, retreated with losses, leaving three killed; two were wounded. Among the killed was one company commander. The Germans captured all the magazines (food, clothing). Wandzin was burned. Five hundred Germans and three Panzer anti-tank cannon took part in the action. In Kariv six farms were burned. The prisoners and wounded men were brought to the prison in Rava-Ruska. Two of the wounded died there, specifically, Kachor, Stepan, twenty-three years old, died 12 May 1944, and Byshchniak, Roman, age twenty-four, died 13 May 1944.

During the night of 13 May a recently mobilized Zhovkva company was crossing to a post where the battalion command of the UPA in our territory was based. The company encountered the Germans in Bir-Kunynsky. A battle ensued, as a result of which four Germans were killed and many were wounded. There were some 40 to 60 Germans, 150 of ours. On our side 4 were killed, 4 were wounded; the Germans captured 5 wounded men with weapons. 16 May 1944

HDA SBU, 13-376-61-044.

DOCUMENT 76: REPORT ON THE UPA'S ANTI-GERMAN  
OPERATIONS IN THE VOLODYMYR AREA

22 May 1944

*UPA operations against the Germans in the Volodymyr area*<sup>18</sup>

With the Bolsheviks' approach, the Germans sought by all means to exploit the UPA or liquidate it completely. As soon as the Bolsheviks arrived at the Styr River, occupied Lutsk, surrounded Kovel, and attacked Volodymyr [Volodymyr-Volynsky], the Germans suspended the struggle against the UPA and sought at all costs to reach an understanding with it about a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks.

Tense searches began for the commanders of UPA units. Generals searched for them, the Gestapo searched, all German officers searched, even rank-and-file privates searched. All of them wanted to reach an understanding with the UPA about a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks but actually to turn it into a blind tool in their hands or to destroy it by treachery.

At this time the UPA's Ivan Bohun Detachment, led by Commander Ostrizhsky, who was stationed in the village of Hniine and adjacent villages, and being attacked on all sides by the Germans who desperately wanted to reach an understanding with the command of the detachment, was forced to move to the village of Byskupychi and adjacent villages.

However, this did not resolve the matter. The Germans continued their pressure in order somehow to reach an understanding despite this. At the time armed clashes were taking place between UPA units and the Germans, for example, in the village of Drevyni (Ivanytsia raion) in early May of this year, in the village of Yakovychi (Volodymyr raion), and a battle in the village of Silets (Volodymyr raion).

When the Germans were trying to negotiate with the UPA, everywhere they met with the response: "Reach an understanding with our leader, Stepan Bandera, to whose orders we are subordinated and whom you have in your hands." Infuriated by this, the Germans decided to force the UPA detachment to cooperate, and if [it would] not, to destroy it.

Smashing Bolshevik partisans numbering three thousand in Ustyluh and Verba raions in late April and early May of this year and nearly a thousand-strong group of Bolshevik partisans in the Zavydiv woods (Porytsk raion), on 5 May 1944, they issued an ultimatum to the command of the detachment: "Either

18 Volodymyr-Volynsky raion is found in Volyn oblast, northwestern Ukraine.

cooperate with us (Germans) or leave for Ustyluh raion by 17:00 on 5 May 1944, otherwise we will destroy you.”

In Ustyluh raion the Germans, together with a Polish-Bolshevik gang, intended to destroy the detachment; the command of the detachment decided to move not to Ustyluh raion but to cross over to the left bank of the Luh River, to the villages of Lukovychi, Lysiv, Vermyshiv, and others, expelling from these villages advance units of a Bolshevik partisan unit that was smashed by the Germans in the Zavydiv woods, which was trying to use that route to reach the Red Army's frontline units.

At 17:00 on 5 May 1944 the detachment entered the village of Byskupychi and halted in the villages of Lukovychi, Lysiv, and Buzhkovychi, and motorized units immediately entered Byskupychi. Bolshevik detachments halted in the villages of Kolona, Rykovychi, Horokhiv, and Zahoriv, from where, taking advantage of the fact that the Germans had not taken control of the Zavydiv woods, rushed into the woods and organized themselves there and headed for Galicia. Seeing how things stood, the Germans resumed negotiations with UPA units, declaring that this territory, on which the insurgents had halted, must be free because through it they must have contact with the Hungarians, who were stationed in Yanevychi. The command of the detachments then decides to change its billeting place, moving the units under cover of night on 7 May 1944 to the villages of Oryshchy, Novo-Zhashkovychi, Staro-Zhashkovychi, and Volytsia.

Enraged by this, the Germans try at all costs to make contact with the command of the detachment, in which they succeed on 9 May 1944 in the village of Staro-Zhashkovychi. During the meeting with Commander Ostrizhsky, the Germans spoke on the topic of a joint struggle against the Bolsheviks and finally declared that their main task is to deliver the commander of these insurgent units that are located on this territory to the general in Volodymyr for negotiations.

Here the Germans wanted to destroy by treachery the commanders of the UPA units in these territories. At this time, when Commander Ostrizhsky was talking with the Germans in the village of Staro-Zhashkovychi, the Germans began to surround the UPA units, bringing their forces into the villages of Byskupychi, Zamlychi, Zahoriv, Kolosh, Topylyshi, Rykovychi, Starolorytsk, Liakhiv, Yanevychi, Markostav, Chesny Khrest, and Silets.

The conversation ended. As things stood, the Germans were directed to a commander “competent” in these matters, who is located near the city of Volodymyr; in reality, he was not there. In order to help the Germans locate the “commander,” they were given a courier with whom they left by car for Volodymyr. Deceiving the Germans allowed the commanders to lead the unit out of German encirclement.

The order came: "Scatter the units and deploy them clandestinely in the territory." The order was carried out. The units were divided into three parts: with one part Commander Stepan was supposed to break through to the Horokhiv area, and with the second part Commander Ostrizhsky was supposed to break through to areas along the Buh River, and the rest, approximately four hundred newly mobilized people, Commander Demian was supposed to scatter throughout the area. The latter was supposed to move only part of the newly mobilized people into Luchytsi raion. Commander Stepan and Commander Ostrizhsky succeeded in leading their people out of the encirclement without fatalities. With only some casualties (a report on this matter is appended).

Commander Demian also succeeded in leaving with four companies of newly mobilized people. On 10 May 1944 the Germans advanced towards the villages where UPA units were stationed. However, there was nothing there anymore. Enraged by this, the Germans took away several dozen civilians from these villages, but, failing to learn anything from them, they withdrew to their billeting places.

*Billets*, 22 May 1944            Vitalii

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fols. 108–9.

DOCUMENT 77: REPORT ON THE BATTLES BETWEEN  
 VASYL ANDRUSIAK'S BATTALION AND THE GERMANS

(According to information provided by the commander of the officer school,  
 Comrade First Lieutenant Pol) 9 July 1944

*Addendum*  
*to the information report of 2 July 1944*

The enemy: On the 8th and 9th large infantry forces (infantry regiment), without artillery, without aviation, without armoured weapons, rush to gain control of the mountains and our destruction. The first day of the battle: the main attack – on Kaminka. Two thousand [German troops] from two sides [went] against Rizun. The battle lasted from 6:00 to 20:30; the Germans went on the attack five times. I sent help by two routes. My groups did not join the battle. Rizun lost the camp and no people. During the night between the 8th and 9th two enemy echelons disembarked in Hrebeniv, later in Tukhlia. Two of Klymenko's companies came to our assistance.

The situation as of 5:00 on 9 July:

The Germans: Bolekhiv, Tysiv, Sukil, Kaminka, Hrebeniv, Zeliamianka, Rozhanna, and the Lopata and Matahiv mountain ridges, over which they gained control.

We: Lykhobora [Lybokhora], Magura, Basarabka above the Sukil [River], and Briaza above Palianytsia and Tysiv.

Decision: To strike the enemy from an ambush, disrupt the routes of supplying movement, communication. To avoid protracted battles.

Implementation:

1. The gendarmerie fired on a German company on Matahiv [Ridge]. It fired from an ambush near the Sukil from B. Enemy losses have not been established.<sup>19</sup> We have no dead or wounded.
2. Konyk's Company: On 9 July between 18:30 and 19:00 a battle near the camp above the railway. Two MGs and 2 rifles were captured, 500 rounds of ammunition, and 5 grenades. On 10 July, at 14:00, a skirmish with an enemy intelligence unit. We have one wounded.
3. There were several skirmishes below Briaza. There the enemy had around fifteen killed; we have no losses.

All of the above forced us to switch locations. Rizun is continuing the assignment in the south. The enemy has also halted its advance. It may be waiting for reinforcements and aviation. On 9 July between 6:00 and 11:20 a plane looked for us, but without result.

HDA SBU, 13-376-62-098.

19 The Sukil River is found in the Skole Beskids mountain range of the Carpathians.

## The Polish-Ukrainian Conflict

DOCUMENT 78: REPORT ON COMBAT OPERATIONS  
CARRIED OUT BY UPA UNITS IN JULY 1943

### *UPA Battles*

*July 1943*

On 6 July 1943, at 23:00 hours, three UPA units headed out on an attack on the village of Huta,<sup>1</sup> a Polish colony where armed Polish gangs were concentrated and which were a permanent threat to the local Ukrainian population, committing murders and robberies in it. The staging area for all the units was the village of Rudna. The first unit marched in the direction of Borok, the second – to Kurort, and the third – to the southern part.

Liquidating en route the colonies of Borok, Liady, and part of Kurort, the units drew close to fortified positions. The alerted enemy halted the attack with heavy machine gun fire. The battle lasted until noon. One small cannon was dragged to the spot, and preparations were carried out for a further assault. Enemy losses this day reached over 150 fatalities. On the insurgents' side there were no losses. The next day the attack was resumed. One of the groups managed to make its way into the middle of the fortified positions and set fire to some buildings. Six of our men were killed and three were wounded. The battle lasted until evening, and on the morning of 19 July the fortified positions were captured, buildings were burned down, and the walls were blown up. The civilian population fled from Huta and was captured by the second group. The smashed units of Liakhs and Reds fled to the forest.

The main force of the first unit attacked the settlements of Ostrivky, Byrka [Birky], Perespa, Uzhany, Soshnyky, and Tur. The second unit was advancing on Haly. After the first delivery of fire the enemy's forces were smashed, [our

<sup>1</sup> Huta is a village in Busk raion of Lviv oblast. The term "Liakhs," immediately below, means "Poles" and refers to the Polish inhabitants of Huta.

men] crossed through Haly, Tur, Berezhyna, Shymonisko [Szymonisko], attacking Soshnyky from the north, and departed to Byrka and Vyrobok.

During the attack on Byrka the advance defence team of the first unit encountered an enemy picket. Firing back, the enemy retreated. After the liquidation of Ostrivky, the battle for Byrka began at 3:00. The enemy hunkered down inside the brick buildings next to and inside a Roman Catholic church and, after installing machine guns in the trees, aimed targeted fire at our line. After a two-hour battle the unit went on the offensive. With great determination the middle sector of the front pushed the enemy back from the walls and the church and set fire to the village. The enemy forces consisted of up to fifty armed men. The enemy left many dead on the battlefield. At 10:00 Byrka was already in the insurgents' hands. After this, the unit marched to Zivka. It occupied and destroyed it. The Germans arrived in automobiles to help the Liakhs. Our insurgents smashed them with a powerful attack, so that the Germans were forced to flee, leaving six dead on the battlefield. One machine gun, 1 mine, 14 rifles, 13 grenades, and 400 rounds of ammunition were captured.

On 18 July the second group liquidates the rest of the colony; during the action an enemy supply column that was escaping from Huta was captured (150 wagons loaded with property). This day enemy losses reached more than three hundred fatalities.

Commander D's picket, carrying out defence, fought a battle against the Germans near the vicinity of Yapolut. The battle lasted forty-five minutes. Fleeing, the routed enemy left behind ten of their corpses. Two heavy machine guns, 1 light [machine gun], 3 mines, 3 short-barrelled pistols, 7 rifles, 15 grenades, [and] more than 1,000 rounds of ammunition were captured, and 2 cars were burned on our side; only 2 [of our men] were lightly wounded.

During the night of 19 July the unit destroyed fortified positions in Stepan and burned down and blew up those buildings that were the Germans' places of billeting and defence.

This is how the insurgents smashed armed Polish gangs in this territory and eradicated the threat that weighed on the population.

July 1943

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fol. 3.



DOCUMENT 79: ORDER OF THE OUN KRAI LEADERSHIP ON  
THE SUSPENSION OF ANTI-POLISH OPERATIONS

27 October 1943

*Order No. 1/43*

*For implementation by oblast, okruha, and county leaders*

1. In connection with the difficult future food situation and the possibility of the destruction of accumulated grain reserves, I am ordering: begin at once to create collective and individual supplies that will serve as the means for feeding not only the Organization but also the general Ukrainian population during the difficult time of further unexpected military reversals. In view of the various predicted political possibilities of the Germans' retreat (evacuation, destruction of material wealth), I order all cell leaderships of the Organization to initiate appropriate collective procurement operations and the concealed storage of all kinds of agricultural resources (grain, potatoes, groats, flour, fats, etc.), which, at the worst stage of the military crisis, will be channelled to serve the Ukrainian people in the struggle for physical upkeep and self-preservation.

While upholding all the principles of secrecy [and] moderation, the campaign is to be waged under the slogan: "Each link [zveno] of the OUN, each Ukrainian citizen, village and city for the building and strengthening of the national economic front; this will protect the Ukrainian people from the destructive plans of the German occupiers."

II. All types of anti-Polish statements and actions that deviate from the Organization's political line and do not eliminate but assist a secondary front of the struggle against us are to be categorically suspended. I will treat the initiation and execution of perverted acts as sabotage and the breakdown of the OUN's policies, and I will punish the guilty in keeping with the laws of the supreme revolutionary order.

The special units that in individual cases are applied for liquidation are the exception, and then only with the prior approval of the Krai leader.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Billets, 27 October 1943*

Head of the Organizational Section of the Krai leadership

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 28, fol. 24.

DOCUMENT 80: ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE  
UKRAINIAN-POLISH CONFLICT IN LIUBOML RAION

24 November 1943

*Announcement about the Situation on the Territory of the Liuboml Area<sup>2</sup>*

The territory was home to a Polish population of up to six thousand. During the period of the execution of the action only one colony was destroyed; the rest of the Polish population was untouched. The Poles organized themselves for some time. Self-defence was organized in the village of Rymachi. This (Polish) self-defence expanded its activities.

Operating in the territory at that time, Vorona Company, after Chumak's was smashed by the Poles near the village of Bovtuny; this greatly demoralized the spirit of the population. The threat to the Ukrainian population in the territory increased. Soon, Chumak Company, which had been organized in Liuboml raion, withdrew. The territory was left unprotected; the Poles freely expanded their activities.

The Poles burned down the village of Vysotsk, occupied the territory of the village of Bindiuhy, the villages of Vysotsk, Bovtuny, Terekhy. Except for feeble self-defence, no one offered any resistance to the Poles. The Ukrainian population fled from these villages, leaving behind all its property. The Poles burned, killed, and looted. Dissatisfaction that an anti-Polish action had been launched began to spread among the Ukrainian population. Poles were assembling from various territories, even from Rozhyshchi on the southern side of the railway; the Poles captured the vicinity of the villages of Bindiuhy, Vysotsk, Terekhy, Bovtuny, Rakovets, Berezhets, Zamlyn, Terebendia and crept towards the villages of Shtun, Vyshniv, and Kotsury. In the last while the homesteads in these villages were burned down by the Poles.

The Polish forces have now decreased as a result of the conflict with the Germans. However, the Poles are still operating actively. Our units launched actions, but they were not successful. The first time the action failed because of the lack of good leaders. Then our units attacked the village of Romovod and burned down part of it, but the Poles were not smashed. Now the Poles are attacking increasingly farther as our population is being evicted. Actions are being carried out by permanent units of fifteen to eighty people each; some five to ten men go out on the smallest sorties; they kill, rob, but no actions are being carried out on our side. The lack of our successful actions [and] the threat

2 Liuboml raion is in Volyn oblast, near the Polish border. Polissia is a region of swampy, wooded terrain between Belarus and Ukraine, particularly suitable for insurgent forces.

from the Poles are always undermining the morale of our population. People are becoming disillusioned; they say “what are we good for” (the insurgents) if we are not putting up resistance even to a few Poles? Our enemies are disseminating and supporting such moods. Our enemies are saying that our army is hiding, not thinking about defending the population, but is only grabbing everything for itself. It is extremely difficult to work in this state, and especially when rumours are spreading that Polissia is not going to be defended from the Volodymyr area, but support may be necessary. With this kind of mood the Poles are trying to destroy our leading activists, to disunite the masses. In the territory the Poles have killed many of our leading activists; two stanytsia leaders were killed, one of the agitators, a kushch leader, was wounded as well as two couriers, and many other people were destroyed. In addition, the Poles are promising to leave the population in peace if they hand over the leading activists. There are a thousand refugees in the territory Ukrainians are now living in extreme poverty. In every house are nearly two families, and they are all trembling in fear of the Poles as they do not have any kind of protection. The Poles are seeking to introduce disorder amidst this mass. They are promising to leave the people in peace if they return to them and tell them everything, or if they become secret collaborators. There are similar cases where Ukrainians are already found among the Polish partisans (unconfirmed).

Many refugees who had hoped that the UPA would destroy the Poles are now returning to their villages and becoming servants of the Poles. It is crucial to have at least part of the army in the territory – first of all, this would halt the Polish actions; secondly, it would morally support the population.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

Commandant of the rear line service:

(–) Donsky, Liuboml raion

In billets, 24 November 1943

In compliance with the original:

[handwritten signature] (“Arkadii”)

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 34, fol. 52.

DOCUMENT 81: REPORT ON AN ANTI-POLISH OPERATION  
IN THE VILLAGE OF HANACHIV

9 February 1944

*Report**Retaliatory actions:*

During the night of 3–4 February the Siromantsi unit carried out a retaliatory action against the Polish village of Hanaczów [Hanachiv], Peremyshliany County. Approximately 180 Liakhs were killed, around two hundred were wounded, and the rest were burned in a fire. Eighty percent of the village was burned. Only brick houses and the [Roman Catholic] church remained. The Liakhs mounted great resistance: They fired from three machine guns, MPs [machine pistols], rifles, grenade launchers, and hand grenades. Many also defended themselves with pitchforks, axes, and the like.

Their weapons were not captured. Everything was burned. On our side, 734 rounds of ammunition and grenades were expended. There were no human losses. I will send the report. On 5 February a retaliatory action was carried out against Poles in the village of Slobidka Volshyvetska, Rohatyn County. Twelve men were killed and nine were wounded. The Liakhs in this village handed over the raion administrator, who was shot that day in Stanyslaviv.<sup>3</sup> There will also be a separate report about this.

The Sabliuk unit (UPA) moved over to the Peremyshliany area. In the field, the unit was issued 6 pairs of underclothing, 6 pairs of footwear, the majority of a pharmacy, and 2,000 rounds of ammunition. In the Pidhaitsi area the unit took 50 people – volunteers. Because the people were taken without weapons, they [weapons] were issued.

Three companies of Eastern peoples were sent once again to Volyn from the Zboriv area. There is an otaman of the Kabardians in this territory, who has nearly fifteen thousand soldiers under him scattered throughout Eastern Galicia. He himself is very authoritative, and he has links with the native land. Our people have already talked with him. He wants political leaflets in the Russian language. Very many leaflets are needed for this territory. There is a lack of them. I will reproduce [them] on a cyclostyle.

<sup>3</sup> The city of Stanyslaviv was renamed Ivano-Frankivsk on 9 November 1962. An agreement signed in Moscow on 16 August 1945 between the government of the Soviet Union and the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity established the postwar eastern border of Poland several kilometres to the east of Peremyshl (Przemysł), on the Sian River. The Kabardians are the largest of the twelve tribes of Circassia, in the North Caucasus. Sokoliv is a village in Volyn, about forty-eight kilometres northwest of Zhytomyr.

*Billets*, 9 November 1944  
Yaroslav

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Report*

concerning the Polish bandit attack on Ukrainian civilians in the village of Sokoliv, Pidhaitsi County.

On [illegible date, but in January] 1944, a group of boys in the village of Sokoliv went carolling to the hamlet of Hanchirky. They returned home from there on a wagon. Between Sokoliv and Hanchirky they were attacked by a Polish gang numbering five men, who rushed the wagon after illuminating it first with electric lamps. Their weapons were knives and bayonets. A fight broke out between those who were attacked and the bandits. Each of the bandits tried to assault his victim by attacking with a knife or bayonet. As a result, three Ukrainians were wounded, specifically: Dziurban, Hrynko – he was struck by a bayonet in his left hand; Lopatynsky was lightly wounded by a knife in his back, and the stanytsia leader of the village of Sokoliv was wounded in the hand, two fingers were sliced to the bone. The Ukrainians who were attacked did not lose consciousness, they fought with the bandits until they dispersed them, and they took one of the bandits with them and brought him to a Ukrainian police station in Zolotnyky. Questioned by the police, the bandit admitted that the gang had a goal: each bandit was supposed to knife to death one Ukrainian.

During the time that the Ukrainians and the captured bandit were going to the Ukrainian police, the bandits raced to the village of Sokoliv, where they organized a larger gang of Poles, around twenty-eight men armed with axes, saps, pitchforks, and other [weapons]; they ran around the village looking for the captured bandit with the goal of retaking him, not knowing that he had been delivered to the police. They were also looking for the boys who had grabbed the bandit. On the basis of the captured bandit's confession, the group consisted of the following people:

1. Pawłowicz, Włodzimierz
2. Shtovbyk, Włodzimierz
3. Mniewski, Włodzimierz
4. Hirniak, Włodzimierz
4. Boczan, Lawryn

The above-named come from the village of Sokoliv.

*Billets*, 30 January 1944

DOCUMENT 82: TESTIMONY ON THE DESTRUCTION OF THE  
UKRAINIAN VILLAGE OF SAHRYN BY AK TROOPS<sup>4</sup>*Report*

*recorded on 21 April 1944 at the Hrubeshiv UKD [Ukrainian Relief Committee]. Testimony of Anastazia Shufel, resident of the village of Sahryn, district of Miake*

On Friday morning, 10 March 1944, at around 4:00 I saw fire and shots were heard. The fire was from incendiary bullets. Anxiety erupted. People began fleeing to hiding places. My sister hid herself in a “bunker,” and my parents, daughter, and neighbours in another one. Altogether there were eight of us. After a minute we heard more shots, and the sound of people shouting. Obviously, people were saving themselves as best they could. The gang was drawing closer, and we could even hear conversation.

When the bandits stopped near my father’s house, I heard a conversation [in Polish]: “Don’t burn that house, he is a good man,” and, indeed, they did not burn down the house, they left it for the very end. I cannot say anything about what was happening in the village at this time because I was sitting with my family in a pit until 4:00. It seemed to us that, besides shooting, there was no one and nothing out of the ordinary near us. Meanwhile, from the hideout I heard movement inside the house. Someone was walking and talking. Later we saw that the bandits had utterly looted our house.

All the items that were walled up in the house next to the stove were taken away, and the hiding place was completely smashed. From the house they approached our hideout. They were not looking for it at all – it was as though they knew that it was there. They opened the hideout and shouted for us to come out because they would throw a grenade. I did not want to come out; then the bandits began slashing at the hideout. Father came out of the hideout and asked that his life be spared and his family left unharmed. They poured profanities on him: “Come out, you son of a whore, we will murder you because you are murdering our Poles.” They ordered [him] to hand over the

4 The Home Army, *Armia Krajowa*, was the major Polish resistance movement, formed in February 1942 and officially disbanded 19 January 1945, although some AK units continued fighting against the Soviet occupation and the Ukrainian nationalists. The anti-communist Freedom and Independence movement (*Zrzeszenie Wolność i Niezawisłość*, or *WiN*) was established on 2 September 1945 and remained active until 1952, occasionally collaborating with the UPA. See Yevhen Shtendera, “In Search of Understanding: The Ukrainian and Polish Underground Movements, 1945–1947: Co-operation between the UPA and *WiN*,” in *Poland and Ukraine: Past and Present*, ed. Peter J. Potichnyj (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980), 271–94. The town of Hrubeshiv (Hrubieszów) is now found in southeastern Poland, within Lublin Voivodeship.

clothing that they had already looted from the house. Then they shouted into the hideout for the rest to come out. Two more men came out: my husband's cousin and a neighbour. My mother came out after the men, after my mother our lodger, an eighty-year-old granny, and her two-year-old granddaughter. Upon seeing the bandits, my twelve-year-old daughter fainted. The bandits ordered my father to revive her with water. Father poured water on her, and the girl came to. She asked that her life be spared and then she fainted again. Once again the bandits gave the order to revive her. Once again the girl came to. She asked that her life be spared because she is young and wants to live. This time I came out of the hideout and asked them not to kill my child, that we had not done anything wrong, that we are not to blame for living here. One of the bandits said: "We have walked a couple of hundred kilometres to your place here in order to murder every last one of you." At that moment the bandits shot my father, who died quickly, then my mother. After my mother they killed my husband's cousin, but the neighbour managed to escape.

Then they came up to my daughter, who threw her arms around me, asked me to forgive her for everything. She kissed me, asked [me] to say goodbye to her father. Once again she turned to the bandits and pleaded for mercy. This time she received a bullet in the neck. I rushed to save her, but the bandits began shooting at me. I got three bullets: two in my shoulder and one in my fingers. The girl died quickly. The gang thought that it was the end for me and rushed over to the granny. They killed her but did not touch the child. When they finished with us, they set fire to the house and left. Then I marshalled all my strength, stood up, said goodbye to my little daughter, who was dead, and slowly reached the hideout. However, there were traces of blood behind me. I scratched at the earth with my nails and covered up the traces. Inside the hideout I felt utterly bad. The bleeding was intense. My heart became weak. Fortifying myself with some water that was in the hideout, I regained consciousness. After some time I heard the bandits' voices: "Check to see if they are all killed." However, they did not know how many of us there had been and how many they had killed. They did not look inside the hideout. They only finished off the old granny and killed the child, who was in the old lady's care.

I sat inside the hideout until late in the evening. At around 9:00 in the evening the mother of the killed child came to me. In fact she told me that the bandits were no longer in the village and that I must go to a house that was not burned down. This was a Polish house and the bandits had not burned it. There were more people in the house. Many were wounded. Elynsky [first letter of surname illegible] the medic was giving first aid. By morning all those who were more seriously wounded were sent to the hospital in Hrubeshiv.

Hrubeshiv, 21 April 1944      (-) Anastazia Shufel

DOCUMENT 83: REPORTS ABOUT ANTI-POLISH  
OPERATIONS IN THE STANYSLAVIV REGION

April 1944

*Report no. 1**about the liquidation of the Polish colony of Zemianok*

On 2 April 1944 an oblast fighting group and the Haidamaky group, numbering fifty men, carried out an operation against the above-mentioned colony. During the operation forty Poles were liquidated and fifty-two farms were burned down.

The operation was carried out in retaliation for the attack by a Polish fighting group against two couriers who were passing through the forest not far from this colony.

*Billets*, 12 April 1944

*Report no. 2**about the liquidation of Polish colonies situated between Perkosy and Protesy*

On 4 April 1944 an okruha fighting group and the Haidamaky group (nine in the okruha fighting group and seven in the Haidamaky group) carried out an action against the above-mentioned colonies. The action began at 1:30, during which around twenty people (men) were liquidated and thirty farms were burned down.

*Billets*, 12 April 1944

*Report no. 3**about the liquidation of the Polish colonies of Pavlykivka and Chereshenky*

On 5 April 1944 an okruha fighting group and the Haidamaky group, numbering thirty-six people, carried out an anti-Polish action in the Polish colonies of Pavlykivka and Chereshenky. The operation began at 22:00. Fifteen people (putting up active resistance) were liquidated and 130 farms were burned down.

The operation was organized in retaliation for the murder of a Ukrainian forest warden by a Polish fighting group that was based in Chereshenky.

*Billets*, 12 April 1944



*Report no. 4  
about the liquidation of the Polish colony of Tomashivtsi*

On 10 April 1944 an okruha fighting group and the Haidamaky group, number[ing] 110 people, carried out an action against the Polish colony of Tomashivtsi. The action began at 21:00. Forty people were liquidated and three hundred farms were burned down. There was one wounded on our side.

For a long time Tomashivtsi was an active anti-Ukrainian centre. Polish fighting groups located there persecuted Ukrainian passersby and threatened some with liquidation. The immediate reason for this operation was the murder of two members of the Organization in the village of Holyn by a Polish fighting group.

*Billets*, 12 April 1944

*Report  
On the liquidation of the TSP in Kropyvnyk*

The main centre of the active functioning of the Polish underground was the TSP factory in Kropyvnyk. Nearly legal military training with weapons, technical links of the PONW [a Polish underground organization] leadership, and, finally, ambushes against Ukrainians (Lysanyk's arrest, the hunt for a courier) began to threaten us seriously after the German retreat. Lewicki, the leader of the PONW for Subcarpathia, was also at the TSP, and from there he directed all the clandestine work (Havrenko's report).

The entire Mazurian [Polish] colony in Kropyvnyk was destroyed, as well as all the residential and administrative buildings of the TSP.<sup>5</sup> The factory remained untouched. Around twenty people were destroyed.

*SB Okruha Leader*

*Report  
on the liquidation of Nova Verkhnia*

The Polish colony of Nova Verkhnia was renowned for its provocateur and denunciatory work against Ukrainians. It had contacts with the *Kripo* [*Kriminalpolizei*: Criminal Police] and the gendarmerie, the result of which was the murder of Skakun and the arrest of his father, in which Poles from Nova Verkhnia took part.

The colony was burned down and the most active Poles were liquidated.

*SB Okruha Leader*

<sup>5</sup> The word "Mazurian" refers to the Poles living in Kropyvnyk, a town in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast.

*Report  
on the liquidation of Shyroke Pole*

The advantageous location of Shyroke Pole offered broad possibilities for the development of Polish underground work. A *placówka* (outpost), whose commandant was the village headman, was organized there. That *placówka* had fifteen rifles. In addition, a Polish fighting group that was organized in Vyhoda was also supposed to have found temporary accommodations there.

The above materials come from the report of Havrenko, Casimir, member of the Okruha leadership of the PONV, and the headman, the commandant of this same *placówka*.

*Destroyed:*

Twenty-six [farms] were burned down and around one hundred people were liquidated. During the action we stumbled upon a self-defence of members of the *placówka*, who fired back and threw grenades.

*SB Okruha Leader*

HDA SBU, 13-376-34-108.

DOCUMENT 84: REPORT ON ANTI-POLISH OPERATIONS  
IN THE RAVA-RUSKA AREA

April 1944

*Reports*

*on anti-Polish retaliatory operations carried out on the territory  
of Rava-Ruska okruha*

Rava-Ruska Area: On 17 April 1944 the units of UPA-North that are operating in our territories (Halaida, Prolom) carried out destructive actions against nests of Polish gangs in the Rava-Ruska area: Richky and Zabiria. As our reconnaissance confirmed without a doubt, that day a Polish gang consisting of several dozen people was supposed to carry out an anti-Ukrainian operation in the village of Zabiria. Our units forestalled the Polish gang's operation only by half an hour. The Halaida unit carried out an operation in Richky, where fifteen Polish bandits were liquidated. During the operation by Halaida ten cars of German Schutzpolizei and one small tank from Rava arrived in Richky. A skirmish began between them and a Halaida machine-gun nest. However, after some time the Germans began signalling with an upraised rifle [held] in both hands, with the appeals "Ukraine! Ukraine! Hold fire." Chornota explained the situation to them, and after that the Germans departed and the operation in Richky continued. At that very time the Prolom unit was carrying out an operation in Zabiria, where thirty bandits were liquidated. More than a dozen Polish bandits fled to the woods, from where they fired. There were no losses on our side.

On 19 April 1944 the Yahoda unit, together with Karmeliuk's platoon, carried out an attack on the Polish colony of Steniatyn, which was destroyed without resistance. The unit headed out in platoons from Steniatyn to Lashchiv; two kilometres before Lashchiv the unit stumbled into an ambush by a German military unit. Yahoda's unit turned in the direction of Posadiv without harassing the Germans. However, Karmeliuk's platoon, despite a clear order to turn back, began the return sluggishly, without the certainty that they were Germans. The Germans opened fire on it. Firing back, Karmeliuk began the retreat in the direction of Posadiv, leaving behind killed men. The Germans drew near Posadiv and opened fire with a grenade launcher and machine guns. However, with intensive fire the Yahoda unit forced the enemy to flee.

Our own losses: 6 killed (including Karmeliuk), 3 missing, 3 wounded.

Enemy losses: over a dozen killed and many wounded. One battalion grenade launcher and nine grenades for it, one machine gun (Colt), two thousand rounds were captured.

On the evening of 19 April 1944 a Polish gang consisting of twenty to thirty men tried to force their way into the village of Richytsi in a skirmish line. Our patrol fired on them and forced [them] to flee in the direction of Zharnyky.

On 22 April 1944 the UPA units Tyhry and Prolom and Orel's unit carried out a destructive operation against the Polish colonies of Polediv, Lupche, Zimno, and the village of Ratychiv. The operation lasted two hours. There was no resistance at all. All the mentioned localities were destroyed (Zimno: only the eastern part along with a villa); during the units' departure to [word missing] Volksdeutsche arrived from the village of Yurove; however, they did not dare harass our people, they only burned down several Ukrainian homes.

On 25 April 1944 an okruha fighting group carried out a destructive operation against the village of Smolyn, as a result of which six Polish farms were burned, and six Polish men and two women were liquidated.

On 27 April 1944 the same fighting group liquidated fifty-five men and five women – Poles – in the village of Ulytsko-Seredkovy. At the same time, around one hundred farms were burned, and during the fire you could hear the explosions of munitions and grenades.

There is similar information about the number of Poles liquidated by UPA units: [missing initial letter(s)] toky – 3 (locals), Liubych-Kolaitsi – 3 (locals), Huta Liubytyska – 2 (unknown), Liubycha – 10 (escaped), Potelych – 13 (locals), Dahany Velyki – 2 (unknown), Verkhtrata [missing initial letter(s)] ukental – 2 (unknown), Ostobizh – 1 woman (local), Khoroniv – 1 (local), [missing initial letter(s)] tashi – 1 (local), Tiahliv – 15 and 4 women (local), and 44 unknown, Verbytsia (local), Khodovantsi – 9 (unknown), Zabiria – 30 (locals and unknown), [missing initial letter(s)] chky – 15 (locals and unknown).

Zhovkva Area: On 17 April 1944 units of the UPA (Hromovy) and Dovbush's fighting group destroyed the Polish stronghold of Stanyslivok. At the same time around eighty Polish men were liquidated.

Liubachiv Area: On 19 April 1944, the Mestnyky unit of UPA-North destroyed the Polish village of Rutka. At 5:30 the unit entered the village and demanded that the headman [order] the population to hand over weapons, otherwise the entire village would be burned. The village's attitude to the demand was negative. That is why the village was burned down and eighty Poles were liquidated. As the houses were burning; you could hear explosions of munitions, which did not stop for a long time. There were no losses on our side.

25 April 1944: The Mestnyky unit destroyed the purely Polish village of Vilka Korovytska. The village was burned. As the houses were burning, you could hear frequent explosions of munitions. There were no losses on our side.

On 4 May 1944 the Mestnyky unit, together with a county fighting group, carried out an operation against the town of Chesaniv, where there is a majority

of Poles. Earlier the Poles were shooting local Ukrainians (e.g., an attempt on the life of Dr Babiak, a lawyer from Chesaniv). Chesaniv was burned.

On 13 May 1944 the same company destroyed the Polish colony of Fraiefeld. At the same time nine Polish colonists were liquidated. On 13 May 1944 an okruha fighting group ambushed Poles who were going from Nemyriv to Rava. During the ambush twenty Poles were liquidated. During the battle the Poles fired back; however, there are no losses among our men.

Khholm Region: Battles for Posadiv.

Reconnaissance reported that Polish fighting groups of the so-called Armia Krajowa [Polish Home Army] are stationed in the colony of Steniatyn, the Posadiv villa, in the Posadiv woods, and surrounding colonies of Polediv, Zharnyky, Lupche, [and] Hubynok.

On 5 April 1944 our Halaida and Tyhry units carried out a destructive operation above all against the colonies of Hubynok, Lupche, Polediv, Zharnyky. In this way they cleansed the right wing in order thereafter to strike the main nest of Posadiv and Steniatyn. The Halaida and Tyhry units first entered the colony of Lupche. The Poles were not expecting [us] and they took us for their own people. They got their bearings only once the Tyhry set fire to the neighbouring colony of Hubynok, and they launched a counteraction, encircling our unit. A battle commenced. The Poles were forced to flee to Zharnyky. Then one heavy machine gun, several rifles, and much ammunition were captured. In Polediv our units regrouped and attacked Zharnyky. The enemy, numbering one hundred people, occupied positions behind the villa near some hayricks. After a half-hour exchange of fire the Poles were forced to further flight. The enemy left killed men behind on the battlefield, among them Commander Zawisza (as proved by notes found on him), and headed in the direction of the Posadiv woods. Pursuing the enemy, the unit (Halaida) provided assistance to Prolom, which, owing to the delayed action of the preceding units, was in dire straits. After destroying the colony of Rokitno, Prolom hunkered down along the track of a narrow-gauge railway; however, it was an inconvenient position because the Poles from the Posadiv woods, having secured the slope, poured machine gun and rifle fire on Prolom. The unit had to manoeuvre and retreat; this, however, cost a few lives. But at this point Chornota's platoon from the Halaida unit saved its men with its fire, enabling them to retreat without additional losses. Therefore, during the operation on 5 April 1944 the colonies of Hubynok, Polediv, Lupche, [and] Rokitno were destroyed. Captured: one heavy machine gun, rifles, munitions, an archive, ammunition. In addition, Lys's self-defence unit destroyed the colony of Marysin and Radkiv, and Orel's unit [destroyed] colonies in Ripnyn. More than a dozen Polish soldiers and many civilians were killed. Our own losses: 11 killed (including 3 nurses) and 14 wounded. The battle of 5 April indicated that the main enemy forces are

found in the colonies of Posadiv and Steniatyn. Their liquidation is designated for Polish Easter. On 9 April, at two o'clock at night, our units departed from the village of Ulhivok in the direction of Ripnyn, the civilian population fled from here, and the headquarters were stationed here. At 5:45 a battle commences in the Sadvivsky woods, which was initiated by a unit of UPA-North. Simultaneously the Halaida unit attacks the village of Posadiv, chases the enemy out of the village and the villa, and joins up with UPA-N. The Poles fled to Mulychi, leaving behind those who had been killed. After that an attack on the village of Steniatyn proceeds. The right wing of UPA-N[orth] approaches the Zhulytsky woods, where the enemy is concentrated, without, however, gaining control of the ridge from the northern corner to Teliatyn. An enemy skirmish line appears from behind the ridge, threatens [us] with encirclement, UPA-N retreats, leaving Posadiv, which passes into enemy hands. During that period in the forests where the Tyhry were operating, the enemy launches a fierce battle. The Tyhry request assistance. At around 13:00 inspector Vadym formed a unit to assist the Tyhry from a squad of Orel's unit, from marauders of UPA-N units. They held their ground strongly in the woods until 15:00 and liquidated many enemies. Meanwhile, Commander Yevshan, seeing that UPA-N had abandoned Posadiv, ordered his unit to regain control of the villa and not let the enemy into the village. When the enemy approached to within 150 to three hundred metres, we opened fire with machine guns, grenade launchers, and rifles. The enemy fled in a panic, leaving behind many corpses. At around 16:00 the battle ended, the camp with captured property set out from the village of Posadiv, after setting fire to the villa.

Enemy losses: The colony of Teliatyn, Posadiv, part of Steniatyn, the rest of the colony of Rokitno, the villa, and the colony of Lahivtsi were destroyed. More than one hundred Polish bandits were killed (seventy were killed in the Posadiv woods alone), many were wounded. One RKM [hand-held machine gun], many rifles, pistols, binoculars, stores (three carts of fatback, sugar, flour, clothing), pharmacy, horse camp, cattle, and the like.

Our losses: four killed and thirteen wounded. It is generally estimated that the enemy threw 300 people into the operation.

HDA SBU, 13-376-34-110.

DOCUMENT 85: VILLAGES IN THE HRUBESHIV AREA  
DESTROYED BY POLISH UNITS

3 May 1944

*List of Villages Destroyed by Polish Gangs in the Hrubeshiv Area*  
(An operation carried out by Polish gangs on 10 February–5 April 1944)

[Text in far-right column with \* = Taking part in the operations were fighting units of Polish gangs, which reported the name of the village from which they come, for example, Borsuky, Tyshivtsi, Malychi, Modryntsi, et al. The local Ukrainian population recognized many local Poles among the gang members.]

No. (card.)	Name of destroyed village	District [volost]	Date burned [d/m/y]	Notation on degree of de- struction	No. of murdered Ukrainians	[*]
1	Shykhovychi	Kryliv	10.3.44	completely	137	
2	Sahryn	Sahryn	"	?	237	
3	Medryn	"	"	mostly	8	
4	Laskiv	Kryliv	"	"	186	
5	Terebin	Verbkov.	"	"	15	
6	Turkovychi	Sahryn	"	completely	17	
7	Andriivka	"	"	"	24	
8	Miake	"	"	"	54	
9	Berest	"	"	"	160	
10	Vershyn	Poturzhyn	"	"	37	
11	Malzhiv	Miake	"	"	–	
12	Modryntsi kol.	Sahryn	2.3.44	"	–	
13	Mirche	"	22.10.43	"	–	
14	Molodiatychi	Molodiat.	27.10.43	partly	–	
15	Stryzhivets	Verbkov.	10.3.44	completely	–	
16	Malychi	"	"	mostly	–	
17	Striltsi	Bilopole	25.5.43	"	–	
18	Tukhani	"	"	"	–	
19	Maslomychi	Miniany	19.3.44	entirely	–	
20	Miniany	"	"	"	–	
21	Kozodavy	"	"	mostly	–	

22	Tykhobizh	"	"	partly	-
23	Slipche	"	"	"	-
24	Pryhorilo	Kryliv	8.3.44	completely	-
25	Kosmiv	"	19.3.44	partly	-
26	Smolychiv	"	22.3.44	mostly	-
27	Kryliv	"	8.4.44	"	-
28	Rkalyń	Teliatyn	10.3.44	completely	-
29	Vytkiv	Poturzhyn	21.3.44	"	-
30	Zhabche	"	19.3.---	"	-
31	Poturzhyn	"	"	"	-
32	Vasyliv	"	22.4.44	mostly	-
33	Radostiv	Dolobychiv	19.3.---	"	-
34	Oshchiv	"	"	"	-
35	Koroshchytsi	"	"	"	-
36	Novosilky	"	"	"	-

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Total burned: 36 villages; and murdered: 875 people

The above figure refers to the number of murdered people who have already been buried. Practically the same number of people have not been buried because the Polish gangs remained at the sites of the burned villages and did not allow the victims to be buried.

*Billets*, 3.5.1944                      Submitted by Zhen

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 34, fol. 236.



DOCUMENT 86: REPORT ON ANTI-POLISH OPERATIONS  
IN THE DROHOBYCH AREA

6 May 1944

*Ukrainian anti-Polish reprisal operations*  
*Report about an anti-Polish operation carried out in the village of Zady,*  
*Drohobych County*

During the night of 10 April 1944 a fighting group of twenty-five people carried out the liquidation of the Polish village of Zady as punishment for the denunciations by local Poles (the original of the denunciation to the Gestapo in Drohobych is in our hands) against Ukrainian citizens.

The operation began at 23:30 hours with encirclement from four sides, and simultaneously a small fifth group, along with the commandant, rushed into the centre of the village. Here, barricaded inside a house, were twenty-five people (young), who did not open the door. Firing off a series with his finka, the commandant shoots several and the rest hide. They set fire to the house, from the roof we heard shouts: "Grab pitchforks or an ax!" and the like. With a new series [of shots] everyone began to climb down and they were shot. Women and children were sent to the village. All the groups that were surrounding the village were cleansing the houses assigned to them from all sides. There were cases of active resistance of women, who were liquidated. (5). [*sic*] When the village was on fire from all sides, the Poles began jumping out of the houses and speaking Ukrainian. To the commandant's question are they "Ukrainians," they began to shout [in Polish]: "We are Poles by blood and bone!" Everyone was liquidated on the spot. A Polish teacher (Badecki) and his two daughters defended themselves the most, one of whom, [seeing] the teacher engaging in (hand-to-hand) combat with a fighter, was shouting [in Polish]: "Daddy, don't be afraid! The Rusyns are murdering us, but their time will come. The Polish people will avenge our death. May Ukraine perish!" She was shot, but the teacher, twice wounded, saved himself by escaping.

The operation was completed at 2:30 in the morning. All the Polish farms (52), the school, [and] civil administration were burned down. Thirty men [and] five women were killed (while resisting actively). An unknown number of men were burned in the fire.

On the return journey a Pole from the neighbouring village of Voloshcha, who was rushing on horseback to Drohobych in order to alert the Gestapo, was captured. He was shot.

*Report, Part 2*

On 18 April 1944, during the night, our fighting group arrested all active Poles (males) from the village of Miejnycz, Sambir County, numbering thirteen

people, and liquidated [them]. Buildings were not burned in view of the Ukrainian farms that were found in the vicinity.

*Report, Part 3*

On 3 April 1944 a unit of a youth school, en route to the camp, together with a local fighting group, destroyed Polish colonies near the villages of Kulyn and Semehyniv, Stryi County. Buildings were burned and more than a dozen men were killed.

*Report, Part 4*

On Sunday evening, 9 April 1944, in the Polish village of Krakivka, Yavir's group carried out a pacification operation against the local Polish population. During the operation twenty farms were burned down, ten people were killed, and three were seriously wounded. Among the burned and killed were also Poles who had arrived from Dashivsky Korchunok [Korczunek Daszawski]. During the operation all the Poles left for Dash, Korchunok, and they come to the village only in the daytime. Everyone enters the house of a Volksdeutscher, which still remains. Their fighting group is located in this very house.

On 20 April a carful of Krauts arrived in the burned [village] of Krekhivka, taking with them two Ukrainian peasants from the village of Suliatychi. From Krekhivka they took five Poles and one woman, who had bayonets and grenades on them. They were driven to the village of Suliatychi, left as arrestees in the care of some *Dolmetscheren* [interpreters] (probably a Ukrainian) and the local population, while they drove to the telephone station. Upon returning, they found the Poles no longer alive. All of them had been killed by the local population and the Dolmetscher. The Dolmetscher explained the murder of the Poles by an attempt to escape, so the Germans did not even say anything. They left immediately, releasing those two from the village of Suliatychi, whom they had taken along with them when they were going to Krekhivka. The Poles who had moved to Korchunok said clearly that the same thing that had happened to them will happen to Suliatychi.

*Report, Part 5*

On 11 April 1944 Yavir's group and a local fighting group carried out a pacification operation against the Polish village of Sokoliv. During the operation more than a dozen houses were burned and around ten people were killed. There were no losses on our side. The property of the Polish peasants was confiscated. During the operation some of the Poles moved to Stryi, others to Dashivsky Korchunok.

*Billets*, 6 May 1944

HDA SBU, 13-376-34-109.

DOCUMENT 87: FRAGMENT FROM A POLITICAL  
REPORT FROM THE LVIV REGION

*Extract from a Political Report of 4 July 1944*

*Lviv Region*

*I. Zolochiv area*

[...]

*The Poles:*

Right now, an anti-Polish operation has been carried out in the entire territory in the form of ultimatums ordering the Poles to leave the ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands] by a certain deadline. The ultimatums were issued despite the fact that the army was stationed throughout villages. This caused terrible panic among the Poles, and they began departing westward en masse.

Ultimatums were issued in Bezoruky, Ostriv, Balochyn, and Zashkiv. Everywhere with complete success. Abandoned farms are going up in smoke. All Poles have left Polonychy. They are leaving Hlyniany and Zalissia and threatening that they will pay the Ukrainians back. In Liashky some Poles have left, but others are waiting for [train] cars. There are some here who say that several days have passed since the deadline lapsed and nothing happened to them. Here no operation is possible because there is an army.

In Vyzhni the Poles received an ultimatum on 13 May, and a total of five families left because the Ukrainian village headman, Roman Goy, guaranteed that nothing would happen to them. In Zadviria on 12 May the Poles received an ultimatum, and this very night thirteen men and four women were liquidated. This had such an effect that all the Poles moved out that same day. The Poles in Poltva and Bohanivka received an order to leave, and they left without resistance. In the villages of Novosilka [and] Mytushnia the Poles – mainly young people – are fleeing, although no ultimatums were issued because there are a lot of troops. This was also influenced by the circumstance that the Poles set fire to six Ukrainian farms in Novosilky. As a result, the SS carried out a search among the Poles and found one rapid-fire machine gun, ten rifles, three pistols, a few grenades, and one German uniform. For this, they shot four Poles.

Krasna Station is overflowing with Polish refugees. Every day thirty to fifty train cars depart; there is a lineup to get on the train.

In the Brody area the Poles left ahead of time, and on 15 April UPA units burned down seventeen farms in the colony.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Brody is a city located in the valley of the upper Styr River, approximately ninety kilometres northeast of Lviv.

On 27 April the Polish village of Kuliky was burned down, from which the inhabitants had already moved out beforehand, and a day later Bortnyky, where only two Bolshevik parachutists were killed.

On 28 April an action was carried out in the village of Stovpyn, as a result of which the entire village was burned down and thirty people were killed.

They are very oppressed by all these events; however, wherever they can, they harm us mainly through denunciations to the Germans and the threats that, when the Bolsheviks arrive, they will wreak vengeance. Polish women who are now under German protection are carrying out their threats. In the village of Zhukiv, in response to a denunciation by a Polish woman, the Germans arrested a priest, his daughter, the village headman, and his daughter.

On 9 May 1944 twenty armoured vehicles arrived in the village of Havarechchyna, a garrison consisting of Poles from Śląsk, and they carried out an inspection of several farms. Failing to find anything compromising, they robbed them and departed.

There are cases of Poles bribing the Germans, and they return with them to villages abandoned by them to gather food that they had purchased. This happened in the village of Rozvoriany on 1 May of this year, where three Poles arrived together with a German officer, who shouted that he would set fire to the village because it was full of partisans. He did not set about doing this in practical terms. There are cases of Polish gangs attacking Ukrainian villages together with the Germans. As this happened in the village of Poluchyn (see the news from the 3rd Territory).

Such incidents usually end in failure. Even when denunciations inflict damage, the Ukrainians try to pay back in a worthy manner. When an incident took place, in which, as a result of a Polish denunciation, the Germans killed Panas Vasyl from Bezbrudzh, the Polish hamlet of Marushka was liquidated for this, and eight men and sixteen women were killed.

The Poles are continuing to head westward, although it has been observed that some are thinking of remaining here in view of the fact that now they cannot be forced to this by means of terror. In the meantime, they are waging a struggle against us by means of denunciations to the Germans. As a result of the denunciation by a Pole named Przyjemski, the headman of the village of Ushnia, the Germans detained and arrested a courier from Havarechchyna.

On 22 May 1944, as a result of a denunciation of the Poles, Ludwik Kołabiowski, Józef Sobczinski, Jan Kovaliv, Jan Baranowski – all from Liacki – the *Kripo* [*Kriminalpolizei*] arrested six Ukrainians from Liacki. A Polish from Sasiv submitted a denunciation to the German command in Kotliv against four Ukrainian girls from Havarechchyna, claiming “they are in contact with partisans and are their couriers.”

On 18 May 1944 one such gang tried to enter the village of Kashteliany. The guards chased them away by shooting at them.

On 25 May 1944 a Bolshevik gang in the woods near the village of Bazhany captured seven farmers who were transporting logs. One of them returned home during the night. The gang had let him go, believing him to be a Pole. He estimated that there were approximately four hundred of them. The group's composition was international. Many women and children. The weaponry was bad. There was little ammunition, many were unarmed, only a few Russians had *finky* [Russian machine pistol PPD-40, based on the Finnish submachine gun, Suomi]. A day later two more of the captured farmers returned. They were guides across the Styr River into the Brody forests. They managed to escape during the river crossing. According to them, the gang had no food supplies (they were sucking on pine cones). The remaining four did not return.

*Billets:* on 4 July 1944 a Bolshevik gang numbering fifteen men appeared in the village of Hutysko. They robbed the peasants, and took flour, bread, lard, and kitchenware.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 71, fols. 224–5.

DOCUMENT 88: RECORD OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH POLES  
IN THE STANYSLAVIV REGION*Minutes**of a conversation with Poles in the Stanyslaviv region, dated 6 July 1945*

The conversation was of an introductory-informational character and was based exclusively on the resolutions of conferences and the latest instructions. My first question that I put to their delegates sounded like this: "What is the goal behind their interest in launching negotiations with us now that the Polish problem is at a juncture, and the trial of Okulicki, who in the courtroom openly condemns the current policies and tactics of the right-wing elements, is coming to an end in Moscow?"<sup>7</sup> The AK? The delegates, endeavouring to point out his orthodoxy and heroism to me by means of individual quotations from Okulicki's confessions, declared that the Warsaw masquerade, with the inclusion of Mikolajczyk and Stanczyk in the so-called Government of National Unity, is a mockery of the will and the wishes of the Polish people, and that such a resolution of the issue does not correspond to the decisions of the Yalta Conference. As the sole correct proposal for a solution the Poles lay stress on Arciszewski's declaration on the creation of a government that would be mandated by the trust of the entire nation, with the expression of its free will and without the presence of Bolshevik influences and an army of occupation. Until such time that elections are held in Poland on a completely democratic basis, the Poles will recognize Arciszewski's émigré cabinet as the legal government. Together with this, the AK is not only not scaling back its detachments, it is expanding them by bringing in entire units that have deserted from Rola-Żymierski. Also in the offing is the launching of armed activities on a broader scale. They recognize the Polish-Ukrainian antagonism and reciprocal "massacre" as an unproductive struggle and condemn as rash "exploits." The idea of

<sup>7</sup> General Leopold Okulicki, nom de guerre, "Kobra," was the last commander of the anti-German underground Home Army. Arrested by the Soviet NKVD, he died at Moscow's Butyrka prison on 24 December 1946. Poland's Provisional Government of National Unity was established on 28 June 1945 and dissolved on 17 January 1947. Edward Osóbka-Morawski served as prime minister, and a communist, Władysław Gomułka, became one of two deputy prime ministers. Stanisław Mikołajczyk resigned as prime minister of the government-in-exile, returning to Poland to become the other deputy prime minister and minister for agriculture. A socialist politician, Tomasz Arciszewski, was the third prime minister of the Polish government-in-exile, based in London, serving from 29 November 1944 to 2 July 1947. Michał Rola-Żymierski was a high-ranking communist, military commander, and NKVD secret agent and, upon Joseph Stalin's order, was elevated to become a marshal of Poland from 1945 until his death in 1989.

a joint struggle against Bolshevik imperialism [dictates] that they should seek support from a coalition of enslaved peoples. They speak [indecipherable] about the forms and methods of our struggle. In turn, I informed them, in the light of our instructions and resolutions, about our position vis-à-vis the Poles, at the same time emphasizing that the question of the territorial demarcation of borders is a secondary problem for us. On their part, the delegates also did not demonstrate any kind of interest in the ZUZ. On the basis of materials, I summarized the situation beyond the Curzon Line, making the point that our conversations are taking place in an atmosphere [marked by] the continuing bestialities of Polish monsters. Responding to this, the Poles declared that by order of their central authorities the terrorist acts against the Ukrainians have been suspended, and, in addition, within a week one of them [the Poles] will set out and put a complete end to the matter. Interrupted by the question of who is behind those actions, they replied: "All that is happening under the influence of the emotional reactions of ill-treated Poles, émigrés from the ZUZ, and it is very difficult to normalize those matters by means of an order." I am not reporting on a whole range of less important issues. To the proposal that the AK unit in Galicia be subordinated to the existing UPA headquarters, they replied satisfactorily, but all matters of that kind would have to be the subject of negotiations between their and our central authorities. Questions of loyal interrelations and the liquidation of the lackey element, without regard for national background, were raised, with which the Poles are in complete agreement. In general, as a result of the conversation an agreement was reached that during the next two weeks someone from their side will head out past the Curzon Line, clarify the issue to the central figures of the AK, after which conversations will be continued on a real platform between competent figures. I assume that the Poles have their own group-utilitarian interest in that because the elimination of the Ukrainian danger is the guarantee of peace for them and it will be possible to "relax."

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 34, fol. 70.

DOCUMENT 89: ORDER OF THE OUN LEADER IN  
ZAKERZONNIA AGAINST DEPORTATION OF UKRAINIANS<sup>8</sup>

9 September 1945

*Order  
for all commanders of UPA units, fighting groups,  
and other armed units on the territory of VO-6*

Polish-Bolshevik government officials have launched an action aimed at the general, forcible expulsion of Ukrainians.

In connection with this, it is ordered:

In all places where appropriate possibilities exist, engage in combat operations against those who are carrying out the expulsion. Destroy deportation commissions and all others that are forcing the expulsion.

It is mandatory to burn down depopulated Ukrainian villages so that no buildings or building materials remain. Before the burning, in so far as there is a possibility, supply us with farming property from those villages (store up food and supplies, some equipment, tin-plate and boards from buildings, etc.).

Even before the end of the expulsion action and, on our part, the burning of villages, immediately store up the maximum quantity of foodstuffs in well-concealed storehouses in forests and fields.

During the expulsion action, particularly to Ukraine's eastern oblasts, to collective farms and factories, where it has not been possible to avoid this, some people may be assigned to families during the transports. This pertains especially to the sick and others, for whom it will be difficult to break through later.

Units that properly carry out their combat missions to protect the population from the deportation terror during the expulsion action will receive, after the burning of the depopulated villages, further instructions afterwards. If communications are interrupted, unit commanders will act at their own discretion, depending on the situation. Units that will be unable to hold their ground in the territory of operations to date can, after carrying out this order, make their way across the border into the territory of other okruhas and raid there, immediately establishing contact with the appropriate Organizational and military authorities. In a critical situation, a raid may be attempted on Polish territory, but it must be kept in mind that this is a very difficult issue.

Commanders and political instructors will immediately hold talks with their units, reckoning with the situation and encouraging a firm combat stance

8 Yaroslav Starukh, "Stiah," was a leader of the OUN in Zakerzonnia from 1945 to 1947. For a time he organized an underground radio station in the Carpathians called "Afrodita."



in carrying out their final duty to our native land, which the enemy occupiers want to take away from us. We do not dare abandon it without a fight, with heads bowed, like sheep, when fires are blazing behind us! Let no one take pleasure from our work!

The enemy should know that we will not allow ourselves to be destroyed defencelessly.

*Billets*, 9 September 1945

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Pertaining to the Order of VO-6* dated 9 September 1945.

Polish villages are not to be burned. In mixed villages, burn down or dismantle part of the village that was inhabited by Ukrainians but in such a way that the Polish civilian population does not suffer. In an extreme case, individual houses or even certain parts can be left alone. Do not molest the Polish population. Infuse the action with an anti-Bolshevik, not anti-Polish, character. Distribute the attached appeals to the Polish population in districts slated for expulsion.

*Billets*, 9 September 1945

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Glory to the Heroes!*

*VO-6 Lir*

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 48, fol. 5.

DOCUMENT 90: REPORT ON A MEETING BETWEEN  
THE UPA AND THE AK IN THE Kholm REGION

31 October 1945

*Report*

*on a meeting with the AK, which took place on 27 October 1945 near  
[Khoroshchynka, Bila Pidliaska]<sup>9</sup> County<sup>10</sup>*

In order to make contact with the local network or units of the AK in the territory, we sent a letter to the AK through a Polish priest with more or less the following content (a copy of this letter was lost when Plastun was killed, and that is why I do not have the original. The letter was written in the Polish language on a typewriter):

To the commandant of the Armia Krajowa in the Kholm, Volodava, Bila Pidliaska territory:

I am hastening to inform you that units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) have launched their operations in the Kholm, Volodava, [and] Bila Pidliaska territory. Our higher commands are informing the command of the Armia Krajowa about this, and therefore I think that you too have obtained the appropriate instructions (*zlecenia*). With the goal of explaining our stance in this territory, and above all with the goal of establishing our eventual cooperation, I am proposing that you establish direct communication with me (contact). With that goal in mind, please be so kind as to delegate your people, with whom I could make arrangements about our meeting.

With this letter I guarantee safety for the delegates [and] for you on our part. I await the speediest reply and your delegates.

Place of billeting                      21 September 1945

Commander (*dowódca*) of the  
UPA operational unit  
(-) Kryha

When Comrade Khmara and Plastun were still in the field, we discussed in detail all the eventual question of our negotiations. We decided that the three of us would go to the negotiations [Company Commanders Plastun,<sup>11</sup> Chavs,<sup>12</sup> and Volodia<sup>13</sup>].

A written reply arrived only on 24 October 1945. During the negotiations all

9 Terms and names were recreated according to a document published in the *Litopys Ukrainiskoi Povstanskoi Armii* (Chronicle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

10 Biała Podlaska is a county located on the Krzna (Krna) River in southern Podlachia in Lublin Voivodeship.

11 Plastun (identity unknown) was one of the OUN leaders in the Kholm region.

12 Vasyl Kral – “Chavs,” UPA company commander and commander of the Halaida-2 unit.

13 Volodia (identity unknown) was the head of the SB Section of Pidliashia nadraion.

the questions were raised and resolved almost exactly the way we had anticipated. For protection we took two squads from the unit and a local fighting group. At the appointed place we met at 19:30 hours in a house in the woods. Our security people were on one side and theirs – on the other. Near the house was a mixed group of bodyguards, ours and theirs. The negotiations were attended by two of their people, who requested that there also be two of the most senior people from our side. However, three of us came. Commander [Chavs] introduced himself as “Bohun”; he spoke in Polish. Comrade [Volodia] introduced himself as “Morozenko”; he spoke in Ukrainian. Comrade [Plastun] [introduced himself] as “Kryha”; he spoke in Polish.

On their side were Dzirynt<sup>14</sup> and Pająk.<sup>15</sup> Both of them spoke in Polish.

*Content of the Conversation:*

Dzirynt spoke first: They, Poles, know and recognize that we, Ukrainians, are a great, young, and talented people. They recognize our rights to state sovereignty and political independence, and whole-heartedly recognize our liberation struggle.

Kryha: No one in the world who is governed by universal human rights will refuse our right to national freedom. We, Ukrainians, salute the struggle of all enslaved peoples and do not spare either energy or work in order to unite this struggle into a joint revolutionary front against Bolshevism. It has turned out that the common enemy of many of the enslaved peoples in Europe and Asia is the Muscovite Empire. Today the threat of Bolshevism hangs over both the Poles and the Ukrainians. The Poles know what happened in the past, and so do we. Right now there is no time and profit to discussing this. In any event, first the Germans interfered in Polish-Ukrainian relations and then the Muscovites, and they did everything in order to weaken the forces of both nations.

Pająk: It was the Muscovites who interfered above all. Even that which took place under the Germans was their work, even though it was frequently done by German hands. The idea[s] of cooperation and friendly coexistence, in point of fact a joint struggle against Moscow, [are] not new. They are clearly laid out in Piłsudski’s works. Perhaps too few forces on our side, perhaps other reasons, led to the fact that they were not realized in 1920.

Piłsudski had to retreat from Kyiv ...

Kryha: It is natural that things had to lead to an understanding as well as to negotiations between our representatives and the representatives of the AK. We received an order to make contact with the AK and reach an understanding about cooperation in all questions related to this territory.

14 Jan Szatyński-Szatowski, “Dzirynt,” inspector at the Biała Podlaska inspectorate of the WiN (Wolność i Niezawisłość /Freedom and Independence, Polish anti-communist underground resistance organization).

15 Władysław Wawak, “Pająk,” head of the WiN’s intelligence service at the Biała Podlaska inspectorate.

Dziryt: He knows that Ukrainian representatives have already negotiated several times with the representatives of the AK. This took place mainly in the south, in the Yaroslav and Zamostia areas. But such local negotiations have not taken place throughout. On the Ukrainian side, “Zhur,” “Staryk,” “Hrab,”<sup>16</sup> and others negotiated (he mentioned another pseudonym that we do not recall. He also mentioned two Polish pseudonyms that I also don’t remember). He personally has an accurate understanding in all these negotiations. His pseudonym, like Mr Pająk’s pseudonym, is known to our representatives. In fact, there is still no general understanding; the representatives of the UHVR have still not negotiated with their supreme command (Warsaw). He very much regrets that things have not reached this point. He believes that such negotiations should take place, and as soon as possible. He personally is competent in the swath all the way to the Carpathians with regard to the territory and functions of the division commander. With regard to more general and broader issues, he is ready to communicate everything to the proper people. He is ready to link up the member-representative of the UHVR with the supreme command of the AK. The first such eventual meeting with him – Dziryt – or through him with other people could take place already on 25–28 November. He asks that these wishes be relayed to our superiors.

Kryha: Of course, we can relay their wishes to our superiors, and we will do this. However, we are not competent to do more in this respect. Furthermore, we cannot make arrangements about dates or something of that kind. This meeting is the first in this territory, and right now we hope to reach an understanding about our cooperation. We will have to meet with the gentlemen only in exceptional cases. But today we are hoping to establish direct contact in the lower ranks, where all territorial issues will be practically resolved.

Dziryt: The command was not informed of the fact that UPA units would come to this territory (as we wrote to them in a letter). That is why they did not obtain the appropriate instructions. However, they know that the units did indeed arrive.

Bohun: Perhaps our representatives did not state exactly where the UPA units are raiding. But there was certainly talk of partial raids by UPA units in Polish territories. He definitely knows that in the south AK units raided throughout Ukrainian territories, and UPA units – in Polish ones.

Kryha: Their written response to our letter, which we received, was unsigned. In any case, it is a document in our view. Therefore, we request that it be signed by a deputy of the one who sent it.

Pająk: (Sighed and replied with a joke). Actually, to tell the truth, why the

16 Should be “Vyr,” “Sheik,” and “Hrab,” the pseudonyms of the participants of the Ukrainian group headed by Yurii Lopatynsky, “Sheik,” who conducted negotiations with the Poles in May 1945.

devil was it sent? The AK wants peace in the territory and has established secrecy for all its units, but in the meantime we will be making moves.

Dziryt: The time has not come for taking action. There are too few forces, both Polish ones and ours, to reach the goal. There is too great a force standing against us. In doing work locally, we must consider the West somewhat. And the West will probably launch actions, if not in two [months], not in five, but everything will probably happen within eight months. They are aware, and we too probably know this, that today the Bolsheviks are constantly shifting heavy weapons westward. They are reinforcing their garrisons everywhere in the occupied zones. Radio London announced that Soviet outposts are supposed to be increased in Poland too, although a few days ago the entire Red Polish press decisively protested against this. And nothing came of the foreign ministers conference. Lately, the Soviets have renewed their demands concerning the Dardanelles because the Soviets cannot do without them or without Poland. The Allies will be pursuing a policy in such a way that the Soviets themselves will declare war against them. It is also of the greatest importance to the Poles to prepare cadres, and they are doing this. We are also being advised to preserve our forces, not to raise a hullabaloo in the territory and not organize roundups. We are being advised to draw a veil of secrecy around our units, especially considering that winter is coming. To carry out highly secret, truly underground work in the territory; to prepare the groundwork among the local population.

Kryha: We came here to those Ukrainians who are living here and who are still left here. We came in order to engage them in conspiracy and include them in the anti-Bolshevik front. The history and geographic location of this land is such that the majority of the Ukrainian populace in these territories chose, out of all possible orientations, an orientation towards Moscow. As a result of this, today in many purely Ukrainian villages there are armed *peperovtsi* [members of the Polish Worker's Party/PPR] – the NKVD unit in Volodava consists almost entirely of Ukrainians, there are some in Bila Pidliaska, Parchew, in Kholm, and in Lublin itself. The same goes for the MO [Milicja Obywatelska, the Polish police]. Today the Poles cannot organize. However, we feel up to it and we have a sacred duty to set about this task because, if [we] would not do them today, the Bolsheviks would realize this and throw [troops] against the Poles in those territories. This would not be the only thorn in the side of both our nations. The Ukrainians in these territories, just like in all the territories that belong to Poland today, are still faced with the urgent issue of forcible deportation to the USSR. If the resettlement were carried out by a legal Ukrainian government, everything would be in order. But this is being done by the Stalinist gangsters, who have their own political goals with regard to this.

Ukrainians who are departing from here are practically condemned to physical extermination. The Bolshevik government is not providing them with any support. On the contrary, en route all their belongings that they are transporting from here are being confiscated. Often the evacuees are not settled in Ukraine; they are transported directly into the depths of the USSR for forced labour. Even those who have settled down are being resettled all the way in[to] Siberia for their anti-Soviet bourgeois propaganda. Numerous fugitives who made their way individually back to their villages accurately recount the fate of those resettled people. About a month ago the resettlement issue was more urgent. Today it has died down somewhat, even [been] forgotten, but the government may remind itself about it. That is why in those territories it is also our task to prevent the deportation of Ukrainians, and even with weapons, if this becomes necessary in order to resist the forcible deportation.

Dziryt: They know some things about the fate of the resettled people; they also know that there are cases of evacuees escaping. They know, and the current Red government also knows full well, that the population absolutely does not want to leave. Despite this, the government is once again preparing for this action. Throughout the districts lists of Ukrainians are being drawn up on the basis of *Kennkarte*. Soon, the issue of the departures will become publicized in the entire territory. It will become urgent in the highest degree. Therefore, he urges us to prepare the population most intensively, to organize local self-defence units, or, if this is not possible, to prepare the population by means of propaganda so that everyone will declare as one at the right moment that they do not want to go and that they will not go.

Kryha: We are especially interested in matters relating to the departure, and we are doing everything we consider to be correct. We hope that, despite this, the departure does not take place. Our propaganda in this direction is working non-stop, and even fugitives from the USSR are our good propagandists. The population also knows that UPA units are a real force that will defend it from the eventual terror.

Dziryt: He asked what our position was with regard to the Poles, particularly in these territories.

Kryha: Our leadership believes, and this has been frequently written about in our press and in the most diverse instructions, that there is not the slightest sense for us to be enemies at the present time and, furthermore, to fight against the Poles. On their part, the Bolsheviks have already tried several times to provoke such a struggle. Obviously, they would have the greatest benefits from this. They would rub their hands with satisfaction if they succeeded in this. We must try to ease the exacerbated relations that existed earlier, and which still exist in certain territories, at every step with regard to the most minor issues.

And from the most minor issues, settled in mutual understanding, respect, and sincerity, may grow the great cause of friendship and amity of two nations. No discussions and negotiations will achieve that which the broadest masses will not comprehend.

Pajak: They, the Poles, are waiting for action from us. With our actions we should provide evidence of our amity towards the Poles and our capacity to coexist with them. Not words but actions will decide how Polish-Ukrainian relations will develop further. So that we do not double-cross them with our promises about cooperation, so that at a decisive moment we do not abandon them, as this happened, for example, in the years 1830 and 1861. At that time the Poles rebelled and shed blood for nothing, while our Decembrists did almost nothing. For, after all, it may happen again that the Poles will break away and attain freedom, but we will remain further in slavery.

Dziryt: They want the greatest peace in that territory and everywhere else, for that matter. That is why we should not provoke the Bolsheviks, we should not blow up trains and bridges, not damage communications. Such actions would draw Bolshevik repressions against the territory. The militia and NKVD units should also not be provoked. So far they are sitting quietly.

Kryha: Today we not attacking anywhere except defending ourselves. Therefore, neither are we thinking of disrupting Soviet communications. But we will always strike at NKVD units [and] militia units that will be launching roundups, ambushes, or inflicting other harm on us.

Dziryt: They want all our armed actions to have a defensive or self-defensive character. And we should direct all our forces at preparing the territory so that in the winter, during the difficult time of roundups, we will have somewhere to conceal ourselves. He believes that the Ukrainians will sooner betray us and hand us over to the Bolsheviks. We may be more certain and calmer about the Polish forces, even in the most difficult moments. Poles will sooner hide us than Ukrainians. The only necessary thing is that, based on the example of our action, the Poles become convinced that the Ukrainian insurgents are their allies. Therefore, we should not seize horses, pigs, or larger quantities of food from the Poles by ourselves but should use the AK network.

Bohun: We have our own experience and our own methods of guerrilla struggle against the Bolsheviks and will unconditionally apply them in these territories. We will try to shift the burdens of our stay here on the Ukrainian population. However, when we have to billet in Polish villages, it is to be hoped that the Polish populace will understand that we will need to feed ourselves.

Pajak: Ultimately, lunches or suppers are the most trivial detail. What is more important is that, owing to lack of understanding, our units, upon encountering AK units, do not initiate battles, but this may happen when, as a result of roundups, we have to retreat into purely Polish territories way past Lublin or

Łęczna, where no one expects to see us at all. Or an unfortunate incident may occur when we will be entering a village in which an AK unit is billeted.

Kryha: We could resolve these difficulties according to how he believes it practical.

Pająk: If our units wore standard uniforms or some kind of identifying insignia, the AK would easily recognize us. And then our patrol dispatched to a village could easily come to an understanding either with the unit or with the network people.

Kryha: This method is completely unsuitable in this case. Sooner than us, the Bolsheviks would capitalize on this by sending their provocateur units into the territory under the AK mark. They would expose people and communications with the AK. When the Bolsheviks decide to liquidate us and intensify their sudden attacks on us, they will probably utilize this method. In general, the Bolsheviks have used and continue to use more treachery, provocations, and sudden attacks than force. The gentlemen should warn their subordinates about such possibilities. Only personal acquaintance can best serve in those cases. Until now, we had many an occasion to establish contact with their commanders of posts or raion leaders, but we did not take advantage of this.

Pająk: Therefore, while it is still quiet, there must be as many contacts in the territory between our individual people and theirs. They will change very quickly, and such personal contacts and such people can be used during the most difficult time.

We can safely not fear treachery on the part of the Poles, as long as the Ukrainians do not betray. Whenever any unit of ours has the intention to march into a new territory, it will be necessary beforehand to inform their raion leader so that the AK will know more or less whom it may encounter in the territory.

Kryha: This we can and will do. It is crucial for the AK to prepare the general Polish population propagandistically, so that when we enter a Polish village the Poles do not act surprised, and so that they do not treat us, the UPA, with mistrust.

Dziyryt: In their publications they will include several articles about us, about Polish-Ukrainian relations, and about the prospects for developing those relations. Although one must be careful so that the enemy does not learn of our intentions.

Kryha: The most important part of our cooperation is the secret intelligence issue. Mutually informing each other about enemy movements in the territory will considerably ease [our] sojourn in the territory.

Dziyryt: Raion leaders of the AK will receive an order to inform us through established communication points about expected roundups, sudden attacks, or generally about dangers in the territory. We must do the same thing.



Pajał: With regard to intelligence issues, their leadership and ours should hold special negotiations. The AK must know what is happening in Russia, in eastern Ukraine, a short distance beyond the Buh River, or in Galicia. With that goal in mind, they will soon have to send reconnoiterers beyond the Buh, and they expect to use our contacts in this regard. "Cooperation means cooperation." We are not getting down to business for a joke. They did not suffer so many losses for a joke but are prepared for them.

Kryha: We too did not shed so much blood for amusement, and today we are still shedding it.

Pajał: (laughing). After all, intelligence is a dog. Whether we like it or not, intelligence agents will be going into our territories and doing the necessary work. He requests that we accept a list of rubrics and questions concerning information against the USSR and send it to ours. He requests that our superiors give a reply to it after all, according to our taste, some of the questions may not please us too, so let them remain without a response. If the AK has this information, London and New York will have it too. And we also need to consider them.

Kryha: Of course, we can take their list and will send it to our superiors, but that is all. We do not know to what use our superiors will put it. An eventual reply may come not necessarily to the established contact point.

Dzirył: We can resolve the security question in this way: that the Poles settle matters by themselves, and the Ukrainians will forward to us and vice-versa. Of course, this concerns this territory. Because, for example, they themselves will be shooting Ukrainians who are living in Warsaw or Cracow and are NKVD spies.

Pajał: For that matter, such cases of Ukrainians in Warsaw are a rarity. There, more of our own sons of dogs are being shot.

Bohun: We are not competent with regard to the issue of Ukrainians deep in Poland, and we will not be negotiating about them. We will only be negotiating about the Ukrainians and Poles living in these territories, as Mr Dzirył is in fact proposing. After all, this issue is settled in exactly the same way in other territories where cooperation between us and the AK is of longer standing.

Kryha: In other territories, where official contact has already been forged between us and the AK, local commands are conducting an exchange of literature that they are obtaining from above or which they themselves are issuing. That is why it would be good if this took place here too. This will help us get to know each other and will organize the basic directions of the clandestine life of both sides.

Dzirył: They will be sending us up to fifty copies of publications.

Kryha: We, however, want to warn them that, as a result of our very great distance from our centre (after all, we are situated at the furthest edge of our

lands), we will not be able to provide a lot of them. Also, that which will come to us will arrive with great tardiness. Our contact with our superiors makes the delivery of a larger quantity of mail temporarily impossible. But, despite all this, several copies of *Ideia i chyn* [*Idea and Action*], *Za Ukrainsku Derzhavu* [*For a Ukrainian State*] will always be found.

Dziryt: He also asked for old issues to be sent. Right after our general conversation the raion leaders will have a chat. They will elucidate some issues of communicating with that territory and will establish the first communication points for themselves. To which their literature will also arrive. Through this point it will also be possible to make contact with him (Dziryt) and obtain communications with other raions and other AK cells.

Morozenko: Mr Pajak is probably interested in everything from the intelligence standpoint. It is obvious that he works in it [and that] it is necessary to distinguish between the NKVD and the NKGB.<sup>17</sup> Today, it is exclusively the NKGB that conducts political matters and the cruder issues of espionage. It was created in 1941 [and] it consists exclusively of officers. Meanwhile, the NKVD is in charge of less important political matters, it protects the borders of the USSR, for which it has special troops. It also carries out various actions of an economic nature ordered by the government.

\* \* \*

At this point the conversation ended at 23:10 hours. Comrade Volodia, as deputy, arranged to make contact with the AK raion leader.

During the conversation Mr Dziryt offered us the services of their "legalizing cell." At any time they can very quickly prepare the necessary documents for all cities in Poland. Only photographs have to be provided. They can also issue a larger number of Polish identity documents for the Ukrainian population, which today has Ukrainian identity documents and is threatened by removal. We thanked them for their readiness to help us with that and promised to take advantage of these services if they become necessary.

*Billets*, 31 October 1945    *Glory to Ukraine!*

Drawn up by: \_\_\_\_\_

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 61, fols. 119–21.

17 The People's Commissariat for State Security (NKGB) was the name of the Soviet secret police, intelligence, and counter-intelligence force from 3 February 1941 to 20 July 1941, and again in 1943, before it was renamed as the Ministry for State Security (MGB).

DOCUMENT 91: REPORT ON THE DESTRUCTION  
OF THE VILLAGE OF ZAVADKA MORAKHIVSKA BY  
THE POLISH ARMY

30 January 1946

*Report*

*on a battle and the mass murder of the Ukrainian population in the village  
of Zavadka Morakhivska, Sianik<sup>18</sup> County*

On 23 January 1946 at 8:00 in the morning the Polish army arrived in the village of Morokhiv, utterly looted the population, and also beat it severely, without regard for women and children. Not a single house escaped looting.

The majority of the bandits removed people's footwear, tore concealed items from women's bodices, removed rings from women's fingers, all the while beating them mercilessly with rubber truncheons. The bandits shot and wounded the farmer Ostrovsky, Ivan, [and] beat a ten-year-old boy senseless. They wanted to throw a live grenade at the priest; however, the attempt to throw the grenade was spotted by the priest's daughter.

After looting the village of Morokhiv, the bandits moved to the village of Mokre. They surrounded it, and the same story began here too.

As reported by intelligence, there were around 120 bandits. An announcement was immediately sent to Commander Kh, who was then billeted near Z.M. [Zavadka Morakhivska], to come and punish the bandits.

After firing three projectiles from a mortar at the forest, the bandits began to head toward the village of Z.M. En route they shot Comrade D, the kushch leader responsible for supplies and materiel, who had exited the forest at that time. They broke the fallen man's arms and legs, and beat him to the point of unrecognizability. They took the weapons and removed the boots.

At that time two platoons arrived with Commander Kh. One platoon of the unit was tasked with going behind the enemy from the forest, the other was to attack from the opposite end of the village. The enemy centre was to be attacked by a fighting group that took part in the action together with the unit.

By forced march the fighting group drew near and forced its way into the centre of the village, where it caught the enemy, which, having completed its collection, was beginning to leave the village. After a half-hour battle the

18 Elements from the 34th Regiment of the People's Army of Poland, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Stanislaw Pluto, attacked the village of Zavadka Morakhivska (Sanok County, bordering on Slovakia) on 25 January, 28 March, and 13 April 1946. Some of the surviving villagers were later deported to the USSR or resettled in Poland. By the time of Operation Vistula the village had ceased to exist.

enemy was expelled from the village. The Poles, behind whom was a steep ravine, put up resistance and defended themselves vigorously. After a battle lasting an hour and a half, the enemy was pushed out of its position and forced to flee in panic. Riflemen and fighters pursued the enemy all the way to the village of Nebeshchany, from which the Polish civilian population began to flee upon hearing the fierce battle. The retreat route was heavily spattered with blood, but the enemy, which had good terrain for retreating, took all the wounded and killed with them. On the battlefield the enemy left behind: 2 company mortars and 56 projectiles, 2 wagons with ammunition and military equipment, 2 pairs of horses, cows, and many looted items. Also found were two iron-tipped, rubber truncheons, with which the Ukrainian population was beaten. The looted articles have now been returned to the population.

As it turned out later, the enemy was armed with two mortars, twelve machine guns, rifles, and submachine guns. This was an attack from Sianik and Lisko, part of the army, and the rest were civilian bandits from the village of Nebeshchany. The Poles from the operational units were dressed in white.

Our losses: one killed, who was buried in the cemetery in this village.

As reported later by a reconnaissance unit, the Poles transported the dead and wounded on seven carts.

On 25 January 1946 the Polish Red Army and Bolsheviks numbering around three hundred people surrounded the villages of Mokre and Zavadka Morakhivska. Units were also located in Morokhiv and Vyslok. At around 9:00 they burned down the village of Zavadka Morakhivska and murdered nearly all the people who were there. They did not even spare tiny infants and old women. With bayonets they slashed nearly everyone in a terrible, inhuman fashion. They ripped open the stomachs of infants, plucked out eyes, cut women's breasts off, tongues; more than a dozen people were thrown alive into a fire. Before death, everyone was tortured inhumanly. The arms and legs of all the murdered people were pierced by bayonets, and the calves of some were cut off. In addition, all the murdered people had broken arms, legs, ribs; the heads of several children were cut off. I am unable to describe all the savage orgies.

The village was burned down, and the horses and cows were taken away.

The following people were murdered:

- 1 Nechysty, Andrii, age 53
- 2 Nechysty, Ivan, age 55
- 3 Dobriansky, Mykola, 49
- 4 Izdebsky, Nestor, 25
- 5 Bonchak, Osyp, 42
- 6 Klepchyk, Dmytro, 26
- 7 Kyryleiza, Petro, 35
- 8 Izdebsky, Petro, 37

- 9 Izdebsky, Mykhailo, 33
- 10 Hrynko, Ivan, 76
- 11 Tsyhanyk, Ivan, 38
- 12 Tsyhanyk, Mykola, 41
- 13 Tsyhanyk, Volodymyr
- 14 Moreida, Mykhailo, 15
- 15 Moreida, Volodymyr, 83
- 16 Toman, Stefan, 2
- 17 Bonchak, Dmytro, 56
- 18 Bonchak, Ivan, 69
- 19 Dudynchak, Osyp, 49
- 20 Nechysty, Taras, 3
- 21 Bilas, Ivan, 45
- 22 Bilas, Teodor, 70
- 23 Maksym, Andrii, 75
- 24 Maksym, Stefan, 9
- 25 Kyryleiza, Yaroslav, 4
- 26 Bilas, Kateryna, 42
- 27 Bonchak, Kateryna, 37
- 28 Bonchak, Maria, 12
- 29 Kyryleiza, Kateryna, 48
- 30 Kozlyk, Maria, 67
- 31 Kozlyk, Eva, 40
- 32 Kozlyk, Anna, 20
- 33 Tsyhanyk, Kateryna, 74
- 34 Tsyhanyk, Anastazia, 39
- 35 Moreida, Maria, 45
- 36 Moreida, Anna, 17
- 37 Toman, Kateryna, 32
- 38 Toman, Maria, 7
- 39 Toman, Anna, 4
- 40 Bonchak, Anna, 39
- 41 Dudenchak, Anastazia, 48
- 42 Izdebska, Eva, 35
- 43 Izdebska, Kateryna, 6 months
- 44 Nechysta, Kateryna, 42
- 45 Nechysta, Mahdalyna, 46
- 46 Nechysta, Zofia, 11
- 47 Nechysta, Maria, 6
- 48 Bilas, Maria, 39
- 49 Bilas, Zofia, 7

- 50 Nechysta, Anna, 48
- 51 Nechysta, Kateryna, 20
- 52 Bis, Eva, 40
- 53 Maksym, Anastazia, 37
- 54 Maksym, Kateryna, 4
- 55 Maksym, Anna, 1
- 56 Maksym, Marta, 49
- 57 Kyryleiza, Maria, 39
- 58 Kyryleiza, Anna, 16
- 59 Kyryleiza, Kateryna, 14
- 60 Bilas, Kateryna, 60
- 61 Bilas, Miliana, 52.

Wounded (the Poles thought they were dead):

- 1 Tsyhanyk, Vasyl
- 2 Nechysty, Mykhailo
- 3 Maksym, Ivan

After this murder and burning of the village, a Polish first lieutenant who was carrying out this action reported [in Russian] to his superior, a Bolshevik: “Comrade Captain! Your order has been executed, the village has been burned, the people destroyed,” to which he replied [in Russian]: “*Khorosho*” [Good].

Besides the bandits from the Polish army and NKVD units, Polish villagers from the village of Nebeshchany also took part in murdering the Ukrainian population in the village of Zavadka Morakhivska. The villagers recognized one of those civilian bandits: his name is Kuczer, Jan.

With such methods the Bolshevik cannibals, along with their Polish lackey-bandits, are trying to force the Ukrainian population of the Lemko region to a “voluntary” departure to the USSR. In addition to Pavlyk, Viazovnytsi, Malkovychi, and dozens of other kinds of unheard of savagery, murders, and banditry, we are noting new [and] the same kinds of shattering scenes of the slaughter of women, children, and elderly people by the Polish-Bolshevik beasts in human skin.

*Billets*, 30 January 1946

HDA SBU, 13-376-34-102.

DOCUMENT 92: REPORT ON JOINT ACTION OF UPA UNITS  
AND WOLNOŚĆ I NIEZAWISŁOŚĆ AGAINST HRUBESHIV

7 July 1946

*Report*

*on the action against the city of Hrubeshiv during the night of 27–28 May 1946*

At the conference of representatives of the UPA and WiN [Wolność i Niezawisłość, Freedom and Independence] on 13 May 1946, the WiN representatives proposed a joint action against the city of Hrubeshiv with the purpose of destroying those enemy institutions that are harming both nations, which are terrorizing the Polish and Ukrainian populations and clandestine organizations, and with the purpose of endowing our cooperation with a concrete character. It was decided that the action is to take place between 27 and 28 May 1946. UPA units were supposed to take part in the action in the city, and WiN was to provide field leaders. The representatives of WiN mainly insisted on destroying the NKVD, with regard to which they betrayed panicky fear. They promised to take part in the action with the forces of one company. An assembly departure point and identification marks were designated. The WiN representatives handed over a map of Hrubeshiv with enemy installations marked, and they disclosed the number of enemy forces.

1) NKVD – 150 people are quartered in two blocks of housing, surrounded by barbed wire, and trenches have been prepared. Guards are on the street and garden sides behind the wires. (These data differed from ours – 250 NKVD troops – which we obtained from an NKVD man captured during a battle against the UPA on 14 May 1946).

2) UBP [Urząd Bezpieczeństwa Publicznego: Directorate of Public Security, the Polish communist security service] – approximately sixty people. The brick building, behind wire on the street side, has a two-metre high brick fence.

3) MO [Polish state police] – two small buildings.

4) Assault group – up to twenty people.

5) Bodyguards of the city Commander (assault group) – up to forty people.

6) Deportation Commission – twelve people (with pistols)

7) PV [Prykordonna viiska: Border Troops] in barracks outside the city – up to 300 people.

8) PPR [Polska Partia Robotnicza: Polish Workers' Party] building

The WiN representatives confirmed that the WP [Wojsko Polskie: Polish Army] will not take part in the battle. All the given installations were concentrated in one city block, very close to one another, which very much complicated the functioning of individual groups.

*Our preparation*

During the send-off meeting with Commander V on 24 May, it was decided to carry out the action. The action was complicated by the fact that our intelligence service had reported that WiN is very vocal about the action; much of the Polish population knows about it; mustering of AK members has been designated for 24 May. All this threatened that the enemy would decode our plans.

At the send-off meeting it was decided that before the action Comrade Petro Dunaisky will be at the assembly point, and the plan of action would be jointly discussed with the representatives of WiN. Comrade Pet is responsible for organizing defence prior to the action. Comrade Prirva is in charge of carrying out and leading the action. The units assembly point has been designated for 26 May, as well as identification marks. It was decided that the best soldiers, well dressed and suitably prepared in propagandistic terms, would take part in the action, in order to present our armed forces in a dignified manner to our neighbours [the Poles].

On 26 May 1946 units, from each of which was selected a number of riflemen and BSB [Security Service fighting groups], met at the assembly point. Commander B held an inspection and the 23 May holiday was jointly celebrated; during the night they marched to the assembly point six kilometres from Hrubeshiv, where units of WiN were supposed to be. The meeting with their intelligence agents was supposed to take place on the bridge over the Huchva River, but there was no one there. As it turned out later, they grew tired of waiting and went off to sleep. A unit was deployed in defensive-battle formation. Machine gun nests were set up. There were no WiN units in the woods. Their representative arrived on the morning of 27 May and said that the unit was in outlying woods; they would come in the evening, and at 12:00 the commanders of WiN would arrive to discuss the plans for the attacks.

*The meeting with our neighbours and discussions of the plan of action:*

The WiN representatives, officers, arrived by wagon at the designated time. They introduced themselves: Captain Wiktor, the sector commander [and] their army commander, Commander Wyrwa before the plan was established; First Lieutenant Mlot, operations commander in the city; First Lieutenant Slep, commander of the outpost outside the city. All of them were of taller than average height. Wiktor is a brunette, with coarse features – the look of a typical butcher. Wyrwa is a dark blond, clean-shaven, intelligent facial features, of medium build. Both were dressed modestly in civilian clothing. First Lieutenant Mlot with a [indcipherable] face, with normal facial features, “rotund.” Slep is similar, with glasses. Both were dressed modestly in military uniforms. All were armed with pistols: Captain Wyrwa with a PPS, Slep and Mlot – [indcipherable].



The introductions took place in a friendly atmosphere; everyone treated each other to tobacco. The commanders of individual groups were summoned, blankets were spread out, and the formulation of the operational plan began. The WiN representatives presented the field conditions and the enemy's deployment. They handed over the formulation of the operational plan to our representatives, saying that they do not know the destructive force of the rockets and possibilities for their striking capability.<sup>19</sup> They said they are taking security outside the city upon themselves; they will be taking part in the action in the city; they themselves want to destroy the UBP, disarm the MO, destroy the PPR. And they will provide leaders for all of the enemy's other strongholds. They guaranteed that the WP will not take part in any case but will sit quietly. There were many drafts, with regard to which the WiN representatives occupied a more passive position, but from their talks it was felt that in the formulation of the operational plan they stand lower than our representatives. Finally, a superficial plan of action was formulated. Commander Prirva and the commanders of the UPA units established a necessary plan of action against the NKVD and the stationing of outposts and other fighting groups, and this was submitted for discussion and adopted: another small technical unit [zveno] with rockets was designated for the UBP.

*UPA subunits* consisting of 120 people plus two technical rocket units – the attack on the NKVD. Thirty people in reserve plus fifteen people from Yasen's fighting group – firing from the flank, post commander – Prirva.

*WiN fighting group* – 25 people plus a technical rocket unit against the UBP – commander: First Lieutenant Mlot

*MO* – WiN will disarm it by itself.

*Deportation Commission* – 20 people – BSB. Commander Okhrym (ours).

*PPR* – 5 from WiN.

*Private residences of UBP aces* – 10 from WiN plus 2 of ours.

*Destruction of the post office and the outpost* so that the NKVD would not encircle us – Khoma's fighting groups.

*The outpost on the Kholm Bridge* – BSB, Commander Bahriany – from the WP.

*The outpost in the Metelynsky woods* and burning the bridge in Verbkovychi – WiN numbering 25 people armed with 15 machine guns (as they announced).

*The outpost from Kholm* – at the Hrubeshiv–Kholm–Horozno crossroads – 25 people from WiN, 15 machine guns.

*Chernychyn* – the outpost from Sokal – WiN, 20 people, 10 machine guns.

*The outpost from Ustyluh* – on the bridge from the eastern side of Hrubeshiv, 20 people, 10 machine guns.

19 Likely a reference to a captured Soviet Katyusha multiple rocket launcher.

*Smaller outposts – WiN.*

Combat nicknames and the tasks of individual groups were submitted. The time of the attack was established. A small group was to begin by attacking the NKVD. All eventualities were reckoned with. On our side, Commander Prirva, on the Polish side – Captain Wiktor.

The WiN representatives departed. A meeting was held with the commanders of individual groups, and the plan of action, the enemy's deployment, and the tasks of individual groups were accurately explained. Later, the same thing was done with the squad leaders. Before evening all the fighting groups were assembled, the action was announced, and the tasks of individual groups were assigned. A map of Hrubeshiv was distributed to each of the commanders, who in turn familiarized his group with it. Before sundown the WiN units arrived; they entered the clearing where our assembly was and were told to stand at ease. They sat down and began to smoke. They were cheerful and dressed in the military uniform of the WP or uniforms sewn out of *dralikh* [cloth]. They looked the part. Our units were also at ease, and a conversation ensued between our riflemen and the WiN; they were getting to know each other, talking about past encounters, when we were still enemies. It should be noted that the external appearance of the WiN units was more representative than ours. Mr Ostoja, a responsible political leader from Warsaw, arrived with the units.

After a few minutes of rest, the final orders. To their sleeves the WiN units attached red-and-white armbands, prepared beforehand as identification marks. Our riflemen fashioned armbands out of (white) handkerchiefs. They departed. There was a final reconnoitering before Hrubeshiv: the city is quiet, no one is expecting anything.

*The execution of the action:*

All the fighting groups entered the city unnoticed. The enemy guards had nothing to report, no one was expecting anything in the city; five MO soldiers were captured and detained (Vovky I Group). The units arrived at the designated place much later than expected (12:30). Beforehand, the WiN leader who was escorting the Vovky I Group to the designated place, despite having been told several times where to bring it, led it to such a place that was open to heavy fire from the enemy and our own people. (This group was supposed to launch the attack.) The group wanted to reach the designated location, but this was impossible; it then occupied a more suitable spot.

*Start at 1:30*

The NKVD: a UPA group approached from the south right up to the wires, and some even [indecipherable] a rocket launcher into the trenches in the position.

Our positions were spread out in a semicircle around the NKVD. A second group and two squads were from the north (not according to the plan) Vovky I, one as protection for the rockets in front of the NKVD headquarters, the second one in the positions, where Yasen was supposed to be. The first rocket is launched by Rifleman Volodia and Warrant Officer of Vovky III, Shpak. It also hits the target. Four more rockets are launched, two of them hitting the target. An NKVD unit ran out to the position from the south side and opened fire with two Maxim machine guns and other weapons, but they were instantly destroyed by machine gun crossfire, grenades, and a blunderbuss. By the end only one Maxim was firing, but its position was designated for firing on the second, eastern, section of the area and, because of the poor firing field, it did not inflict any damage on our units. The northern group only noticed that some NKVD officers were escaping eastward into the city. The second squad fired on those who were fleeing the UBP building at thirty metres (machine gunner Stets), two fell, three turned back, NKVD bodyguards began to shoot flares from the city. As we learned later, there were still approximately twenty ChA [Red Army] automobiles in the city, which were returning from somewhere in Germany. The battle lasted around 1.5 hours. When dawn began to break, the signal was given to retreat.

The UBP: At the sound of the first rocket Mlot's group and Yasen's BSB began the attack on the UBP building. The UBP fled upstairs, where they were destroyed by machine gun fire, the rest escaped from the building, and the building was burned down with all the records. The AK fighters fought very well. The MO was not disarmed. The Deportation Commission was not destroyed because there was heavy protection with machine guns, and they did not allow the building to be approached, and the WiN intelligence had incorrectly reported (with pistols).

The PPR building was destroyed, documents were seized. Several workers there were liquidated.

The post office was destroyed.

On our side, the Vovky II instructor, Berezensky, was wounded, two out of three WiN [were wounded] during the capture of the unit, one from the BSB. Okhrym was killed during the exchange of fire with the Deportation Commission.

When the flare was fired, the retreat began. On the Kholm Bridge the Vovky I Group killed an NKVD major (identified by his epaulettes) and three soldiers of the WP. They wounded squad leader Peremoha. Here a small tank attacked First Lieutenant Mlot's retreating group. On our side Viktor, the deputy head of the SB, was killed; on the WiN side, four were killed and three wounded. WiN's rear section scattered, and a day later they made their way home.

Enemy losses: more than thirty UBP and WP personnel.

Disarmed: five MO. A few PPR workers were killed.

NKVD: unconfirmed: demolished by rockets. Nearly the entire premises of the NKVD. The building was smashed in two places and part of the barrack. The dead were taken away during the night; it is not known what was in those parts of the building that were destroyed.

*The battle in Tarabinsky Forest:*

The Vovky I unit was the first to withdraw. The other units and the BSB retreated later; at the assembly point were left only [indecipherable] Comrades Dun and Horyn because Yasen [with] the BSB had not returned yet. When Yasen crossed the highway in the Metelynsky woods, a few NKVD and WP cars drove in from Hrubeshiv (the enemy had managed to come to his senses and organize himself) and fired at the unit; they quickly formed into a skirmishing line, during which the combat units became partly mixed up with each other because there were many without military training. In that place there was no sense to give battle, and the order was given to withdraw in the direction of Tarabinsky Forest. Two kilometres from the woods the enemy was already within firing range and began shooting at the retreating skirmish line. Firing back, they retreated all the way to the territory of the forest. During the retreat two of our men were wounded. One lightly, the other – seriously. At the edge of the forest, a battle order was quickly [indecipherable] and defence was launched. A small enemy tank arrived. The attack was beaten back by machine gun fire and the small tank was destroyed. There was also a unit of Vovky I here. During the battle three were killed and three wounded, including Commander Prirva. The enemy went to ground and fired on our position and did not retreat. The units began to break away. Finally, only units of Vovky II and III were left: they moved back some two hundred metres into the forest and went to ground. After some time the enemy, who wanted to encircle us, began to approach from the side of the forest in the direction of our skirmish line. The enemy was allowed to come close and was greeted with hurricane-force gunfire. The panic-stricken enemy began to flee. Our units broke away in another direction. The battle lasted from 4:20 to 6:30.

Enemy losses: 32 NKVD and 6 WP killed (listed by WiN).

Our losses: 3 killed, 5 wounded.

On 29 May at around 8:00 the enemy obtained reinforcements from Lublin, Kholm, and Zamostia, and began pursuing the units but did not find a trace of them. Yasen's group under Commander Dunaisky and Ikar retreated into the Metelynsky woods. Someone began shooting near the forest. Comrade Ikar sent four fighters to reconnoitre the colony in order to ask what was happening all around. The enemy was already at the edge of the forest, and when the riflemen came into the field, they were fired on. Two were killed here, including

Comrade Horyn. The group pushed back into the woods near Dibrova, where it joined up with part of Duda's unit, led by Commander Duda. After lunch it was announced that the enemy, the KBW (Korpus Bezpieczeństwa Wewnętrznego = Internal Security Corps) from Lublin was approaching. A skirmish line was formed. The enemy was allowed to approach to within a close distance. Commander Duda gave the order to open a hurricane-style fusillade. The enemy began to flee in a panic. The unit broke away. When dusk approached, the unit began to withdraw to the southern territory. Near the colony of Vyshniv the enemy's approach was observed. Part of the unit went to ground, part of it remained in place.

Comrade Dunaisky began to communicate with the WP, asking who they were. The WP replied: "The KBW. From Lublin, who are you?"

"The army from Waręż – First Lieutenant Dunajski."

The enemy was not expecting treachery and continued marching. When the enemy had drawn close, he was greeted with a hurricane-like fusillade. The enemy fled in a panic, leaving around ten killed. Our units departed.

Enemy losses: (first battle not verified).

Second battle, around ten.

Our losses: two killed. One wounded man was taken away by the enemy.

*Billets: 7 July 1946      Glory to Ukraine!*

Nerv.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 76, fols. 226–9.

DOCUMENT 93: LETTER OF OUN RAION LEADER ON  
DEPORTATION OF UKRAINIANS DURING OPERATION VISTULA

10 June 1947

*Lemko region**Copy of a note**Friend!*

First of all, I am reporting sad news to you and informing [you] that I have no more people, and I am left as though in a wilderness, amidst forests and empty and burned-out villages.

On 29 April 1947 the WP [Wojsko Polskie/Polish Army] surrounded the greater part of my villages, mainly those adjoining forests, and ordered the peasants to move out of the villages within half an hour. In shock at this news, the people did not know what to do; everyone was sobbing so loudly that it was heard all the way into the forest. They took only what they could carry with them because there were very few harnessed teams [of horses] around. People work more with cows, of which there were also very few. That same day the enemy burned down all the depopulated villages so that no food would end up in our hands. Only burned-out sites are blackening everywhere. It is sad to pass through the terrain, where there is no human trace (with the exception of the forest); only dogs howl and cats yowl.

The deportation continued, so that within two weeks they expelled all the Ukrainians and mixed families to the west (Pomorja, Śląsk). The only ones remaining are Poles, who have grouped together in Polish centres under the WP's.

This is how ... they disrupted our economic base ... Because of this, Zakerzonnja will now no longer represent our movement abroad, and the Bolsheviks have surrounded themselves with a dead, broad belt that cannot be crossed by a person without food in hand and knowledge of the terrain.

In villages that have not been burned down there remains a large quantity of food that the WP shipped out en masse in automobiles and assembled the Polish population for this, which often travelled several dozen kilometres in order to loot our Lemko's earnings. They totally looted the villages; one huge wasteland remains.

After the deportation the enemy launched dragnet operations, and substantial ones, which the Lemko region has never yet experienced nor will it ever [again]. Thirty thousand operated in my terrain alone, with all types of weaponry. Skirmish lines were installed on all roads and crossings, so that it was simply impossible to get through to some place. They passed through all the forests in skirmish lines or in rows separated by one hundred to 150 metres. As a result of that, all locations (above ground) of workers and food

have collapsed. By this time a total of twenty-eight of my people have been killed. Such dragnet operations lasted all of May. The enemy burned down all the thickets; all the grassland on the mountains and mountain pastures also burned. Now, instead of becoming green, all the peaks are blackening. The Poles left behind them only burned-out ruins, just like the Tatars long ago. They were walking through the forests very solidly. I myself did not even expect that the rabble could walk through such thickets.

Because of that, everything has been turned upside down in our parts because the same kinds of actions (deportations, dragnet operations) are taking place throughout the entire territory. Communication has been severed because we were still relying partly on the population.

The worst thing is the lack of food. There are only potatoes and grain. Everyone is fasting, but with such food it is difficult to work, let alone flee. I judge by my own example, when I had to flee from the enemy for four days in a row after [eating just] potatoes.

It is difficult to walk through the terrain. Everyone has to carry food with them. I myself already have a sack of food, flour, and I cook thin gruel and roast potatoes. Everyone here is now a real guerrilla. Everyone pities the population, mainly the rank-and-file privates, for whom it is difficult to reconcile themselves to such a situation.

In departing, the population cried over its houses and cursed the Poles. Everyone went away as beggars because they had left everything behind. People were sorted at crossing points. Suspicious ones were taken separately and "good ones" were also taken separately. Then they were deported to above the Oder River (Śląsk and Szczecin).

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*M*

10 June 1947

HDA SBU, 13-376-7-034.

## The Ukrainian Underground's Resistance to Soviet Rule

DOCUMENT 94: OPERATIONAL ORDER OF UPA COMMAND  
ON THE STRUGGLE UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION

UPA Command *Billets, 19 November 1943*  
*Secret* (For Group Commanders and Commandants of Military Okruhas)

### *Operational Order*

#### *I. The Enemy*

In connection with the final program of the Germans in the East, with their retreat on the one hand and the Reds' advance on the other, the Germans are aiming to leave behind ruins, burned out places, and depopulated areas. With that goal in mind, they are concentrating their rear-line service units in individual swaths of Ukraine and through appropriate tactics of their fragmented subunits (companies), with the cooperation of aviation, the whispering propaganda of dispatched hirelings and even secret agents, whom they have managed to accumulate and deploy in the territory, they are seeking above all to cause panic among the people, chase them out of their settlements in order, after arriving, to loot the property left behind and burn the rest, thereby to deprive UPA units of contact with the population; shake their belief in their own forces and separate our units from economic and housing bases in general; to rescue and pull back their front units from that physical destruction unheard of in the history of wars. The Germans, who do not have the forces to carry out an action of terror, looting, burning, and murdering in the entire rear line service that is wholly occupied by them, are doing this in stages: in designated zones with the tip pointed against the countryside, not the forests. Right now the Germans are not entering forests, with the exception of connecting, inter-village roads. Then they move in a secured march with an aircraft escort. The blinded and utterly brazen Krauts [*nimaky*] may eventually attempt a direct action of combing through forests, searching for us, and engaging in



firefights and frontal contact with UPA units. The UPA is not evacuating areas encompassed by German attacks. In their native land UPA units are liquidating the enemy with its own forces and paralyzing his attempt to shift the chaos into another district.

## *II. Our Own Tactics*

The UPA, being a regular army in its essence and organization, is fighting according to the methods of independent guerrilla actions and adopting small-unit tactics. These tactics have already justified themselves not only in the struggle of the enslaved nations (UPA, IUPA), not only in battles against rear-line units that are hostile to us (Bolsheviks, Germans) but also in front-line strategic campaigns, when a so-called single battle, that is, our own initiative, movement, risk, daring, sudden attack, ambush, [and] a speedy decision have created and are creating tactical achievements. Enclosures, encirclements, wedges, "boilers," followed by an utter rout, the acquisition of ammunition and the destruction of enemy personnel.

2. Right now UPA units are faced with two immediate goals:

a) the acquisition of weapons.

b) the consolidation of our control over forests.

Means: the constant search for the enemy and strikes against him, training, additional arming, numerical increase of units.

The defence of villages, peasants, [and] premises is irrelevant here. A unit can carry out such exceptional defence of individual raions or communities only with a special order from the UPA Command.

Therefore:

a) The platoon is considered and accepted as the smallest independent combat unit. A platoon functions after receiving from a company commander, who stays with his bodyguards by turn in every platoon, a general operational mission for a longer period of time (one week, two weeks, or until its recall) and a general designated sector of the operational territory

b) The platoon leader knows the whereabouts of the company commander and reports to him periodically two times a week, in difficult conditions not periodically; for several more days he reports about his achievements. At the same time, in addition to his own communications, he uses military communications. The platoon leader has contact with the appropriate logistical manager in the territory, who feeds or supplies dry foods to all the platoon's billeting places. With this goal in mind, the platoon leader informs the logistical manager about the march route, overnight lodgings, etc., projected by him. In addition, if he is able, the quartermaster supplies the platoon with clothing, footwear as well as weapons acquired from the enemy, where there are even too many occasions during the German actions in UPA territory. The

platoon leader is in contact with the police, intelligence, and security agencies in his territory, from where he obtains well-substantiated information about the location, movements, and intentions of the enemy, his propagandistic and panic-causing tricks, secret informants, the moods of the population, etc. He also receives territorial leaders.

*A platoon's actions:* in connection with impending events in keeping with our directives: constantly seek out and harass the enemy; be in and control the forests; within the shortest period of time platoons are to build themselves underground forest mud-huts. The prerequisite for the structure: besides the platoon, only the company commander and Security Service territorial leader can know about the structure of the mud-hut and its location, a location in an inaccessible, dense forest; one mud-hut per platoon. (See Addendum I.) The platoon must be a light combat unit. It cannot drag behind it any encampments, kitchens, knapsacks. It can have one cart for transporting the wounded and a mortar and ammunition, if the platoon has an eighty-two millimetre mortar. Instead, the platoon should have a small unit of mounted riders. The platoon can have a maximum of fifty people. For the implementation of focused actions that ensure 100 percent respect, the platoon's company commander concentrates on whether this is done in the future by a battalion commander with the battalion, [or a] commander of a detachment with the detachment, informing his superior about his intention ahead of time. Thus, concentration must have, however, the character of speedy grouping, execution, and dispersal, which fits into hours rather than days.

A platoon's actions (see the Addendum) is characterized by endless initiative, seeking out the enemy, no matter where or who he is, constant movement and change of billeting location, reconnaissance down to the last detail and never interrupted, detailed knowledge of the terrain. The platoon does not engage in a frontal battle nor is it caught up in a long-lasting battle. Its method is a sudden attack on the enemy's flank and rear, [and] ambush, timed to the minute. During a mission to destroy the enemy, the battlefield must, at all costs, be under the unit's control, and losses must be inflicted on the enemy; he must be stopped, his attention must be distracted; [the platoon] must put on a demonstration, lure [the enemy] to another location; the unit must be capable of manoeuvring and dispersing in order to assemble more quickly at a spot designated for a new attack. People must know passwords and the designated meeting places. They must know the principles of anti-aviation defence, actively and passively. The principles of protection at billeting places must achieve, within a short period of time, the [feeling] in the eyes of the population, the opinion of the enemy, that it is everywhere, behind every bush, that it sees everything, knows everything, guesses everything; that its life passes by only from victory to victory; that it is the people's avenger, and not a loser. In

coordination with each other, the instructors and commanders of a unit will designate platoon leaders and squad political instructors and issue guidelines to them about their work and tasks.

3. In this way our subunits prepare and develop themselves for independent combat, propaganda, economic, and political life, so that when the next change of occupier takes place and the old Red ulcer, whose essence and methods are familiar to us, starts making its way to our forests to search for us there, a prepared UPA will respond to the spiritually, physically, and technically demobilized [and] exhausted Bolshevik gangs with the aggression of our sabotage groups. Now or later our sabotaging, independent platoons are not and will not be cut off in their actions or left to their own devices. In certain territories of Ukraine only larger UPA formations will operate in keeping with their special tasks.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

ShVSh [Chiefs of Staff]    Commander of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 48, fols. 324–5.

## DOCUMENT 95: REPORT ON THE BATTLE OF HURBY (1944)

The Battle of Hurby<sup>1</sup>

Taking part in the Battle of Hurby were soldiers from the Bohun group led by Commander R and from the Kholodny Yar group led by Commander Ya.

During the Battle of Hurby both groups were led by Commander R. The chief of staff of both groups during the battle was Commander H. The operations commander was Commander Ya.

On Commander R's order, during the night of 23–24 April, the following positions were occupied: near Hurby at the edge of the forest, along the Ponura and Zamyshivka rivers, west of Medvezha Hora, and farther along the edge of the forest near Moshchanytsia, Cherniava, Sviate, and Hrabovets all the way to Hurby.

The first line of the front was occupied by the formations of Commanders Mamai (Ponura and Zamyshivka rivers), Doksa (Moshchanytsia-Cherniava, Sviate), Yastrub (one detachment), Riv-Storchan, Balaban (one detachment), Commander Yaroshenko's detachment, and several special purpose units (Sviate-Mosty-Hrabovets-Hurby).

The second line [was occupied] by the formations of Dovbenko, Buvaly, and Nepytailo (one detachment). The reserve consisted of Commander Panko's formation and the detachments of Commanders Chornohora, Zalizniak, and Andrii. The camp and a nearly one-thousand-strong civilian population, which was hiding in the woods from Bolshevik mobilization and Soviet government terror, were led into the depths of the forest.

At 3:30 the operations commander announced that the situation was satisfactory: the soldiers had entrenched themselves and are in their positions, and at 6:00 a.m. the hurricane-like fire of the cannon that were entrenched in Kudryn and Budky and fire from heavy mortars indicated that the offensive had begun. An unequal battle against the Bolshevik invader ensued. From the enemy's first attacks the fighters realized that the day would be a hot one and that considerable efforts would have to be applied in order to maintain their positions.

... The attacks are becoming more frequent, but our fighters are not moving. With every minute Bolshevik losses are increasing the fields and the edge of the forest are becoming covered with enemy corpses ...

The NKVD [officers] are going mad and raging, constantly sending out more and more ranks of frontline soldiers into battle they are shouting, "Hurrah!

1 The Battle of Hurby, in Rivne oblast, was one of the largest engagements fought by the UPA. It took place from 21 to 25 April 1944 and involved an estimated five thousand encircled soldiers of UPA-South fighting against over twenty thousand NKVD troops.

For the Motherland! For Stalin!” but they are not taken up by the army, their shouts echo through the forest. The troops understand that this is not the enemy, not the Germans, that these are the same kind of people as them, but they still do not dare to turn their weapons against the Stalinist clique, the NKVD prodders who are pushing them forward. And the battle continues.

The formation of the Poltava-born Captain Mamai defends its positions with distinction and repels the enemy, who is pushing intensively from the left and right sides of the bridge spanning Zamyshivka River (the bridge is an unassailable fortress) with the goal of capturing the bridge. The sortie to the enemy’s rear, which Mamai carried out, forcing the small river, ultimately kills the enemy’s desire for the bridge.

Other formations are also keeping pace with Mamai’s men. But, everyone’s attention is focused on where a clattering noise, like in a boiler, is issuing: eastward, towards Hurby, where Commander Storchan’s formation is repelling multitudes of the enemy that had moved up three hundred metres towards it. From Mosty alone and Khynivka enemy units consisting of five hundred to six hundred men were advancing together with a regimental staff and Bovshik, a decorated colonel of the Finnish Front. Eventually the battle dies down somewhat, the first great offensive has been repelled.

The second great offensive was north of Hurby in the Yastrub sector. Under cover of tanks the enemy infantry is pressing on. The cavalry enters from the flank. Commander Yastrub is monitoring the enemy’s movements and appropriately rebuilding the fighting ranks of newly mobilized fighters. Suddenly, from the right side the enemy creates a wedge, threatening to break through. Zalizniak’s reserve detachment rushes to help.

The enemy breaks through our defence line. Yastrub retreats with the newly mobilized fighters, unable to inform Storchan about this formation. The enemy, pushed up against the second line, went towards the area occupied by Storchan’s men. Storchan’s men, who had just repelled the latest attack, flung themselves into a counterattack in order to ward off the breakthrough. Victims fall, the life of each fighter is in danger, but no one is thinking about his life and, looking death scornfully in the eyes, each one is thinking one thing: “Do not get encircled. Liquidate the breakthrough at any price.” The battle intensifies, switching to hand-to-hand combat. The warriors are fighting like lions. Commander Ihor and twenty of the finest fighters perish in the slaughter of hand-to-hand combat. Commander Storchan is badly wounded. He is picked up by his favourite fighters and they break out.

But soon the enemy once again closes the circle, which cannot be broken by any efforts whatsoever. Commander Bulka and forty fighters are trapped in a circle of death. Storchan’s men see that it is no longer possible to break out, and they decide to draw the enemy’s forces to themselves as long as possible so

that the second line will have time to get its bearings in the situation and join the battle; they decide to fight to the death and with their blood they block the enemy's route to our positions.

An unequal battle commences. To the enemy's shouts of "Surrender, Bandera!" Storchan's men, burning with the desire to give up their lives at the highest cost, delivered even more intense fire at the enemy; with every minute this fire is mowing down more and more swaths of enemy corpses. The enemy rushes first to one side then the other, but the fire from Storchan's men is not offering the possibility to break through their positions. Listening intently to the play of our machine guns, Commander Bulka noticed that one of our machine guns suddenly fell silent. With a finka he rushes to salvage the situation, but an enemy bullet hits him in the chest ... and he falls dead. The fighters Bliakha, Bohun, Hrusha the machine gunner, and Morozenko fall after him. Bulka is replaced by Platoon Leader Shramenko. He runs from the right wing to the left ... Victims are increasing in number ... The famous trio of Chernihivites falls on the left wing. Machine gunner Desna rolled into a ditch; he was replaced by Smily, the munitions man. Soon this one fell too: an enemy bullet in the chest cuts short his young life. Machine gunner Kubanets takes revenge for his friends ... Shots are thinning out, the machine guns quiet down – Storchan's men are running out of ammunition. But our fighters are not surrendering alive; they tear themselves to pieces with grenades with the shout of "Glory!" And only from time to time a Colt in the hands of Platoon Leader Shramenko still fires, but he is running out of ammunition. Shramenko takes out a pistol. He kills two of the enemy with the pistol, and then places it against his head and dies, shouting "Glory!" You can still hear cries of "Glory!" and grenades exploding: Storchan's men are bidding farewell to life, but then you cannot hear them either ... And then only the swaths of enemy corpses and the bodies of our heroes, mutilated by grenades or the enemy's murdering, indicated that the battle had ended.

Commander Storchan-Riv was a native of the Ostroh area. A hard-working veteran revolutionary. In emigration since 1930. In 1942 he was imprisoned by the Germans for organizing his comrades' escape from jail; in the fall of 1943 he became a UPA officer; in February 1944 he crosses the Soviet-German front with his troops without losses. The favourite officer of fighters and commanders. A fine soldier, veteran of a number of successful battles, for example, on 22 February 1944, after being encircled, he breaks out and captures prisoners; on 19 March 1944 he repels an attack by an NKVD detachment numbering five hundred men; by switching to a counterattack he captures three Maxims, fifteen horses with saddles, and many other weapons – finkas, rifles, ammunition. On 5 April 1944 he is a hero of the Hurby battles.

Commander Bulka was a native of the Polissia region. After Storchan, he was the second favourite of Storchan's men. Always calm, taciturn, but a decisive

commander. He often looked death in the face and each time he ignored it, and he distinguished himself by his determination and bravery at Hurby. Soviet partisans murdered the family of Commander Bulka back in 1943.

Thus, with their corpses, the glorious Storchan men blocked the enemy's path, refusing to retreat a single step backward. They perished as heroes full of dedication to the cause, sacrificing everything, even their lives, for the sake of the Revolution. Their heroism, dedication, and disregard for death spark a feeling of pride in us, and the desire to be like them, Storchan's men. Thus ended the enemy's second great offensive.

The enemy's third and final powerful offensive was aimed directly at Hurby. Here the enemy decided to break through at any cost into the middle of our positions.

Concentrating a great number of troops, sometime around noon, the enemy began approaching in ranks towards our positions. Terrible shooting erupted. Machine guns are clattering our mortars and the enemy's are rapidly firing mines into both camps. There are already victims on both sides. But our fighters, filled with vengeance for Storchan's men, are sowing death in the enemy camp, not allowing him to advance closer than three hundred metres.

The enemy intensifies his attack with newly arrived tanks. A hail of bullets and tank bullets are falling down on our fighters ... Our cannon and PTRSs [Soviet-designed semi-automatic anti-tank rifles] start firing too ... Suddenly, one tank fell silent; it was damaged with cannon fire by Bereza, the artillery commander. This cheered up our fighters, and they began firing their rifles even faster. Soon a PTRS damaged another tank.

A sortie, consisting of one unit, to the rear of the enemy's left flank, deployed south of Hurby, ultimately destroyed the enemy's desire to attack. For a long time afterwards the shooting did not die down, and it was clear that the enemy is not managing to capture our positions today. A report from headquarters dated 24 April states: "The enemy's losses on 24 April 1944 comprises nearly 600 killed soldiers – the main number of losses coincides with the Hrabivets-Hurby sector – and approximately 500 wounded. From Hrabivets alone, 37 wagons of wounded were transported, approximately 200 people. Weapons were not captured. Two tanks were disabled."

"Our losses stand at around 80 killed – 60 people, coinciding with the Hrabivets sector – and around 40 wounded. In the Hrabivets sector one PTRS, six machine guns, 41 rifles, and 18 finkas were lost."

Thus ended the day of glorious battles – the battles near Hurby. Our victory was purchased at such a great cost, the cost of many of our finest comrades, the heroes Storchan, Bulka, Shramenko, and others. The innocent blood of young men – fighters for Freedom, a better future – was shed.

And involuntarily you remember Kruty, the blood of the fallen fighters at Kruty, which later spurred the nation to the struggle, their heroism, devotion ...<sup>2</sup> That was Kruty, and this was Hurby.

April 25 promised even more intense battles. In order to avoid them, Commander R decided to break out of the encirclement.

As soon as twilight fell, the commanders began assembling their units and preparing for the battle march. The breakout was supposed to take place in three directions where, according to reconnaissance, there was the least concentration of enemy troops and where the enemy least expected our attack.

The hospital was supposed to be liquidated. Lightly wounded men were supposed to rejoin their units, while badly wounded men were to be cared for by the hospital chief, Poltavka, her deputy Ahlaia, and nurses. Civilians were divided into a whole number of groups, to whom good leaders were assigned. These groups were supposed to leave the encirclement by various routes. They could not be attached to the army: the troops would have forfeited their battle capacity, and the future promised some hot days. The camp was supposed to be liquidated – everything that was not being taken on the road was to be buried. When everything was ready, the army headed out.

The first army group went through a cutting near Ponura towards the Surazh woods and arrived safely at the designated spot. The second and third groups, which initially marched together, but later separated, each along a separate route, had to battle their way out of the encirclement.

### *The Bushcha Breakout*

The first to arrive at Bushcha was the group that marched from the right side of Zbytenka along the edge of a forest. After learning that there was an enemy detachment in Bushcha numbering between eighty and one hundred people, as well as tanks, the commander of that group of soldiers ordered the formation of Commander Buvaly to clear the road for the troops.

“Comrade Kuzmych! There are approximately eighty to one hundred Bolsheviks in an outpost, as well as tanks. You must clear the route.”

“Yes, sir. I must clear the route for the units,” said Senior Lieutenant Kuzmych, the commander of the assault group of Buvaly’s formation, repeating the order.

\* \* \*

2 The Battle of Kruty took place near the small railway station of Kruty, northeast of Kyiv, on 29–30 January 1918. Of approximately 520 Ukrainian defenders many were students, of whom around one hundred fell in the battle against a Bolshevik force of some 4,800 soldiers under the command of Mikhail Muravev. Bolshevik losses are now estimated at around 300 combatants.



Kuzmych's assault group was organized not that long ago, but its fame had spread rather widely among our fighters and the civilian population. It consisted of fighters from the Chernihiv and Sumy regions. In military terms it was excellent: nearly all were participants of the Soviet-German war, veteran UPA soldiers. Commander Kuzmych had learned the military art very well and, regardless of his forty-five years, in no way was he eclipsed by young men; he was always ahead of everyone.

\* \* \*

"Friends, follow me!" Senior Lieutenant Kuzmych gave the order. After crossing the bridge, the group arrayed in skirmish formation began to besiege the village. The first shots rang out, and then a volley of fire from machine guns. A battle ensued. The battle was not the usual kind but a street battle, which required special skills. But Kuzmych was a master at this. Indeed, building after building falls into our hands, the enemy retreats.

Suddenly, enemy tanks arrive to provide assistance. Kuzmych stopped momentarily and began to prepare for combat with the tanks. At this time the battle was joined by detachments from the second group that had been marching by another route and had also reached Bushcha: Liuty's, from the formation of the famous Storchan men; Misha's, from Mamai's formation, and one detachment from the formation led by Dovbenko, who, after repulsing an enemy detachment, arrived at the rear of the enemy and attacked.

At this point Commander Veremia, one of Storchan's men, immobilizes one tank with his PTRS. Kuzmych's fighters rush at the steel monster and toss grenades at it. The second tank was damaged by the fighters from Dovbenko's formation. Their attack on the rear was very successful and forceful.

Kuzmych gives the order: "Forward!"

The enemy retreats. The road is freed ... The units headed out according to their assignments.

The attempts to destroy the insurgents in the Kremianets woods ended with the enemy's complete rout.

The evening report from the group's headquarters, dated 24 April 1944, stated: "Enemy losses in the Kremianets action totalled nearly 900 men killed and as many wounded. We captured 6 machine guns, 10 finkas, 2 mortars, 1 company mortar [50 mm], 1 battalion mortar [82 mm], 37 rifles, and much ammunition and mines. Four tanks were disabled. Our losses totalled 136 fighters killed, including 15 seriously wounded fighters whom our medical units did not manage to evacuate and who were savagely murdered by the NKVD on 25 April, and approximately 75 wounded. The NKVD murdered roughly 100 civilians who were hiding from the enemy's terror and mobilization. We lost 8 machine guns, 24 finkas, 60 rifles, 1 PTRS, and 5 pistols."

\* \* \*

Hurby is our victory over an enemy whose forces surpassed ours by many times. This is not only a political victory but a military one. And none of the murderous savageries, during which the NKVD throw themselves like octopi at our fighters and the civilian population in order to wash their hands in their blood, in order to stab their noble bodies with their bayonets, are not and cannot be successful. For it is not possible to destroy the growing revolutionary movement by means of terror. In applying it, the enemy has not frightened us. On the contrary: he has roused hatred towards himself; he has rallied [us] to an open struggle against Bolshevik terror, against Bolshevik imperialism. Hurby is our response to the enemy.

13 May 1944      Major Kosenko, a participant in the battles of Hurby

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fols. 44-6.

DOCUMENT 96: INFORMATION ABOUT THE SOVIET  
HOME FRONT IN THE SECOND HALF OF MAY 1944

19 June 1944

*About the Situation on the Bolshevik home front during the  
second half of May 1944*

After crossing the front, the Bolsheviks immediately began setting up an administration. This administration consisted for the most part of the local population, with the exception of the top positions, which are occupied by people from the east. Among them are many women. The administration is in no way coping in the area. Chaos in the creation of a civilian administration is exacerbated by military factors, which are governing in the territory in the form of numerous commissions. These are so-called flying military committees, special economic committees, the NKVD, etc. Everywhere police posts have been created as auxiliary bodies. There are attempts to expand the network of secret collaborators. The police are mainly recruited from among former prisoners of war, local communists, Poles, Jews. Mobilization of the entire male population from seventeen to sixty years old has been announced.

For the most part, the majority of the male population in the forest belt of the Stolyn, Sarny, and Kostopil areas did not report to mobilization posts. Some fled to the forests and reported to UPA units; some are hiding in the vicinity of their villages. In connection with this, special NKVD search units have been formed, which carry out dragnet operations in the forests. Captured people are sent to penal camps, some are shot or hanged. Gallows have been built in the town of Vysotske, where more than a hundred people from the civilian population and the UPA have been hanged.<sup>3</sup> The families of those who are not reporting for mobilization are being deported to the east. Their houses are dismantled for rebuilding bunkers; property is divided up. The families of those who joined the Bolshevik partisans are also deported to the east.

All those who are mobilized are transported to Kyiv, which is now the mobilization centre. Here they are retrained and thrown on the Western Front (the newly mobilized have already taken part in battles in the Lutsk and Kovel sectors of the front). On the home front and in the UPA there are already deserters from those sectors of the front from the mobilization camps in Kyiv.

In the sector of the front zone the entire civilian population has been deported [for] a twenty- to thirty-kilometre swath. Villages in this zone are

3 The town of Verkhnie Vysotske is found in Turka raion, Lviv oblast, in Ukraine's southwest Carpathian Mountain region.

completely destroyed. Some of the buildings are reused for building bunkers, the rest are burned down (Vysotske raion, Stolyn – thirty-five villages were depopulated and destroyed). The evacuated population from the raions of Vysotske, Stolyn, [and] Volodymyrets has been moved to Dubrovytsia and Sarny raions.<sup>4</sup> There is no care available for the evacuated population. Typhus is spreading. In recent days, the Bolsheviks are forcibly inoculating the civilian population against typhus.

The Bolsheviks have levied very high quotas of grain and cattle from the civilian population. Those who do not deliver have everything confiscated from them. In connection with this, it may be stated that anti-Bolshevik moods in the Bolshevik-ruled reality are more than obvious.

#### *UPA Units in the Bolshevik-Ruled Reality*

UPA units in the forest zone crossed the front along the line of the Sluch-Horyn [rivers] in late January and early February 1944. At that time the Bolshevik army was on the offensive, which helped during the crossing of the front.

After strengthening the administration and bringing in NKVD troops, the Bolsheviks launched a general offensive against UPA units in early April 1944. The anti-UPA action is still ongoing today and not abating in strength.

#### *Bigger Battles between UPA Units and NKVD Troops*

- 1) On 6 March 1944 in the village of Zolote, Dubrovytsia raion, Sarny okruha, battalion commander Laidaka smashed a Red Army unit. More than fifty people were killed, sixteen were captured, including one senior lieutenant. On the UPA side, four were killed and seven wounded.
- 2) On 11 March 1944 in the vicinity of the village of Dubrovia, Volodymyrets raion, Sarny okruha, battalion commander Laidaka smashed a company of NKVD troops. More than forty NKVD troops were killed. Battalion commander Laidaka was killed in that battle, as well as two Cossacks.
- 3) On 10 April 1944 NKVD troops launched an offensive against our Ostry Battalion, which was stationed between the villages of Zhylzha and Berestovets, Kostopil raion, Kostopil okruha. More than two thousand NKVD troops took part in the offensive. The battle lasted several days. More than two hundred NKVD troops were killed. Battalion commander Ostry, SB leader Bezridny, and Captain Vykhor fell in that battle, and Dubovy, the SB leader of the VO, and Comrade Yurii were wounded, as well as over twenty riflemen.

4 Dubrovytsia and Sarny raions are found in Rivne oblast, with Sarny being approximately 473 kilometres from Verkhnie Vysotske.

- 4) In early April 1944 Hamalia's company from Ostry's battalion surrounded and smashed two hundred NKVD troops near the village of Yapolot, Stydyn raion, Kostopil okruha. Only twenty NKVD troops from that unit managed to escape. On the UPA side, twelve men were killed. Much weaponry and ammunition was captured.
- 5) On 25 April 1944 near the village of Horodets, Volodymyrets raion, Sarny okruha, Kora's battalion fought a battle against an NKVD unit. The battle lasted nine hours. More than one hundred NKVD troops were killed, including a captain of the state battle ordnance service for Rivne oblast. On the UPA side, four were killed and twelve wounded.
- 6) On 26 April 1944 near the village of Lenchyn [Linchyn], Berezne raion, Kostopil okruha, a battle ensued between Dubovy's battalion and NKVD troops, which lasted ten hours. The Bolsheviks lost over three hundred soldiers. On our side, seven were killed and fourteen wounded. Much weaponry was captured.
- 7) In the forests of Pustomyty in Rivne okruha Enei's units fought a battle against NKVD tank units. They smashed them and captured several tanks.
- 8) In late April Enei's units crossed the Sluch River into Dubovy's field of operations, where they stayed for about two weeks.<sup>5</sup> During this period they fought five larger battles against NKVD units.
- 9) On 22 April 1944, near the village of Vytkovychi, Kvatyrenko's detachment, from Enei's group, fought a battle against NKVD units. More than one hundred NKVD troops were killed. Our own losses included eight killed and fourteen wounded.
- 10) On 27 April 1944 in the Linchyn woods, Berezne raion, Kostopil okruha, Shakal's battalion fought a battle against NKVD troops. More than three hundred NKVD troops were killed, and more than 150 wounded. On our side we lost forty Cossacks, including Company Commander Bur.

In addition, Enei's units were involved in larger clashes with NKVD troops near the town of Berezne, at the homesteads in Vytkovychi, and in the forest near Linchyn.

The following is reported about the actions of UPA units in the East: in general, everyone knows that the units of Dorosh, Vereshchaka, and Yarema are operating in the East. In early April Vereshchaka arrived in Dubovy's terrain of operations and then went back. Yarema's battalion left eastward with him. In early April three full companies from Ostry's battalion left for the east. Despite Bolshevik terror, the eastern population clearly sympathizes with the UPA units and is joining its ranks.

<sup>5</sup> The Sluch River takes its source in Khmelnytsky oblast, flowing from there through Zhytomyr and Rivne oblasts and along the Ukrainian-Belarusian border before emptying into the Horyn River.

The general situation of the units in the Soviet-controlled reality is difficult. There are constant battles, and in connection with this there are barely any proper conditions for treating the wounded. A lack of medicines and bandages is felt. Typhus is spreading. It is also difficult with foodstuffs, mainly in the East. Many hideouts have been uncovered, and at the same time the Bolshevik administration is purposely destroying the home front in economic terms. In terms of morale, the units are holding up very well.

*The Poles on the Bolshevik home front:* The part of the Polish partisan movement that was part of Kovpak's group did not go together with him into the German home front, but remained beyond the Sluch River in Liudvypil and Berezne raions. This group fought actively against UPA units and the Ukrainian population. In early April this group installed border posts topped with Polish eagles on the old Polish border. NKVD units carried out dragnet operations in the vicinity of Liudvypil and Berezne raions and destroyed this group. Sixteen Poles were hanged on the border posts. The Bolsheviks mobilized the rest of the Polish male population that remained here and there in Polish colonies and sent them to Rivne, to Wanda Wasilewski's legion.<sup>6</sup> The rest of the Poles remaining in villages in the Liudvypil area sympathize with the UPA units.

While marching eastward, UPA units are stopping in Polish colonies, [and] the Poles are voluntarily giving them food, stationing guards, and helping them evade the NKVD. Polish units of Wasilewski's gang (that is their official name) are arriving from the east. Among them are Ukrainians from the western oblasts. Two such echelons with Polish units were smashed on 5 May 1944 in the city of Sarny.

18 June 1944

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fols. 53–4.

6 Wanda Wasilewska was deputy chief of the pro-Soviet Polish Committee of National Liberation, established in Lublin in opposition to the Polish government-in-exile in London, a confidante of Stalin's and promoter of the Polish People's Army, established in May 1943. Zygmunt Berling, promoted to the rank of general by Stalin, was the commander of the Polish 1st Tadeusz Kościuszko Infantry Division.

DOCUMENT 97: REPORT OF THE COMMANDER OF  
UPA - WEST ABOUT THE SHIFTING FRONT

Zamok

*Billets, 20 October 1944*

*Report for the Period July–October 1944*

I. The Bolshevik winter [1943–44] offensive in III/44 established itself on the following southwestern line of the UZ [Ukrainian Lands]: Rakhovytsia (Bukovyna)–Seret along the Seret River past the city of Storozhynets to Kuty–Kosiv–Yabluniv–Pechenizhyn–Slobidna Lisna–Zhukiv, to the bend of the Dnister River near Harasymiv, along the Dnister to the Strypa River, Ozirna [Ozerna]–Zaliztsi–Pidkamin–Sukhovolia–Radyvyliv–Leshniv to the Stry River.<sup>7</sup>

The Reds' summer offensive of 14 July 1944, which began with a breach of the German positions in the sector of Zaliztsi–Pidkamin and in the sector of Stoianiv en route to Radekhiv–Kaminka Strumilova [Strumyl'ova]–Yarychiv–Busk, gave the Bolsheviks Zolochiv and Krasne and set up the encirclement of six German divisions (including the SS Galicia Division) in the Brody area bridgehead and one German division at the bend of the Buh, eight kilometres east of Kaminka Strumyl'ova, the Yazytskyi woods. The breakthrough and rapidity of the Bolsheviks' operations allowed them to capture Peremyshl (Sian) on 25 July and Lviv on 27 July.

The further development of front-line action proceeded on both warring sides – offensives and gradual retreats from the Peremyshl–Lviv sector to the south (the Carpathians) and from the Lviv–Kolomyia sector to the west. In the first ten days of 8/44 the Bolsheviks halted at the foot of the Carpathians and two months later, after positional battles in the mountains, on the border of Carpatho-Ukraine. The Red offensives and the partial breakthrough in the Sian–Korosno sector in the third ten-day period of 9/44 gave the Bolsheviks the Lemko region (the villages of Stary and Novy Lupkiv) and established the front before Ukrainian Priashiv [Prešov, Slovakia] region (to this time the deployed Bolshevik landing troops, dispatched partisan groups, and redeployment of several units of the Slovak army in the Priashiv region have not given the Reds the expected result of breaking into Slovakia).

The territories that suffered most from the front-line actions in the southwestern UZ are the stretch of the Strypa River and the northern face of the Carpathians.

<sup>7</sup> The Strypa River is a left-bank tributary of the Dnister River, flowing southward through Ternopil oblast. Zboriv and Buchach are located on its banks.

The front was crossed by forty-five UPA units. The units of the Makivka and Hoverlia groups suffered the most. Some of them stopped existing; also one unit of the Buh group. Several new units were created (the Sian group). The conduct of the Germans during the retreat is unchanged – it is hostile to the UPA. The Bolshevik armies (Red Army, NKVD) were instructed on the UPA. They are hostile and set on liquidating it. There were hardly any battles with the Red Army, as per instructions. Twenty-five percent of a Red Army battalion was destroyed (Lysonia group, 8/44) because of lack of verification.

The shift of the front gave UPA units and the territory: a) a wealth of plunder through the disarming and ambushing of Germans, in the form of arms, munitions, gear, and some [illegible] equipment. The UPA [several illegible words] the acquired weapons picked up from the scenes of battles; b) physical and combat experience in campaigns and clashes with the enemy on the part of those units that had no past combat experience, and the removal of those elements that sought self-preservation in the UPA; c) the influx to the UPA of physically strong, clothed, well or sufficiently trained members of the SS and the Ukrainian police (although morally weak), a total of approximately a thousand people. The positional character of the front-line battles in the Carpathians (seventy-five days) smashed or pushed back beyond the Hungarian (occupied) border those units that chose their native Carpathians as the place for crossing the front. The lack of provisions, the concentration of enemy troops, and, in general, a situation between a rock and a hard place, forced several units to disband, that is, to cross from Bukovyna and Galicia into Carpatho- Ukraine; one battalion [crossed] into the western Lemko region. One battalion crossed the front only on 1 October 1944 in the vicinity of southern Dolyna. Several units crossed from their mother VO to neighbouring ones.

Similar moods were predominant in the Kholm region. Seventy-five percent of the Kholmites deserted the northern units and joined the Red Army in order to report back to the UPA after cooling down or to sit at home.

II.1. After occupying the ZUZ, the Bolsheviks have stationed border detachments of NKVD troops of the Ukrainian District along the borders, which differentiate their state of occupation in 1941 from the territories in which they have not yet entered: Buh, Solokia with minor changes, and a newly planned border in the west, which, to the disadvantage of the so-called Ukrainian SSR, does not go along the line of Stibno–Medyka–Selyska–Rozhubovychi–Vilnychy–Syrakiztsi–Falkenberg–Paporotno–Orlaniv – then it continues possibly to Voitkova–Trostianets. It is possible that it is temporary in view of the proximity of the front. All other Bolshevik borders do not have stationed troops: Galicia-Volyn, ZUZ-OSUZ [western and central Ukrainian lands], Galicia-Bukovyna. It is expected that after the occupation of the Transcarpathian region they will station troops along the current Hungarian



border. The Soviets, taking advantage in the first weeks of the border's proximity [and] therefore the presence of their front-line units, immediately rushed to penetrate the territory with weapons: the steppe, the forest-steppe, forests, settlements, by means of roundups, encirclements, marches ("combing ops"), and artillery and machine-gun fire. Already in the first days they managed to carry out such actions in the entire area. They lasted between one and fourteen days, with a force of two thousand to three thousand troops with the participation of tanks and artillery. The biggest actions against the UPA were carried out in the northern sections of the territory (Rava, Mosty, Sokal, Radekhiv from 17 to 31 August 1944). Usually, they carry out [an action] by employing forces ranging between fifty and three hundred NKVD troops in a single day. Oblast authorities direct actions against UPA units in the forests, ordering a group of raion detachments of the NKVD, the railway NKVD troops, etc.

2. The Bolsheviks tactical combat methods as an addendum to the Zamok Order no. 8/44 dated 25 September 1944.

3. The combat state of UPA units in general: the Buh Group estimates enemy losses in this territory at two thousand killed and wounded. The Lysonia Group lists its own losses at 105 killed and 167 wounded. The ratio between our losses and the enemy's is clearly in our favour.

Nevertheless, the units carried out their task only by 50 percent – specifically, they did not take full advantage and are not taking advantage of all those opportunities for striking a blow against the enemy. Using the people's self-defence as a point of departure, they do not sense that urgency and the frequent hopeless situation of the population in the face of the enemy's reprisals against it. They live and act according to these guidelines: not to allow themselves to be attacked when they attack, it is in their own defence. With respect to that, the self-defence of the entirety of organized life and the people benefits from the UPA's actions only relatively, indirectly: for the most part, the Bolsheviks stopped their sorties throughout the territory and the permanent day-to-day terror against the people with their own hands and those of their lackeys. They are not grasping the entirety of administrative life and are generally incapable of placing "muzzles" where our armed reaction exists.

Blame for the fact that our internal-military state is like this and no other way lies first and foremost with the lack of a political and professionally trained command staff. Firstly, owing to the lack of commanders, units have barely increased numerically, therefore the territory is not saturated. In this matter no future prospects are seen.

The headquarters of groups are not properly assessing the continuous rearing of younger officers and non-commissioned officers; the same for the territory. The army does not have at its disposal an element that it can raise. The weakness of commanders is the reason behind desertions and the tendency of

concentrations and flights from independent operations to submitting themselves under the wing of a stronger commander. As a result, territories are without leaders; others are overburdened and becoming a magnet for pursuits by the enemy. The territory does not prosecute desertion, is making punishment and the reorganization of relations impossible. The territory is not producing or enlisting in its ranks graduates of officer and non-commissioned officer schools. Finally, the lack of footwear, clothing, blankets, [and] proper medical care creates the urge to go back home, for the individual wanting to do nothing until circumstances change. There are cases of collective desertions of squads and even platoons back to their native areas. The lack of political instructors or their primitiveness fosters such a situation. In general, it may be said that in our [army] only the issue of weapons is more or less resolved.

The popularity of UPA units and the hopes and tasks that have been placed on them by the Organization and the people are in fact not justified if matters do not improve fundamentally and radically. The winter plan transmitted by now to the Lysonia group is considered as this kind of rectification. One of its points is closer liaison between units and the territory and the resolution of material supply. Headquarters of groups are ordered to intensify the theoretical and practical training of non-commissioned officers and young officers if only by means of flying squads (security) of individual heads of units at the VSh [Military Headquarters], personally accountable for their trainees. The territory should provide people.

[signature]  
(-) Vyshyty

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 62, fols. 76-7.

DOCUMENT 98: REPORT ON BATTLES FOUGHT  
BY THE UPA UNITS IN SUBCARPATHIA*UPA battles in December 1944*

On 2 December 1944 a UPA unit under the command of Captain Skoba attacked the vicinity of Yaremche (Nadvirna raion).<sup>8</sup> During the two-hour-long battle around one hundred Bolsheviks were killed and wounded, and twelve cars were burned. There was one wounded on our side.

On 13 December 1944 Captain Chorny, with thirty-eight riflemen, broke into the city of Halych. He killed ten Bolsheviks, after which he retreated without losses.

On 16 December 1944 an insurgent unit under the command of Captain Dovbush laid an ambush for Bolsheviks in the village of Zelena (Nadvirna raion) who were passing through there. Twenty-two Bolsheviks were killed and several were wounded. There were no losses on our side.

On 26 December 1944, five hundred Bolsheviks attacked Captain Vykhor's camp near Chorni Oslavy (Nadvirna raion). A brief but intense battle ensued, in which sixty-three Bolsheviks were killed and wounded. Our losses: six killed and one wounded. After the unit's retreat, the Bolsheviks took their killed soldiers to the barracks, poured benzene over them, and set them on fire so that the populace would not see their losses.

On 28 December 1944 a UPA subunit under the command of Captain Chorny laid an ambush for some Bolsheviks who were travelling [by] car to the village of Bryn (county of Halych), during which three NKVD men were killed, and a Maxim and a Degtiarev were captured. The driver escaped in the car.

On 30 December 1944 Bolsheviks arrived in the village of Irynivka, Bohorodchany raion, in order to assemble a supply of food. They happened to arrest a peasant. The self-defence kushch decided to free him: it laid an ambush. As a result of the battle, ten Bolsheviks were killed, and only one saved himself by escaping. Among those killed were the head of the Voienkomat [Military Commissariat], the head of the NKVD, the head of procurement, and a prosecutor.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fol. 99.

8 Yaremche is a city about fifty-nine kilometres south/southwest of Ivano-Frankivsk. Halych is a historic town located on the Dnister River. Zelena is a village located in Nadvirna raion of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast.

DOCUMENT 99: REPORT ON A SURPRISE ATTACK ON  
RADEKHIV BY A UPA UNIT*Surprise attack on the city of Radekhiv<sup>9</sup>*  
*26 April 1945**Preparation*

On 23 April 1945 Commander A, the chief of staff of the VO, convened a meeting attended by the commander of the Halaida unit, the commander of the Halaida I subunit, Commander H, and the representatives of the territorial leadership. The meeting discussed the plan of the preliminary tasks for a raid by UPA units on the city of Radekhiv with the goal of freeing Ukrainians under arrest and destroying the NKVD and NKGB centres.

Measures were adopted for collecting heavy weapons, ammunition, mines, and explosive materials. Intensive reconnaissance was carried out.

On 25 April a smaller meeting was held for the commanders who were supposed to take part in the action, and a detailed plan of operations was drafted.

*Action*

On 26 April at 19:00 hours the subunits marched out through forested terrain in the direction of the city of Radekhiv and occupied lines that had been reconnoitered earlier. Commander Shum's subunit maintained a picket on the Radekhiv–Stoianiv highway and on the Radekhiv–Stoianiv section of the railway track. Commander R's subunit maintained a picket on the Krystynopil–Radekhiv highway, under the small Vytktiv bridge; Commander Ch's subunit – on the Radekhiv–Lopatyn highway; part of Commander Hlib's subunit [was stationed] on the Radekhiv–Kamianka highway and on the Radekhiv–Kamaianka railway route. The second section of Commander Hlib's subunit was given the task of releasing people from the camp. Commander Virny's subunit, together with one of Commander Shum's subunits, and a KP fighting group led by Commander Ihor, was assigned the task of destroying the NKVD and NKGB buildings. Prior to the action the railway tracks and bridges were mined, on which blockages were erected. At the last moment telephone communications were cut. At 1:30 the silence of the night was disrupted by a burst of shooting, and the *Ofenrohr* [German bazooka], which Khmara, the squad leader of the Halaida I subunit, fired into a window of the NKVD building. At the same, a second burst of gunfire explodes in Commander Hlib's sector, which was fired by Platoon Leader Dovbush. Our soldiers stormed the NKVD and NKGB buildings. The buildings were completely

9 Radekhiv is a small city in Lviv oblast, the administrative centre of Radekhiv raion.

demolished. During this time Commander Hlib and his bodyguards and two squads broke into the buildings housing the prisoners. The doors were smashed and the prisoners exited the jail. There was much emotion at this moment. With tears in their eyes, the freed prisoners rushed into the embraces of our fighters, recognized their friends and acquaintances. Our men led the freed men along secure streets out of the city and immediately went their separate ways. Commander Hlib's group of fighters takes advantage of the occasion and loads onto wagons barrels of beer confiscated from a brewer. A flare fell, the signal to retreat. At 3:00 in the morning our subunits left the city. Squad leader P sent the NKVD troops sheltering in the cellars a few more presents from an eighty-two-millimetre grenade launcher.

The raid on the city of Radekhiv freed over two hundred people and destroyed the NKVD and NKGB buildings. Several dozen Bolsheviks were killed and wounded. Our own losses consisted of five lightly wounded men.

Our subunits won recognition from the Ukrainian population, whose faith in our victory was strengthened.

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fol. 121.

DOCUMENT 100: REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES  
OF UPA UNITS IN CHORNY LIS

Stanyslaviv area  
Chorny Lis Group

*Billets, 4 May 1945*

*Report for the month of April 1945*

*Skazheni Battalion*

On 7 April 1945 the battalion attacked the NKVD garrison in the village of Posich, Lysets raion.<sup>10</sup> There were 180 Bolsheviks. The enemy was overpowered and destroyed. The nocturnal battle lasted five hours. The enemy lost 150 men killed, from whom trophies were seized, sixteen surrendered alive, and the rest managed to escape. Approximately 100 pairs of uniforms and footwear were captured, 50 rifles, 100 F-1 grenades, 3 automatic *Panzerbüchse* [German anti-tank rifles] on horse-drawn carts. Our losses: one killed, three wounded. Among the wounded were Captain Pavlo, Squad Leader Chepyha [Chepiha], Private First Class Yastrub. The following distinguished themselves in battle: Platoon Leader Borodaty and his platoon, Platoon Leader Bohun, and Platoon Leader Khmara, Squad Leader Gonta, Sergeant Konyk, and Sergeant Kohut.

On 10 April 1945 the battalion heroically fought its way through densely positioned Bolshevik guard posts in Chorny Lis. During the battle approximately thirty Bolsheviks were destroyed and many were wounded. The battalion exfiltrated safely from the blockade. The following distinguished themselves in battle: Platoon Leader Gonta from Hamalia Company, machine gunner Yaroslav, Squad Leader Slavko; they heroically repulsed the large forces of the enemy, who was seeking to encircle the battalion from the left side. Firing his machine gun, machine gunner Kohut killed ten Bolsheviks, who were removing their wounded from the battlefield.

On 23 April 1945 Borodaty's squad from Zmia's company carried out an action against members of an extermination unit in the village of Pidmykhaile, Kalush raion. The strybyky scattered. Five were captured alive. The village soviet was burned down and the dairy was demolished.

On 28 April [1945] Zmia's company under Sokil's command attacked a company of the border department, which was billeted in the village of Lastivka, in Bohorodchany raion. After a four-hour battle the enemy was expelled from the village. The Bolsheviks lost sixteen men and twenty-five were wounded. Our

<sup>10</sup> Lysets and Posich are villages in Tysmenytsia raion, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Deliatyn is a small town located in Nadvirna raion, also in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast.

losses: three lightly wounded. The following distinguished themselves in battle: Squad Leader Gonta and his squad, which destroyed the soldiers manning the enemy's Maxim [machine gun]; machine gunners Palii and Kuzmenko, who were wounded but did not abandon the battlefield and struck the fleeing enemy with accurate fire; Platoon Leader Khmara and Squad Leader Bily. Company Commander Sokil distinguished himself by his able leadership of the company in battle.

*Dzvony Battalion (Commander Khmara)*

On 9 April 1945 the battalion clashed in the village with Bolsheviks who were conducting a dragnet operation in Chorny Lis. Bolshevik losses: ten killed on our side: one wounded.

On 10 April 1945 the battalion, making its way out of Chorny Lis, engages in a battle with Bolsheviks without incurring any losses.

On 18 April 1945 Yavir's company attacked an extermination unit station in the village of Trostianets (Berezhany area). Twenty were destroyed and two were captured. In the evening of the same day the battalion surrounds the station of the extermination unit and the NKVD in the village of Zadariv (Pidhaitsi area). There were one hundred Bolsheviks and strybkы at the station. Under the hurricane-force fire of Chornota's company, the station was captured. The enemy lost thirty men. An NKGB lieutenant and two strybkы were taken prisoner. We had no losses. Thirty rifles and a Tokarev pistol were captured as trophies.

On 20 April 1945 the battalion carried out a surprise attack on four Bolshevik companies in the village of Yarhoriv (Pidhaitsi). The Bolsheviks fled the village in panic, without engaging the battalion in a great battle. After a two-hour lull the Bolsheviks began to advance on the village. During the one-hour battle twenty Bolsheviks were killed, and the battalion withdrew from the village. The battalion's losses: one seriously wounded; Battalion Commander Khmara was wounded in the leg.

The battalion carried out a three-week raid through the Pidhaitsi area. After the battles, the members of the extermination unit from the villages assembled in raion centres. The Bolsheviks drew up larger forces and commenced dragnet operations in those areas. The battalion manoeuvred ably.

On 28 April 1945 Zalizni Company under Commander Oleh attacked the Polish village of Bohorodchany (Tovmach area), where sixty strybkы and a company of NKVD troops were billeted. The enemy fled in panic, leaving behind many corpses and wounded men on the battlefield. During the battle the village caught on fire from incendiary rounds. The battle lasted six hours. Our losses: two killed and six wounded.

*Smertonostsi Batttalion*

On 10 April 1945 the company under Vershnyk's command was making its way through Bolshevik guard posts during the dragnet operation in Chorny Lis. Approximately thirty-five Bolsheviks were killed and wounded. On our side we had fifteen dead. Finding themselves surrounded, the riflemen blew themselves up with grenades, and Company Commander Vershnyk, severely wounded, was taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks.

During the month, the company under the command of Bukovynets and the company under Chorny's command did not carry out any activities.

*Syvulia Battalion*

On 2 April 1945 1st Platoon of 1st Company under the command of Company Commander Nechai laid an ambush on the Nadvirna–Stanyslaviv highway; twenty-four Bolsheviks were destroyed. We did not have any losses.

On 26 April 1945 2nd Platoon of 2nd Company laid an ambush for Bolsheviks in the village of Kosmach, Solotvyna raion, who had arrived in the village with the goal of robbery. Two Bolsheviks were killed and several were wounded. Two PPSs [Sudaev machine guns] were captured.

On 27 April 1945 the battalion launched a surprise attack on the raion centre of Solotvyna. Sixteen Bolsheviks and three strybyky were destroyed. Leather from a shoemaking cooperative was taken and thirty suits from the tailoring cooperative. Food products were taken from the bases and other storehouses. There were no losses on our side.

*Dovbush's Battalion (Verkhovyntsi)*

On 9 April 1945 the battalion carried out a surprise attack on the raion centre of Deliatyn. Twenty NKVD men were destroyed and many were wounded. After a three-hour battle approximately 150 Bolsheviks fled the city, leaving corpses behind on the battlefield. One Degtiarev machine gun and six rifles were captured. Three villas were burned down, which the Bolsheviks had prepared for housing raion officials. That same night the battalion raided the village of Dora, where NKVD troops were situated. The Bolsheviks fled, and four of them were burned up in the house of a local secret informant.

During the night of 16 April 1945 the company under Kruk's command carried out a surprise raid on the village of Pasichna, near Nadvirna, where a strybyky station and the NKVD were based. The rest were saved by escaping or they were burned in buildings. There were approximately sixty Bolsheviks in all. Two Degtiarev machine guns and thirteen rifles were captured.

That same night the company under Zavziaty's command carried out a surprise attack on a strybyky garrison in the village of Pniv. There was a total of



thirty strybyky. A brick building was captured, five strybyky were captured and around eight were wounded. The rest scattered. Two rifles and three thousand kilograms of flour were captured. There were no fatalities on our side.

Throughout the month of April large Bolshevik forces blockaded Chorny Lis. Most of [our] groups decided to wait out the blockade in Chorny Lis because there was no window for departing on a raid.

On 10 April 1945 Bolshevik special groups advanced with a large force against Chorny Lis. Our groups, numbering three battalions, broke out of the forest, leaving fifteen killed and three wounded on the battlefield. The Bolsheviks marched in a skirmish line through the forests of Kosmach, Pryslup, Maidan, Rosilna, and Chorny Lis all the way to Vistova. All types of weaponry were used in the action (four airplanes, small tanks, cavalry, and artillery).

The Bolsheviks would enter a forest at 4:00 and leave at 20:00. They walked through all the thickets in a skirmish line. The forces that took part in the action numbered twenty thousand men.

*(Rizun)*

HDA SBU, 13-376-66-048.

DOCUMENT 101: EXTRACT FROM AN NKVD REPORT  
ABOUT INSURGENT AMBUSH OF LEADING COMMUNIST  
PARTY MEMBERS

[Russian-language document]

*Top Secret*  
*13 May 1945*

*To the Head of the NKVD Directorate of Drohobych Oblast*  
*Colonel of State Security Comrade Maistruk<sup>11</sup>*  
*City of Drohobych*  
*Extract from a Special Report*

We are advising that on 13 May 1945 a Soviet Party activist group numbering thirty-six people, headed by the first secretary of the RK [Raion Committee] CP(B)U, Comrade Nudha, departed to the village of Voloshynovo, which is twelve kilometres from the raion centre, in order to carry out a subscription drive for the state loan among the population. Taking advantage of the mass departure to the village, together with the indicated group we dispatched an operative, Junior Lieutenant of State Security Avdeev, and the assistant to the operative, Lieutenant Sosnovtsev, in order to hold meetings in the indicated village with secret agents located there, as well as to select candidates for recruitment, taking advantage of the discussions in connection with the subscription drive. In addition, they were assigned the task of opening six cases against families of traitors to the Motherland.

Comrade Bokhan, a guard from the RO NKVD, armed with a Degtiarev hand machine gun, with three extra disks, was dispatched to provide assistance and personal protection for the above-named workers.

At 2:00 on 13 May 1945 the indicated group of Soviet party activists, together with our comrades, headed out on six carts in the direction of the village of Voloshynovo. After covering three kilometres from the raion centre, a stop was made in the village of Bilicha [Bilychi], where the chairman of the village soviet was given advance notice that a meeting would be held on the return journey in the village of Strilbychi.<sup>12</sup>

11 Colonel Maistruk headed the Lviv oblast Ministry of State Security (MGB) forces and later was involved in the manhunt for leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement. He worked with Major General Yuriy Drozdov, the deputy minister for state security, Lieutenant General Pavel Sudoplatov, and Major General Fadeev, of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) in Operation Vovk (Wolf), leading to the death of the UPA leader, General Roman Shukhevych, in March 1950.

12 Strilbychi is a village in Stary Sambir raion of Lviv oblast.

After a brief stay in the village of Strilbychi, the entire group headed to the village of Bilychi, where a meeting with the peasants in the matter of the loan subscription was organized with great difficulty. It must be noted that, despite the firm assembly of the residents of the village of Bilychi, only eight women appeared for the meeting.

As was ascertained, the secretary of the RK CP(B)U, Comrade Nudha, announced to the group's participants that the group would proceed to the village of Voloshynovo only once a military subunit arrived in Bilychi, for which he had arranged. Owing to the fact that the military unit did not arrive in the village of Bilychi, they decided to go back to the village of Strilbychi.

At 18:00 hours, after the return from the village of Bilychi, at a distance of two hundred to 250 metres from the village of Strilbychi, the entire group of Soviet Party activists, including the employees of the RO NKGB and the RO NKVD, came under heavy fire from machine guns, rifles, and submachine guns by the members of a UPA group, which had organized the ambush.

Owing to the fact that the group of our comrades was caught unawares, in essence the group did not accept battle; in the space of half an hour twenty-six people from the group were killed and two were wounded, and eight comrades managed to flee.

Among those who were killed are: first secretary of the RK CP(B)U, Comrade Nudha, raion prosecutor Stepanov, deputy chairman of the raion executive committee Ropantsov, the head of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the RK CP(B)U, Shulskaia, head of the Party Bureau of the RK CP(B)U Romanenko, the director of the butter factory Konovalov, operative of the RO NKGB, Junior Lieutenant of State Security Avdeev, assistant to the operative of the RO NKGB, Lieutenant Sosnovtsev, Bokhan, a guard of the RO NKGB, employee of the RO NKVD, operative Lukin, police operative Dubrovsky, police operative Zalimsky Z, the son of the head of the RO NKVD Zuev, employees of the raion military registration and enlistment office, Artillery Lieutenant Dudukalo and with him two fighters and other rank-and-file workers of the RK LKSMU [Raion Committee of the Komsomol of Ukraine], [female] teachers.

Authorized Representative of the NKGB Directorate of Drohobych Oblast

Captain of State Security /Zamiatin/

Head of the Sary Sambir RO NKGB of Drohobych Oblast

Major of State Security /Volsky/

14 May 1945

No. 191

City of Sary Sambir

Reference: This special report is found in archival case 249 along with the internal memoranda and special reports of the Stary Sambir RO for 1945, pp. 29–30.

True: signature of A [surname indecipherable]

HDA SBU 13-372-49.

DOCUMENT 102: REPORT ON AN ATTACK  
ON THE CITY OF PROBIZHNA BY THE UPA<sup>13</sup>

15 November 1945

*Extraordinary Report*

*on the operation carried out against the Bolshevik raion centre of Probizhna,  
led by Commander Sviatoslav (Siri Vovky Platoon)*

On 13 November 1945, at 18:00 hours, a Ukrainian insurgent unit carried out the liquidation of the Bolshevik raion centre Probizhna in Ternopil oblast.

Surrounding the city at a prearranged signal, everyone to a man threw themselves into their work assigned ahead of time. Shooting broke out because some buildings had to be captured by force. Under the insurgents' intensified push, ten buildings were captured, government premises: the prison; [the] NKVD, NKGB military registration and enlistment office; the strybyk building; [the] raion food union; [the] post office; [the] cinema club; and a building occupied privately by NKVD men. Forty prisoners were released from the prison, who, with tears in their eyes, thanked the insurgents sincerely for freeing them from NKVD tortures and sentences of many years deportation to Siberia, the Solovky Islands, or hard labour in the starvation-ridden Bolshevik camps leading to a cold and slow death. In the NKVD and NKGB buildings they took some government papers, and the rest were burned. From the raion base they took away items, etc. on wagons prepared beforehand. In all the other government buildings all documents and equipment were burned.

The Bolsheviks tally their losses at 450,000 karbovantsi.

On the Bolshevik side, sixteen were killed and six were wounded. Weapons were seized from those who were killed. Among the dead were the following Bolshevik officials: the head of the NKGB, the head of the strybyk, the head of the OBB, a secretary of the NKVD, a captain of the NKVD, the head of the village soviet – a known merciless agent of the NKVD – and other NKVD and NKGB men, strybyk, etc.

The residents of Probizhna are saying that more Bolsheviks were killed, but they are keeping this secret.

During the two-hour action a propagandist, with the help of the light cast by the burning buildings, wrote anti-Bolshevik slogans on the walls of adjacent buildings. At a prearranged signal given by the group's commander, the insurgents abandoned the fire-lit places inside which the Stalinist satraps and bloodsuckers, who were known throughout the entire raion and vicinities for

13 Probizhna is a town near Chortkiv in Ternopil oblast, western Ukraine.

crimes perpetrated against the living organism of the Ukrainian people, were being punished in the flames, taking away with them one lightly wounded rifleman.

*Billets*, 15 November 1945 0100/I

HDA SBU, 13-376-66-040.

DOCUMENT 103: REPORT ON THE ELECTIONS TO THE  
SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR IN THE VILLAGE OF ILEMIA

15 February 1946

*Report  
on the conduct of the elections in the village of Ilemia*

On the evening of 9 February approximately 160 Bolsheviks arrived in the village from the woods. They arrested the head of the election commission (a schoolteacher) and all the agitators. On the day of the elections they forced them to be the first to vote. When they refused, they [the Bolsheviks] beat them up badly and divided themselves into several sections and drove people to the electoral area, and also severely beat [people] with rifle butts. They badly beat the following people:

1. Havryliuk, Yavdokha: bayoneted in the breasts
2. Trish, Maria: ear ripped off
3. Zvarych, Mykhailo: arms twisted
4. Pylypiv, Vasyl: beaten bloody about the head
5. Lutsiv, Maria: hair ripped out
6. Buchak, Onufrii: (an old man) severely beaten

Some people had to be transported to the voting by wagon. There are many people lying sick from fear or beatings. The priest, Reverend Roman Lytvyn, was escorted to the voting. En route he was shoved with rifle butts. He spent two and a half hours in a booth before he was summoned into the voting hall. On his ballot Reverend Lytvyn wrote: "I am voting under compulsion and I vote for the Lord God."

There was not a single person in the village that voted voluntarily. Almost each voter was propelled with the aid of a rifle butt; others [Bolsheviks] walked around the village and, without the consent of the voters, threw their ballots into the urns. The day after the elections all the Bolsheviks took the urns and went to Rozhniativ.

*Billets*, 15 February 1946

Dub, stanytsia leader responsible for the report

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 38, fol. 159.

DOCUMENT 104: REPORT ON THE ELECTIONS TO THE  
SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR IN THE NADVIRNA AREA

*Nadvirna area*  
[name of raion cut off]

20 February 1946  
*Stanyslaviv okruha*

*Report on the conduct of the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR*

In order to attain 100 percent of the votes, the Bolsheviks installed military garrisons in villages numbering from thirty to forty men. The fighters were 90 percent Russians and nearly all were Komsomol members. In every village there was one representative from the raion, who kept a close watch on the [illegible words] of the garrison and the district electoral commission. Before the elections the Bolsheviks handed out brochures about the elections and instructed village foremen to read them through with the population.

The foremen of the village of Maidan Serednii and Paryshche carried out the orders by 100 percent. When our new slogans appeared, the Bolsheviks arrested people and asked them who was doing this. When the slogans continued to appear, they rounded up the foremen into one house, saying that during the night they are tearing down the Bolshevik slogans and putting up Banderite ones.

On 9 February 1946 the Bolsheviks arrested Paraska Abram in the village of Paryshche, who was circulating our slogans.

At meetings before the elections the Bolsheviks said that anyone who does not vote will be deported to Siberia because of links with the Banderites.

On 10 February, starting from 2:00 the Bolsheviks were waking up people and chasing them out to vote. The villages of Maidan Serednii, Paryshche, Fitkiv, [and] Tsutsyliv finished voting by 10:00.

In the village of Havrylivka, people did not want to vote, so [illegible word(s)] arrived from the raion. Nevertheless, despite everything, only 70 percent of the population voted. During the voting Bolsheviks sat next to the urns and checked if anyone was crossing out the ballot. The votes were transported to the raion under strict control. No Baptists or Stundists voted.

*Billets*, 20 January (-)

HDA SBU, 13-376-38-061.



DOCUMENT 105: EXTRACT FROM: *ON THE COMBAT OPERATIONS OF THE UPA AND THE ARMED UNDERGROUND IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER MUSCOVITE-BOLSHEVIK OCCUPATION, AUGUST 1946–AUGUST 1947*

*For the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME  
LIBERATION COUNCIL (UHVR)

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*ON THE COMBAT OPERATIONS OF THE UPA AND THE ARMED UNDERGROUND IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER MUSCOVITE-BOLSHEVIK OCCUPATION*

(Incomplete cumulative report for the period from August 1946  
to August 1947)

The Ukrainian people's revolutionary liberation struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State in the Ukrainian lands against the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers continues. During the period from August 1946 to August 1947 units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to operate as well, the armed underground functioned, often carrying out combat and sabotage actions. Through their struggle the UPA and the armed underground aim: a) to demonstrate the Ukrainian people's will to an independent state life; b) to prevent the consolidation of the Bolshevik occupying power in the Ukrainian lands; c) to defend the Ukrainian population from the terroristic, pillaging, and moral-demoralizing onslaught of the Bolshevik oppressors; d) to defend the organizational and political positions achieved by the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement in Ukraine from the Bolshevik onslaught and to build them up; e) to facilitate the spread of the ideas of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement both in Ukraine and on the territory of the entire USSR.

Below, we are publishing an incomplete cumulative report on the combat operations of the UPA and the revolutionary underground. The belated publication of this report, as well as its incompleteness, is determined above all by the fact that an earlier cumulative report was captured during an MGB raid. It is also determined by those general difficulties with which our clandestine revolutionary struggle in the conditions of the Bolshevik regime is connected. The facts that are missing in this cumulative report, mainly from the northwestern

Ukrainian lands, will be published in the next cumulative report. Several battles that took place before August 1946 were also included in this report.

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On 2 March 1946 the Opryshok subunit, led by Commander Dub, ambushed an MVD gang that had been pursuing the subunit for several days on a mountain near the hamlet of Kamianets above the Limnytsia River (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). During the fierce battle the insurgents completely smashed the MVD gang, killing 10, wounding 16, [and] capturing 2. One machine gun, 1 PPSH, 2 rifles, and some ammunition were captured. On the insurgent side, Platoon Leader Mria was killed and two insurgents were wounded.

On 4 May 1946 the Siri unit, led by Commander Saper, engaged in a battle with an MVD gang in Chorny Lis (Stanyslaviv oblast). The insurgents killed seven, including a lieutenant, and wounded two. The insurgents did not suffer any losses.

On 6 May 1946 in the village of Yavory (Turka raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents of the Bulava unit ambushed an MVD group from Borynia raion. During the battle they killed two MVD soldiers and wounded one. A senior lieutenant, a sergeant, and a rank-and-file Red Army soldier were captured. After a brief scrutiny they were released.

On 10 May 1946 the Dzvony unit engaged in a battle with an MVD gang between the villages of Yamnytsia and Kluziv (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The insurgents killed five MVD troops and wounded two. On the insurgent side, Second Lieutenant Yavir was killed.

On 14 May 1946 the Kolodzinsky unit led by Commander Spartak engaged in a fierce battle with an MVD gang in the woods near the village of Molodiatyn (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The enemy was encircled and scattered. Four of them were killed and more than a dozen were wounded. The unit did not suffer any losses.

On 18 May 1946 the Dzvony subunit laid an ambush for MVD troops on the road between the villages of Posich and Lysets (Lysets raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). An MVD gang drove into the ambush. During a brief battle the insurgents killed 1 enemy senior lieutenant, 1 lieutenant, 2 sergeants, and 1 rank-and-file bandit. There were no losses on our side.

On 19 May 1946 insurgents from the Basein unit led by Commander Tarasko engaged in a fierce hour and a half-long battle with a special MVD fighting group under the command of Senior Lieutenant Smirnov near the village of Yalove (Ustryky raion, Drohobych oblast). During the battle both sides attacked four times. The battle was waged at close quarters. The enemy lost: one killed and one wounded. One insurgent was killed. The MVD troops

put a rope around his body and dragged him to the village. But the insurgents took back his body and buried him with all due honours.

On 28 May 1946, on the Yamnytsia–Pavelche highway (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a special BB group surrounded Privates First Class Kurin, Kavka, and Levko from the Siri unit, who were returning from a village with procured food supplies. Encircled and firing their last rounds, they killed five MVD soldiers, severely wounded an MVD lieutenant, and then shot themselves. That same night insurgents from the Siri unit clashed on this same highway with MVD troops and, without suffering any losses, they killed three members of Stalin's death squads (*oprychnyky*).

On 25 June 1946 the Khmelnytsky subunit led by Commander Verkhovynets raided a house in the village of Rozhanka (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast), where an MVD gang had laid an ambush for the insurgents. During the battle with the insurgents, ten MVD soldiers were killed, fifteen were wounded. A machine gun, several rifles, and other weapons and ammunition were captured. The insurgents did not suffer any losses.

On 25 June 1946 on the Vodnyky–Semakivtsi road (Yezupil raion; now Zhovtneve, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Siri unit confiscated state grain that an enemy motorized column was delivering to the raion.

On 25 June 1946 a group of insurgents from the Dzvony unit led by Platoon Leader Serhii clashed with an MVD patrol unit in the city of Tysmenytsia (Stanyslaviv oblast), near Vilshanetska Street. The insurgents, without suffering any losses, killed an enemy sergeant and severely wounded an MVD lieutenant and a rank-and-file soldier.

On 28 June 1946, during an inspection of the forest near the raion centre of Halych (Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Siri unit killed a lieutenant and an investigator from the RO MVD.

On 28 June 1946 the Dzvony unit clashed with MVD troops near the village of Tiaziv (Halych raion). The insurgents inflicted losses on the enemy: three killed and one wounded. They themselves had no losses.

On 29 June 1946 on the Pidpechary–Tysmenytsia highway (Stanyslaviv raion) insurgents from the Dzvony unit led by Commander Gonta engaged in a battle against MVD troops returning from a robbery. Without suffering any losses, the insurgents killed three MVD troops and wounded three.

On 2 July 1946 the Siri unit engaged in a battle with an MVD gang in the forest near the village of Kozyna (Yezupil raion). The enemy, numerically superior to the unit, tried to encircle the insurgents, the latter, however, unleashing a hurricane-like volley of machine gun fire, broke out, killing thirteen of the enemy and wounding four. On the insurgent side, the courageous machine gunner, Private First Class Romko, was killed.

On 3 July 1946 a unit led by Commander Chorny laid an ambush for MVD troops on the highway near the village of Hvizd (Solotvyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Four vehicles that were transporting food supplies for the MVD drove into the ambush. The insurgents opened fire, damaging and stopping the vehicles. During the battle four MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded; the other MVD troops fled. They captured 5 *tsentners* [1 *tsentner* = 50 kilograms] of canned goods, 5 *tsentners* of salted meat, and other supplies. They distributed some of the supplies among the population and burned the rest along with the vehicles.

On 8 July 1946 during a skirmish with MVD troops in the forest near the village of Molodiatyn (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit killed a senior lieutenant of the MVD and wounded two rank-and-file MVD soldiers, without suffering any losses.

On 10 July 1946 the Basein unit led by Commander Myron engaged in a battle with a special MVD gang led by Commander Sirov in the village of Vilshanyk (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast). During this fierce battle eight of the enemy were killed. One insurgent was killed.

On 27 July 1946 insurgents from the Dzvony unit led by Commander Solovii carried out a surprise attack on an MVD gang in the village of Pavelche (Stanyslaviv raion). Without suffering any losses, the insurgents killed eight MVD troops and wounded three

On 2 August 1946 in the village of Tuzhyliv (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Khorty unit captured a senior sergeant of the MVD and a sergeant of the guard – MVD reconnoiterers armed with light weapons, who were roaming through a village dressed as starving people from the SUZ [eastern Ukrainian lands].

On 6 August 1946 insurgents from the Khorty unit fired on an MVD vehicle on the Dolyna–Kalush highway (Stanyslaviv oblast). They killed two MVD troops and wounded one.

On 5 [sic] August 1946 OUN fighters liquidated Podolsky, a district MVD officer, in the village of Krushelnytsia (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 5 [sic] August 1946 insurgents from the Khmelnytsky unit led by Commander Hruzyn held a revolutionary meeting and demolished the rural soviet in the village of Dovzhky (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 7 August 1946 the Khmelnytsky unit engaged in a battle with an MVD gang in the village of Nyzhnie Veretske (Transcarpathia). During this battle eight of the enemy were killed. One was killed on the insurgent side.

On 7 August 1946 an OUN fighting group set fire to an MVD-run farm in the village of Morshyn (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast). All the hay, twenty-five tons of oats, the cattle, and farm buildings were burned. After the first shots

were fired, the farm's armed guard, numbering thirty fighters, scattered and hid without firing a single shot.

On 8 August 1946 during a battle in a forest near the village of Lapshyn (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters killed two MVD soldiers and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 13 August 1946 on the Skole–Sviatoslav highway (Skole raion, Drohobych raion) an OUN fighting group destroyed telephone communications and, after blowing up a small bridge, caused serious damage to the railway tracks on the Lavochno–Skole line.

On 13 August 1946 a patrol from the Khorty unit killed a senior MVD lieutenant on the Dolyna–Kalush highway (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 14 August 1946 insurgents from the Khmelnytsky unit held a revolutionary meeting during a feast day in the village of Krasne (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast). Approximately five hundred people were present. After the meeting the peasants invited the insurgents to their homes.

On 16 August 1946 in the village of Tuzhyliv (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) assassins from the Khorty unit in broad daylight shot a senior lieutenant, the head of the MVD garrison in this village.

On 16 August 1946 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Stryi–Stanyslaviv highway near the village of Stankiv (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast). During the short-lived battle the fighters, with[out] any losses on their side, killed one MVD major, one senior lieutenant, and wounded one captain. Weapons and food supplies were captured.

On 18 August 1946 an OUN fighting group liquidated Makar, a district MVD officer, in the village of Synevidsko Vyzhne [Synovydsko Vyzhnie] (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 August 1946 in the village of Pidhorodtsi (Skole raion) an OUN fighting group destroyed the village soviet located one hundred metres from the MVD garrison billeted here.

On 18 August 1946 in a battle that took place in a forest near the village of Tyshytsia (Sokal area, Lviv oblast) a group of insurgents killed the head of an MVD border post and wounded one rank-and-file MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 19 August 1946 insurgents from the Khmelnytsky unit held a revolutionary meeting with peasants in the village of Rosokhach (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 19 August 1946 insurgents from the Bulava unit led by Commander Tarasko routed some strybyky [Ukrainian name for members of Soviet destruction battalions; Russian, *istrebitetelnye bataliony*; singular, *strybok*] in the village of Volosianka Velyka (Ustryky raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 22 August 1946 insurgents from the Khmelnytsky unit destroyed a collective farm in the village of Ilnyk (Turka raion, Drohobych oblast) (the guards at this collective farm, numbering twenty armed Bolshevik henchmen, scattered without firing a shot), demolished the village soviet and destroyed all the documents there, destroyed the homes of the collective farm head, brigadier, and book-keeper. They distributed among the peasants the supply of grain that had been confiscated from them.

On 22 August 1946 insurgents from the Bulava unit led by Commander Brodych laid an ambush for MVD troops near the village of Dobrohostiv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast). From their hiding place they killed one MVD sergeant and wounded a raion prosecutor and one rank-and-file MVD soldier.

On 22 August 1946 in the village of Synevidsko Vyzhne (Skole raion) an OUN fighting group cut down seventeen telephone poles on the Skole–Stryi highway.

On 22 August 1946 an OUN fighting group destroyed the village soviet, cooperative, and dairy in the village of Styniava Vyzhnia (Skole raion).

On 23 August 1946 in the village of Strilkiv (Stryi raion, Drohovych oblast) an OUN fighting group ambushed three MVD soldiers from the local MVD-run farm.

On 24 August 1946 insurgents from the Bulava unit laid an ambush for MVD troops from the local garrison, who had gone out to rob a farmer. When the robbers were returning with their booty, the insurgents fired on them, killing four and wounding two.

On 24 August 1946 an OUN fighting group burned down a subsidiary agricultural holding in the village of Krekhivtsi (Lysets raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). All the buildings and harvested crops were burned.

On 25 August 1946 in the village of Vysotske (Borynia raion, Drohobych raion) an OUN fighting group disarmed strybky at their station. Their commander was liquidated. A machine gun and rifles were captured.

On 25 August 1946 insurgents from the Khmelnytsky unit laid mines on the narrow-gauge railway track on the Turka–Zavadka line (Turka raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 26 August 1946 during a battle in the hamlet of Dubrylivka, village of Shchurovychi (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast), a group of insurgents, without incurring any losses, killed one MVD lieutenant and wounded one rank-and-file MVD soldier.

On 27 August 1946 in the village of Ishkiv (Husiatyn raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Murakhov, second secretary of the raion Party. The assassination was carried out during a meeting, at the very moment when Murakhov was saying: “We will capture the forest and destroy the Banderites.”

On 28 August 1946, as a result of a skirmish between members of the OUN underground and MVD troops in the hamlet of Haiok, village of Kuropatnyky (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast), insurgents killed one MVD soldier and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 28 August 1946 in the village of Hordynia (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents from the Bulava unit demolished the village soviet, destroyed telephone communications, and confiscated goods from the cooperative. They distributed the confiscated goods among the local peasants.

On 29 August 1946 in the village of Vychilka (Monastyryska raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters disarmed a stryby station. They severely wounded the commander of the stryby. They captured weapons.

On 31 August 1946 a group of insurgents from the Bystrytsia unit led by Commander Chernyk laid an ambush for Stalinist henchmen near the village of Hrabiv (Rozhnativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). As a result of the battle, two bandits were killed and one was wounded. A machine gun, a ten-chambered rifle, some ammunition, and a wagon loaded with food were captured.

On 31 August 1946 during a skirmish in the village of Kulchytsi (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents from the Bulava unit killed two MVD soldiers, without suffering any losses.

In August 1946 OUN fighting groups in Skole raion (Drohobych raion) carried out an action to confiscate and destroy stored or transported products that were confiscated from the peasants. This action was most widespread on the territory of the villages of Krushelnytsia, Yamelnytsia, Pidhorodtsi, Synevidsko Vyzhne, [and] Stynava Vyzhnia.

On 1 September 1946 in the city of Halych (Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents burned nearly five thousand tons of state hay.

On 6 September 1946 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Deliatyn–Yaremche highway near the village of Dora (Yaremche raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). During the short-lived battle it destroyed, without suffering any losses, the deputy head of the RO MVD in Yaremche, Senior Lieutenant Kataev; the deputy head of the RO MGB from Kolomyia, Senior Lieutenant Barazov, and one MVD officer, one major, two captains, and one lieutenant, who were severely wounded, died en route to the hospital, and the other at the hospital; one lieutenant was less severely wounded.

On 6 September 1946 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for active Stalinist henchmen, stryby, near the Zhabie–Vorokhta highway (Zhabie raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). During the short-lived battle the fighters killed one strybok and captured two others.<sup>14</sup>

14 The distance from Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanyslaviv or Stanislav) to Skole via Stryi is approximately 150 kilometres. The distance from Deliatyn to Yaremche is about ten kilometres,

On 7 September 1946 a subunit led by Commander T burned down the collective farm, dairy, and post office in the village of Lavriv (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 7 September 1946 an OUN fighting group ambushed MVD troops on the highway between Tershiv and Sushchyna Rykova (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast). It killed one senior lieutenant of the MVD, 1 lieutenant, and 1 sergeant. It did not suffer any losses.

On 8 September 1946, 3 members of the OUN underground laid an ambush for the MVD on the Dobromyl–Khyriv highway (Drohobych oblast). The underground member Malyna was severely wounded as a result of enemy fire. Two others, who were under heavy enemy fire, were forced to leave him at the scene of the battle. A few minutes later, help for the MVD troops arrived: two carloads of MVD troops and one small tank. The MVD troops noticed Malyna lying on the road. They began shouting to him to surrender, but Malyna gave no sign of life. As soon as the MVD soldiers drew close to him, Malyna fired off a round and instantly killed three MVD soldiers. At that moment another MVD soldier crept up to Malyna from behind and fired his submachine gun at him, and he was severely wounded a second time. Malyna managed to grab his Nagant and shot himself after fatally wounding his attacker.

On 8 September 1946 local strybkы laid an ambush for insurgents in the village of Sokolivka (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Several insurgents stumbled into the ambush. A skirmish broke out, during which the insurgents killed the leader of the strybkы and wounded a machine gunner. The other strybkы ran away in a panic and, with the exception of three, never returned to the station. On the third evening the insurgents burned down the station.

On 8 September 1946 insurgents destroyed the commander of the strybkы in the village of Sheshory (Kosiv raion).

On 10 September 1946, during a skirmish between a group of members of the OUN underground and an MVD gang in the village of Khorostkiv (Kopychyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast), two MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded. On the insurgent side Orel was killed.

On 11 September 1946 an OUN fighting group liquidated the commander of the strybkы in the village of Rai (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 12 September 1946 near the village of Duba (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit destroyed a narrow-gauge track designated for transporting shipments of lumber.

On 13 September 1946 on the Stara Sil–Liashky Murovani highway (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) a subunit led by Commander T laid an

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and from Zhabie (now Verkhovyna) to Vorokhta about thirty-one kilometres. The road is about seven kilometres from Dobromyl to Khyriv.



ambush for MVD troops. An MVD car drove into the ambush. The insurgents opened fire on the car, killing two MVD captains and one senior lieutenant. The car and many foodstuffs were captured.

On 15 September 1946 insurgents demolished the village soviet and dairy in the raion centre of Pechenizhyn (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 20 September 1946 an OUN fighting group burned down the military barracks in the village of Spas (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 September 1946 a subunit led by Commander Tarasko attacked an MVD border post in the village of Vovche (Turka raion, Drohobych oblast). Without suffering any losses, the insurgents killed ten MVD troops and wounded seven.

On 21 September 1946 a fighting group laid an ambush in the village of Zaryvantsi (Buchach raion, Ternopil oblast), killing two MVD soldiers and wounding two.

On 23 September 1946 OUN fighters destroyed Fanatov, a senior lieutenant of the MVD, in the village of Popilnyky (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 24 September 1946 insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit led by Commander Shablia demolished the dairy in the raion centre of Pechenizhyn (Stanyslaviv oblast). At the same time they fired on the MVD and MGB buildings, causing great panic among the MVD men.

On 26 September 1946 in the city of Stary Sambir (Drohobych oblast) OUN assassins killed Kruglov, an MVD investigator, and the MVD man Deineka, the secretary of the raion branch of the Komsomol.

On 27 September 1946 insurgent assassins from the Kolodzinsky unit liquidated Senior Lieutenant Vasyliuk of the MVD in the raion centre of Pechenizhyn.

On 27 September 1946 an OUN fighting group burned down all the hay and straw at the Bolshevik farm in the village of Slobidka (Korshiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 27 September 1946 insurgents from the Bohun unit held a revolutionary meeting in the village of Ivanivtsi (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Around ten thousand peasants attended this meeting, which took place during a feast day in this village.

On 30 September 1946 in the village of Dalesheva (Chernelytsia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Lutsyk, the authorized MVD representative, and two other MVD men.

On 30 September 1946 OUN assassins severely wounded Kolomyiets, the raion Party secretary, in the raion centre of Zabolotiv (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 1 October 1946 the residents of the village of Sopiv (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) informed a group of insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit that an MVD gang was carrying out a robbery at a peasant's farm. The insurgents attacked the robbers and fired on them, killing two; the rest fled.

On 2 October 1946 in the village of Oleshkiv (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters disarmed a strybk station. They captured five rifles, one submachine gun, one machine gun, and some ammunition.

On 4 October 1946 OUN fighters liquidated Moshonkin, the raion party instructor and authorized representative of the *minzag* [Ministry of Procurement] in the village of Uvysla (Kopychyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 6 October 1946 Shchyhol and Mohyla, members of the OUN underground, stumbled into an MVD ambush in the village of Pustelnyk (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast). The underground members engaged in a determined, unequal battle with the MVD troops, during which both of them were killed. One MVD soldier was killed and three were wounded.

On 7 October 1946 in the village of Kadovbna (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Khort unit captured a senior sergeant of the MVD, a secret agent disguised as a starving person from the SUZ.

On 7 October 1946 in the village of Chabarivka (Husiatyn raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybk station. They also shot the station's deputy commander and wounded one strybok because the latter refused to lay down their arms. The fighters captured 2 SVTs [Tokarev semi-automatic rifle], 4 PPShs, 6 rifles, ammunition.

On 9 October 1946 in a field near the village of Probabyn (Horodenka raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters laid an ambush for MVD officers who were conducting a "trial" in this village and were now driving away with several arrested "defendants." During the shootout the fighters wounded two MVD soldiers and released the arrestees.

On 12 October 1946 in the village of Kolodiivka (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) the OUN underground member Chaika (Mykola Kaban) stumbled into an MVD ambush. He was wounded on the spot; he goes to ground and fires his rifle, and then tries to hide under a nearby bridge. However, he is found there by an MVD dog. Gravely wounded, the almost completely enfeebled insurgent hides the underground's mail and money nearby and, in order to avoid being captured alive, he blows himself up with a grenade. The MVD troops left Chaika's body on the road and prohibited burial. When peasants stole his body and buried it, the MVD found it and threw it out of the grave. The peasants found the buried mail and money and passed them to the insurgents.

On 13 October 1946 in the village of Vilkhivtsi (Husiatyn raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybk station. It captured 1 SVT, 4 PPShs, 8 rifles, ammunition. The following day the disarmed strybk were arrested by the MVD and, beating them savagely, tried to force them to take up arms again against the insurgents. However, the former strybk categorically refused.

On 13 October 1946 insurgents from the Khort unit mined the railway track on the Dolyn–Kalush line (Stanyslaviv oblast), near Broshniv Station.

A fast MVD special train drove over the mine. The exploding mine completely destroyed four train cars and two were partially destroyed. Among the destroyed [cars] was one first-class car carrying high-ranking MVD officers. More than one hundred MVD men were killed and as many were wounded. Railway movement was suspended for two days.

On 15 October 1946 insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit laid an ambush for MVD troops in the village of Sadzhava (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). They killed one MVD soldier and wounded one party member.

On 15 October 1946 in the village of Tarnovytsia (Lanchyn raion) the MVD encircled the insurgents Partyzan and Mech, who were inside a house. Surrounded, they severely wounded two MVD soldiers, including Popov, an authorized representative of the MVD, and broke out successfully.

On 16 October 1946 in the village of Iliv (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast) the MVD arrested a young female underground member. When they were bringing her to the village soviet, the girl grabbed a concealed pistol, shot her escort in the head, and then, firing away, fled to a nearby forest. In revenge, the MVD arrested two men and a [female] schoolteacher in this village, and beat up an old woman.

On 16 October 1946 a subunit led by Commander Solovii laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Stanyslaviv–Kalush highway, between the villages of Pavelche and Maidan. A bus carrying MVD troops drove into the ambush. As a result of insurgent fire, a colonel, lieutenant, and five rank-and-file MVD soldiers were killed; several MVD soldiers were wounded.

On 18 October 1946 Haivoron, the political instructor of the Kolodzinsky unit, and his riflemen bodyguards, held a clandestine meeting with the peasants in the village of Tovmachyk (Korshiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 19 October 1946, during a battle near the village of Ilemia (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Bystrytsia and Zhuravli units killed two MVD men and wound[ed] one, without suffering any losses.

On 19 October 1946 OUN fighters liquidated the commander of the strybyk in the village of Albinivka (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 20 October 1946 an OUN fighting group attacked a state dairy in the raion centre of Koropets (Ternopil oblast). Fifteen tsentners of butter were confiscated for the underground's purposes.

On 22 October 1946 in the raion centre of Koropets an OUN fighting group attacked an integrated industrial plant, where leather for insurgents' footwear was confiscated.

On 22 October 1946 in the village of Korchyn (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), during a large Bolshevik operation targeting this village, MVD troops encircled a house where two members of the OUN underground, Hrisha and Kotyk, were billeted. For nearly two hours the trapped men fought back and

finally, after running out of ammunition, they shot themselves with their last bullets in order to avoid being captured alive by the enemy. Two MVD soldiers were killed and two were wounded.

On 22 October 1946, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of V [Verkhni] Verbizh (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters killed one bandit without incurring any losses.

On 28 October 1946 during a battle with MVD troops in the village of Popilnyky (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of OUN underground members destroyed four MVD men. On the underground members side, Bohdan was killed.

On 28 October 1946 MVD troops that were inspecting the Romashivka woods (Bilobozhnytsia raion, Ternopil oblast) came across two insurgents. One of them retreated, and the other one, who was wounded, went to ground and, firing his ten-chambered rifle, killed five MVD soldiers and finally, hopelessly trapped, he shot himself.

On 28 October 1946 in the village of Sulomyholovytsia (district of Irshava, Zakarpattia oblast) insurgents liquidated the senior operative of the oblast MGB division, Lieutenant Fedorov, and the second secretary of the oblast CP(B)U, Kovalev. Their weapons and important documents were captured after an inspection; two captured militia men were released.

On 30 October 1946 on the Zhabie–Vorokhta highway (Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters destroyed a small MVD tank.

On 31 October 1946, during a dragnet operation by MVD troops in the village of Tuchapy (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) the MVD located a hideout in the hamlet of Proshyn with members of the OUN underground, Kotsiuba and Konrad, inside. Surrounded, firing off a dense volley of shots, they were able to make their way outside and retreated in the direction of the village of Rodatychi. Here their way was blocked by MVD troops. The insurgents launched a fierce battle. After running out of ammunition, the underground members shot themselves to avoid being captured alive by the MVD. During this battle they killed three MVD men, including a captain.

In October 1946 the insurgents held a number of propaganda, anti-Bolshevik meetings and talks with the population of Zakarpattia. Such discussions took place on 14 October in the village of Bereznyk (district of Svaliava), 19 October in the village of Rosop (same district), 22 October in the village of Martynka [district of Irshava], 25 October near the village of Voloska (district of Irshava) with peasants from the villages of Voloska, Ilnytsia, Irshava, 26 October in the village of Voloska, 31 October in the village of Imetychevo (district of Irshava).

On 2 November 1946 a group of insurgents waged a battle against MVD border troops on the Bolshevik-Polish border, on the territory of Yavoriv raion

(Lviv oblast). The insurgents destroyed twelve MVD soldiers. Their own losses consisted of three killed.

On 2 November 1946 near the village of Molodiatyn (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit, without firing a single shot, disarmed twelve Red Army soldiers who were procuring logs for the airbase. The insurgents held a propaganda talk with the prisoners and departed, after returning their weapons to them.

On 2 November 1946 in the village of Holovy (Zhabie raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Bohun unit led by Commander Zalizniak attacked some strybky, who were entertaining themselves there. The commander of the strybky was killed, and the strybky were dispersed.

On 3 November 1946 during a sudden attack by a special MVD group, numbering approximately three hundred men, on a subunit led by Commander Shablia in the forest near the village of Sopiv (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), Platoon Leader Shablia and machine gunner Kruk were killed while breaking out of the enemy's encirclement. Six MVD troops were killed, including one sergeant, and five were wounded.

On 4 November 1946, during a skirmish in the village of Zavydovychi (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast), OUN fighters killed two MVD soldiers.

On 6 November 1946 in the village of Lohushva (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) insurgents from a unit led by Commander Zalizniak attacked a strybky station. The strybky surrendered; they were disarmed. The district MVD officer, who was at the station, was liquidated. One ten-round rifle and fourteen rifles were captured.

On 8 November 1946 OUN fighters liquidated Stasiuk, a district MVD officer, in the village of Cheremkhiv (Korshiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 8 November 1946 a UPA unit destroyed the collective farm in the village of Kovalivka (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 15 November 1946 insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit destroyed the strybky station in the village of Rakivchyk (Korshiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). They liquidated one Stalinist lackey and dispersed the rest.

On 18 November 1946 in the raion centre of Korshiv OUN fighters liquidated the deputy head of the raion office of the MGB, Lieutenant Chuiko. Important documents were found on the body of the dead man.

On 21 November 1946 in the village of Trostianets (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters laid an ambush for MVD troops, into which stumbled a special MVD gang under Tymofeev's command. Without suffering any losses, the fighters destroyed three MVD soldiers.

On 28 November 1946, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Sadzhavka (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit killed one MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 28 November 1946 OUN fighters killed Goian, the commander of the strybkyy, in the village of Zibranyvka (Zabolotiv raion).

On 30 November 1946 in the city of Nove Misto (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group burned down the buildings of an MTS, stacks of straw found there, and one thresher.

On 1 December 1946 in the village of Ryshutsk (Oleksandriv raion, Rivne oblast) an MVD gang surrounded a hideout where four members of the OUN underground, among them Tsyhan and Kruk, had concealed themselves. During the fierce battle that ensued between the surrounded underground members and the MVD bandits, the former killed the head of the raion office of the MVD, an investigator of the raion office of the MVD, [and] an MVD lieutenant, and severely wounded one lieutenant. Finally, severely wounded, they shot themselves in order to avoid being captured alive by the MVD.

On 4 December 1946 in the village of Molodyliv (Otniia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) the political instructor of the Kolodzinsky unit, together with the insurgents of the unit, held a meeting at the local school, at the very time when a Bolshevik evening course was supposed to take place.

On 8 November 1946 on the street leading to the resort of Liubin Velyky (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) UPA insurgents liquidated the district MVD officer Hershko Zailyn.

On 9 December 1946, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Khimchyn (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Surma unit killed two Stalinist bandits without incurring any losses.

On 10 December 1946 in the forest near the village of Ispas (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit fought a battle against an oblast special MVD group that was combing the forest. Without suffering any losses, the insurgents destroyed two MVD soldiers and wounded two.

On 10 December 1946, during a skirmish with MVD troops near the village of Ivanivtsi (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit destroyed two MVD soldiers without suffering any losses.

On 11 November 1946 during a skirmish with MVD troops in the raion centre of Zhabie (Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Bohun unit destroyed two MVD soldiers without suffering any losses.

On 11 December 1946 part of the Bystrytsia unit was retreating through the deep snow to Mount Zaplata (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), after being pursued for several days by an MVD gang. At 12:00 the MVD gang reached the mountain in pursuit of the unit. Noticing in the distance smoke coming from an insurgent kitchen, the MVD troops sent both their flanks forward in an attempt to encircle the insurgents. The insurgents' retreat through the snows was extraordinarily difficult. Firing back madly, for two hours they were unable to shake off the enemy even for the shortest distance. Some insurgents,

particularly the submachine gunners, began to run out of ammunition. The company commander, the commander of the unit, assigned two machine gunner groups – Corporal Zhuk, Corporal Peremoha, Rifleman Zozulia, and Commissary Snihurov – to provide covering fire with their machine guns for the subunit's retreat. The machine gunners dug down into the snow. For more than half an hour they fought off the gang of 120 MVD troops. After half an hour, all four machine gunners were killed in battle. The MVD troops once again set off in pursuit of the subunit. Towards dusk, in the hamlet of Huta (Solotvyna raion), the subunit's rear guard engaged in another skirmish with the MVD troops. The special MVD gang pursued the insurgents for three days. The subunit did not suffer any more losses.

On 12 December 1946 in the village of Pnivia (Nadvirna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang surrounded a house in which the insurgents Shchyhol and Orel were billeted. The insurgents killed an enemy senior sergeant and one rank-and-file soldier, and broke out successfully.

On 13 December 1946 during a dragnet operation conducted by MVD troops in the village of Sukhovolva (Yaniv raion, Lviv oblast) members of the OUN underground Vanka, Yarovych, [and] Solovii were ambushed outside the village. During the battle they killed three MVD soldiers. Vanka, who was severely wounded, shot himself with the words "Glory to Ukraine! Death to the occupiers!" Yarovych was killed in battle, and the wounded Solovii made his way into the forest.

On 18 December 1946 in the village of Rudnyky (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD fighting group surrounded a house where a group of insurgents was billeted. During the fierce battle the insurgents killed two MVD soldiers, including one lieutenant, and made their way safely to a forest located three kilometres away.

On 18 December 1946 insurgent assassins killed two MVD lieutenants in the raion centre of Lanchyn (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 20 December 1946 in the raion centre of Pechenizhyn (Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang surrounded a house where the UPA riflemen Kuna and Vesely were billeted. Fighting back, the insurgents killed Zhukov, an MVD investigator, a senior lieutenant of the MVD, and a sergeant, and then they were killed.

On 27 December 1946 in the village of Serafyntsi (Horodenka raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters disarmed a strybkyy station. They captured three submachine guns, two ten-round rifles, [and] one machine gun. That same day they burned down the collective farm in the village and liquidated the secretary of the Komsomol.

On 27 December 1946 in the village of Hlushkiv (Horodenka raion) OUN fighters liquidated Sergeant Popovych, an authorized representative of the MVD.

On 29 December 1946 OUN fighters laid an ambush for MVD troops in the village of Chernytsia (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast). From their hiding place they killed one Stalinist bandit.

On 1 January 1947 MVD troops surrounded two members of the OUN underground in a house in the village of Reniv (Zaliztsi raion, Ternopil oblast). The underground members broke out safely, inflicting losses on the MVD bandits: one killed and one severely wounded.

On 1 January 1947, during a battle in the village of Khyshevychi (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) OUN fighters, without incurring any losses, destroyed two MVD soldiers and severely wounded one.

On 1 January 1947 in the village of Kalyniv (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) OUN fighters liquidated MVD lieutenant Boris Melnikov, the district MVD officer for this village.

On 2 December 1947 insurgents from the Rysi unit confiscated flour and grain from a state-owned mill in the village of Holyn (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). They took part of the confiscated flour for their own use and distributed the rest and the grain among poor peasants, people who had been resettled from behind the Curzon Line.

On 4 January 1947 the insurgents Chubaty and Burevii stumbled into an MVD ambush near the village of Vilkhivets (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast). After engaging in an intense battle, they were killed. Among the MVD's fatalities were one lieutenant and one senior sergeant.

On 6 January 1947 in the village of Dorohiv (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents destroyed the first secretary of the raion party committee.

On 7 January 1947 insurgents led by Commander S laid an ambush for MVD troops near the village of Krylos (Halych raion). From their place of ambush they destroyed Karpenko, the deputy head of the raion office of the MVD and two rank-and-file MVD soldiers. They burned an enemy motor vehicle.

On 7 January 1947 in a forest near the village of Sukil (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops surrounded the hideout of Vorona, Solovii, and Sosna. Putting up determined resistance, the insurgents killed an MVD lieutenant, severely wounded another lieutenant and then, with no way out, they shot themselves.

On 7 January 1947 in the hamlet of Pidval-Drozdovychi (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) MVD troops surrounded a house where the underground member Ihor was staying. It should be mentioned that this was Ihor's third encounter in a row with the MVD in the last twelve hours and that when he was fighting, while retreating from the village of Richychany through Kamenobrid to Drozdovychi, he was lightly wounded two times. Trapped in the house in the hamlet of Pidval by twenty-five MVD troops, Ihor is battling all by himself! After showering the house with grenades, on two different occasions the MVD



troops thought that Ihor had been killed, and both times, drawing quite close to him, a couple of them would drop, killed by the weapons he was firing. After running out of ammunition, for some time Ihor fights with a submachine gun captured from the enemy. Finally, the MVD set fire to the house. Then, completely exhausted from having lost so much blood, Ihor shoots himself to avoid surrendering. During this battle Ihor killed seven MVD soldiers and severely wounded seven – of the latter, two were lieutenants, who died en route to the raion centre.

On 7 January 1947 during a skirmish in the village of Stavchany (Pustomytsi raion, Lviv oblast) members of the OUN underground destroyed a district MVD officer and wounded one MVD soldier. They did not incur any losses.

On 8 January 1947 an OUN fighting group disarmed the strybyk station in the village of Borshchiv (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The fighters captured 8 rifles, 1 PPSH, 1 SVT, [and] 1 machine gun. That same day the fighters demolished the village soviet in this village [and] destroyed lists of “voters.”

On 9 January 1947 during a skirmish in the village of Liutovyska (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of OUN underground members killed one MVD soldier; the others fled in a panic.

On 9 January 1947 in the village of Strilbychi (Stary Sambir raion) the MVD arrested several girls and some carollers. While they were being led to the raion centre, a group of OUN fighters ambushed the MVD soldiers and fired a volley of shots over their heads. Thrown into a panic by the insurgents' fire, the MVD soldiers ran away, and the arrested people took advantage of the situation and scattered.

On 10 January 1947 insurgents led by Commander S destroyed four MVD soldiers in the village of Krylos (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 16 January 1947 insurgents led by Corporal Tyhr stumbled into an MVD ambush in the village of Proshivtsi (Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast). Ambushed, Corporal Tyhr was instantly wounded, and the MVD troops began to surround the insurgents. Realizing the hopelessness of their situation, Tyhr ordered the insurgents to retreat, while he went to ground and covered their retreat with submachine gun fire. After running out of ammunition, he blew himself up with the last grenade to avoid being captured alive by the enemy. Meanwhile, the three insurgents were retreating safely. Two were killed and one was wounded on the the MVD side.

On 19 January 1947 in the village of Velyke Pole (Yaniv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents, without incurring any losses, destroyed a senior sergeant of the MVD and severely wounded one MVD soldier, the latter died on the way to the raion centre.

On 21 January 1947 during a battle in the village of Kadovbna (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Zhuravli unit destroyed three MVD soldiers and wounded one.

On 21 January 1947 in the village of Uhryniv Dolishnii (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a gang of approximately two hundred MVD troops attacked the house of Maria Melnyk, where UPA company commander Prychepa [Mykola Katamai] and his bodyguard Pisia, Bazyk, Lytsar [Pavlo Mozhyliuk], Chumak [Vasyl Volianyk], and Vykhor [Zenon Stasynets] were billeted at this time. When a scout informed Company Commander Prychepa that the enemy was approaching, the company commander sent the elderly housewife out of the house and, dividing his bodyguards into two sections, one of which was supposed to defend itself from the attic and the other from inside the house, he prepared for battle. Within a few minutes the MVD troops began to encircle the house. They were greeted with heavy gunfire from the insurgents. The Bolsheviks were forced to retreat. Soon they launched a second then a third attack. Enraged by their failure, [the] MVD commander was wildly screaming encouragement at his bandits: "Fighters! You captured Berlin, but you're retreating from a handful of bandits?" But even the MVD's fourth attack was unsuccessful. Behind the corner of the house the raion party committee representative was promising the insurgents that they would be spared if they gave themselves up alive. The response to the party member was submachine gun fire, and he is killed. The insurgents were running out of ammunition. The last shots were fired from long weapons, and the company commander issued his final order: "Destroy your weapons, say a prayer, and blow yourselves up with grenades." The order was carried out quickly: the insurgents say a short prayer and blow themselves up with grenades. The MVD troops found only six mangled bodies. They themselves lost thirteen men.

On 22 January 1947 during a brief battle in the village of Rychahiv (Komarne raion, Drohobych oblast) members of the OUN underground destroyed Holohuz, a district MVD officer.

On 24 January 1947 in the village of Trostianets (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang attacked a house where four insurgents were eating supper. Fighting back, the insurgents killed an MVD lieutenant, a sergeant, and a district MVD officer [Pavlo Myroniak], and broke through the encirclement, losing one man.

On 24 January 1947 in the village of Trostianets (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a lone insurgent, B [Vasyl Hural], trapped in a house surrounded by MVD troops, killed an MVD lieutenant and the district MVD officer from the village of Debeslavtsi.

On 25 January 1947 in the village of Krylos (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents led by Company Commander S P destroyed a car carrying a mobile film projector. They held a propaganda talk with the members of the projectionist crew, which consisted of eight people, distributed revolutionary literature among them, and retreated.

On 25 January 1947 in the village of Mnyshyn (Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast) MVD troops discovered a hideout where five OUN fighters, including Kharchenko and Baida, were billeted. Taken by surprise, the fighters managed to make their way outside and, after killing the enemy machine gunner [and] a major, and sowing panic among the MVD troops, who began to flee, they beat a safe retreat.

In January 1947, during a skirmish between an OUN fighting group and MVD troops, the authorized representative of the MVD, Senior Lieutenant Petro Vydrenko, was killed; the insurgents had no losses.

On 3 February 1947, during a battle with MVD troops in the village of Reshniate (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Rysi unit destroyed one MVD soldier and wounded one. On the insurgents' side, Kubanets, the unit's political instructor, was killed.

On 6 February 1947 in the village of Belyuiua [Beleluia] (Sniatyn raion, Stanyslaviv raion) MVD troops surrounded the insurgents Slavko and Viter in their hideout. After a brief battle both insurgents were killed. They killed two MVD soldiers and wounded two.

On 6 February 1947 UPA insurgents completely demolished the voting station in the village of Nyvochyn (Bohorodchany raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). A UPA subunit and OUN fighting groups carried out similar actions before "elections" to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in many villages and towns in Ukraine's western oblasts.

On 7 February 1947 near the village of Stari Kutly (Kuty raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang numbering eighty men attacked the hideout a group of OUN underground members. Three MVD soldiers were killed by mines planted around the hideout, and four were wounded. The underground members departed in good time.

On 7 February 1947 in the woods near the village of Rosokhach (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops, spotting some tracks, surrounded a group of OUN underground members – Opara, Krat, Tolko, Morozenko, [and] Prytys – who were leaving their winter bunker. During a heroic battle, the surrounded insurgents destroyed nine MVD soldiers and wounded five, and then, with no way out, shot themselves.

On 7 February 1947 during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of OUN underground members killed one MVD soldier and wounded one.

On 8 February 1947 in the village of Yasen (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang from the local garrison raided a house where four severely wounded insurgents from the Bystrytsia unit were billeted. Tossing grenades, the sick men managed to break out successfully, killing one of the enemy.

On 12 February 1947 during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Roztoky (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) insurgents from the Bohun unit killed one Stalinist bandit without suffering any losses.

On 13 February 1947, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the raion centre of Zhabie (Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Bohun unit severely wounded one MVD soldier.

On 13 February 1947 in the village of Yablinka (Solotvyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated a major, who was a regimental political officer.

On 15 February 1947, during a battle in the village of Bykiv (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast), members of the OUN underground, without suffering any losses, destroyed three MVD soldiers and wounded two.

On 16 February 1947, during an exchange of fire with MVD troops in the village of Shypit (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents of an UPA unit, without suffering any losses, destroyed two MVD men, including a captain.

On 18 February 1947 in the village of Obroshyno (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) a group of OUN underground members liquidated three MVD robbers, who were breaking into a farmer's barn for the purpose of robbery.

On 20 February 1947, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Berezyna (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast), a group of underground members killed two MVD soldiers and wounded one, without incurring any losses.

On 20 February 1947 in the village of Brustury (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Bohun unit attacked MVD troops who were stealing hay from a farmer. The insurgents killed three of the robbers and severely wounded one; the rest scattered in a panic.

On 23 February 1947, during a battle in the village of Kniahynychi (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), members of the OUN underground destroyed two MVD soldiers and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 24 February 1947 in the city of Dolyna (Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Zhuravli unit liquidated the party member Lieutenant Komarov, who worked for the local raion party committee.

On 1 March 1947, during a battle with MVD troops in the village of Mshantsi (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast), the insurgent Dub perished after killing one MVD soldier and wounding one.

On 2 March 1947 in the village of Pokropyvna (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of underground members engaged in an intense twenty-minute battle with an MVD gang commanded by Parfirev, the head of the Raion Division of the MGB. As a result of this battle, Parfirev and one rank-and-file henchman were killed, and four others were severely wounded, who then died en route to the raion centre. On the underground members' side, Syvy was seriously wounded; in order to avoid falling into the enemy's hands, he shot himself.

On 6 March 1947 in the village of Tsuniv (Yaniv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents who were passing by the railway station fatally wounded the head of the raion militia, Kastrub [who died several days later], and disarmed an enemy guard.

On 8 March 1947 in the village of Lozova (Velyki Birky, Ternopil oblast) Vasylenko, the executive officer of the oblast MGB tribunal, who was confiscating the property of arrested peasants, died at the hands of OUN fighters.

On 10 March 1947 in the village of Basivka and Hodovytsia (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybkyy outpost. Twenty rifles, six SVTs, [and] one PPSH were confiscated. Handiuk, an active strybkyy and Komsomol secretary from the village of Basivka, was liquidated. At the same time all documents and telephone communications in both village soviets were destroyed.

On 12 March 1947 in Vorona, a hamlet of the village of Pererisl (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents liquidated a senior lieutenant of the MVD.

On 17 March 1947 in the village of Hutsulivka (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated Mykhailo Kushnirchuk, a district MVD officer.

On 18 March 1947 in the village of Utoropy (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Surma unit liquidated a district MVD officer.

On 18 March 1947 in the village of Dubia (Brody raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed a Bolshevik library of agitation materials at the local "club." At the same time they held a propaganda meeting and explained the motives behind the library's destruction to starving people from Ukraine's eastern oblasts who were spending the night in the "club."

On 18 March 1947 in the village of Stavchany (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group confiscated 2 PPSs [Sudaev submachine guns], 1 PPSH, 1 SVT, and 3 rifles from a local Bolshevik subsidiary agricultural holding.

On 18 March 1947 in the village of Chystyliv (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops surrounded a house where three members of the OUN underground were billeted. During the battle the underground members destroyed an enemy lieutenant and broke out successfully.

On 19 March 1947 in the village of Chystyliv (Velyky Hlybichok raion) OUN fighters disarmed a strybkyy station. They captured twelve rifles, grenades, [and] ammunition.

On 19 March 1947 between the villages of Ponykva and Volokhy (Zabolottsi raion, Lviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Lieutenant Baranovsky, the district MVD officer for the villages of Ponykva and Sukhodoly.

On 20 March 1947 in the village of Kryvorivnia (Zhabye raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Lieutenant Fedir Kimeichuk of the MVD.

On 21 March 1947 in the village of Chortivets (Obertyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated district MVD officer Petro Mykhailyshyn.

On 22 March 1947 in the village of Kamianka (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD gang surrounded the house of the insurgents Slavych and Vorona. Fighting to the last round of ammunition, the insurgents killed two MVD soldiers and then shot themselves so as not to fall into enemy hands.

On 22 March 1947 in the village of Hrimno (Komarne raion, Lviv oblast) a gang of approximately thirty MVD troops surrounded the house of the OUN underground Tsiapka, Kravets, and Maister [all around forty years old]. A fierce battle ensued, which lasted 3.5 hours. In the meantime, the MVD troops summoned assistance from the raion centre. Another one hundred bandits with grenade launchers arrived from Komarne. Underground members Kravets and Maister were finally killed by enemy fire, and the severely wounded Tsiapka fell into enemy hands. Every effort was made to save his life; at the same time he was offered a "pardon," a lot of money, and other things in exchange for any kind of testimony. To all the Bolshevik promises Tsiapka gave one response: "We, Ukrainian insurgents, don't need anything from you." He died shortly afterwards. During this battle, the owner of the house and his daughter died in the house, which was set on fire; six other farms also burned down. On the MVD side, several were killed and several were wounded.

On 23 March 1947 in the village of Dorohovyzhe (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents liquidated a party member, the head of the village soviet, who had been sent to establish a collective farm in the village.

On 23 March 1947 in the village of Babyn (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of insurgents from the Surma unit laid an ambush for MVD troops. As a result of the battle, they destroyed three MVD soldiers, without suffering any losses. They captured their weapons.

On 24 March 1947 during a battle in the village of Selyska (Vynnyky raion, Lviv oblast) a group of OUN underground members destroyed two MVD soldiers, without incurring any losses.

On 24 March 1947 in the village of Ispas (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Surma unit ambushed and killed a lieutenant of the district MVD and one rank-and-file MVD soldier.

On 25 March 1947 in the village of Kryvobrody (Kolomyia raion) insurgents from the Surma unit ambushed and liquidated a district MVD officer and one rank-and-file MVD soldier.

On 25 March 1947, during a skirmish with MVD troops in a hamlet of the village of Sadzhava Malnyky (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit destroyed one MVD soldier and severely wounded two, without incurring any losses.

On 26 March 1947 insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Zabolotiv–Dzhuriv highway (Stanyslaviv oblast). From their place of ambush they kill[ed] Major Beliaev, the head of the raion office of the MGB, and Lieutenant Bolmok of the MGB.

On 27 March 1947 in the village of Vynnyky (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group raided a house where five armed representatives of the Bolshevik party administration, a so-called expeditionary session in charge of state procurements, were staying. After a brief battle the insurgents liquidated three of these bandits.

On 27 March 1947 in the village of Vyzhliv (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) a lone OUN underground member was ambushed by the MVD. During the battle he destroyed two MVD soldiers, wounded two others, and successfully retreated.

On 27 March 1947 in the village of Bystrytsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated the former commander of a garrison in this village, now the commander of a special MVD provocateur fighting group, whose banditry and brutality was sorely trying the population.

On 29 March 1947 in the village of Chorni Oslavy (Yaremche raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group ambushed active Stalinist henchmen, strybyky. Two of them were killed. A machine gun was captured.

On 30 March 1947 in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN assassins killed a lieutenant from the local military commissariat.

On 30 March 1947 in the village of Borduliaky (Brody raion, Lviv oblast) the insurgent S stumbled into an MVD ambush. Firing his rifle, he killed a senior lieutenant of the MVD and, severely wounded and trapped in a hopeless situation, he blew himself up with a grenade.

On 1 April 1947 on the Pochaiv–Radyvyliv highway (Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group ambushed MVD troops. Without suffering any losses, it killed one MVD soldier and one MVD agent.

On 1 April 1947 in the village of Rozhen Velyky (Kuty raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a subunit led by Commander Zalizniak destroyed three Stalinist henchmen. That same day in the village of Rozhen Velyky the subunit came across two MVD provocateurs who, disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, were abusing the population. One of the MVD provocateurs was killed and the other was captured alive.

On 1 April 1947 in the village of Hdesychi (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD district officer died at the hands of members of the OUN underground; abandoning his weapon, his assistant managed to escape.

On 1 April 1947 in the village of Isai (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) OUN fighters liquidated the commander of the strybyky.

On 3 April 1947 in the village of Kushlyn (Dederkaly raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyk station. It captured 1 mortar, 1 Degtiarev machine gun, 6 rifles, and ammunition.

On 4 April 1947, during a battle in the village of Honorativtsi (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), a group of underground members destroyed one MVD lieutenant and wounded one sergeant, without suffering any losses.

On 4 April 1947 in the village of Bereziv Nyzhnii (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit led by Squad Leader Khytry laid an ambush for MVD troops. As a result of the ambush, it destroyed Sarenko, second secretary of the raion party committee, and captured Serhiienko, the head of the passport office, and Skovronsky, a former strybok, now a state insurance inspector, without suffering any losses; panic-stricken, the other Stalinist bandits ran away.

On 4 April 1947 in the village of Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of OUN underground members laid an ambush for MVD troops. They sprayed an MVD car with gunfire; MVD soldiers were killed and wounded. In this village that same day a group of underground members fought another battle against MVD troops. In this battle the underground members destroyed two MVD soldiers without suffering any losses.

On 5 April 1947 in the village of Zahirtsia (Dederkaly raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group attacked a strybyk station. It killed the commander and one active strybok, and dispersed the rest.

On 6 April 1947 in the village of Prokurava (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Surma unit liquidated a district MVD officer and the commander of the strybyk.

On 6 April 1947 in the village of Maidan (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit led by Commander Zenko liquidated a strybyk station. They captured seven rifles and ammunition.

On 7 April 1947 in the village of Bystrytsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN assassin killed Drechevych, a party member and the head of state insurance.

On 8 April 1947 in the village of Zahaitsi (Dederkaly raion) OUN assassins liquidated Klymiak, a district MVD officer.

On 8 April 1947 an OUN fighting group destroyed a collective farm that had been forcibly organized in the village of Trostynka (Koropets raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 8 April 1947 an MVD gang surrounded the encampment of a squad from the Kolodzinsky unit above the Prut River, near the village of Sadzhavka (Lanchyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). With the aid of grenades the insurgents managed to break out of the encirclement, but they instantly encountered a



second MVD gang that had just arrived from the raion centre to assist the first one. The outnumbered insurgents began fighting; they were soon encircled again. The insurgents resisted heroically. The MVD troops told them to surrender, promising “forgiveness.” The insurgents responded with laughter and jokes and gunfire. Soon, Squad Leader Iskra, who held off the enemy advance for a long time with his machine gun fire, was killed in battle. Commander Smily also fell; he shot himself so as not to be captured alive by the enemy; the severely wounded riflemen Voron and Siry blew themselves up; the insurgents Bohun and Maly were killed; four members of the squad managed to escape the encirclement. The enemy lost thirteen men and more than a dozen were wounded.

On 9 April 1947, during an MVD inspection of a forest near the village of Boianchuk (Zastavna raion, Chernivtsi oblast) a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD gang. The MVD lost several men.

On 9 April 1947 in a hamlet of the village of Naraiv Chverti (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD bandits surprised two insurgents who were staying in a threshing barn. A battle ensued, during which one insurgent was killed, but the other managed to escape. On the Bolshevik side, one was killed, two were wounded.

On 10 April 1947 in the village of Torske (Zalishchyky raion, Ternopil oblast) MGB captain Uvarov and his fighting group surrounded the farm of Antin Sobazhko in the hamlet of Hlushka, where two insurgents were billeted at this time. After a four-hour battle the insurgents broke out of the encirclement after killing one MVD captain and two rank-and-file MVD soldiers and severely wounding Captain Uvarov.

On 10 April 1947 in the village of Davydivtsi (Kitsman raion, Chernivtsi oblast) Vyshnia, a lone insurgent, disarmed four strybyky. He captured a machine gun, a ten-round rifle, three rifles, and some ammunition.

On 11 April 1947 in the village of Rosokhovatets (Zolotnyky raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyky station. It captured their weapons.

On 12 April 1947 during a battle in the village of Lybokhora (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) members of the OUN underground destroyed two MVD soldiers and wounded one, without incurring any losses.

On 13 April 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Kolodiiv (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents killed one MVD soldier without incurring any losses.

On 13 April 1947 in the village of Rybno (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN unit fought a battle against an MVD gang. As a result of the battle, two bandits were killed and one was captured.

On 13 April 1947 in the village of Kozara (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD lieutenant died at the hands of an underground member.

On 13 April 1947 in a house in the village of Mitkiv (Zastavna raion, Chernivtsi oblast) a group of underground members fought a battle against an MVD gang. Without suffering any losses, the underground members destroyed an MVD lieutenant and seriously wounded three rank-and-file MVD soldiers.

On 17 April 1947 in the village of Yushkivtsi (Kitsman raion, Chernivtsi oblast) Khytry, a lone insurgent, disarmed 5 strybyky. He captured 3 submachine guns, 2 rifles, [and] ammunition.

On 17 April 1947 in the village of Borivtsi (Kitsman raion) OUN fighters liquidated the commander of the strybyky.

On 18 April 1947 in the village of Liucha (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents captured Kuzhenko, a district militia officer.

On 18 April 1947 in the village of Butskiv (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters disarmed a strybyky station. They captured nineteen rifles, one machine gun, [and] ammunition.

On 18 April 1947 in the village of Pistyn (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Surma unit ambushed laid an ambush for MVD troops. From the place of ambush they destroyed five MVD soldiers from the garrison in the village of Brustury and an MVD agent – the head of the village soviet.

On 19 April 1947 in the village of Liucha (Yabloniv raion) insurgents from the Surma unit liquidated a district MVD officer.

On 19 April 1947 in the village of Denysiv (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of OUN underground members fought a brief battle against an MVD gang. On the MVD side, several were killed and three were wounded. One underground member was killed.

On 19 April 1947 in the village of Zvenyhorod (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast) a group of underground members destroyed three MVD soldiers without incurring any losses.

On 20 April 1947 in the village of Nebyliv (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed the central telephone exchange.

On 20 April 1947 in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Khorty unit ambushed some MVD troops. A car carrying three MVD soldiers and two dispatched female Komsomol members drove into the ambush. The insurgents arrested all of them. They destroyed the car.

On 20 April 1947 a subunit led by Commander Vykhor laid an ambush for MVD troops in the village of Liucha-Laz (Yabloniv raion). Soldiers from the garrison from the village of Kosmach were ambushed. As a result of the battle the insurgents killed two MVD soldiers and severely wounded one, without incurring any losses. All the rest ran away in a panic.

On 20 April 1947 in the village of Sadky (Tovste raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of OUN fighters launched a sudden attack against MVD troops. As a

result of the battle one MVD soldier was killed and one was severely wounded (he died the next day). The fighters did not suffer any losses.

On 21 April 1947 in the raion centre of Borshchiv (Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Litvinov, the commander of the town's MVD garrison.

On 21 April 1947, during a battle in the woods near the village of Tysiv (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents destroyed several MVD soldiers who were lying in ambush here.

On 23 April 1947, during a skirmish in the raion centre of Lanchyn (Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit killed one MVD soldier without incurring any losses.

On 24 April 1947 in the village of Ivanivtsi (Lanchyn raion) members of a UPA unit held a revolutionary meeting with the village youth.

On 24 April 1947 during a dragnet operation carried out by MVD troops in the Berezivtsi woods near the village of Synevidsko Vyzhne (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops surrounded the OUN underground members Volodymyr, Palii, and Palii's elderly father, who had hidden in the forest to escape MVD persecution. During the fierce battle that ensued between the encircled underground members and the MVD bandits, the underground members killed four MVD soldiers and fatally wounded the MVD captain Danilov (he died several days later). Finally, in order not to be captured alive by the MVD, Volodymyr blows himself up with a grenade, and Palii and his father are killed by enemy fire.

On 25 April 1947 in the village of Sloboda Banylivska (Vashkivtsi raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an authorized representative of the MVD arrested two starving individuals from the SUZ [eastern Ukrainian lands]. He confiscated the food that they had obtained by begging and was abusing them in an inhumane manner. The insurgent Kozak saw this from his hiding place. He jumped out and, firing a volley from his submachine gun, killed the MVD officer and released the starving people.

On 25 April 1947 in the village of Herynia (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) several OUN fighters killed an MVD captain who, together with his bandits, was lying in ambush here.

On 25 April 1947 in the village of Ushnia (Olesko raion, Lviv oblast) OUN assassins killed a major, who had been dispatched to organize a collective farm.

On 26 April 1947 in the village of Yablonytsia (Yaremche raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters killed two Stalinist henchmen and confiscated Komsomol membership cards from two female Komsomol members. It should be mentioned that Nikita S. Khrushchev and a huge MVD bodyguard unit were staying overnight in the village that very night.

On 26 April 1947 in the village of Slobidka Lisna (Korshiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Dutchak, a district MVD officer for the villages of Slobidka, Rakivchyk, Tovmachyk, and Sheparivtsi.

On 26 April 1947 insurgents from the Zhuravli unit shot up a car with MVD soldiers, who were returning from robbing a quota of potatoes from the village of Ldziane (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The enemy's losses consisted of three killed and four wounded, among them the secretary of the raion executive committee. The insurgents did not have any losses.

On 27 April 1947 in the village of Ispas (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group burned down the MTS. Three huge MK threshers, four motorized tractors, and other [equipment] were destroyed in the fire.

On 27 April 1947 in the village of Svyniuky (Vyshnivets raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyky station. It liquidated the station commander. It captured twelve rifles, grenades, ammunition.

On 28 April 1947 in the village of Vyzhenka (Vyzhnytsia raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group confiscated all the documents from the local village soviet and destroyed telephone communications.

On 29 April 1947 in the village of Sykhiv (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops trapped Dovbush and Zaporozhets, members of the OUN underground, in the house of Pylyp Mykhailiuk. During the battle Dovbush lured the gang's MVD commandant to draw near and killed him with a volley fired from his submachine gun and wounded another MVD soldier. Later, with no way out, at the request of Zaporozhets, who did not have a small weapon, he [Dovbush] shot him and then himself.

On 30 April 1947 near the village of Hnylovody (Zolotnyky raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of OUN underground members waged a battle against an MVD gang, as a result of which five MVD soldiers were killed and two were wounded; one underground member was lightly wounded.

On 30 April 1947 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops on the road near the raion centre of Yaremche (Stanyslaviv oblast). Without incurring any losses, the fighters destroyed Kravets, the head of the raion office of the MGB and "Hero" of the Soviet Union, Captain Bukov, the commander of the Yaremche MVD garrison, one MVD lieutenant, and five rank-and-file MVD soldiers.

On 30 April 1947 in the village of Stanivtsi Dolishni (Vashkivtsi raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed all the equipment in a local Bolshevik dairy and all documentation on milk deliveries to the population.

On 1 May 1947 in the forest near the village of Bronytsia (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of OUN underground members waged a battle against an MVD fighting group led by Popov. During this battle the underground members killed two MVD soldiers without suffering any losses.

On 1 May 1947, during a battle with a special MVD group in the village of Lopushna (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast), underground members wounded several MVD soldiers without incurring any losses.

On 1 May 1947 in the village of Ushnia (Olesko raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated the district MVD lieutenant for the villages of Ushnia [and] Sasiv.

On 1 May 1947 in the village of Biloberezka (Kuty raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Dudydra, the commander of the strybyky, and his deputy Sharaburiak.

On 1 May 1947 a battle between an OUN fighting group and an MVD gang took place in the village of Pidpechary (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). During the battle Chornous, a senior lieutenant of the MVD, was killed, and two rank-and-file MVD soldiers were severely wounded; one of the latter two died several hours later.

On 1 May 1947 an OUN fighting group destroyed telephone communications, ripping out wires and destroying the posts on the road between the villages of Shepit-Seliatyn and Lopushna-Berehomet (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast).

On 2 April 1947 insurgents from the Surma unit laid an ambush for MVD militia men near the raion centre of Lanchyn (Stanyslaviv oblast). Three militia men were killed in the ambush and 2 were wounded. They captured 3 submachine guns, 1 rifle, and 1 machine gun.

On 3 May 1947 OUN fighters destroyed one MVD lieutenant in the village of Berezovytsia Velyka (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 3 May 1947 in the village of Liashky Murovani (Stary Sambir, Drohobych oblast) OUN fighters killed Kutelmakh, the secretary of the raion branch of the Komsomol, who was exacting loans in this village. Kutelmakh, along with an MVD gang that he headed, often mercilessly robbed villages in Stary Sambir raion.

On 4 May 1947 in the village of Zamistia (Vashkivtsi raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group killed Moskaliuk, an MVD lieutenant.

On 5 May 1947 in the village of Lapshyn (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins killed Semeniuk, an implacable enemy of the Ukrainian people, who was dispatched from the raion centre. For the murder of Semeniuk, the Bolsheviks fined the village 250,000 rubles.

On 6 May 1947 in the city of Berezhany, OUN assassins killed Stepan Shahai, the head of the municipal council, a candidate for party membership, and unwavering Stalinist henchman.

On 7 May 1947 in the village of Petrashi (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group confiscated goods from the local cooperative. The goods were distributed among the populace.

On 8 May 1947 in the raion centre of Zhabie (Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters captured Hryhorii Komarov, a sergeant of the counter-intelligence service.

On 9 May 1947 an OUN fighting group attacked a strybkya station in the village of Yavoriv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Two of the most active Stalinist lackeys were killed and the rest were dispersed.

On 11 May 1947 in the village of Litiatyn (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters killed Drahanko, the commander of the strybkya.

On 11 May 1947 in the village of Bereziv (Yabluniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Karpiak, the commander of the strybkya, and one active strybok.

On 12 May 1947, three members of the OUN underground – Ostap, Buria, and Chumak – stumbled into an MVD ambush in a field near the village of Zalukva (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). For a long time Buria and Chumak fought back heroically; wounded, they shot themselves so as not to be captured alive by the enemy; Ostap broke out. Three MVD soldiers were killed.

On 12 May 1947, during an encounter battle near the village of Bystritsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast), a group of OUN underground members destroyed two MVD soldiers without incurring any losses.

On 12 May 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Babukhiv (Burshtyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), a group of OUN underground members killed and wounded several MVD troops with suffering any losses.

On 13 May 1947, during a battle at the summit of Bochkiv near the village of Marynychy (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast), insurgents destroyed Captain Kirilov, a party worker from the raion executive committee, and Lieutenant Kruhly of the MVD. They captured three rifles, a pistol and money that the above-mentioned had robbed from the peasants for the state loan.

On 13 May 1947 a group of OUN underground members stumbled into an MVD ambush in Ripaky, a hamlet of the village of Martyniv Novy (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The first shots fired by the enemy wounded the underground member Bereza, who, in order to allow his friends to depart, went to ground and, firing his submachine gun, held back the MVD troops. After running out of ammunition and killing four MVD soldiers, with no way out he blew himself up with a grenade.

On 15 May 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Bylychi (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast), a group of OUN underground members destroyed a senior lieutenant of the MVD and one rank-and-file MVD soldier without suffering any losses.

On 15 May 1947 on the Zbarazh–Vyshnivets road (Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed two Bolshevik tractors and burned a vehicle that was transporting 1.5 tons of fuel for the MTS. They shot up and damaged another vehicle.

On 16 May 1947, during a large MVD dragnet operation in the woods between the villages of Sukhodil, Tarasiv, and Poliana (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast), members of the OUN underground destroyed several MVD troops during a battle. Two severely wounded underground members shot themselves so as not to be captured alive by the enemy.

On 16 May 1947 a battle took place in the woods near the village of Dovha (Voynyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) between a group of insurgents and MVD bandits. As a result of the thirty-minute battle, three MVD soldiers were severely wounded. The insurgents had no losses.

On 18 May 1947, during a battle in the village of Rusiv (Sniatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), OUN fighters destroyed Captain Manilov of the MVD.

On 18–20 May 1947, six thousand MVD troops carried out a thorough combing operation in Chorny Lis in the area between the villages of Zahvizd, Mysliv, Hutyska, Maidan, Rybno, Zavii, and Patsyktiv (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) and Maidanyk (Lysets raion). During this action five insurgents were killed (three of them, who were severely injured, shot themselves with their own weapons). On the MVD side there were five killed and two severely wounded.

On 19 May 1947 in the town of Vyshnivets (Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Lieutenant Kozlov of the raion office of the MGB.

On 20 May 1947 in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Zhuravli unit destroyed an enemy vehicle and three Party leaders of the potassium plant.

On 21 May 1947 in the village of Liucha (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Yabloniv–Kosmach road. During the battle three MVD soldiers were killed, including a sergeant, one was seriously injured (he died the next day), three were lightly wounded. On the insurgents' side, Serhii, a native of the SUZ, was killed.

On 21 May 1947 in the village of Biloberezka (Kuty raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybk station. It killed the commander of the strybk and dispersed the strybk. It captured 5 rifles, 1 PPSH, [and] 1 machine gun.

On 22 May 1947 during a large MVD action in the Stinka forest (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of OUN underground members killed 2 MVD soldiers, 1 captain, and wounded 1 captain and 1 rank-and-file soldier, the captain – severely.

On 22 May 1947 in the village of Hnizdychno (Vyshnivets raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybk station. It captured fourteen rifles, two submachine guns. The building housing the station was burned down.

On 23 May 1947 in the village of Helenkiv (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD gang surrounded a house where Prut, Ivanko, and Richka, members of

the OUN underground, were billeted. During an intense battle the trapped men killed two MVD soldiers, and when the Bolsheviks set fire to the house, they used their last bullets to shoot themselves to avoid surrendering to the enemy.

On 23 May 1947 during a battle in the village of Herbutiv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters destroyed four MVD soldiers and wounded several, without incurring any losses.

On 24 May 1947 during a skirmish in the village of Stehnykivtsi (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) members of the OUN underground destroyed one Stalinist bandit, without incurring any losses.

On 25 May 1947 in the village of Hnydova (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of OUN underground members fought a battle against MVD bandits. As a result of the battle, the MVD's two fatalities and three casualties; the insurgents – one wounded.

On 25 May 1947 during an encounter battle in the village of Oliiv (Kozliv raion) insurgents from the Rubachi unit destroyed one MVD lieutenant.

On 25 May 1947 in the city of Berezhany (Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins severely wounded a raion prosecutor, who had often abused the Ukrainian population (he personally beat people).

On 25 May 1947 a subunit led by Commander Tarasko laid an ambush for MVD troops on the road between the raion centre of Stary Sambir and the village of Tershiv (Drohobych oblast). Lying in ambush, the subunit attacked an MVD gang that was returning from a dragnet operation that had been carried out in the woods between the villages of Topilnytsia, Luzhok Horishnii, Sushytsia Rykova, [and] Busovyska. During a battle in which they did not incur any losses, they destroyed 18 MVD soldiers and wounded 12, 4 of whom died shortly afterwards. Among the killed were 4 Lieutenants.

On 25 May 1947 insurgents from the Zhuravli unit torched four vehicles belonging to a forestry enterprise in the village of Kulynka (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 26 May 1947 in the village of Sloboda-Rarancha (Sadhora raion, Chernivtsi oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Lieutenant Apostoliuk, a district MVD officer.

On 26 May 1947 in the village of Piadyky (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) UPA insurgents burned down the Soviet state farm.

On 26 May 1947 in the village of Rafailova (Nadvirna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Dovbush unit ambushed and killed one Stalinist henchman the others fled.

On 26 May 1947 in the village of Kalne (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Senior Lieutenant Kolomyiets, commander of the strybk, and another MVD agent. In retaliation for this action, the Bolsheviks fined the village 300,000 rubles.



On 27 May 1947 during an encounter battle in the village of Verbiv (Pidhaitsi raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of OUN underground members destroyed a senior lieutenant of the MVD, without incurring any losses.

On 27 May 1947 in the village of Roztoky (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an MVD provocateur gang under Commander Puhach attacked the homestead of Mykhailo Boichuk and, after chasing away the owner with gunfire, began looting his property. Coming to the peasant's aid, OUN underground members Kunytsia and Lys launched a bold attack, dispersing the large gang of attackers and restoring the victim's property. One of the looters was killed and one was wounded. Their weapons were captured.

On 27 May 1947 in the village of Lishnia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Zaluzhny, a district MVD officer.

On 28 May 1947 in the village of Chereshenka (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) OUN fighters liquidated the commander of the strybky but disarmed the rank-and-file strybky and ordered them back to their homes.

On 28 May 1947, during a battle in the village of Stryhantsi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast), a group of underground members, without suffering any losses, destroyed three MVD soldiers from a special MVD group that was inspecting the territory here.

On 29 May 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Dovhe (Pidbuzh raion), a group of OUN underground members destroyed three MVD men, including a senior lieutenant and an officer. Pidkova was killed on the insurgents' side.

On 29 May 1947, during a battle in the village of Bortkiv (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast), a group of OUN underground members, without suffering any losses, destroyed one MVD sergeant and one rank-and-file bandit.

On 29 May 1947, on the forest road between the villages of Voloky and Stanivtsi Dolishni (Vashkivtsi raion, Chernivtsi oblast), insurgents fought a battle against MVD soldiers who were lying in ambush here; they killed one bandit.

On 30 May 1947 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush on the road between the villages of Voluiky and Olesko (Olesko raion, Lviv oblast). As predicted, Kukharenko, first secretary of the raion party committee; Artimov, a staff propagandist; Shturmak, the head of the raion executive committee; [and] Khamula, the head of the village soviet in Bily Kamin drove into the ambush. Kukharenko and Artimov were killed by insurgent gunfire, Shturmak was seriously wounded, Khamula less so. Their weapons were captured.

On 31 May 1947, during a dragnet operation in the village of Krasnostavtsi (Sniatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), members of the OUN underground who were retreating from the village, killed two MVD men, including one lieutenant, and wounded two, without incurring any losses.

On 1 June 1947, during a skirmish in the village of Trushevychi (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast), members of the OUN underground destroyed one MVD soldier and severely wounded two, without suffering any losses.

On 1 June 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Demnia Liakhovetska (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast), insurgents killed one MVD soldier and wounded one.

On 2 June 1947, during a skirmish between an OUN fighting group and an MVD fighting group in the village of Stari Kutu (Kutu raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), the underground members destroyed two Stalinist bandits, including a senior lieutenant of the MGB, without suffering any losses.

On 2 June 1947 in the village of Zatoka (Yaniv raion, Lviv oblast) a gang of forty MVD troops surrounded a homestead, where three members of the OUN underground were billeted. A battle ensued, in which the underground members destroyed six MVD soldiers, wounded three, and then retreated safely even though they themselves were wounded. Worth noting is the conduct of the seventeen-year-old girl of the house, Ivanka Salo, who, in order to save the underground members, was the first to jump out of the window, deliberately drawing all of the MVD's firepower to herself. Meanwhile, the underground members were able to leave the house by the back door. The severely injured girl died uttering patriotic phrases.

On 2 June 1947 an MVD gang was leading five girls, who had been arrested in the village of Nanova, through a forest in the direction of the village of Rudavka (Khyriv raion, Drohobych oblast). The MVD were attacked by OUN fighters, who dispersed the Stalinist henchmen and released the girls.

On 3 June 1947 in the village of Peredilnytsia (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast) members of the OUN underground, Kalyna and Zeleny, stumbled into an MVD ambush. After killing one MVD soldier, Zeleny broke out of the encirclement, while the severely injured Kalyna was captured alive by the MVD. On the way to the raion hospital, the MVD sadists beat him non-stop and abused him until he died. Despite all the torments, the tortured underground member did not betray a single secret of the underground to the MVD.

On 3 June 1947 in the village of Shypit (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a subunit led by Commander Vykhor laid an ambush for Stalinist bandits. Three were ambushed and killed and two were taken prisoners.

On 3 June 1947 in the village of Kadobivtsi (Zastavna raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an MVD gang surrounded members of the OUN underground: Kryvorih [Yurii Butsuliak], Pik [Yurii Kyryliuk], Tymish [Ivan Sadkivsky], Hordy [Ivan Nykuriak], and Yurko, who were [hiding] in a threshing barn. Confident of their numerical superiority, the MVD troops sent the owner to the surrounded underground members with a proposal to surrender. In response, insurgent grenades flew out at the Bolsheviks, followed by heavy gunfire. Kryvorih, Pik, and Hordy

were killed during a long and fierce battle. Yurko and Tymish broke out of the encirclement. Yurko retreated safely, but Tymish, who was severely wounded, holding a grenade with the safety catch released, waited until the MVD bandits were approaching him and then blew himself up along with one MVD soldier and severely wounded two MVD soldiers.

On 4 June 1947 in the village of Hoshany (Rudky raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Zharov, a district MVD officer.

On 4 June 1947, during a dragnet operation in the village of Mykolaiv (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast), MVD troops found a hideout in which were two members of the OUN underground. During a short-lived battle they killed a senior lieutenant of the MVD and then shot themselves to avoid being captured alive by the MVD.

On 5 June 1947, as a result of a skirmish between a group of OUN underground members and MVD troops in the village of Voluiky (Olesko raion, Lviv oblast), three MVD soldiers were killed by insurgent gunfire.

On 5 June 1947 during a dragnet operation in the Havaretsky woods (Olesko raion) MVD troops surprised five members of the OUN underground, who were camped here. During a fierce battle the underground members destroyed ten MVD soldiers and wounded seven; they had no losses.

On 5 June 1947 during a battle in the village of Sukhovolia (Yaniv raion, Lviv oblast) a group of insurgents destroyed five MVD soldiers and wounded four, without suffering any losses. Among the wounded was an MGB captain from the garrison in the village of Dobrostany, who died en route to the hospital.

On 6 June 1947 in the city of Zhydachiv (Drohobych oblast) assassins liquidated Knyhovets, an operative of the raion office of the MVD.

On 6 June 1947 in Dulky, a hamlet of the village of Lany (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast), two members of the OUN underground stumbled into an ambush laid by the MVD, numbering thirty bandits. During the fierce battle the underground members killed four MVD soldiers and wounded five.

On 6 June 1947 near the city of Halych (Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from a subunit led by Commander Kramarenko ambushed and killed four MVD soldiers.

On 7 June 1947 insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops on the road between the villages of Zelena and Topilche (Zhabie raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Without suffering any losses, they destroyed an MVD lieutenant and two rank-and-file bandits.

On 8 June 1947 in the village of Poruby (Nemyriv raion, Lviv oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Taratushchenko, a district MVD officer, and Komsomol member Pylyshchak, a strybyk organizer.

On 8 June 1947 a UPA subunit fought a battle against MVD troops in the village of Chetvertky (Halych raion). As a result of the battle, three MVD soldiers were killed. The insurgents had no losses.

On 8 June 1947 in the village of Sernyky Horishni (Burshtyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) two members of the OUN underground stumbled into an ambush. The underground members escaped the ambush without losses; two MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded.

On 9 June 1947 in the city of Zhydachiv (Drohobych oblast) OUN assassins liquidated the dispatched the party members Hrynychuk, the head of the municipal council, and Kraft, an agronomist with the raion land department. Both of the liquidated individuals were extremely hostile to the Ukrainian population.

On 9 June 1947 in the village of Kulchytsi (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents from a UPA subunit attacked an MVD fighting group that was operating in this village during the night. During the battle the insurgents killed an MVD lieutenant and a sergeant, one rank-and-file MVD soldier, and a female provocateur, who was with them; the other bandits fled in panic.

On 9 June 1947 in the village of Komarovychi (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyky station.

On 9 June 1947 in the village of Barysh (Buchach raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins severely wounded the commander of the MVD garrison.

On 9 June 1947 in the village of Filvarky (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyky station. It captured weapons.

On 9 June 1947 in the village of Krylos (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), on the Halych–Stanyslaviv highway, a UPA subunit laid an ambush for MVD troops. Without suffering any losses, the insurgents destroyed ten MVD soldiers and wrecked two trucks.

On 10 June 1947 in the village of Kniazhe (Sniatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated the commander of the strybyky from the village of Stetsiv.

On 10 June 1947, during a skirmish in the mountain valley of Ledeskul, near the village of Kosmach (Yabloniv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents destroyed one MVD soldier and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 10 June 1947 near the village of Yavirnyk (Zhabie raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a subunit led by Commander Skoba laid an ambush for MVD troops. A vehicle that drove into the ambush came under heavy fire. As a result, one MVD soldier was killed and three were wounded. The vehicle was destroyed, and rifle rounds were captured.

On 10 June 1947 in the raion centre of Olesko (Lviv oblast) OUN assassins liquidated a senior lieutenant of the MVD, an operative from the oblast.

On 10 June 1947 in the mountains of Vyhoda raion (Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of insurgents from the Zhuravli unit encountered a large MVD gang. A thirty-minute battle ensued. The insurgents, who were in danger of being encircled, retreated, losing one. On the MVD's side, one was killed.

On 10 June 1947 in the village of Kozyna (Yezupil raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents destroyed Husak, third secretary of the raion party committee, and two MVD soldiers.

On 12 June 1947 in the village of Ispas (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN underground member Kruk stumbled into an MVD ambush. He killed a captain of the MGB and retreated, unharmed.

On 12 June 1947 insurgents from the Basein unit destroyed the collective farm and dairy in the village of Chorna (Ustryky raion, Drohobych oblast). All the machines in the dairy were destroyed, and butter was confiscated for the underground's use.

On 13 June 1947, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Hynovychi (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast), OUN fighters killed one MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 13 June 1947 in the raion centre of Olesko (Lviv oblast) OUN assassins severely wounded an MVD lieutenant. He died en route to the hospital.

On 13 June 1947 in the village of Stara Zhuchka (Sadhora raion, Chernivtsi oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Kozitsky, the official in charge of procuring milk from the district, who abused the peasants mercilessly. His weapons were confiscated.

On 15 June 1947 in the village of Stary Kosiv (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group disarmed a strybyk station and two of the most active Stalinist lackeys. It captured 12 rifles, 2 PPShs, 1 STV, grenades, [and] ammunition.

On 15 June 1947 Mazepa and Toma, members of the OUN underground, stumbled into an MVD ambush laid in a field near the village of Zhyrava (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast). A battle ensued, in which the underground members killed two MVD soldiers. Underground member Toma was killed.

On 16 June 1947 in the forest near the village of Hudava (Khyriv raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD gang surrounded Shuhai, a member of the OUN underground. Shuhai fought back until his last bullet and finally, when he had run out of ammunition, he hid himself, [clutching] a grenade with the safety catch released. When the MVD troops saw that he was not moving, they came right up to him. Shuhai detonated the grenade, which tore him apart as well as MVD investigator, Senior Lieutenant Pavlov, and wounded one MVD soldier.

On 16 June 1947 in the village of Zhulychi (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Konovalov, the commander of an MVD punishment camp. Konovalov severely abused prisoners.

On 16 June 1947 in a field near the village of Vivia (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops who were inspecting the field in skirmish formation discovered a hideout with Commander B, the underground members M and Rys, and two bodyguards. Surrounded, they jumped outside and, going to ground,

shot back and later tried to break out. The unequal battle between the MVD gang and this small group of underground members lasted from 7:00 to 13:00. All five underground members were killed. On the MVD side, three were killed and six were wounded.

On 17 June 1947 in the village of Vovchukhy (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) OUN fighters liquidated two MVD soldiers: Odnoletko and Panasenko.

On 17 June 1947, during a battle with MVD troops in the village of Bolokhiv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), Udarnyk and Holub, members of the OUN underground, destroyed the MVD commander of the platoon and severely wounded two rank-and-file MVD soldiers.

On 17 June 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Myshyn (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents destroyed one MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 18 June 1947, during an encounter battle in the village of Demianka Naddnistrianska (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast), members of the OUN underground killed one MVD soldier, without incurring any losses.

On 18 June 1947 in the raion centre of Olesko (Lviv oblast) insurgents carried out a surprise attack on the local print shop. They destroyed the printing equipment and damaged the machine. Necessary items were confiscated for the underground's needs.

On 19 June 1947 in the raion centre of Olesko an OUN fighting group seized the entire archive and documents from the raion prosecutor's office.

On 19 June 1947, during a skirmish with MVD troops in the village of Korshiv (Chernelytsia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents destroyed two bandits, without incurring any losses.

On 21 June 1947 on the Zhabie-Vorokhta road (Stanyslaviv oblast) a sub-unit led by Commander Skoba laid an ambush for MVD troops. A gang of MVD border troops drove into the ambush. During the thirty-minute battle the insurgents destroyed 5 bandits and wounded 1. They captured 2 STVs, 5 PPSs, [and] ammunition, which the MVD troops were transporting, and a large sum of Hungarian currency.

On 22 June 1947 insurgents from the Zhuravli unit demolished the village soviet and dairy in the village of Trostianets (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). They destroyed all the documents.

On 23 June 1947 in the village of Pidhat (Mostyska raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops surrounded the farm of Ivan Kelemei, where four members of the OUN underground were billeted. The surrounded men killed four MVD soldiers, including a major, the head of the MGB, wounded one MVD soldier, and broke out of the encirclement without any losses.

On 24 June 1947 insurgents from the Zhuravli unit captured the district militia officer of the village of Kereltse and a prison guard from Uzhhorod.

That day in the village of Berezhnyk (Zakarpattia) they disarmed three *druzhynnyky* [Transcarpathian Bolshevik military-political units corresponding to the *strybky* in other oblasts of Ukraine].

On 25 June 1947, OUN fighters confiscated goods from the local cooperative in the village of Brusnytsia (Vashkivtsi raion, Chernivtsi oblast). They took some of the goods for the underground's use and distributed the rest among the peasants.

On 25 June 1947 on the road near the village of Hrynivka (Bohorodchany raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters captured three Bolsheviks who were travelling in a truck. One of them, a major who was the party worker at the oblast land division, was detained, and the two Red Army soldiers were released along with the truck.

On 25 June 1947 a unit led by Commander Orlenko fought an intense battle with three companies of MVD bandits in the swamps near the village of Bilyna Velyka (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast). Twenty-five of the enemy were killed in this battle, and more than a dozen were wounded (among those killed were two officers), and the rest fled the battlefield in a panic. On the insurgents' side, one was lightly wounded.

On 26 June 1947 in a field near the village of Luchanski Khatky (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) a gang of MVD troops surrounded the underground members Viun (Yaroslav Pidhainy), Lishchyna (Vasyl Lototsky), Orel, and Vorona. After killing three MVD soldiers, all four underground members perished in the unequal battle.

On 27 June 1947 in the city of Yavoriv (Lviv oblast) insurgents blew up the Lenin monument that was standing in the square.

On 27 June 1947 in the village of Illintsi (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) the Halaida subunit disarmed a *strybky* station. The commander of the *strybky* was liquidated and the *strybky* were dispersed.

On 27 June 1947 insurgents from the Zhuravli unit destroyed the central telephone exchange in the village of Lysychava (district of Irshava, Zakarpattia oblast) and disarmed two Stalinist lackeys who were there.

On 27 June 1947, during a battle in a field between the villages of Kuchuriv Maly, and Verbitvsi (Zastavna raion, Chernivtsi oblast), insurgents destroyed a lieutenant of the OBB [Department for the Struggle against Banditry] and two rank-and-file Stalinist henchmen, without incurring any losses.

On 28 June 1947 in broad daylight in the village of Rybno (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit detained a vehicle transporting five Red Army soldiers. They surrendered. After an inspection, four of them were disarmed and released; Kataliuk, the oblast militia chief, was detained.

On 29 June 1947 in the village of Buniv (Krakovets raion, Lviv oblast) an OUN fighting group captured MVD agent Emilian Voitsov, who headed an

MVD gang whose mission was to carry out murders of the local population by making it look as though they were committed by starving Ukrainians from the SUZ [eastern Ukrainian lands], and murders of starving Ukrainians from the SUZ under the guise of Ukrainian insurgents, in order to complicate the rapprochement between Ukrainians from the SUZ and the ZUZ [western Ukrainian lands]. Carrying out this MVD task, on 11 June 1947 the above-mentioned individual, disguised as one of the starving, murdered the peasant woman Tetiana Obuv and her nine-year-old daughter, Kateryna, in the village of Nakonechne II, and on 19 June 1947 in the village of Selyska – three women, two men, and a nine-year-old girl from among the starving newcomers from the SUZ. In each case he allowed one of the persons targeted for killing to escape, so that the “accidentally saved” individual could later give a mendacious account “of Banderite murderers.”

In June 1947 insurgents from a unit led by Commander Chorny laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Kozyna–Krylos road (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). From their hiding place they destroyed six MVD soldiers and two enemy vehicles.

On 3 July 1947, during a battle in the woods near the village of Kymyr (Peremyshliany raion, Lviv oblast), a group of underground members destroyed one MVD soldier and seriously wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 3 July 1947 in the village of Stoiantsi (Sudova Vyshnia raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD gang surrounded a group of underground members who were billeted at the farm of Mykola Zhuk. The underground members broke out of the encirclement, killing three of the enemy. There were no losses on the insurgents' side.

On 4 July 1947 in the village of Pidlisna (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Kolendra, the raion head of the strybkы.

On 4 July 1947 a subunit led by Commander Vorona, marching in the direction of the village of Zadil'ske (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast), encountered a column of MVD troops. A fierce battle ensued, in which the insurgents, after inflicting losses on the enemy in terms of killed and wounded, retreated. Two were killed on the insurgents' side.

On 5 July 1947, during a dragnet operation in a forest near the villages of Zadil'ske, Krasne, and Kryve (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast), near the village of Kryve an MVD gang surrounded six retreating insurgents from a subunit led by Commander Vorona: Staff Sergeant Burlai; the riflemen Hrushka, Yary, Slovak, and Levadny; machine gunner Klym; and a group from Bailak's territorial kushch of the OUN, consisting of the underground member Tsyhan and two others. The surrounded men engaged in a fierce, ninety-minute battle with the MVD. They fought courageously until they ran out of ammunition,



and all ten perished in the unequal struggle. On the enemy's side there were forty killed and an equal number of wounded.

On 5 July 1947 the Bulava unit raided a strybkya station and the collective farm in the village of Silets (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast). During the battle that broke out at the strybkya station the insurgents destroyed 1 MVD soldier and 2 strybkya, without suffering any losses. They captured 1 machine gun, 1 ten-round rifle, 2 PPShs, 6 rifles, [and] ammunition. Later, they burned down the collective farm buildings and ricks filled with straw. The agricultural machines and equipment were destroyed in the fire.

On 5 July 1947, during a battle on the Torhovytisia–Hostiv road (Otnyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents destroyed one MVD soldier and seriously wounded another (he died by the next morning), without suffering any losses.

On 6 July 1947 in the village of Horodyshche (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Kuzenko, the authorized MVD representative from the village of Denysiv.

On 6 July 1947 in the village of Cherkhava (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of OUN underground members fought a fierce battle with an MVD gang several times larger, which had surrounded them in a house. As a result of the battle, the underground members broke through the encirclement after seriously wounding eight MVD soldiers (four of them, including a lieutenant, died en route to the hospital), [and they] lost one – the severely injured Karpo, who shot himself.

On 9 July 1947 in the village of Yaseniv Horishnii (Zhabie raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a UPA subunit under the command of Squad Leader Hryts laid an ambush for MVD troops. A car carrying fifteen representatives of the MVD-MGB and a Party administration dispatched from the raion centre drove into the ambush. Of them an MVD lieutenant was taken prisoner; one rank-and-file bandit was killed. Movchan, the head of the RShK, [?] Nekhrestov, the leading authorized representative of the gas ministry, Popov, the head of the MGB, and four rank-and-file militia men and MVD soldiers were seriously wounded during the raid; several bandits drowned in the Cheremosh River. The insurgents burned the enemy vehicle. Weapons were captured. There were no losses on their side.

On 9 July 1947 in the village of Mykytyntsi (Kosiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a subunit led by Commander Bily laid an ambush for MVD troops. During the fierce battle the insurgents killed 2 MVD soldiers and wounded 1. On the insurgents' side, 1 was killed and 2 were lightly wounded.

On 9 July 1947, during a battle between a UPA unit and a special MVD gang in the village of Mykytyntsi (Kosiv raion), the insurgents destroyed two MVD soldiers and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 11 July 1947 in a field situated between the stations of Uhornyky and Pidpechary (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops. During the brief battle that ensued, two MVD soldiers were destroyed.

On 12 July 1947 Klym, a lone member of the OUN underground, surrounded by the MVD in the woods near the village of Kutyska (Tovmach raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), killed two MVD soldiers and escaped unharmed from the area.

On 12 July 1947 in the village of Dobrivliany (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN assassins killed Kucherak, a determined Stalinist lackey, commander of the strybyky, and head of the village soviet.

On 12 July 1947 a subunit led by Commander Bir, together with a group of Commander Khryn's insurgents, laid an ambush for MVD troops near the village of Isai (Turka raion, Drohobych oblast). During the twenty-five-minute battle the insurgents destroyed six MVD soldiers and wounded one. Rifleman Andrii, severely wounded, fell into enemy hands, but he died without betraying any of the underground's secrets to the enemy.

On 14 July 1947 in the village of Povshova (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of OUN underground members destroyed one MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 15 July 1947 in the village of Tustoholovy (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters liquidated the head of the collective farm.

On 15 July 1947, during a battle with MVD troops in the village of Pohorilets (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), insurgents killed one MVD soldier and wounded several, without suffering any losses.

On 15–27 July 1947 OUN fighting groups destroyed village soviets, dairies, and telephone apparatuses in nearly every village in Kalush, Voinyliv, and Perehinske raions (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 16 July 1947 in the village of Tavriv (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters liquidated the commander of the strybyky and one Stalinist henchman.

On 17 July 1947 the Basein subunit laid an ambush on the Vytsiv–Babyn road (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast). An MVD vehicle transporting arrested peasants drove into the ambush. The insurgents opened fire, killing several MVD soldiers, and the arrestees, taking advantage of the confusion, escaped.

On 17 July 1947 in the village of Yasinnia (Zakarpattia) insurgents attacked the local village soviet, demolished it, and liquidated Kopanchuk, the head of the village soviet, who was a well known party member and MVD lackey.

On 17 July 1947 in the woods near the village of Turady (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents killed two MVD soldiers who were lying in ambush here.

On 18 July 1947 in the village of Medynia (Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from a UPA unit ambushed and killed one MVD lieutenant and one rank-and-file soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 20 July 1947 in the village of Zhabynia (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Teodor Kulba, the commander of the strybkы.

On 20 July 1947 insurgents from the Basein unit ambushed MVD troops on the road between the villages of Terlo and Smilnytsia (Khyriv raion, Drohobych oblast). A group of MVD border troops from the border post in the village of Liskuvate stumbled into the ambush. Three MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded; he later died. The insurgents had no losses.

On 20 July 1947 in the village of Otynevychi (Khodoriv raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops trapped the insurgent Snihovii in a house. Surrounded during the battle, he killed two MVD soldiers, wounded one, and then was killed.

On 21 July 1947 in the village of Sloboda Rungurska (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents from the Kolodzinsky unit skirmished with MVD troops. During the exchange of fire they wounded two MVD soldiers, with no losses on their side.

On 21 July 1947 the UPA's Basein subunit led by Commander Tarasko laid an ambush for MVD troops on a road skirting the woods near the village of Vytsiv (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast). A vehicle filled with MVD troops drove into the ambush. The insurgents opened fire on it. The damaged car drove into the ditch, and the MVD soldiers began to flee. Setting out after them, the insurgents killed an MGB major, one captain, one senior lieutenant of the MVD – all of whom were from the oblast – the commander of the MVD garrison in the raion centre of Strilky, and one rank-and-file bandit [and] one rank-and-file soldier was wounded. The others ran away. The insurgents captured a machine gun, three PPShs, and other items. They burned the vehicle. They released four arrested peasants from the village of Mshanets.

On 22 July 1947 in the village of Myshyn (Pechenizhyn raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops. During a brief battle they destroyed three MVD soldiers.

On 22 July 1947 in the village of Pidhirky (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN assassins destroyed Kolomyiets, a prison warden.

On 23 July 1947 in the village of Stavchany (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast), Romanov, the head of the raion office of the MVD, died at the hands of OUN assassins.

On 23 July 1947 in the village of Hai (Zaliztsi raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters laid a roadside ambush. The dispatched Party looter, Lomakin, the head of grain procurement, stumbled into the ambush. He was killed by insurgent gunfire.

On 24 July 1947 in the village of Torchynovychi (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) OUN assassins liquidated, in broad daylight, on the premises of the village soviet, the authorized official in charge of the quota procurement and his assistant, both of whom were mercilessly robbing the local population. Weapons were seized from the liquidated men.

On 24 July 1947 in the village of Bukova (Stary Sambir raion) OUN fighters liquidated Milko, a state insurance inspector, and Cherniavsky, the district financial department inspector, who, armed with weapons, were robbing the peasants of their quotas and taxes.

On 25 July 1947 several insurgents fought against MVD troops in the village of Kadovbna (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). As a result of the battle, two MVD soldiers were killed; the insurgents had no losses.

On 25 July 1947 in the village of Diadkivtsi (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) UPA insurgents raided a local paper factory. They confiscated various items needed by the insurgents.

On 29 July 1947 in the villages of Trostianets (Dolyna raion), Lopianka, and Spas (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents destroyed the premises of the village soviet and the dairy; in July insurgents destroyed village soviets and dairies in many other villages in Dolyna, Rozhniativ, and Vyhoda raions.

On 29 July 1947 above Izbets Creek between the villages of Nedilna and Luzhky (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) Commander Bir's unit battled with MVD bandits, who were carrying out a dragnet operation here. The insurgents killed two MVD soldiers and wounded several, without suffering any losses.

On 30 July 1947 in the village of Volosianka (Ustryky Dolishni raion, Drohobych oblast) the Basein subunit burned down a storage tank filled with crude oil. At the same time, this subunit destroyed all the documents in the local village soviet.

On 31 July 1947 in the raion centre of Perehinske (Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group burned down the fuel panes on a crude oil rig and demolished the equipment at the mine.

In July 1947 an OUN fighting group destroyed two tractors at the Bolshevik MTS in the village of Hdeshychi (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych).

On 1 August 1947 in Demydivski Dibrovy (Kozyn raion, Rivne oblast) a group of OUN underground members laid an ambush for MVD troops. Two MVD soldiers were ambushed and killed.

On 3 August 1947 an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops on the Stanyslaviv–Tysmenytsia highway. A passenger car and a motorcycle were ambushed and destroyed, and four MVD soldiers, including a captain, were killed, with no losses [on the insurgents' side].

On 4 August 1947, during a skirmish in the village of Horodyshche Tsetnarske (Khodoriv raion, Drohobych oblast), underground members destroyed one MVD soldier and wounded one, without suffering any losses.

On 7 August 1947 at a bazaar in the city of Kalush (Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN assassins killed Chorny, a strybok provocateur, in broad daylight. While retreating, they severely wounded an MVD captain who was pursuing them.

On 7 August 1947 in the village of Nestorivtsi (Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Taras Yaskiv, the deputy head of the raion executive Party committee.

On 7 August 1947 in the raion centre of Perehinske (Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed an MVD man, the head of the passport office.

On the morning of 8 August 1947 in the village of Vistova (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) members of the OUN underground liquidated the secretary of the raion executive party committee and Buriak, the secretary of the raion printing house. Both of those liquidated were party members who had been dispatched to the area; they were robbing the [food] quota in the village of Vistova. The weapons of the liquidated men were seized.

On 8 August 1947 in the village of Tuzhyliv (Kalush raion) insurgents from the Khorty unit and an OUN fighting group attacked MVD troops who, together with strybky, were billeted in the local village soviet. As a result of the battle, four MVD soldiers were killed, five were severely wounded, and the others fled in panic. The insurgents had no losses.

On 8 August 1947 in the village of Lukavets (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group liquidated Vasyl Danko, the commander of the strybky.

On 8 August 1947 the Basein subunit led by Commander Tarasko laid an ambush for MVD troops near the village of Linyna (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast). The insurgents ambushed and killed Dudko, first secretary of the raion party committee; an oblast prosecutor; the cadre supervisor from the raion executive committee; and two rank-and-file MVD soldiers. They wounded six MVD soldiers, one of whom died shortly afterwards. The insurgents had no losses.

On 8 August 1947, during a battle against MVD troops near the village of Ruda Siletska (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast), a group of insurgents destroyed an MVD lieutenant and a rank-and-file MVD soldier, without suffering any losses.

On 9 August 1947 a group of underground members battled with MVD bandits in the shrubbery near the village of Kadovbna (Kalush raion). As a result of the battle, one bandit was killed, two were wounded, and the rest scattered. The insurgents had no losses.

On 10 August 1947 in the Syhla woods near the village of Kadovbna an MVD gang found insurgents encamped there. During the skirmish the insurgents killed two MVD soldiers and retreated without suffering any losses.

On 11 August 1947 in the village of Chystyliv (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters destroyed Bodnarenko, the official in charge of procurements, who was robbing the peasants mercilessly. At the same time they burned down a motorized thresher at the MTS.

On 12 August 1947 in the village of Sivka Voinylivska (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN fighters raided a house where strybky were banqueting, along with district MVD officer Shevtsov and ten MVD soldiers. As a result of the battle, the insurgents killed one MVD soldier and severely wounded two.

On 14 August 1947, during a battle in the village of Birka (Yavoriv raion, Lviv oblast), OUN fighters destroyed two MVD soldiers and wounded two, without suffering any losses.

On 15 August 1947 in the village of Zabolotivtsi (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of insurgents fought a battle against a special MVD group. During the battle the insurgents killed four MVD soldiers.

On 15 August 1947 during a street skirmish in the city of Radyvyliv (Rivne oblast) a group of OUN underground members killed one Stalinist guardsman.

On 15 August 1947 a group of insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops near the main highway between the cities of Radyvyliv and Brody. Three MVD soldiers were ambushed and killed, and one was wounded. The other MVD soldiers, firing wildly, retreated to the city in panic. A state of alarm lasted here all night; "defending" themselves, all night, MVD troops fired a whole array of weapons and lit the city with rocket flares.

On 15 August 1947 in the village of PISOCHNA (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast) OUN fighters laid an ambush for MVD troops. During a short-lived battle two Stalinist bandits were killed.

On 15 August 1947 in the raion centre of Mezhyrich (Rivne oblast) OUN assassins liquidated an MVD lieutenant.

During the first half of August 1947 insurgents held a public trial of two arrested MVD agents in the village of Yasen (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). In keeping with the unanimous verdict of the peasants, the agents were liquidated.

On 16 August 1947, during a skirmish with members of the OUN underground outside a hamlet of the village of Poliana Hirnyky (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast), two MVD men, including one officer, was killed.

On 16 August 1947 in the city of Radyvyliv (Rivne oblast) an OUN fighting group fired on a Bolshevik military train travelling in the direction of Brody (Lviv oblast). The train was damaged, two Stalinist bandits were killed.

On 17 August 1947 in the village of Maksymovychi (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group burned down a Bolshevik subsidiary agricultural holding.

On 17 August 1947 in Veres, a hamlet of the village of Maieva (Zaliztsi raion, Ternopil oblast), OUN fighters severely wounded a captain, who was in charge of collecting the oblast [food] quota.

On 17 August 1947 a group of insurgents fought an encounter battle against an MVD gang in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Without suffering any losses, the insurgents killed one MVD soldier and wounded two.

On 18 August 1947 in the Stryiska Bania district of the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast), a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD gang. During the battle they killed seven MVD soldiers. Opryshko was killed on the insurgents' side.

On 19 August 1947 in a hamlet of the village of Deleva Mostyska (Yezupil raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents attacked an MVD gang that was heading out on an ambush mission and killed one MVD soldier [and] seriously wounded one. The other MVD soldiers scattered in a panic.

On 19 August 1947 in the village of Turka (Kolomyia raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed the equipment at a collective farm and burned nearly one hundred *kopy* [one *kip* = shock of sixty sheaves] of state grain.

On 20 August 1947 a group of insurgents carried out a surprise raid on the raion centre of Zhuravne (Drohobych oblast). During the attack the MVD and MGB buildings were shot up, and Lieutenant Yaroslav Pleskan, the authorized raion representative of the Ministry of Gas, and Semén Tychyshyn, a secret collaborator of the MGB, were destroyed.

On 20 August 1947 in the village of Berezhnysia (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents from the Bulava unit fought a fierce battle against an MVD gang. The enemy lost six men.

On 21 August 1947 in the village of Cherniiv (Lysets raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops surround the house of 1 insurgent. Surrounded by 22 MVD troops, the insurgent broke out successfully after killing 1 and severely wounding 2.

On 22 August 1947 in the city of Dolyna (Stanyslaviv oblast) OUN assassins liquidated Olinkevych, a strybok and MGB lackey, in broad daylight.

On 23 August 1947 near the village of Rakiv (Dolyna raion) MVD troops discovered the fighters Semén and Bereza in a threshing barn. Taken by surprise, they killed one MVD lieutenant and one rank-and-file MVD soldier. One of the men, Semén, retreated safely, but the wounded Bereza shot himself in order to be captured alive by the enemy.

On 23 August 1947 in the village of Kudobynets (Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast) OUN fighters liquidated Yeremenko, the head of the raion executive committee, and wounded one rank-and-file henchman. Yeremenko had come to the village in order to rob the quota and liquidate homesteads.

On 23 August 1947 near the village of Rypianka (Sary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops.

An MVD fighting group stumbled into the ambush. During the battle, the members of the underground, without suffering any losses, destroyed five MVD soldiers and one provocateur, who was leading this fighting group; they wounded two MVD soldiers, the others fled.

On 25 August 1947 on the road between the villages of Rivnia and Sloboda Rivnianska (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an OUN fighting group laid an ambush for MVD troops. Chukhurukin, an operative of the raion office of the MGB, and one rank-and-file MVD soldier were ambushed and killed. The other MVD soldiers fled. The insurgents captured the weapons of those who were killed and a bag with important documents.

On 25 August 1947 in the village of Vykoty (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast) an OUN fighting group burned down the MTS building, a storehouse with agricultural machinery, and a grain depot containing twenty tsentners of grain.

On 26 August 1947 at 12:45 a mine placed by OUN fighters exploded the MVD building in the raion centre of Ustryky Dolishni (Drohobych oblast). The explosion severely injured the MGB official, Mykhailo Simonov, who had just arrived to take over the position of first MGB investigator, as well as one MVD man; one major from the city of Drohobych was also killed. At the same time, OUN leaflets *To All Members and Candidate Members of the AUCP(U)* were disseminated en masse throughout the city. As a result of this action, for an extended period of time, there was noticeable panic in the city among the MVD, party members, and the Bolshevik administration that had been dispatched [there].

On 27 August 1947, during a battle between the villages of Pidpechary and Uzin (Stanyslaviv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), members of the OUN underground destroyed two MVD soldiers.

On 30 August 1947 in the village of Meta (Vyzhnytsia raion, Chernivtsi oblast) an OUN fighting group destroyed the office of a forestry station. It burned documents and a truck.

On 30 August 1947 an OUN fighting group destroyed thirty telephone poles on the Sambir-Krukenychi highway (Drohobych oblast), near the village of Sadkovychi.

On 30 August 1947 a subunit led by Commander Letun laid an ambush for MVD troops on the road between the villages of Tukholka and Oriava (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast). Three trucks filled with MVD troops from the garrisons in Slavske and Skole drove into the ambush. The subunit attacked the enemy, inflicting the following losses: 19 killed and 3 wounded. Among those killed were 1 captain, 2 senior lieutenants, [and] 2 sergeants. There were no losses on the insurgents' side.

On 31 August 1947 OUN assassins liquidated one lieutenant of the MVD in the raion centre of Mezhyrich (Rivne oblast).



DOCUMENT 106: EXTRACT FROM: *ON THE COMBAT OPERATIONS OF THE UPA AND THE ARMED UNDERGROUND IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER MUSCOVITE-BOLSHEVIK OCCUPATION, FROM JANUARY TO JUNE 1948*

*For the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

INFORMATION BUREAU OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME  
LIBERATION COUNCIL (UHVR )

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*ON THE COMBAT OPERATIONS OF THE UPA AND THE ARMED UNDERGROUND IN THE UKRAINIAN LANDS UNDER MUSCOVITE-BOLSHEVIK OCCUPATION (IN THE USSR)*

(Incomplete cumulative report for the period from January to June 1948)

During the first half of 1948 the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle against the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers and their Ukrainian agents – the Ukrainian Bolsheviks – for Ukraine's separation from Russia and for the building of an independent Ukrainian state with a democratic political and leading socio-economic system continued.

Like earlier, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the armed underground are marching in the avant-garde of the struggle. The millions-strong masses of the Ukrainian people are taking the most active part in this struggle, in all ways supporting, on the one hand, the revolutionary armed struggle of the UPA and the armed underground and, on the other, mounting broad, extraordinarily determined resistance to the Muscovite-Bolshevik aggressors in all spheres of life.

As a result of this struggle, the rule of the Muscovite-Bolshevik aggressors still remains very limited, [very] narrow in a considerable part of Ukraine's territory. The Muscovite-Bolshevik aggressors are implementing all their dictates in a large part of the Ukrainian lands only with the aid of the unprecedented terror of the MGB, MVD, and their special troops, with the aid of terror by its armed administration.

As was already reported in the previous issue of IB UHVR (no. 4), owing to the difficult circumstances of the broad-based armed struggle in the conditions of peace, and the MVD system in the Bolshevik USSR, the UPA, in keeping with the order of the Supreme Command, switched from the form

of a mass-insurgent struggle to strictly clandestine forms in the preponderant majority of raions. Entire UPA units are still operating only in Ukraine's Subcarpathian oblasts.

In an entirely organized fashion, both the struggle of the UPA and the armed underground and the struggle of the broad popular masses are coming under the supreme political leadership of the UHVR, with the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Ukrainian Lands taking the most active part.

The basic goal of the armed actions of the UPA and the armed underground are: a) to defend the Ukrainian popular masses from the terrorist, looting, and demoralizing policies of the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers; to punish the Bolshevik brigands for their abuses of the people; b) to prevent the Muscovite-Bolshevik oppressors from consolidating themselves firmly in the Ukrainian lands; c) to protect from destruction and to continue to build up the organizational and moral-political positions of the Ukrainian liberationist, independentist movement in the Ukrainian lands of the USSR; d) to prepare the groundwork for the revolutionary anti-Bolshevik struggle on the territory of the entire USSR.

Our incomplete compiled report that we are publishing in this issue encompasses facts pertaining to the armed actions of the UPA and the armed underground from early January to late June 1948. The compiled report on the actions of the UPA and the armed underground during the period from August to late December 1947 was published in issue no. 4 (September 1949) by the Information Bureau of the UHVR.

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On 1 January 1948 in the village of Viinytsia (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast) insurgents burned down the Khrushchev Collective Farm.

On 1 January 1948 in the Riasnyky hamlets (Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast) a skirmish took place between insurgents and an MVD group, in which two of the enemy were killed.

On 1 January 1948 in the village of Shumliany (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops that were carrying out a dragnet operation entered a house where an underground member was billeted. The underground member opened fire on the MVD soldiers and wounded one of them; the others, firing back, ran out of the house. However, during the exchange of fire the underground member was severely wounded. He tossed a grenade at the MVD soldiers and blew himself up with another one.

On 1 January 1948 in the village of Balyntsi (Hvizdets raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members fired on armed bandits from the enemy administration who were stealing cows from peasants.

On 1 January 1948 in the village of Kypiachka (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members destroyed all the documents in the village soviet.

In January 1948 in the village of Kaliusyk (Vinkivtsi raion, Kamianets-Podilsky oblast) the secretary of the village soviet was liquidated for his inappropriate conduct towards peasants.

On 2 January 1948 in the village of Korostiv (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) a skirmish took place between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit.

On 2 January 1948 in a forest near the village of Mraznytsia (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of underground members waged a six-hour battle against an MVD unit. Surrounded by the enemy, the underground members shot themselves.

On 2 January 1948 a skirmish took place between underground members and MVD troops in the village of Hubychi (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 3 January 1948 a battle took place between underground members and an MVD unit in a forest between the villages of Luhy and Letsivka (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), during which two of the enemy were killed.

On 3 January 1948 in the village of Hrabovets (Velyki Birky, Ternopil oblast) insurgents shot up a strybk station, as a result of which one strybok was wounded.<sup>15</sup>

On 4 January 1948 in the hamlet of Dubliany (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast) two underground members fought a battle against fifteen MVD soldiers. During the battle one MVD soldier was killed and one underground member fell.

On 4 January 1948 in the village of Hnizdychiv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) underground assassins severely wounded a secretary of the RK LKSMU [Raion Committee of the Komsomol Youth League of Ukraine] from Zhydachiv.

On 5 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Tysiv (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 5 January 1948 an exchange of fire between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Liubsha (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 6 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and bandits from the OBB [Department for the Struggle against Banditry], who were

<sup>15</sup> As part of their counterinsurgency efforts, the Soviets formed agent-combat groups made up of former Red partisans and local collaborators, whose activities were meant to discredit the Ukrainian nationalist movement. In June 1945 there were 156 such groups with 1,783 members. Aside from attempting to place agents with the OUN and UPA by recruiting defectors and prisoners, the Soviets deployed strybkys (destruction battalions) to liquidate the nationalist underground.

stealing straw from peasants, took place in the village of Kamianka-Lypnyky (Maheriv raion, Lviv oblast).

In January 1948 in the village of Zaderevach (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents liquidated an MVD captain, who came to the village for the purpose of robbery.

On 6 January 1948 in the village of Piatnychany (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) two underground members stumbled into an MVD ambush. The underground members opened fire on the MVD, as a result of which an MGB sergeant was killed, and two MVD soldiers fled.

On 6 January 1948 in the village of Chemeryn (Olyka raion, Volyn oblast) a group of underground members skirmished with MVD troops.

On 6 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Deminka Naddnistrianska (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 6 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit that was convoying arrestees took place in the village of Rivnia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 6 January 1948 in the village of Kamin (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents fired on MVD soldiers who were leading boys under arrest, thus enabling the latter's escape.

On 7 January 1948 a larger group of insurgents encountered an MVD unit near the hamlets of Vesela Hora (Pidhaisi raion, Ternopil oblast). A skirmish ensued. With their firepower the insurgents silenced two enemy machine gun nests. The other MVD troops, seeing their men killed and wounded, began to flee and shoot rocket flares into the air, summoning assistance. MVD units that were in neighbouring villages at the time rushed to their aid. The insurgents hunkered down in a valley near the village of Kurdybanivka (Buchach raion, Ternopil oblast), where front-line trenches remained. A fierce battle began. The insurgents sprayed the advancing MVD troops with heavy fire that killed and wounded many MVD soldiers. The MVD units advanced to the insurgents positions and were forced to retreat five times, leaving behind killed and wounded men, even though reinforcements had also arrived from the city of Pidhaisi. During the battle the enemy lost forty-five men, and the insurgents – fourteen.

On 7 January 1948 underground members exchanged fire with an MVD group in the village of Ustechko (Tovste raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 7 January 1948, during a dragnet operation in the village of Perekosy (Voynyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), a group of underground members battled against MVD units. During the battle the underground members did not suffer any losses.

On 7 January 1948, when MVD troops were carrying out a house-to-house search for conveyances in the village of Berlohy (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv

oblast), they discovered billeted insurgents. A battle ensued, during which two of the enemy were killed and two were severely wounded.

On 7 January 1948 in the village of Dvorichia (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) a battle took place between underground members and an MVD unit.

On 7 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Zahaitsi (Velyki Dederkaly, Ternopil oblast).

On 7 January 1948 a skirmish took place between underground members and MVD troops in the hamlet of Zboiska (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 7 January 1948 a skirmish took place between insurgents and an MVD unit in the village of Dashava (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 7 January 1948 in the village of Duliby (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) a member of the underground shot an MVD captain and wounded 2 MVD soldiers.

On 7 January 1948 in the village of Lavryni (Maheriv raion, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated a strybok. A PPSH and grenades were captured.

On 7 January 1948 insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops in the village of Riasna Polska (Briukhovychi raion, Lviv oblast). Insurgent fire wounded one MVD soldier.

On 7 January 1948 in the village of Riasna Ruska (Ivano-Frankivsk raion, Lviv oblast) underground members wounded two MVD soldiers.

On 8 January 1948 in the village of Duliby (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD soldiers entered a house where an underground member was billeted. The underground member shot and killed one MVD soldier and two were wounded. Surrounded by enemies, the underground member destroyed his notes and watch, cut up his clothing and boots, and blew himself up with a grenade.

On 8 January 1948 near the village of Holovetsko (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit. One enemy was killed and another was wounded.

On 8 January 1948 on the highway between the villages of Kholoiv and Dobrotvir (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents liquidated the commander of the MVD garrison and one MVD fighter.

On 8 January 1948 in the village of Kozlyni (Oleksandria raion, Rivne oblast) underground members liquidated a Komsomol member, who went about armed and terrorized the population.

On 10 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the woods near the village of Yasenytsia Silna (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 10 January 1948 in the village of Bortkiv (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast) MVD troops raided a house where two insurgents were billeted. The insurgents opened fire on the enemy and wounded two MVD soldiers. A battle ensued, in which both insurgents were killed.

On 10 January 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and strybyky took place in the village of Trostianets (Verba raion, Rivne oblast).

On 10 January 1948 in the village of Denysiv (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members shot the head of the RVK [Raion Executive Committee], who was terrorizing the population. A submachine gun, pistol, and grenades were captured.

On 12 January 1948 in the village of Novoselytsi (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a battle took place between MVD troops and insurgents billeted in the village. During the battle one MVD soldier and two insurgents were killed.

On 12 January 1948 in the village of Ordiv (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast) an underground fighting group liquidated an investigator from the Radekhiv R[aiion] D[ivision] of the MGB and an MVD lackey, who always walked around armed.

On 12 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the village of Kokhanivka (Vyshnivets raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 12 January 1948 a skirmish took place in the village of Holovetsko (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast) between insurgents, who had come for food for a UPA unit, and MVD troops.

On 13 January 1948 in the village of Manaiv (Zaliztsi raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents shot an MVD soldier who was convoying arrestees.

On 13 January 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in a forest near the village of Sukhodil (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 14 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Strilkiv (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 14 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Lukavytsia Horishnia (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 14 January 1948 in the village of Bedrykivtsi (Zalishchyky raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group and armed bandits from the administration encountered a group of underground members. The underground members fired at the bandits, killing the MVD commander – a major of the guards – and the deputy of the raion official from the Ministry of Procurement – a captain – and wounded a senior lieutenant of the MVD.

On 14 January 1948 in the village of Yakiivtsi (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD soldiers entered a house in which insurgents had stopped during their march. The insurgents opened fire on the MVD soldiers. The MVD soldiers began to flee, but, pinned down by the insurgents, engage in battle. During the battle one MVD soldier was killed and one was wounded.

On 14 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Polianytsi (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 15 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Dorozhiv (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 January 1948 a battle between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Medvezha (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 January 1948 in the village of Butsniv (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group attacked a house where an underground member was billeted. A skirmish broke out, in which the underground member killed one MVD soldier and, after running out of ammunition, he hanged himself so as not to be captured alive by the enemy.

On 16 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 16 January 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and two underground members took place in Byshky (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 16 January 1948 in the village of Dobrohostiv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit, during which one of the enemy was killed and one was wounded.

On 17 January 1948 underground members shot two MVD soldiers in the village of Zhuriv (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 17 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Zbora (Voinylyv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 18 January 1948 an MVD group found an underground hideout in the woods near the village of Malekhiv (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast). A battle ensued, in which the surrounded underground members were killed.

On 18 January 1948 in the village of Krasne (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast) MVD troops carried out a surprise attack on a hideout belonging to the underground. The underground members opened fire on the enemy, killing an MVD lieutenant and fatally wounding a sergeant. The underground members fired at the enemy until they ran out of ammunition and then shot themselves in order not to be captured alive.

On 19 January 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and an MVD group took place in the Ostriv hamlets (Verba raion, Rivne oblast).

On 19 January 1948 in the village of Khatky (Zolotnyky raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops, in search of conveyances, entered a house where insurgents were billeted. A skirmish ensued. The insurgent Haidamaka jumped out of the house and wanted to shoot at the enemy, but his weapon jammed. Then Haidamaka felled the closest MVD soldier with his rifle butt. At this time another group came to the MVD's assistance. Two insurgents were killed in the fierce, unequal battle.

On 19 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Trostianets (Verba raion, Rivne oblast).

On 19 January 1948 in the village of Veselivka (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops encountered an underground member. A skirmish ensued, in which the underground member was killed.

On 19 January 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and MVD soldiers took place in the village of Kamin (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The underground member retreated.

On 20 January 1948 in the hamlet of Kozatska Khata (Mizhoch raion, Rivne oblast) two insurgents encountered a group of twenty MVD soldiers. After a skirmish the insurgents retreated.

On 20 January 1948 insurgents destroyed a club in the village of Mali Viknyny (Velyki Dederkaly raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 20 January 1948 two insurgents fought a battle against ten MVD soldiers in the Ostriv hamlets (Rafalivka raion, Rivne oblast). During the battle an MVD authorized representative was killed, and the head of the raion office of the MGB was seriously wounded.

On 20 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Zaboron (Oleksandria raion, Rivne oblast).

On 20 January 1948 in the village of Zhovtantsi (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast) MVD troops raided a house where insurgents were billeted. During the battle one enemy was killed and one was wounded. One insurgent was killed by an enemy bullet.

On 20 January 1948 underground members burned down the collective farm in the village of Ostriv (Rudky raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 20 January 1948 underground members wounded two MVD soldiers in the village of Yarushychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 20 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Kavchy Kut (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 January 1948, two MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded in a skirmish with a group of underground members in the village of Vistova (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 21 January 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and insurgents took place in the village of Rivnia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). Neither side suffered any losses.

On 22 January 1948 in the village of Ihranytsia (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops found an underground hideout. Upon hearing the enemy, the underground members opened up the entryway and began firing. An unequal battle ensued. Realizing that their situation was hopeless, the underground members destroyed their clothing and weapons inside the hideout, and shot themselves with their remaining pistols.

On 22 January 1948 in the village of Sokolets (Probizhna raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group entered a house where two underground members



were billeted at the time. The underground members opened fire with their submachine guns, tossed grenades, and, rushing outside, launched a battle. During the battle one enemy was killed and three were wounded.

On 22 January 1948 in the village of Yarushychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members liquidated two MVD district officers.

On 23 January 1948 on the road from the village of Hrani to the village of Tryputni (Dubrovytsia raion, Rivne oblast) three insurgents encountered two MVD groups. An unequal battle ensued. In the crossfire the insurgents began to retreat, firing back non-stop. At this time a third group of MVD bandits arrived with assistance from another village. In order to facilitate his friends' retreat, the insurgent Yaroslav hunkered down on the flat field and stopped the enemies with his gunfire. Half an hour later, he alone was fighting against the MVD gang. He seriously wounded an enemy machine gunner, and, once the other insurgents had retreated safely, he killed himself so as not to be captured alive by the enemy.

On 24 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Tsuniv (Ivano-Frankivsk raion, Lviv oblast).

On 24 January 1948 in the village of Polivtsi (Pidkamin raion, Lviv oblast) MVD looters, who were going from house to house looking for food, encountered an underground member. A skirmish ensued. The underground member was forced to retreat from the enemy's superior force. However, surrounded by a larger number of MVD troops in the village, he shot himself with his sub-machine gun.

On 24 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 January 1948 insurgents fired on MVD bandits who were convoying arrestees in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 January 1948 a skirmish between two mounted insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Pechykhvosty (Horokhiv raion, Volyn oblast).

On 27 January 1948 in the village of Vyburiv (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) two underground members waged a battle against fifty MVD troops. The battle lasted approximately one hour. Surrounded by enemies and having fired their last bullets, the underground members blew themselves up with grenades.

On 28 January 1948 in the village of Ishkiv (Zolotnyky raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group raided a hideout with two underground members inside. In response to the MVD's order to surrender, underground member Yur replied that he recognizes and obeys only his leader, and opened fire on the MVD soldiers. Surrounded by the enemy, the underground members destroyed their belongings inside the hideout and blew themselves up with grenades.

On 28 January 1948 in the village of Hnylovody (Zolotnyky raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group raided an underground member's hideout. After a brief skirmish, the underground member blew himself up with a grenade.

On 28 January 1948 insurgents fought a battle against an MVD group in the village of Kurylche (Skala-Podilska raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the village of Mykolaiv (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between MVD troops and underground members took place in a field between the villages of Hliadky and Kurivtsi (Hlybichok raion, Ternopil raion).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Rivnia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Novytsia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Berlohy (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 January 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 29 January 1948 in the village of Novosilka (Skalat raion, Ternopil oblast) a gang of armed party members and MVD troops were rounding up people and, by means of torture, were forcing them to join the collective farm. The cries of peasants being tortured were issuing from the building of the village soviet. When evening fell, insurgents attacked the village soviet. They shot up the building, wounded an instructor of the raion committee of the Raion Committee of the CP(B)U, and captured alive the propaganda secretary of the raion party committee. After the insurgents attack the terrified bandits stopped terrorizing the village for a time.

On 30 January 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the woods near the village of Krasne (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 30 January 1948 in the village of Stroniatyn (Novy Yarychiv, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated the district MVD officer.

On 30 January 1948 on the road between the villages of Kutsa and Muravytsia (Mlyniv raion, Rivne oblast) underground members fired on an MVD group, as a result of which the head of the raion office of the MGB was killed, and his bodyguards scattered in a panic.

On 30 January 1948 in the village of Obych (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members disarmed an "extermination battalion." Two rifles, one submachine gun, [and] one pistol were captured.

On 30 January 1948 in the village of Buzhok (Olesko raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit. As a result of the battle, two of the enemy were killed and two were wounded.

On 31 January 1948 insurgents fired on an MVD group in the village of Veldizh (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

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On 1 February 1948, during a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops in the village of Pyriatyn (Verba raion, Rivne oblast), one MVD soldier was killed and one was wounded.

In February 1948 in the village of Vyshenka (Ostroh raion, Rivne oblast) an underground member assassinated an authorized representative of the MVD.

On 2 February 1948 in the village of Stupky (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents demolished the building of the village soviet and destroyed the collective farm.

On 3 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the woods near the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 3 February 1948 in the village of Skvariava (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast) MVD bandits found billeted insurgents inside a house. The insurgents launched a battle, during which 2 MVD soldiers were killed, including 1 lieutenant, and 3 were wounded.

On 3 February 1948 underground members burned down the collective farm in the village of Kosiv (Bilobozhnytsia raion, Ternopil oblast). All the collective farm property, which had been stolen from the peasants, was burned.

On 3 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place near the village of Yamelnytsia (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

Between 4 and 12 February 1948, during a large dragnet operation targeting one of the underground's centres near the village of Synievydne Vyzhne (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast), underground members engaged in several skirmishes with MVD units. During this period skirmishes also took place between underground members and MVD troops in Pidhorodtsi and Sopot, as well as near the villages of Krushelnytsia and Korchyn in the same raion.

On 4 February 1948 in the village of Kropyvnyk (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops carried out a surprise attack on an underground hideout. A battle ensued, in which both underground members, whose situation was hopeless, shot themselves.

On 4 February 1948 underground members skirmished with an MVD group in the village of Malashivtsi (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 4 February 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD group took place in the woods near the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast). A skirmish between insurgents and MVD troops also took place in this forest on 5 February 1948.

On 4 February 1948 underground members destroyed a movie camera in the village of Pecheniia (Hlyniany raion, Lviv oblast).

In February 1948 in the village of Nevirkiv (Mezhyrich raion, Rivne oblast) three underground members approached a house with an MVD operative group inside. A battle ensued, in which one underground member was killed.

On 5 February 1948 a group of underground members skirmished with an MVD unit in a forest between the villages of Oriv and Synievydne (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

In February 1948 in the village of Piatnychany (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members wounded one MVD soldier.

On 6 February 1948 in the village of Luchytsi (Sokal raion, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated the authorized raion representative of the Ministry of Procurement, who was robbing the populace.

On 6 February 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Pyriatyn (Verba raion, Rivne oblast), as a result of which one MVD soldier was killed and one was wounded. One insurgent was also killed in the skirmish.

On 7 February 1948 in the village of Orvianytsi (Dubrovytsia raion, Rivne oblast) underground members fired on an MVD group, as a result of which three MVD soldiers were killed.

On 7 February 1948 in Kolovertska Koloniia (Mezhyrich raion, Rivne oblast) an MVD group encountered two insurgents. The insurgents fired on the MVD troops, wounding one of them.

On 8 February 1948 a battle took place in the Maidan woods (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast) between 3 UPA subunits and MVD units. During the battle 24 insurgents and 120 MVD soldiers were killed.

On 8 February 1948 a skirmish took place between underground members and an MVD group near the village of Dovhe (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 9 February 1948 a group underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit near the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 9 February 1948 insurgents burned down the office of the collective farm in the village of Konstantynivka (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 9 February 1948 in the village of Kotiuzhyntsi (Vyshnivets raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents fought a battle against armed strybyky/Komsomol members, during which they shot the secretary of the Komsomol. At the same time the insurgents destroyed the premises of a club.

On 10 February 1948 a skirmish between three insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Chyzhky (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast). During the skirmish one MVD soldier was wounded, and two wounded insurgents shot themselves. A third insurgent retreated safely.

On 10 February 1948 in the village of Rakiv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents killed a party member who was driving people into the forest to cut down trees.

On 11 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place on the road leading to the village of Budylyv (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast). Both sides suffered losses.

On 12 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Dovha Voinylivska (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 12 February 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Tseniv (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast), during which one insurgent was killed.

On 13 February 1948 in the village of Vysloboky (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents liquidated two MVD soldiers of the MVD Border Troops and the head of the village soviet, a collective farm organizer who was terrorizing the population.

On 13 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Tsapivtsi (Tovste raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 13 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Anhelivka (Tovste raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 13 February 1948 underground members demolished the premises of the village soviet in the village of Shliakhtynets (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 13 February 1948 in the village of Tataryntsi (Velyki Dederkaly raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members encountered an MVD operative group. A skirmish ensued, during which two MVD soldiers were killed and two were wounded. One underground member was wounded.

On 13 February 1948 in the village of Voltsniv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members ambushed and shot an MVD district officer and an authorized representative of the raion party committee. One PPS and two pistols were captured.

On 13 February 1948 in the village of Rakhynia (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated the director of the forestry base, a party member. A pistol was seized.

On 13 February 1948, a battle took place between three insurgents and an MVD unit in the village of Tataryniv (Komarne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 14 February 1948 in the hamlet of Tataryntsi (Velyki Dederkaly, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group carrying out a dragnet operation found an insurgent

inside a house. The insurgent tossed a grenade through the window at the MVD soldiers. A skirmish ensued, during which the wounded insurgent, who was surrounded, shot himself.

On 14 February 1948 in the village of Khodachkiv (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members fired on MVD troops that were conveying arrested peasants. The terrified MVD soldiers abandoned the arrested people and ran away.

On 14 February 1948 in a field near the village of Krupets (Chervonoarmiisk raion, formerly Radyvyliv, Rivne oblast) insurgents fired on an MVD group, as a result of which one MVD soldier was killed.

On 15 February 1948 in the village of Bonyshchyn (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast) an MVD group encountered two underground members, Iryna Zakharchuk and Iryna Kiliarska. During the skirmish Iryna Zakharchuk was severely wounded. She asked Kiliarska to shoot her because she couldn't do it by herself. Kiliarska shot her friend: later, surrounded by MVD soldiers, she shot herself. Her aim was off, and the MVD soldiers captured Kiliarska alive. However, she did not allow the nurse to bandage her, and she died the next day as a result of blood loss.

On 15 February 1948, during a dragnet operation in the village of Lapshyn (Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast), MVD troops found underground members inside a house. The underground members opened fire on the MVD soldiers, as a result of which they wounded two of them. The underground members did not suffer any losses.

On 15 February 1948 in the village of Kimnata (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops raided an underground hideout. The underground members threw grenades outside and began jumping out. A battle ensued, as a result of which the surrounded underground members shot themselves.

On 15 February 1948 in the village of Chovhany (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD soldiers entered a house where insurgents were staying. Insurgents opened fire on the MVD troops. The frightened MVD soldiers ran away.

On 16 February 1948 insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Romaniv (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast). The enemy lost seven men. One insurgent was also killed. After running out of ammunition, he jumped into a well so as not to be captured alive by the enemy.

On 16 February 1948 underground members fought a battle against an MVD group in the village of Tysiv (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 16 February 1948 in the village of Uvyn (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents fired on an MVD group, as a result of which an investigator from the Berest raion office of the MGB was wounded.

On 16 February 1948 in the village of Tesluhiv (Kozyn raion, Rivne oblast) underground members fired on an MVD group, as a result of which an

authorized official responsible for procurement, who was robbing the local population, was wounded.

On 17 February 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm in the village of Yasenytsia (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 17 February 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and MVD soldiers took place in Zymivka, a hamlet of the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Zabolotivtsi (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 February 1948 in the village of Ihrovytsia (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD unit attacked a house where an underground member was billeted. He opened fire on the MVD soldiers, as a result of which an MVD soldier was killed and one was wounded. Surrounded by the enemy, the underground member was killed in the fierce battle.

On 18 February 1948 a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Khodachkiv (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast). The enemy lost two men.

On 18 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Tuchapy (Zabolotiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 19 February 1948 a group of underground members liquidated the authorized official responsible for procurement in Ivano-Frankivsk raion (Lviv oblast).

On 20 February 1948 insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the hamlet of Ustyny near the village of Kryzhi (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 20 February 1948 near the village of Dukhiv (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members fired on Communist Party and MVD bandits, who then fled.

On 20 February 1948 MVD troops were conducting searches in Mokre, a hamlet of the village of Hai Berezhetski (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast). Here they encountered underground members, who began shooting at them. Neither side suffered any losses.

On 21 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Natalia (Berezne raion, Rivne oblast).

On 21 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Toporiv (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast).

On 21 February 1948 underground members burned down the building of the village soviet in the village of Dubivtsi (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 21 February 1948, near the Obarynets woods (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast), two insurgents encountered an MVD unit. The insurgents threw grenades at the enemy and a battle broke out. During the battle the insurgent Dzheria was wounded. The insurgent Shuvar hoisted his wounded comrade onto his shoulders and, firing back, began retreating. Near the village Shuvar was severely wounded. He lay down next to Dzheria and fired at the enemy as long as his bullets lasted and then shot himself with a pistol.

On 21 February 1948 insurgents shot two MVD soldiers in the village of Pohoriltsi (Rudky raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 February 1948 in the village of Broshniv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members firing submachine guns liquidated three MVD men, including a representative of the oblast MVD.

On 21 February 1948 in the village of Slyvky (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops raided an underground hideout. A battle ensued, as a result of which the encircled underground members shot themselves.

On 22 February 1948 in the village of Tsineva (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) thirty-five MVD troops attacked a hideout with three underground members inside. The underground members began to shoot at the enemy. A battle ensued, which lasted six hours. Finally, after running out of ammunition, the underground members, encircled by superior enemy forces, destroyed all their belongings and shot themselves.

On 22 February 1948 insurgents burned down the village soviet in the village of Ivachiv Horishnii (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 22 February 1948 a group of insurgents fought a battle against a gang of MVD provocateurs in the village of Popeliv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast). The enemy lost one soldier, and three were wounded.

On 23 February 1948 a battle took place between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit in the village of Medove (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast). As a result of the battle, one enemy was killed and one was wounded.

On 23 February 1948 in the village of Rakovets (Vyshnivets raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group attacked an insurgent hideout. A battle ensued, as a result of which the insurgents were killed.

On 23 February 1948 a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Pohirtsii (Rudky raion, Drohobych oblast). The enemy lost two men and one was severely wounded.

On 24 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD units took place in the village of Peredilnytsi (Dobromyl raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 25 February 1948 in the village of Yasen (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) an MVD unit attacked an insurgent hideout. During the battle against the MVD, the surrounded insurgents shot themselves.



On 25 February 1948 in the village of Tuzhyliv (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated a district MVD officer and wounded an MVD soldier.

On 25 February 1948 in the village of Ivachiv Horishnii (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD unit surrounded an underground member inside a house. The underground member began firing at the enemy. As a result of the skirmish, the underground member was killed.

On 27 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the village of Deviatyn (Chervonoarmiisk [Radyvyliy] raion, Rivne oblast). During the skirmish an underground member was severely wounded and captured unconscious by the MVD. Despite inhumane tortures, the underground member was silent, did not betray the underground's secrets, and was tortured to death at the raion office of the MGB.

On 28 February 1948 in the village of Nahirtsii (Novy Myliatyn, Lviv oblast) a group of underground members fought a battle against MVD units. During the battle one underground member was killed. On the enemy's side, an MVD operative was killed and two soldiers were killed.

On 28 February 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in a field near the village of Lysychnyky (Zalishchyky raion, Ternopil oblast).

During the night of 28–29 February 1948 a group of underground members encountered MVD troops in the village of Stary Pochaiv (Pochaiv raion, Ternopil oblast). The underground members opened fire on the MVD troops, killing one MVD soldier.

On 28 February 1948 a skirmish between an MVD unit and underground members took place in the village of Lypa (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 February 1948 in the hamlet of Lisova (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) MVD bandits and the armed administration entered the yard of a farmer with whom insurgents were staying. The insurgents welcomed them with gunfire. The frightened bandits fled inside the house, from where they fired back. Neither side suffered any losses during the skirmish.

On 28 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Rokyta (Briukhovychi raion, Lviv oblast).

On 28 February 1948 two underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Sykhiv (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast). As a result of the battle, there was one fatality on both sides.

On 29 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Velyki Hlibovychi (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast). Both sides lost one man each.

On 29 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in a forest near the village of Kryva (Borynia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 29 February 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Mlynyska (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

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On 1 March 1948 in the village of Bukhovychi (Krukenychi raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents shot a strybok, whom the MGB had ordered to kill a local underground member.

On 1 March 1948 in the village of Rudnyky (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD soldiers entered a house where insurgents were billeted. A shootout took place, during which the enemy lost two men.

On 1 March 1948 in the village of Byshiv (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast) bandits from the Byshiv garrison attacked a hideout sheltering three underground members. The underground members jumped out of the hideout and waged a determined, heroic battle for four hours. Two MVD soldiers were killed in the battle and three were wounded. Twenty more MVD soldiers came to the assistance of the soldiers from the garrison. Surrounded by the enemy's superior forces, the first to fall were the underground members Baida and Yavtukh. The underground member Zadyraka fought on alone for a whole hour, and after he ran out of ammunition, he destroyed his submachine gun and killed himself with the last bullet in his pistol.

On 2 March 1948 in the village of Horodyshchi (Oleksandria raion, Rivne oblast) underground members assassinated the supervisor of the raion department of agriculture. One MVD man was liquidated along with the supervisor, and the office of the collective farm was burned down.

In March 1948 in the village of Martynivka (Bakhmach raion, Chernihiv oblast) a party member, the head of the collective farm who was abusing people, was assassinated.

On 3 March 1948 insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit near the village of Tserkivna (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). On the enemy's side, a lieutenant and a sergeant of the MVD were killed.

On 3 March 1948 in the city of Smotrych (Kamianets-Podilsky oblast) a statue of Lenin standing in the city centre was destroyed.

On 3 March 1948 in the village of Hordynia (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD unit began to carry out searches after surrounding the village. Insurgents and underground members were billeted in the village at the time. Under the command of UPA Company Commander Orlenko, they waged a battle against the enemy for nearly the entire day, as a result of which fifteen MVD soldiers were killed and five were wounded. Company Commander Orlenko died a heroic death in battle.

On 3 March 1948 insurgents destroyed telephone equipment in the village of Kuskivtsi Mali (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 3 March 1948 insurgents mined the railway bridge over the Zubr River near the village of Verbizh (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 4 March 1948, in a forest near the village of Kulchytsi (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast), MVD troops attacked an underground hideout. A battle ensued, in which fifteen MVD soldiers were killed and five were wounded. Surrounded by the enemy's superior forces, the underground members shot themselves.

On 4 March 1948 a UPA squad led by Commander Stakh carried out an action against the collective farm and a strybyk station in the village of Susidovychi (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast). The insurgents burned down the collective farm, destroyed a mobile film projector, and wounded 1 strybyk.

On 4 March 1948 in the village of Voroblevychi (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members fired on armed bandits from the raion centre, who had arrived in the village to drive people out to cut down trees. The frightened bandits fled together with the wounded.

On 4 March 1948 in the village of Pidhirky (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members liquidated the building supervisor from the Raion Executive Committee, a secret agent of the MVD.

On 5 March 1948 near the village of Klymets (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of insurgents fought a battle against an MVD unit. During the battle 1 insurgent was killed, and the enemy had 5 killed and 3 wounded.

On 6 March 1948 near the village of Vyzhliv (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit. During the battle four of the enemy were killed and two were wounded.

On 6 March 1948 underground members burned down the club in the village of Stanymyr (Hlyniany raion, Lviv oblast).

On 6 March 1948 in the village of Shostakiv (Rivne raion, Rivne oblast) an MVD unit raided a house with a hideout for members of the underground. When the MVD troops opened the entryway to the hideout, they came under heavy fire and, overcome with fear, they moved away from the buildings. A two-hour battle ensued. While two of the underground members fought their way out of the encirclement, two of their comrades were destroying all the things that were left in the hideout. Afterwards, in order not to be captured alive by the enemy, they shot themselves.

On 7 March 1948 a UPA subunit commanded by Second Lieutenant Roman waged a battle against MVD units conducting a dragnet operation in the forest between the villages of Lavriv, Nanchilka Velyka, Nanchilka Mala, and Tykha (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast). At 6:00 a.m. the subunit's patrol reported that pickets had been stationed around the village of Nanchilka Velyka. At 9:30

Second Lieutenant Roman, who was near the sentry, noticed a line of enemy skirmishers advancing in the direction of their hideout. He sent the sentry to inform a group of insurgents who were billeted nearby, and together with another rifleman went to ground to wait for the enemy. When the MVD troops had drawn close, the second lieutenant opened fire on them. The MVD officer shouted [in Russian], "Attention, boys, Tarasko is here. There will be a fierce fight." Second Lieutenant Roman struck at the group and a fierce battle ensued. Corporal Vovk was injured during the battle and was taken away by the group. The enemy, stunned by the insurgents' heavy fire, paused for a moment. The group took advantage of this and headed along Hrabiv Creek. The MVD troops followed the insurgents surreptitiously, and when the group was turning away from the creek in the direction of the Yablinka woods, it came under heavy fire from the rear and the right flank. Second Lieutenant Roman gave the order to hit the ground and strike the enemy with heavy fire. A battle ensued, during which the MVD troops panicked and stopped firing. Only the cries of wounded men drifted from their side. During the exchange of fire Corporal Kruk was wounded. In combat formation the group headed farther in the direction of the Yablinka woods. After receiving a strong reprimand, the MVD troops stopped and did not continue their pursuit of the group. At the top of Yablinka the group encountered MVD pickets stationed along the ridge every 100 to 150 metres. The second lieutenant issued the order: "Into the breach!" The group spread out in skirmish formation and with shouts of "Glory!" liquidated the first enemy picket. Moving farther along the ridge, the group encountered a second enemy picket and liquidated it during a brief battle. A third MVD picket, which was arriving with assistance, encountered Bereza, the leader of a *lanka* [five to six men], who killed one MVD soldier and prevented the enemy from firing on the insurgent group from the flank. After breaking through the enemy pickets, the insurgents headed in the direction of the village of Khaniv, and the MVD troops trailed after them and, from time to time, fired on the group. When the MVD troops were very close, the insurgent Vilny, firing accurately with his ten-round rifle, forced them to halt. During their further retreat through the clearing, they encountered another MVD group. Another brief battle ensued. The enemy was also advancing from the village of Rosokhy. Despite being exhausted by typhus and the winter, the insurgents continued to retreat. Taking a rest, the subunit skirmished again with the MVD troops. The MVD troops no longer had the courage to draw close. The insurgents laughed at them and shouted: "Vanka, come closer, you'll get medals!" After a rest, the group headed through the mountains above the village of Naniv. The MVD troops were no longer following them. The battle lasted for a distance of four kilometres. On the enemy's side, nineteen were killed; the number of wounded is not known. On the insurgent side two were killed.

On 7 March 1948 in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members waged a battle against an MVD group, during which two underground members were killed.

On 7 March 1948 in the village of Dobrivliany (Kalush raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated the deputy director of the MTS [Machine Tractor Station], who was organizing collective farms throughout the villages of the raion. One rifle was captured.

On 7 March 1948 in the village of Kornalovychi (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops. Insurgent bullets killed two MVD guards protecting the Soviet state farm.

On 7 March 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Oboroshyn (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast).

On 8 March 1948 in the woods near the village of Rozhanka Nyzhnia (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD group attacked a campsite of insurgents from the B. Khmelnytsky unit. A skirmish ensued, during which Platoon Leader Pliushch was wounded. He retreated in the direction of Mahoi Ridge, where he encountered a second MVD group. During the skirmish the platoon leader was killed after killing two MVD soldiers.

On 8 March 1948 in a hamlet near the village of Synivtsi (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast) an underground member encountered an MVD unit. A skirmish ensued; surrounded by the enemy, the underground member was killed.

On 8 March 1948, during a battle with a group of insurgents in the village of Hrabiv (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), three MVD soldiers were wounded.

On 10 March 1948 in the woods near the village of Sushytsia Velyka (Khyriv raion, Drohobych oblast) a UPA subunit led by Platoon Leader Chorny skirmished with MVD troops.

On 11 March 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place near the village of Voloshynovo (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast).

That day, in the woods near the village of Voloshynovo, a group of insurgents and underground members led by Commander Stakh waged a three-hour battle against an MVD unit. During the battle one insurgent, three underground members, and a nurse of the UChKh [Ukrainian Red Cross] were killed. On the enemy side there were six killed and eight wounded.

On 11 March 1948 in the village of Dovholuka (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members killed a district MVD officer.

On 11 March 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Buianiv (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 12 March 1948 on a road near the village of Kuhaiv (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) a group of underground members skirmished with an MVD unit.

On 12 March 1948 in the village of Uholna (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents fired on militia men; the militia men fled in panic.

On 12 March 1948 in the village of Kuropatnyky (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members fired on MVD troops that were conducting an inspection. The terrified men fled all the way to the village of Baranivka, leaving behind one dead soldier. The underground members captured one submachine gun.

On 12 March 1948 in the raion centre of Perehinske (Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit. During the battle three of the enemy were killed, including a senior lieutenant and a sergeant of the MVD.

On 12 March 1948 in the raion centre of Kalush (Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members liquidated, in broad daylight, the deputy director of the MTS political section, who was organizing collective farms throughout the villages of the district.

On 13 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Chovhany (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 13 March 1948 in the village of Pokrivtsi (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit.

On 13 March 1948 in the village of Malekhiv (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents disarmed members of an extermination battalion and liquidated the deputy head of the extermination battalion.

On 13 March 1948 in the village of Neznaniv (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast) thirty MVD troops encountered two billeted underground members. A battle ensued, as a result of which both underground members died a hero's death. The enemy kept its losses secret.

On 13 March 1948 in the village of Nemyliv (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast) a group of underground members was ambushed by the MVD. During the skirmish one underground member was killed.

On 14 March 1948 in the village of Voloshynovo (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents from the B Khmelnytsky unit waged a battle in two places against MVD units that were conducting a dragnet operation. During the battle three of the enemy were killed and three were wounded. Two were killed on the insurgent side.

On 14 March 1948 riflemen from a UPA subunit under the command of Master Sergeant Berezny liquidated an MVD captain, the commander of a unit guarding prisoners felling timber in the village of Raitarevychi (Stary Sambir, Drohobych oblast); two sergeants, who were captured alive, were disarmed and released. Three ten-round rifles, a pistol, and ammunition were captured.

On 14 March 1948 in the fields near the village of Myslova (Pidvolochyske raion, Ternopil oblast) a group of underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit.

On 14 March 1948 in the village of Novytsia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops encountered a group of insurgents. A battle ensued, during which two MVD soldiers were wounded.

On 14 March 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 15 March 1948 in the village of Gerynia (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops conducting searches entered a house, in which one underground member was staying. The underground member opened fire on the enemies. During the battle two MVD soldiers were killed, and the severely wounded underground member shot himself.

On 15 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and a strybyky unit as well as MVD troops took place in the village of Kalna (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 15 March 1948 in the city of Berezhany (Ternopil oblast) underground members killed one MVD soldier and wounded one.

On 16 March 1948 underground members burned down the office of the village soviet in the village of Tyshkovychi (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 16 March 1948 in the village of Mshanets (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group entered a house where one underground member was billeted. The underground member ran out of the house and opened fire on the MVD men. A skirmish ensued, during which the underground member was killed.

On 16 March 1948 in the village of Hrabiv (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit. During the battle the insurgents killed one MVD soldier and captured bags of documents. The MVD troops retreated.

On 17 March 1948 in the Biliv hamlets (Klevan raion, Rivne oblast) a group of underground members skirmished with an MVD raiding group.

On 17 March 1948 in the hamlet of Hutysko (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) underground members wounded two bandits from the raion centre who were terrorizing the population.

On 18 March 48 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD gang took place in the village of Didushychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 March 1948 in the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members fought a battle against an MVD unit.

On 19 March 1948 in the village of Halivka (Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD group raided a hideout sheltering four insurgents and underground members. A battle ensued, as a result of which the insurgents and underground members, trapped in a hopeless situation, shot themselves with their last bullets.

On 19 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Mazurivka (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 19 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place on the road between the villages of Yankivtsi and Pushkivtsi (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 19 March 1948 in the village of Neznaniv (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast) MVD troops encountered two underground members, who opened fire on the MVD. A battle ensued, as a result of which the surrounded underground members shot themselves to avoid being captured alive by the enemy.

On 20 March 1948 on the territory of the villages of Volia Raionova and Strashevychi (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) a group of insurgents and underground members led by Commander Stakh waged a five-hour battle against MVD units. On the enemy's side, eight were killed and nine were wounded.

On 20 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Roliv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 20 March 1948 at the Proshova railway station (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members disarmed the technical director of the spirits factory – a party member.

On 20 March 1948 in the village of Mizun Novy (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents burned a narrow-gauge commuter train bridge.

On 21 March 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Yalynkovate (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 22 March 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm in the village of Yasenytsia (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 23 March 1948 in the village of Krekhovychi (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD soldiers entered the yard of the village soviet secretary, with whom two insurgents were staying. The insurgents ran outside and opened fire on the MVD soldiers. During the skirmish one insurgent was killed and the other retreated.

On 23 March 1948 a battle between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Svarychiv (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 23 March 1948 in the hamlet of Marynka (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD troops raided an underground hideout. A battle ensued, as a result of which the surrounded underground members were killed.

On 23 March 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Tysovets (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 24 March 1948 in the village of Zakolot (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents fired on MVD troops lying in ambush, as a result of which one MVD soldier was killed and two were wounded.



On 24 March 1948 in the village of Proshova (Velyky Hlybichok raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents burned down the premises of the village soviet and executed a local candidate member of the party.

On 25 March 1948 in the village of Novytsia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) MVD troops broke into a house where underground members were billeted. The underground members greeted them with gunfire, killing one MVD soldier and wounding several. The underground members seized a sub-machine gun from the killed MVD soldier and together with the peasants in this house broke out and retreated. The MVD troops began advancing on the house only the next morning, but there was no one there.

On 25 March 1948 a battle took place in the village of Mushkativka (Borshchiv raion, Ternopil oblast) between a group of underground members and an MVD unit. On the enemy's side three were killed and two were wounded. During the battle two underground members were killed.

On 25 March 1948 during a battle against insurgents in the village of Khorostiv (Kopychyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast) two MVD soldiers were killed.

On 25 March 1948 in the village of Trostianets (Hlyniiany area, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated two strybyky.

On 26 March 1948 in the village of Orliv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents fired on an MVD unit that had broken into a peasant's house. The insurgents shot and killed two MVD soldiers, and the others fled.

On 28 March 1948 in the village of Dashava (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members shot an MVD soldier and wounded another.

On 29 March 1948 in the village of Mali Berezhtsi (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group attacked a house where a sick insurgent was recovering. A skirmish ensued, as a result of which the ailing insurgent, trapped in a hopeless situation, shot himself.

On 29 March 1948 a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Hubychi (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 30 March 1948 in the village of Stupnytsia (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members laid an ambush for [Communist] Party bandits who were organizing a collective farm. The following were killed in the ambush: the head of the municipal services department – a lieutenant colonel of the Red Army – and the third secretary of the raion party committee, whose criminal party activities spanned nineteen years. The other bandits, who were wounded, scattered.

On 30 March 1948 in the village of Buzhany (Berestechko raion, Volyn oblast) insurgents destroyed all the documents in the village soviet and demolished the club.

On 30 March 1948 in the village of Leshchativ (Sokal raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents liquidated a financial agent who, despite a warning from the underground, was constantly terrorizing the village.

On 31 March 1948 in the Babyn hamlets (Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast) MGB bandits attacked a hideout sheltering two underground members. As a result of the skirmish, the encircled underground members shot themselves.

On 31 March 1948 in the village of Khytreiky (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) underground members demolished the village soviet, the club, and a dairy, and destroyed telephone communications with the raion centre.

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On 1 April 1948 in the village of Lisnevychi (Ivano-Frankivsk raion, Lviv oblast) a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit. One underground member was killed during the battle. Enemy losses: two killed and several wounded.

On 1 April 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and insurgents took place in the woods near the village of Buianiv (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 2 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the woods near the village of Sloboda Bolekhivska (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyславiv oblast).

On 2 April 1948 insurgents burned down the bridge of a narrow-gauge railway line between the villages of Spas and Luhy (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyславiv oblast).

On 2 April 1948 underground members shot two party members in a forest near the city of Bolekhiv (Stanyславiv oblast).

On 2 April 1948 underground members destroyed the premises of a club in the village of Peredmirna (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 2 April 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and underground members took place in the woods near the village of Potochysko (Chernelytsia raion, Stanyславiv oblast).

On 2 April 1948 underground members set fire to the collective farm in the village of Mylcha Mala (Verba raion, Rivne oblast).

On 2 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Pidvysoka (Kozyn raion, Rivne oblast).

On 2 April 1948 two underground members stumbled into an MVD ambush in the village of Belzets (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast). They fired on the MVD troops, as a result of which they wounded two MVD soldiers. One of the wounded died the next day.

On 2 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the woods near the village Shershenivka (Borshchiv raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 3 April 1948 an MVD group found an underground member inside a house in the village of Lishnia (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast). He opened fire on the MVD troops, as a result of which one MVD soldier was killed. The underground member was killed in battle.

On 3 April 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and an MVD unit took place in the village of Teisariv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

In April 1948, insurgents destroyed telephone line in the villages of Maidan, Dovhe, Kropyvnyk, [and] Stara Opaka in Pidbuzh raion (Drohobych oblast).

On 3 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Buianiv (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 3 April 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in a field near the village of Verbylivtsi (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

In April 1948 underground members destroyed the premises of village soviets in the villages of Storona, Pidmanastyrok, Kropyvnyk Novy, [and] Zhdana in Pidbuzh raion (Drohobych oblast).

On 3 April 1948 in a forest near the village of Chyzhky (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast) a squad of insurgents under the command of Master Sergeant Berezny, together with several underground members, waged a battle against a group of MVD operatives. One MVD soldier was killed in the battle and two were wounded.

On 3 April 1948 in the village of Teisariv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) an underground member encountered eight soldiers from a garrison. A brief, fierce battle ensued, during which the wounded underground member blew himself up with a grenade.

On 4 April 1948 insurgents destroyed documents in the village soviet in the village of Suliatychi (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 4 April 1948 in the village of Hrabiv (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents fired on three strybkys who were robbing peasants. One strybok was killed, one wounded [strybok] was captured by the insurgents, and another wounded [strybok] fled.

In April 1948, during a dragnet operation in a forest near the villages of Holodivka and Dibryniv (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit. As a result of the battle, seven of the enemy were killed and three were wounded.

On 4 April 1948 underground members set fire to the collective farm in the village of Povcha (Verba raion, Rivne oblast).

On 4 April 1948 in the village of Kurovychi (Hlyniany raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents disarmed the guards at a sawmill.

On 4 April 1948 near the village of Liashky Murovani (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated an MVD soldier, part of a group guarding the radio station.

On 5 April 1948 in the village of Lypovets (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast) an MVD unit attacked a farm where there was an underground hideout. A battle ensued, in which the surrounded underground members were killed.

On 5 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Honchary (Vynnyky raion, Lviv oblast).

On 5 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the forest near the village of Buianiv (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 6 April 1948 in the villages of Izydorivka and Krekhiv (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members demolished the premises of the village soviets and destroyed telephone apparatus.

On 6 April 1948 in the village of Bratkivtsi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents fired on looters from the raion centre, who were going around the village picking up meat procurements. Two robbers were wounded. The others fled.

On 6 April 1948 in the village of Balychi (Mostyska raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members encountered a collective farm organizer and wounded the head of the raion office of the Ministry of Procurements.

On 7 April 1948 in the village of Ripchytsi (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members burned down buildings slated for a collective farm.

On 7 April 1948 in the village of Koniushky (Krukenychi raion, Drohobych oblast) border guards carrying out searches entered a house where two insurgents were billeted. The insurgents opened fire on them, as a result of which they killed one border guard and wounded another. Then they tossed grenades and rushed outside. A battle ensued. Surrounded by MVD troops, the insurgents could not break out, and they shot themselves.

On 7 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Kalynivka (Strilyshcha raion, Drohobych oblast), during which one underground member was lightly wounded.

On 8 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Fiina (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast).

On 8 April 1948 underground members burned down the narrow-gauge commuter train bridge near the village of Lypovytsia (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 8 April 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and one underground member took place in the village of Buhliv (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast). After firing on the MVD troops, the underground member retreated.

On 9 April 1948 in the village of Uhorsk (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents laid an ambush for MVD troops that were returning to the raion centre with property looted from peasants. Two MVD soldiers were killed, including Skopiuk, the authorized raion representative, by heavy insurgent gunfire.

On 9 April 1948 in the woods between the villages of Rakhynia and Sloboda Dolynska (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents liquidated a mechanic from the Dolyna motor pool, who walked around armed and tracked insurgent movements.

On 10 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Podusiv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). One underground member was wounded during the skirmish.

On 10 April 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and underground members took place in the village of Lypovytsia (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 10 April 1948 a battle between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place at the Berezyna homestead (Verba raion, Rivne oblast). As a result, the insurgents wounded two MVD soldiers. The other MVD troops fled to the village of Povcha. On 10 April 1948 underground members destroyed the club in the village of Volytsia Barylova (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast).

On 10 April 1948 underground members destroyed a movie camera in the village of Poliukhiv (Hlyniany raion, Lviv oblast).

On 11 April 1948 in the village of Livchytsi (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents liquidate[d] the authorized representative in charge of procurements, who was returning to the raion from the village.

On 11 April 1948 insurgents executed an MVD provocateur from the village of Tsineva (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), who helped party members, MVD criminals, to deport the Ukrainian population to Siberia on 21 October 1947.

On 11 April 1948 underground members destroyed the club in the village of Dorohovyzhe (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 11 April 1948 in the village of Rozhanka (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents attacked a house where MVD soldiers had stopped over. Two MVD soldiers were killed by the insurgents' bullets.

On 11 April 1948 a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Kozara (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). During the battle two enemies were killed. The underground members had no losses.

On 12 April 1948 in the village of Rozhanka Nyzhnia (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) Corporal Hamalia and a rifleman from the B. Khmelnytsky unit fired on MVD soldiers who were billeted at a farmer's house.

On 12 April 1948 in the village of Monastyrets (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members demolished the premises of the village soviet

[and] the dairy, destroyed documents, and took away two telephones. Grain that the Bolsheviks had designated for sowing on the collective farm planned for that village was also burned down along with the buildings.

On 12 April 1948 insurgents destroyed the village soviet, club, and dairy in the village of Tarnavka (Zhuravne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 12 April 1948 in the raion centre of Medenytsia (Drohobych oblast) insurgents laid an ambush for an armed gang of collective farm organizers. Insurgent fire killed one bandit and wounded two.

On 12 April 1948 in the village of Horutsko (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members laid an ambush for armed Bolshevik lackeys. As a result of the ambush, two lackeys were killed and one MVD soldier was severely wounded. One submachine gun was captured.

On 12 April 1948 underground members fired on an MVD group that was lying in ambush in the village of Bashkivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 12 April 1948 underground members skirmished with an MVD unit in the woods near the village of Antonivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 12 April 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit at the Podoliany homestead (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 12 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place on the road from the village of Stizhka to Antonivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 13 April 1948 an UPA subunit under the command of Sergeant Syrotiuk went to the place where lumberjacks were working in the forest near the village of Lybokhora (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast). The insurgents destroyed tree-cutting equipment and took away state-owned horses, and held a meeting with the lumberjacks and then sent them home.

On 13 April 1948 insurgents demolished the premises of village soviets and dairies in the villages of Berezhnytsia, Rohizno, [and] Zhuravkiv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 13 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Kornalivka (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 13 April 1948 insurgents shot an MVD district officer in broad daylight in the village of Bystrytsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

Between 12 and 14 April 1948 insurgents skirmished on two occasions with MVD units in the woods near the village of Iliv (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast). Three MVD soldiers were killed by insurgent gunfire.

On 14 April 1948 insurgents demolished the premises of a club in the village of Silets Benkiv (Kamianka Buzka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 15 April 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit at the edge of a forest near the village of Holivka (Ostroh raion, Rivne oblast).

On 15 April 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and an MVD group took place in the village of Bondari (Verba raion, Rivne oblast). Surrounded by enemies, the underground member was killed.

On 15 April 1948 underground members lying in ambush in the village of Kachanivka (Pidvolochyske raion, Ternopil oblast) wounded an authorized representative in charge of collecting [food] quotas, who was robbing the populace in an inhumane fashion.

On 15 April 1948 a battle took place in the village of Voroblevychi (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast) between a group of insurgents and MVD troops. On the enemy side, one MGB lieutenant was killed and a sergeant was seriously wounded; he later died.

On 15 April 1948 underground members shot an MVD district officer in broad daylight in the village of Bystrytsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 April 1948 insurgents shot an MGB lieutenant in the village of Krushelnytsia (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Bryntsi Tserkovni (Novi Strilyshcha raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 16 April 1948 a skirmish between two underground members and a group of MVD operatives took place in the village of Lysiatychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast), as a result of which two MVD soldiers were killed and one was wounded. The others fled to the village soviet and telephoned the raion centre for assistance.

On 16 April 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and insurgents took place in the woods near the village of Bashkivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 17 April 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in the woods near the village of Strilbychi (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast). Two MVD soldiers were killed in battle, and three were wounded. One insurgent was killed.

On 17 April 1948 two insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the village of Novosilky (Zdolbuniv raion, Rivne oblast).

On 17 April 1948 in the village of Savchytsi (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD soldiers entered a house where an underground member was staying. A skirmish ensued, as a result of which the underground member, encircled by the enemy, was killed.

On 17 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the woods in the Sokoliv clearing (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 17 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the forest near the village of Nyniv Dolishnii (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 April 1948 in the village of Voltsniv (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast) MVD soldiers noticed that insurgents were billeted in a house, which they then surrounded. The insurgents opened fire on the MVD troops, killing three MVD soldiers, and severely wounding another. The insurgents retreated without any losses.

On 18 April 1948 MVD troops encountered two underground members in a field near the village of Kustyn (Oleksandria raion, Rivne oblast). The underground members opened fire on the enemy, killing one MVD soldier.

On 18 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the fields near the village of Lozivka (Nove Selo raion, Ternopil oblast). One underground member was killed in the skirmish.

On 18 April 1948 in the village of Porshna (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents fired on MVD troops, killing one of them.

On 18 April 1948 in the raion centre of Zhovkva (Lviv oblast) underground members raided the home of the head of the village soviet in the village of Velyka Volia, who walked around [the village] armed, terrorizing the population. The underground members captured one PPSH.

On 18 April 1948 in the village of Zashkiv (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents destroyed a movie camera and liquidated two members of a combat group of MVD provocateurs.

On 19 April 1948 two underground members fought a battle against MVD troops in a field near the village of Prusy (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast). Two enemies were killed in the battle. The underground member Khytry, who was seriously wounded, blew himself up with a grenade.

On 19 April 48 a skirmish between an MVD group and underground members took place in the so-called Ostriv woods (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast). There were no losses on either side.

On 19 April 1948 in the village of Synievydne Vyzhne (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members liquidated the party organizer of the MTS.

On 21 April 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished twice with MVD groups lying in ambush in the village of Chyzhky (Stary Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Kavchy Kut (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the woods near the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Krasiv (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 21 April 1948 insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the village of Synievydne Vyzhne (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).



On 21 April 1948 in the Ozerna forest (Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group discovered an underground hideout. A battle ensued, during which the underground members, encircled by the enemy, shot themselves after destroying all their belongings.

On 21 April 1948 in the village of Povzhakh (Ostriv raion, Rivne oblast) a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit. One seriously wounded underground member died after being carried from the battlefield by his friends.

On 22 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and a group of MVD operatives took place in the village of Antonivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 22 April 1948 underground members destroyed a mobile film projector in the village of Pochapy (Hlyniany raion, Lviv oblast).

On 22 April 1948, two underground members waged a battle against an MVD group in the village of Bilozirka (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 22 April 1948 insurgents waged a battle against an MVD gang near the village of Vytvytsia (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). An insurgent wounded during the battle blew himself up with a grenade.

On 22 April 1948 near the village of Mizun Novy (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) a group of insurgents destroyed a narrow-gauge locomotive, burned down a bridge, the office of a forestry enterprise, and warehouses with forestry equipment. The insurgents also shot two strybkys who were guarding a machine. One SVT, one rifle, and ammunition were captured.

On 22 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Zashkiv (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast).

On 24 April 1948 a skirmish between MVD troops and an underground member took place in the village of Novosilky (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast), during which the underground member was killed.

On 24 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the woods near the village of Novy Rohivets (Zbarazh raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 24 April 1948 insurgents destroyed the premises of the village soviets and telephone lines in the villages of Maidan, Dovhe, Kropyvnyk Novy, Smilna, Storona, Pidmanastyrok, [and] Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 24 April a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Nyniv Dolishnii (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 25 April 1948 a group of insurgents encountered two MVD groups in the woods between the villages of Radvantsi and Yastrubychi (Radekhyv raion, Lviv oblast). During the battle three wounded insurgents shot themselves to avoid surrendering to the enemy, and one wounded insurgent was carried from the battlefield by his comrades. Three MVD soldiers were wounded.

On 25 April 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and an MVD group took place in the village of Slykhovychi (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast). The underground member, wounded in both legs, shot himself.

On 25 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Mezhyhiria (Koropets raion, Ternopil oblast), during which one MVD soldier was wounded.

On 25–29 April 1948 underground members skirmished several times with MVD units in the woods near the village of Bashkivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 25 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Hriada (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast). A wounded underground member blew himself up with a grenade.

On 26 April 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Butsniv (Mykulyntsi raion, Ternopil oblast). One enemy was killed and one was wounded. The insurgents had no losses.

On 26 April 1948 insurgents fired on an MVD unit in the village of Reshniata (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The frightened MVD soldiers fled.

On 27 April 1948 two underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Mezhyrich (Zhydachiv raion, Drohobych oblast). Surrounded by the enemy, the underground members shot themselves with pistols.

On 27 April 1948 in the village of Vynnyky (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) insurgents liquidated three strybyky, members of a unit guarding the local collective farm. Three rifles and ammunition were seized.

On 27 April 1948 two underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Shyly (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast). Trapped in a burning house and surrounded by enemies, the underground members fired non-stop at the enemy and then were killed, riddled by enemy bullets.

On 27 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place on the Kyrylivka homestead in the village of Sosnivka (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 28 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and a group of MVD operatives took place between the villages of Surazh and Bolozhivka (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 28 April 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the village of Horianka (Pochaiv raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 28 April 1948 in the village of Ivanivka (Pidvolochyske raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members shot the head of the collective farm, who went about armed, terrorizing the collective farm members.

On 28 April 1948 underground members skirmished with an MVD group in the village of Novytsia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the forest near the village of Poliana (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 29 April 1948 in the village of Romanivka (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) underground members shot a Bolshevik lackey, who went about armed, terrorizing the population.

On 29 April 1948 in the village of Kudenivtsi (Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops stationed themselves near the village, after robbing peasants. A group of passing insurgents spotted the MVD troops and opened fire on them. The insurgents killed two MVD soldiers and wounded one. Lighting up the area with rocket flares, the MVD troops retreated.

On 29 April 1948 MVD troops skirmished with three underground members in the village of Tuchapy (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast).

On 29 April 1948 underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Pidtemne (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 29 April 1948 in the village of Letsivka (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents fired on an MVD group, wounding an authorized representative of the MVD, who later died.

On 29 April 1948 in the raion centre of Pidbuzh (Drohobych oblast) underground members shot a militia man, who was abusing the population.

On 29 April 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the woods near the village of Antonivtsi (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 29 April 1948 a skirmish between MVD troops and underground members took place in the village of Kniazhe (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast). Surrounded by MVD troops, an underground member shot himself with a pistol.

On 29 April 1948, two underground members skirmished with MVD troops in the woods near the Dovzhok homestead (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 30 April 1948 in the village of Stara Moshchanytsia (Mizoch raion, Rivne oblast) MVD troops raided a house where the underground members Medvid and Bily were billeted. The underground members opened fire on the enemy, and a protracted and fierce battle ensued. Shouting "Glory to Ukraine!" the underground members fired non-stop at the MVD troops and threw grenades. When they ran out of ammunition, they set fire to the barn and shot themselves with their last bullets to avoid subjecting their bodies to the enemy's outrages.

On 30 April 1948 a group of insurgents encountered MVD troops in the village of Mezhyhiria (Koropets raion, Ternopil oblast). A three-hour battle ensued, during which two insurgents were killed.

On 30 April 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD gang took place near the village of Ldziane (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 30 April 1948 a battle between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Poliana (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 30 April 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Khokhoniv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), during which one insurgent was wounded.

On 30 April 1948 insurgents fired on MVD troops in the village of Birky Yanivski (Briukhovychi raion, Lviv oblast). During the skirmish one MVD soldier was killed and one was wounded.

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On 1 May 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and MVD troops took place in a field near the village of Chernykhivtsi (Zbarazh raion, Ternopil oblast). There were no losses on either side.

On 1 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD operative group took place in the village of Vyzhnia Stynava (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 1 May 1948 an MVD group raided an underground hideout in a field near the village of Berezyna (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast). During the ensuing battle the encircled underground members blew themselves up with grenades. On the bandits' side, two were wounded.

On 2 May 1948 in the village of Nove Selo (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast) a group of bandits, led by an authorized representative of the raion office of the MGB, broke into a house where two insurgents were billeted. A battle ensued, during which the enemy lost three men, including a senior lieutenant and a sergeant of the MVD. The insurgents retreated without any losses.

On 2 May 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm in the village of Yasenivtsi (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 2 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the woods near the village of Dereviane (Klevan raion, Rivne oblast). During the skirmish, three underground members were killed after running out of ammunition.

On 2 May 1948 in the village of Maidan Oleksandrivsky (Vinkivtsi raion, Kamianets-Podilsky oblast) the house belonging to the head of the village soviet, who treated the population badly, was burned down.

On 3 May 1948 in the village of Liubin Velyky (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) two underground members attacked a house where Bolsheviks, lackeys, and MGB personnel were amusing themselves. The Bolsheviks were carousing safely because the house was near a garrison. The underground members tossed grenades through a window into the house, and when the frightened and wounded Bolsheviks began fleeing, they opened fire on them. That same

night the soldiers from the garrison transported the severely wounded bandits to Lviv and Horodok.

On 3 May 1948 in the village of Nyvytsi (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents assassinated the head of the raion religious department, an official representative in charge of procuring [food] deliveries, and another Bolshevik lackey, who was abusing the population.

On 3 May 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit at the Melnyky homestead in the village of Oziato (Zhabyinka raion, Brest oblast, Belarusian SSR).

On 3 May 1948 in the village of Storonna (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members shot an MVD district officer and one militia man. One PPSH, one pistol, and a bag of printed materials were seized.

On 3 May 1948 in the village of Ripchytsi (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members liquidated a former strybok and MGB agent, who was abusing the population.

In May 1948 near the village of Chorny Potik (Pechenizhyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) two MVD soldiers were killed by mines set by insurgents, and one was severely wounded.

On 4 May 1948 in the village of Voloske (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated an MVD district officer.

On 4 May 1948 an underground member disarmed a strybok in the village of Ivannia (Dubno raion, Rivne oblast).

On 5 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops, who were lying in ambush, took place in the village of Kostantivka (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast). There were no losses on either side.

On 5 May 1948 underground members burned down the collective farm in the village of Ferleivka (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast).

On 5 May 1948 in the village of Svarychi (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents encountered two armed bandits from the raion centre, who had come to the village to rob grain.

In May 1948 underground members liquidated a militia man and a strybok in Lanchyn raion (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 6 May 1948 in the village of Mokrotyn (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents shot two armed bandits from the raion centre (authorized representatives) and severely wounded the deputy head of the MGB.

On 6 May 1948 underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Dobrosyn (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast).

On 6 May 1948 underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Komarivka (Pochaiv raion, Ternopil oblast). The underground member Hryts was severely wounded during the battle. He destroyed all his

notes and money, smashed his watch and, shouting "Glory to Ukraine!" shot himself with a pistol.

On 7 May 1948 an MVD group carried out a surprise attack on two underground members billeted in the village of Ivanivka (Mezhyrich raion, Rivne oblast). A battle ensued, during which the wounded underground members shot themselves.

On 7 May 1948 fighters from bodyguard unit "75" who were lying in ambush on the road between the villages of Korostiv and Kozeve (Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast) killed a junior sergeant of the MVD.

In May 1948 underground members destroyed all the village soviets in Yaremche raion (Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 8 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Dorozhiv (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 8 May 1948 in the village of Lakhvychi (Liubeshiv raion, Volyn oblast) insurgents shot an armed party member who was terrorizing the village residents.

On 9 May 1948 in the village of Nadiiv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members liquidated the head of a KPZ [pre-trial detention cell] of the Dolyna raion office of the MGB and one strybok.

On 9 May 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm and destroyed the telephone line in the village of Verbliany (Nemyriv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 10 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Kypiachka (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 10 May 1948 insurgents disarmed strybyky in the village of Ostriv (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast). During the disarming, they shot a strybok who resisted.

On 10 May 1948 underground members destroyed a mobile film projector in the village of Yavche (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 11 May 1948 insurgents disarmed a strybyk station in the village of Luka (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast). Nine rifles and one submachine gun were seized.

On 12 May 1948 in the village of Verbivtsi (Budaniv raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD soldiers, who were going from house to house robbing food, encountered insurgents in the yard of one house. The first one opened steady fire on them. A skirmish ensued, during which one MVD soldier was killed and another was severely wounded. The insurgents did not have any losses.

On 13 May 1948 in the village of Sytykhiv (Novy Yarychiv raion, Lviv oblast) underground members liquidated three MVD soldiers from the MVD garrison in the village of Briukhovychi.

On 14 May 1948 an assassin, acting on the underground's orders, assassinated the manager of a peat plant in the village of Vilkhova (Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), who was a particularly active opponent of the liberation movement.

On 14 May 1948 underground members disarmed a strybyky station in the village of Maidan (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast). Eleven rifles and one sub-machine gun were seized. At the same time, the office of the village soviet was demolished, and telephone equipment was destroyed.

On 14 May 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and MVD troops took place in the village of Pochapy (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast). An MVD captain was killed in the skirmish, and the underground member, who was surrounded by the enemy, shot himself to avoid being captured alive.

On 14 May 1948 in the village of Pidlisky Mali (Briukhovychi raion, Lviv oblast) thirty MVD bandits raided a house where the underground members Skakun and Zenko were billeted. A prolonged and fierce battle ensued, during which both underground members committed suicide after running out of ammunition. In the battle the enemy lost five men, including a captain, a senior lieutenant, and a lieutenant.

On 15 May 1948 underground members destroyed the premises of the village soviet in the village of Ulychno (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 May 1948 in the woods near the village of Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members liquidated a former strybok – a circuit MVD official – who fined more than one hundred peasants and sent several dozen for prosecution.

On 15 May 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Volia Velyka (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 16 May 1948 underground members shot an MVD man in the village of Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 16 May 1948 in the city of Novy Pochaiv (Ternopil oblast) insurgents fired on a gang of Bolshevik looters from the raion centre, as a result of which they severely wounded an authorized representative of the raion party committee. A machine gun was seized.

On 16 May 1948 underground members burned down the collective farm in the village of Rusyliv (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast), demolished the premises of the village soviet, and disarmed the strybyky.

On 16 May 1948 underground members destroyed the village soviet in the village of Rizdviany (Burshtyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 17 May 1948 in the village of Volochyn (Bunachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground members fired on armed bandits from the administration, who had come to the village for procurements. The frightened robbers scattered.

On 17 May 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and an MVD group took place in the village of Artasiv (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast). The wounded underground member shot himself with a pistol.

On 18 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Nyzhnie Synovydne (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 18 May 1948 in the village of Velyki Didushychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members fired on a group of MVD operatives, killing one MVD man and wounding another.

On 18 May 1948 insurgents demolished the premises of the village soviet in the village of Novosilka (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 20 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Pidtemne (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast).

On 21 May 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit in a field near the village of Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast). One enemy was killed in battle and another was wounded. The insurgents had no losses.

On 22 May 1948 insurgents skirmished with an MVD group in the village of Hostyntsyve (Mostyska raion, Drohobych oblast). One of the enemy was wounded during the skirmish. The insurgents did not have any losses.

On 22 May 1948 underground members were ambushed by the MVD in the village of Peredmirka (Lanivtsi raion, Ternopil oblast). A skirmish ensued, as a result of which the MVD troops retreated under heavy fire from the underground members.

On 23 May 1948 in the village of Dibryniv (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) insurgents fired on an MVD unit that was convoying arrested youths. An MVD lieutenant was killed by insurgent bullets, and two rank-and-file MVD soldiers were wounded.

On 23 May 1948 underground members destroyed the club in the village of Hlibovychi (Bibrka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 23 May 1948 in the village of Zaboiky (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents severely wounded the club's manager, who went around armed, terrorizing the population, and was the initiator of the collective farm in the village.

On 23 May 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD group took place in the village of Zavadka (Voynyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 23 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Hrabivka (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 23 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Novytsi (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).



On 24 May 1948 in the village of Kupchyntsi (Kozliv raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents waged a battle against an MVD unit, during which two MVD soldiers were killed.

On 24 May 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Bovshiv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the village of Shchurovychi (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast). There were no losses on either side.

On 25 May 1948 underground members encountered an MVD group in the village of Zhulychi (Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast). A skirmish ensued, as a result of which one underground member was killed.

On 25 May 1948 a group of insurgents fired on an MVD unit in the village of Ivannia (Dubno raion, Rivne oblast).

On 25 May 1948 in the village of Sataniv (Kremianets raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents ambushed a vehicle with armed bandits from the raion centre, who were travelling from village to village terrorizing the population. Insurgent gunfire killed the authorized representative of the raion party committee and two militia men. An MVD captain was severely wounded. The insurgents captured two submachine guns and a rifle.

On 25 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and an MVD group took place in the woods near the village of Ilemia (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 May 1948 two insurgents encountered an MVD group in the woods between the villages of Sukhodil and Poliana (Shchyrets raion, Lviv oblast). A skirmish ensued, during which one MVD soldier was killed.

On 26 May 1948 a group of underground members encountered an MVD unit in the Krynychka forest (Pustomyty raion, Lviv oblast). Two MVD soldiers were killed in the skirmish.

On 26 May 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and a unit of the MVD's Railway Troops took place in the woods near the village of Nyzhnia Stynava (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 26 May 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Kholovychi (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 26 May 1948 an MVD sergeant was killed in a battle against insurgents in the village of Nimshyn (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 27 May 1948 in the village of Tyshkovychi (Nyzhankovychi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members ambushed an MVD vehicle. During the skirmish two Border Guard officers were killed and one was wounded.

On 27 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in a field near the village of Bovshiv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 27 May 1948 a group of Border Guards encountered three underground members in the forest near the village of Husakiv (Nyzhankovychi raion, Drohobych oblast). The underground members opened fire on the Border Guards, as a result of which three bandits were killed, and the others fled. Two underground members set out in pursuit of the Border Guards, and while doing so ran into an MVD machine gun nest. Enemy fire killed one underground member and wounded another. Several enemies were also wounded.

On 28 May 1948 a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit in the village of Zaluzhany (Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 28 May 1948 in the village of Kurnyky (Velyki Birky, Ternopil oblast) insurgents executed, by hanging, the secretary of the very first Komsomol organization, a secret agent of the raion office of the MGB, who worked as a financial agent, went about armed, and terrorized the population.

On 28 May 1948 in the village of Sukil (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast) a skirmish took place between insurgents and a group of mine layers, who opened fire on the insurgents.

On 28 May 1948 underground members waged a battle against MVD troops in the village of Stoianiv (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast). One underground member died a hero's death in battle.

On 29 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the woods known as Lys (Vyhoda raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 29 May 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against a Border Guard unit near the village of Radokhynsi (Nyzhankovychi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 30 May 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Zeleny Yar (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 30 May 1948 underground members fired on MVD troops in the village of Bolokhiv (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), as a result of which one rank and file MVD soldier was killed.

On 30 May 1948 underground members burned down the MTS and four threshing machines in the village of Ferleivka (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast).

On 30 May 1948 in the village of Toporiv (Busk raion, Lviv oblast) underground members assassinated a Bolshevik lackey, a party member.

On 30 May 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and MVD troops took place in the village of Triitsia (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast).

That same day there was a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops in Kutu Triietski, a hamlet of the village of Triitsia.

On 30 May 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Zavydovychi (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast).

In late May 1948 insurgents who were billeted with a collective farm member on a homestead near the village of Mylyny Oleksandrivski (Vinkivtsi raion, Kamianets-Podilskyi oblast) shot Popelniukh, an MVD district officer, and an

authorized representative from the office of the Ministry of Procurement.

In May and June 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm in the village of Chernytsia (Pidkamin raion, Lviv oblast) and laid mines on a path leading to the garrison. A mine killed an MGB lieutenant and a senior sergeant, and also severely wounded four fighters. In the village of Litovyshchi, in the same raion, underground members shot an MVD soldier from the garrison. In the village of Hai Starobridski (Brody raion, Lviv oblast) underground members, avenging the robberies committed against the population, liquidated an authorized representative of the Ministry of Procurement. In the village of Kadlubysko (Zabolotsi, Lviv oblast) insurgents killed a Bolshevik bandit and wounded three. In the village of Palykorovy (Pidkamin raion, Lviv oblast) underground members burned down the collective farm, destroyed the village soviet, telephone equipment, the club, [and] a dairy, and liquidated two strybyky. A motor vehicle filled with MVD soldiers who were driving from the raion centre to provide assistance was destroyed by a mine laid earlier by underground members. A lieutenant colonel of the MGB from Kyiv, Nikitin, the head of the raion office of the MGB, and twelve MVD soldiers were wounded. The enemy probably suffered more losses, but it managed to conceal them.

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On 1 June 1948 a skirmish between MVD troops and a group of underground members took place in the village of Verkhnia-Mostyshche (Voynyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast), during which one MVD soldier was wounded.

On 1 June 1948 insurgents burned down the dairy and the premises of a club in the village of Dashava (Stryi raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 2 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in the village of Opaka (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast). The enemy lost one man, and another was wounded. There were no losses on the insurgents' side.

On 2 June 1948 underground members liquidated an MGB sergeant in the village of Fashchivka (Pidvolochyske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 2 June 1948 in the village of Kobylovolyky (Budaniv raion, Ternopil oblast) MVD troops carrying out searches encountered two insurgents who were lodging in a barn. The underground members fired on the MVD troops, as a result of which one MVD soldier was wounded, and the others fled and went to ground only some distance from the barn. A battle ensued. The insurgents burned all the organizational materials they had with them so that they would not fall into the enemy's hands. Through the clatter of machine gun and submachine gun fire, the insurgents shouted: "We, Ukrainian insurgents,

are fighting for the Ukrainian Independent United State! We are not the last – even if we fall in battle, the entire nation will carry on the struggle!” The MVD troops sent a fighter to the village soviet to telephone for assistance. He ran to the village soviet and began summoning help from the raion centre, adding that they already had one fatality and one casualty. However, after carrying out the order, the MVD soldier was afraid to leave the village soviet. Meanwhile, the insurgents, singing “We Are Marching into Battle with a Song on Our Lips,” showered the enemy with grenades and charged into the breach, and retreated safely.

In the summer of 1948 insurgents burned down the collective farm in the village of Yasenytsia (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast).

On 3 June 1948 a battle between underground members and an MVD group took place in the village of Mosurivka (Zastavna raion, Chernivtsi oblast). The enemy lost several men. Two underground members, who were severely wounded in battle, shot themselves.

On 3 June 1948 a skirmish between an underground member and MVD troops took place near the village of Kamianka (Skole raion, Drohobych oblast). The underground member wounded two MVD soldiers – severely wounded and encircled by enemies, he shot himself.

On 4 June 1948 a skirmish between two insurgents and a group of MVD operatives took place in the village of Hrabiv (Rozhniativ raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 4 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and MVD troops took place in a field near the village of Vyspa (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 4 June 1948 a group of underground members waged a battle against an MVD unit between the villages of Vynohrad and Priklyshche (Hvizdets raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 5 June 1948 a group of underground members battled with a Bolshevik outpost in the forest near the village of Toporiv (Busk raion, Lviv oblast).

On 5 June 1948 insurgents burned down the equipment of a club in the village of Chernyliava (Yavoriv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 5 June 1948 in Zymivky, a hamlet of the village of Oriv (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast), underground members spotted MVD troops and opened fire on them. Neither side had any losses as a result of the ensuing skirmish.

On 6 June 1948 underground members shot a strybok from the raion centre in the village of Liashkiv (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast).

On 6 June 1948 in the village of Horyslavychi (Nyzhankovychi raion, Drohobych oblast) underground members laid an ambush for an authorized loans representative, the head of the raion trade department, who walked around the village armed and persecuted the population. He was ambushed and killed.

On 6 June 1948 in the village of Sknyliv (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast) underground assassins killed the secretary of the party organization who was terrorizing the population.

On 6 June 1948 underground members demolished the club in the village of Kosteiv (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast).

On 7 June 1948 MVD troops encountered underground members in the village of Kalna (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). A battle ensued, as a result of which the underground members, surrounded by the enemy and having earlier destroyed everything they had with them, blew themselves up with grenades.

On 8 June 1948 a group of insurgents stumbled into an MVD ambush in the woods near the village of Hrytsevolia (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast). A skirmish ensued, as a result of which one insurgent was killed.

On 8 June 1948 underground members waged a battle against MVD troops in Zalissia, a hamlet of the village of Nestanychi (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast). Two MVD soldiers were killed in battle and one was wounded.

On 9 June 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Kuliava (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast).

In June 1948 in the village of Pylpy Oleksandrivski (Mynkivtsi raion, Kamianets-Podilskyi oblast) a battle took place between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit along with armed members of the administration. An MVD district officer and an authorized representative from the raion office of the Ministry of Procurement were killed in battle. The insurgents had no losses.

During the second-quarter of 1948 insurgents demolished a number of village soviets and dairies in villages in Bolekhiv, Dolyna, and Rozhnatiiv raions.

On 9 June 1948 MVD troops conducting searches in the village of Butyny (Velyki Mosty raion, Lviv oblast) encountered two underground members. A fierce battle ensued, during which two MVD soldiers were wounded. The encircled underground members, hopelessly trapped, blew themselves up with grenades.

On 10 June 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the woods near the village of Kropyvnyk Novy (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 10 June 1948 underground members shot an MVD district officer in broad daylight in the village of Bystrytsia (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 10 June 1948 underground members destroyed the telephone line between the villages of Dubrovytsia and Dovzhky (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 10 June 1948 in the village of Vykhopni (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast) an MVD group raided a peasant's house. At that time insurgents were passing nearby. They opened fire on the MVD soldiers and forced them to flee.

On 11 June 1948 underground members waged a battle against an MVD group in the village of Boianets (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 11 June 1948 underground members destroyed a movie camera in the village of Moloshkovychi (Yavoriv raion, Lviv oblast).

On 12 June 1948 insurgents burned down the village soviet in the village of Yabloniv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 12 June 1948 underground members liquidated an MVD district officer in the village of Dyvyn (Dyvyn raion, Brest oblast, Belarusian SSR).

On 13 June 1948 a UPA subunit attacked a strybyk station in the village of Maidan (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast). As a result of the surprise attack, one strybok was killed and two were wounded.

On 13 June 1948 in the raion centre of Horodok (Lviv oblast) an underground assassin severely wounded a Bolshevik lackey, a collective farm organizer who had inflicted great harm on the population.

On 14 June 1948 insurgents liquidated a party member in the village of Tsuniv (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast). A pistol was captured.

On 14 June 1948 in the village of Krynytsia (Horodok raion, Lviv oblast) an underground assassin severely wounded an MVD captain, who died of his wounds later.

On 14 June 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Bortiatyn (Sudova Vyshnia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 14 June 1948 a group of underground members encountered MVD troops in the village of Vyspa (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The underground members opened fire on the MVD troops. A battle ensued, in which two MVD soldiers were killed and one underground member was wounded.

On 14 June 1948 insurgents destroyed the collective farm in the village of Vynnyky (Pidbuzh raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 14 June 1948 underground members fired on an MVD group in the village of Tomashivtsi (Voinyliv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast). The MVD soldiers fled.

On 14 June 1948 in the village of Mykolaiv (Lopatyn raion, Lviv oblast) MVD soldiers entered the home of a [female] schoolteacher from the eastern oblasts, with whom insurgents were staying at the time. A battle ensued, in which the MVD troops lost their machine gunner.

In mid-June 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place near the village of Silets Benkiv (Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast). There were no losses on either side.

On 15 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and MVD troops took place in the forest between the villages of Bronytsia and Medvezha (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 15 June 1948 a group of underground members waged a battle with an MVD unit in the village of Skomorokhy Novi (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 16 June 1948 two underground members battled with an MVD group in the village of Kuliava (Velyki Mosty raion, Lviv oblast).

On 16 June 1948 insurgents skirmished with a group of MVD operatives in the village of Zavii (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 17 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and strybyky took place in Maziarnia, a hamlet of the village of Stoianiv (Radekhyv raion, Lviv oblast). One strybok was wounded in the skirmish.

On 18 June 1948 in the village of Nadiiv (Dolyna raion, Stanyslaviv oblast) underground assassins shot a party member – the organizer of the collective farm and MGB agent.

On 18 June 1948 a battle was fought between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit near the village of Stizhok (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 18 June 1948 in the village of Kolodno (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents liquidated an MVD soldier from the garrison in the town of Zhovtantsi.

On 18 June 1948 a group of insurgents battled with an MVD unit in the woods near the village of Iliv (Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 20 June 1948 during a skirmish with underground members in the village of Bilche (Borshchiv raion, Ternopil oblast), one MVD soldier was killed and two were wounded, one of whom died shortly.

On 20 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Bilche (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 20 June 1948 insurgents destroyed a movie camera in the village of Volia Yakubova (Drohobych raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 21 June 1948 insurgents laid an ambush near the village of Bolianovychi (Krukenychi raion, Drohobych oblast), killing two MVD soldiers.

On 21 June 1948 in the village of Krasnosiltsi (Zbarazh raion, Ternopil oblast) ten MVD soldiers entered a house where there were two insurgents. The insurgents opened fire on the enemy. The battle lasted three hours. When the MVD troops set fire to the house, the insurgents, hopelessly trapped, shot themselves. Four MVD soldiers were wounded in the battle.

On 21 June 1948 two underground members fought against twelve MVD soldiers on the railway line between the city of Bolekhiv and the village of Hoshiv (Stanyslaviv oblast). The enemy had three fatalities and one casualty. Surrounded by the enemy, the underground members perished.

On 22 June 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place at the edge of a forest near the village of Bilshiv (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 22 June 1948 a group of insurgents battled with MVD troops near the village of Voloshcha (Medenytsia raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 22 June 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and two underground members took place near the village of Liadske (Krasne raion, Lviv oblast). An MVD lieutenant was wounded in the skirmish. The insurgents had no losses.

On 22 June 1948 a group of insurgents waged a battle against a larger MVD unit in the woods near the village of Sukhovia (Brody raion, Lviv oblast). The enemy lost two men and one was wounded in the battle. There was one killed on the insurgents' side.

On 24 June 1948 underground members burned down the collective farm and destroyed a tractor in the village of Livchysi (Komarne raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 24 June 1948 in the city of Dolyna (Stanyslaviv oblast) underground assassins liquidated, in broad daylight, a financial agent who was an enemy lackey and MVD agent.

On 25 June 1948 in the village of Kryve (Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents fired on MVD troops who were hunting for young boys slated for slave labour in the Donbas region.

On 25 June 1948 in the village of Zastavia (Velyki Birky raion, Ternopil oblast) insurgents liquidated the commander of an extermination battalion who, together with MVD troops, was conducting searches, breaking down the doors of peasants' houses, and terrorizing the population.

On 25 June 1948 a skirmish between an MVD group and underground members took place in the woods near the village of Sloboda Bolekhivska (Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of insurgents and an MVD unit took place in the village of Novytsia (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 25 June 1948 in the village of Kupyhovia (Velyki Mosty raion, Lviv oblast) underground members sprayed an MVD group with machine gun fire, as a result of which an MVD lieutenant was killed and an MVD soldier was wounded.

On 26 June 1948 a Security Service (SB) fighting group liquidated the commander of the strybky in the village of Shchelpaky (Nove Selo raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 26 June 1948 a skirmish between a group of underground members and an MVD unit took place in the village of Hermakivka (Melnytsia-Podilska raion, Ternopil oblast). One underground member was killed in the skirmish.

On 26 June 1948 on the road leading from the village of Pishyntsi to the forest (Probizhna raion, Ternopil oblast) an MVD group encountered a Ukrainian Red Cross nurse, the underground member Tyrza. With her pistol the underground member wounded two MVD soldiers and then she was killed, her body riddled with bullets.



On 27 June 1948 three underground members ambushed by MVD troops in the village of Zheldets (Kulykiv raion, Lviv oblast) gave battle, during which they died a hero's death.

On 27 June 1948 underground members destroyed the club in the village of Kozyrshchyna (Demydivka raion, Rivne oblast).

On 27 June 1948 underground members skirmished with an MVD group in the village of Uhorsk (Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast).

On 27 June 1948 a skirmish between insurgents and an MVD group took place in the woods near the village of Svystilnyky (Bilshivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 June 1948 a skirmish between underground members and MVD troops took place in the village of Hrabivka (Perehinske raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

On 28 June 1948 in the village of Sushno (Radekhiv raion, Lviv oblast) insurgents liquidated two strybyky and the head of the collective farm, who was harming the population. At the same time, they destroyed the office of the village soviet and the telephones in the village soviet and the spirits factory.

On 30 June 1948 a group of insurgents skirmished with an MVD unit in the village of Kanevychi (Sambir raion, Drohobych oblast).

On 30 June 1948 in the village of Maidan (Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast) an underground member fired on MVD troops, killing one MVD soldier. The underground member retreated safely.

In late June 1948 an underground assassin killed two staff members of the MGB Railway Troops in the city of Khodoriv. The assassination was carried out in broad daylight at the Pomoniata–Psary station (Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast).

In the summer of 1948 insurgents carried out mass actions against collective farms in Volyn oblast. Collective farms were burned down in the following villages: Pervissia, Horodyshche (Lukivtsi raion), Dorotyshche (Kovel raion), Hupaly and Zapillia (Liuboml raion) Polapy (Holovne raion) Dubechko, Krymno (Zabolottia raion) Ratno, Buzaky, Khotyshiv, Chorne, Vysochne, Prokhid (Ratne raion) Synove, Zamshany, Mizove (Stara Vyzhivka raion) Toboly, Vorokomych (Kamin-Kashyrsky raion). Simultaneously, village soviets were demolished in some of the above-mentioned villages, and Bolshevik lackeys and activists were liquidated. In the village of Horodyshche (Lukivtsi raion) insurgents liquidated the representative of the raion centre in the village of Polapy (Holovne raion), [and] the authorized representative of the raion party committee was liquidated in the village of Vysochne (Ratne raion); one strybok was liquidated.

## Propaganda Activities of the Ukrainian Underground

DOCUMENT 107: LEAFLET:  
VOLUNTEERS IN GERMAN MILITARY UNITS

*September 1943*

*Ukrainians!*

On Friday, 22 October 1943, the next group of volunteers for the SS Galicia Division is arriving in Stanyslaviv in order to join the active struggle against Ukraine's age-old enemy, Jewish-Bolshevik Moscow.

They will stay in the city until Sunday.

On Sunday, 24 October 1943, a Festive Send-off Ceremony of the volunteers by the government and civic representatives of the Stanyslaviv District will take place on Adolf Hitler Square at 11:00 a.m.

We call on all Ukrainian Citizens to participate en masse in this Festive Send-off, and also to contribute to intensifying the festive atmosphere by decorating homes with national flags.

After the conclusion of the send-off at the square the volunteers will march to the railway station.

We request that citizens accompany those who are departing.

Glory to the young freedom fighters!

District Military Administration      Ukrainian District Committee  
Captain I. Popovych      Professor M. Lepky<sup>1</sup>

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 35, fols. 100–1.

<sup>1</sup> The identities of Captain I. Popovych and Professor M. Lepky are not known.

DOCUMENT 108: LEAFLET-APPEAL:  
 GEORGIANS AND OTHER PEOPLES OF THE CAUCASUS

[Russian-language document]

1943

*Freedom for nations and for the individual!  
 For the national states of enslaved peoples!*

*Georgians and Other Peoples of the Caucasus, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Turkmen, Tajiks,  
 Bashkirs, Tatars, the Peoples of the Ural, Volga, and Siberia, Peoples of Asia!*

The war into which Moscow has dragged us is being waged for imperialistic interests. Moscow and Berlin are arguing between themselves about which of them is to pillage you. For entire centuries imperialistic Moscow has been robbing you of your bread, your iron, your coal, your cattle, your cotton, and during the war they took a levy of blood from you: your sons and fathers to the front.

In exchange, it sent you her officials, who tormented the people, scorned your culture, mocked your language.

Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia! Today all the peoples face the task of restructuring the world on the basis of national origins. At its foundation will be laid the existence of independent national states of the peoples of Europe and Asia. It is possible to realize this goal only by waging a struggle against the imperialists of Berlin and Moscow. The struggle should take place on all the territories seized by the imperialists. Therefore, each individual should wage a struggle where he is located and in accord with the people among which he lives.

On the territory of Ukraine the struggle against the imperialists was launched by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The UPA is waging a struggle under the slogan, "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual! For the independent states of the peoples of Europe and Asia!"

"Enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia! Join the UPA!"

"Come over to the side of the insurgents with your weapons! Wage a general struggle against the imperialists!"

"Down with Hitlerite and Stalinist imperialism! Long live the freedom of the peoples!"

"Down with the war – long live peace!"

"Death to Hitler and Stalin!"

"Long live the national revolutions of enslaved peoples!"

"Long live the independent states of Eastern Europe and Asia!"

*Main Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army*

DOCUMENT 109: LEAFLET-APPEAL:  
COMRADES, RUSSIAN RED ARMY SOLDIERS

[Russian-language document]

November 1943

*For the Independent United Ukrainian State!  
Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!*

*Russian Comrades, Red Army Soldiers and Commanders!*

We, Ukrainian insurgents, recognize your heroism in the struggle against the German occupiers. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the occupied parts of Ukraine has also waged fierce battles against the German gangs, defended the people from Hitlerite terror, and championed Ukraine's right to a life of liberty. Now, in replacement of the Hitlerite regime, the Bolshevik-Stalinist regime has arrived in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian people regard the Bolsheviks not as liberators but as ordinary aggressors, who are merely hiding behind the mendacious phrases of "friendship," "liberation," and "happiness." What did the Bolsheviks give the Ukrainian people besides the most savage repressions and terror? The whole world knows that the Bolsheviks have shot millions of Ukrainians, thrown them into prisons and concentration camps, and deported them from their native land to foreign lands. In point of fact, Ukraine is governed not by Ukrainians but by Kremlin-Stalinist satraps, Khrushchevs and Kaganoviches. Everyone is aware that Ukraine's riches are being swallowed up by all-Union Bolshevism, and the Ukrainian people are doomed to a hungry, miserable existence. Everyone is aware that the Bolsheviks in Ukraine forcibly imposed Russification on Ukraine and brutally uprooted all kinds of manifestations of the authentic national culture. This is precisely why the Ukrainian people are decisively seeking complete separation from the Bolshevik Soviet Union.

In separating, the Ukrainian people are appealing to all the peoples of the Soviet Union for sincere friendship and all-round cooperation on the principles of the independence of Independent National States. We will also maintain friendly relations with the Russian people if they, having shaken off the Stalinist yoke, construct their state only in their own ethnographic lands. But, we will never agree to the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists, under the cover of "liberation," occupying our Ukraine, political and nationally oppressing and looting it. The Ukrainian people will persistently defend their independence with arms in their hands, and no sacrifices whatsoever will halt their struggle. Our right is sacred, and only enemies of humanity, barbarians, Kremlin butchers, and their chained dogs can oppose them.

Comrades, Red Army soldiers and commanders! We are appealing to you to support our struggle for an Independent Ukraine – without Hitlerite and Bolshevik enslavement. Do not stand against us with weapons. There has been enough blood! Do not listen to the commissars, who are stirring you up against the Ukrainian insurgents.

The freedom-loving Ukrainian people are raising the banner of the liberation struggle together with all the peoples that the Bolshevik executioners have subdued.

*Long Live Independent Ukraine!*

*Long Live Independent Russia without the Stalinist-Bolshevik Regime!*

The Ukrainian insurgents

November 1943

*Printing House of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Freedom for Nations, Order no. 71-43*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 64, fol. 30.

DOCUMENT 110: LEAFLET-APPEAL: UKRAINIANS,  
FIGHTERS, AND COMMANDERS OF THE RED ARMY*December 1944*

*For the Independent United Ukrainian State!  
Freedom for Nations, Freedom for the Individual!*

*Ukrainians – Fighters and Commanders of the Red Army!  
Our Dear Brothers!*

The Ukrainian insurgents are appealing to you. We know that you were awash in blood during the struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. We know that in this terrible war many of you demonstrated unprecedented heroism, bravery, and determination.

The German executioners were devastating Ukraine, pillaging it, and viciously destroying the people. Now these brutal gangs are retreating from our land. Replacing Hitlerite terror, the Bolshevik dictatorship is arriving once again in Ukraine.

Brothers! Will you have a human life under the Bolshevik-Stalinist regime? Is the happiness that the Bolsheviks are proclaiming so loudly truly coming to us? Not many facts are necessary to prove that the Bolshevik dictatorship does not differ in any way from the Hitlerite dictatorship!

The whole world knows that during their rule in Ukraine the Bolsheviks destroyed entire millions of the Ukrainian people. There is not a single family of a Ukrainian Red Army soldier without someone who was shot by the NKVD or deported for life-long Siberian penal servitude, thrown into prison or a political isolator, repressed or punished for some kind of “deviation,” deported from his native land, or convicted of “violations of work discipline.” Everyone knows that the Bolsheviks were looting Ukraine; all its riches were going to Moscow, Leningrad, to the insatiable all-Union parasite. And the Ukrainian people were starving to death, walk[ed] around dressed in rags, and lived in Dogtowns in the cities.

Do the Ukrainian people govern Ukraine? The former Ukrainian Bolsheviks who dreamed of a so-called Independent Soviet Ukraine were destroyed by the Muscovite-Bolshevik executioners. They murdered [Hryhorii] Hrynko, Yurko Kotsiubynsky, Panas Liubchenko, [Mykola] Skrypnyk, [Mykola] Khvylovy.<sup>2</sup>

2 Hryhorii Hrynko was a Ukrainian communist executed in March 1938 during the Great Terror. Yurko (Yurii) Kotsiubynsky was a Ukrainian Bolshevik, co-founder of the Red Cossacks, executed on 8 March 1937 as a Trotskyite. Panas Liubchenko served as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. He committed suicide on 30

And now all these Korniiichuks, Korniietses, Hrechukhas are merely puppets, servants, lackeys in the hands of the Kremlin Cain – Stalin – and his comrades in arms, the Kaganoviches, Postyshevs, Khrushchevs.<sup>3</sup>

In Ukraine, Bolshevism systematically and consistently pursued the policies of terror and national and political oppression. Even while retreating from Ukraine under pressure from the German hordes, the Bolshevik NKVD organized a bloodbath for the Ukrainians. In Lviv the Bolshevik executioners murdered 3,000 Ukrainians. There, in Lychakiv Cemetery, 640 victims lie in one mass grave alone. In Uman the Red cut-throats tortured to death 863 people. In Lutsk 2,000 of the finest Ukrainians were shot.

During the German occupation concealed Bolsheviks served the Gestapo with faith and truth. They were the ones who handed over to the German executioners thousands of honest Ukrainians in Kryvy Rih, Odesa, Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, and Rivne.

Pushing into our lands, the Stalinist executioners said that they were bringing “paradise” to the Ukrainians. That “paradise” was experienced by your families in the German rear lines from the Red gangs that called themselves partisans, the Kremlin’s emissaries. Those gangs embroiled Ukrainians in provocations vis-à-vis the Germans, owing to which the cities and villages of Ukraine suffered from double German terror. The Red gangs looted your villages, confiscated the last head of cattle from people, and ripped the last piece of bread from children’s hands. A key example of such looting is the town of Derazhne, which the Reds stripped to the bone. There were thousands of such examples. The Red gangs

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August 1937. Mykola Skrypnyk was a Ukrainian Bolshevik whose promotion of Ukrainization ended when he committed suicide in Kharkiv on 7 July 1933. Mykola Khvylovy was a poet and writer of the “Executed Renaissance” in the 1920s–30s in Soviet Ukraine. He committed suicide in Kharkiv on 13 May 1933.

3 Oleksander Korniiichuk became a member of the Writers’ Union of Ukraine in 1934 and was Stalin’s protégé. Leonid Korniiets was chairman of Soviet Ukraine’s Council of People’s Commissars. Mykhailo Hrechukha was president of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR in 1939 and, in October of that year, after the Red Army conquered Galicia and Volyn, he helped organize manipulated elections to the People’s Assembly of Western Ukraine and the incorporation of these territories into the USSR. He was a close associate of Nikita Khrushchev. Pavel Postyshev was a Red Army commander and founder of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine who would play a leading role in the destruction of Trotskyites and Ukrainian national communists and in the forced collectivization of agriculture, which contributed to the Great Famine of 1932–33 (the Holodomor). He came to be known as “the hangman of Ukraine.” Postyshev fell out of favour with Stalin and was executed on 26 February 1939. Lazar Moiseevich Kaganovich was one of Stalin’s inner circle, also known for his role in the 1932–33 famine in Soviet Ukraine. Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchev was the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union from 1953 to 1964 and served as premier from 1958 to 1964. From late 1943 until March 1947, when Stalin replaced him with Kaganovich, he oversaw the reconstruction of war-devastated Ukraine while also imposing collectivization and furthering counterinsurgency efforts.

shot the Ukrainian population no worse than the NKVD. In just the village of Stara Rafalivka, Kolky raion, in the Volyn region, the Red monsters killed sixty men, women, and children, and then burned the village to the ground.

This is the kind of "happiness" that the leading detachments of Bolshevism are bringing us. Once the Kremlin dictators consolidate their grip on Ukraine, they will drown our people in blood, just as they have done for twenty-four years.

Brothers! We will not trade the Hitlerite yoke for the Bolshevik one. The Ukrainian people will not trade executioners. Having expelled the Germans from Ukraine, turn your weapons against the Red occupiers. We will have no life as long as German or Bolshevik conquerors remain on Ukrainian soil.

For many months the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was born in the occupied lands of Ukraine, has been waging bloody battles against the German invaders and Red gangs, protecting the people from physical extinction and looting, championing the Ukrainian people's right to a free independent life. The finest sons of Ukraine have become insurgents. Among them are also many former Red Army soldiers, commanders, and former Red partisans, who did not march together with the agents of the Bolshevik occupiers.

In their liberation struggle the Ukrainian nation is marching with all the enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia. In the UPA are now national detachments of Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Tatars, Armenians, Uzbeks, and other nations that seek to break away from the all-Union Bolshevik executioner. We will also be in accord with the Russian nation, which will build a state only on its ethnographic territory. But, we will never agree to the policies of the Russian occupiers, who have brutally conquered the Ukrainian nation and placed their grasping executioner's hand on it.

This war will be a protracted one. The mutual weakening of the imperialists and the emergence of new contradictions between them are creating favourable circumstances for the victorious conclusion of our struggle.

Red Army soldiers and commanders! Do not listen to the Muscovite-Bolshevik conquerors, do not fight against your own brothers, the insurgents. Join the fighting ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The armed Ukrainian nation, together with all the enslaved peoples, will smash the Bolshevik prison of nations of the USSR and will build its own Sovereign Independent Ukraine.

*Long live Independent Ukraine!*

*Long live the Independent States of all peoples enslaved by Bolshevism!*

Supreme Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

*Billets*, December 1943

Printing House of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists for an Independent Ukraine.

Order nos. 73-43



DOCUMENT 111: LEAFLET-APPEAL:  
 FIGHTERS AND COMMANDERS OF THE RED ARMY

1944

*Fighters and Commanders of the Red Army!*

You smashed fascist Germany, you achieved glory on the battlefields of the Great Patriotic War. Stalin promised you a peaceful, happy life after the war. But that is not what happened. The Stalinist clique, preparing for a new war, strengthened terror instead of freedom, it strengthened exploitation instead of a prosperous life. The nations and citizens of the USSR are experiencing the new oppression of Stalinist enslavement.

A new revolutionary force supported by nations and citizens is growing and expanding against Stalin, against his terror, against his imperialism.

*Red Army Soldiers!* You saw the active resistance of the masses to the Stalinist regime during the elections to the Supreme Soviet on 10 February 1946. Despite terror, despite the intensified activities of the NKVD and the NKGB, despite the arrests, deportations, shootings, despite the fact that all villages and cities were surrounded by units of the Red Army and the NKVD, the people did not go to the elections and steadfastly protested against the Stalinist regime.<sup>4</sup> This is evidence of the propaganda of revolution, proof of its strength. In many cases, this is proof of the friendship and cooperation of the people and the Red Army in the struggle against Stalin. This friendship of all anti-Stalinist forces must be realized and intensified towards a new victory.

Unite with the revolution – help the people in their struggle.

Organize revolutionary groups in Red Army units.

Expose and destroy Stalinist toadies, secret collaborators, agents of the NKVD-NKGB!

Stalin threw you into the bloody struggle against fascism, today it is sending you into a struggle against a nation and revolution, and in the nearest future it will send you into a new war in the enslaved new states and nations.

Do not be blind tools in Stalin's hands. It is time to think about your destiny, about a real, free life.

Down with terror and enslavement!

Down with Stalinist imperialism!

Death to Stalin!

<sup>4</sup> The first election in the USSR after 1937 was held on 10 February 1946, with a reported turnout of 99.7 percent of eligible voters. The Ukrainian nationalist movement attempted to promote a boycott of this election in the western Ukrainian lands (see Document 113).

Long live the friendship of nations and the Red Army!  
Long live the friendship of Red Army soldiers and revolutionaries!  
Long live friendship among nations and people!

*The Ukrainian Insurgents*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 64, fol. 85.

## DOCUMENT 112: LEAFLET: POLES

March 1945

*For the independent and free states of enslaved nations!  
Freedom for nations and the individual!*

“The UHVR seeks understanding and peaceful coexistence with all of Ukraine’s neighbours on the principle of the mutual recognition of the right to [our] own states in the ethnographic lands of each nation.”

*From the platform of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, June 1944  
Poles!*

Throughout history our two neighbouring peoples have shared the same fate and misfortune many times. Together we repulsed the Tatar invasion, together we smashed the Prussian Crusaders, in like fashion we experienced German-Austrian and Muscovite slavery, and in the last while, we have been enslaved identically by the Hitlerite and Bolshevik imperialists, against which both of our peoples have waged and are waging a concerted struggle.

During a protracted chapter of history, relations between the Polish and Ukrainian peoples have been varied. This led to consequences that can be boiled down to the following truth. Harmony between both our peoples brought them state might, and disharmony became the cause of decline and slavery. Thus, after Poland, in striking a blow at [our] back, helped Moscow to smash the Ukrainian Cossack state, three partitions of Poland ensued, followed by 150 years of harsh slavery; when, in 1918–20 Poland helped the Muscovite Bolsheviks to enslave Ukraine; after Poland’s brief [indecipherable] existence than the Bolsheviks themselves [indecipherable] with the Hitlerite aggressors they placed [indecipherable] a yoke on the Polish people, in which they [indecipherable] are [indecipherable] to this day, although the occupiers have changed.

Suddenly, after the flight of the Hitlerite occupiers, the Polish lands were occupied by the Bolsheviks who, in order to deceive the Polish and other peoples of the world, created an agentura-style, so-called democratic “government,” but in fact they enslaved the Polish people. In this situation it seemed that the Polish people should have launched, out of purely natural need, a merciless struggle first and foremost against the Kremlin enslavers. But the reality is different. Despite the fact that a certain proportion of Polish society is waging a decisive struggle against the Bolsheviks, nevertheless a [indecipherable] number of Poles have begun to collaborate with the Kremlin soul-killers and

together with the NKVD are persecuting, looting, and murdering the innocent Ukrainian population, denouncing Ukrainians, burning down Ukrainian settlements, etc. Furthermore, a certain part of Polish society has been yoked to this disgraceful work, and even members of the Polish independentist movement (AK), and specialists who are employed in the administration and the militia (incidents in the counties of Sanok, Lisko, Peremyshl, Yaroslav, and others). This is attested by facts and documents that are found in our hands and which we, of course, will utilize independently in the internal and international sectors.

What consequences for the Polish people will ensue from such an absurd struggle against the Ukrainians, which the Poles are waging in the Ukrainian-Polish lands?

They are as follows: 1) enmity between the Ukrainian and Polish peoples will deepen and force the Ukrainians to resort to defensive and reprisal actions; 2) the Poles will exclude themselves from the front of enslaved peoples and will bring about the complete isolation of their state problem – by its enslaved peoples and in the international arena in general. They will thereby condemn the issue of their own independence. For do the Polish people [indecipherable] not comprehend that Poland will never be able to be an independent state at the side of the Bolsheviks, but only on their corpses? But only all the united, enslaved peoples, among which the Ukrainians occupy a very important place, can the rout of the Bolsheviks [indecipherable] because they have put forward such a progressive idea that [indecipherable] undermines the Bolshevik nucleus.

Where, then, is the place of the Polish people in this free anti-Bolshevik front, and with [indecipherable] in the future awaits the Polish people in this connection? The Poles themselves should think about this.

Poles! Right now the Ukrainian people are waging a general struggle against the Bolshevik invaders. This struggle is being waged by the peoples of the Balkans, the Baltics, Eastern Europe, and Asia. This struggle is growing in strength with every passing day and will ultimately put an end to Bolshevik enslavement. At the same time, a conflict between the Anglo-Americans on one side and the Bolsheviks on the other is approaching. It must also be remembered that the Western Allies will treat the problem of the peoples who are enslaved by the Bolsheviks as a whole, like a single anti-Bolshevik front. Therefore, revise your powerful situation and join the ranks of the great liberation legion while there is still time. Help your deluded sons who have begun cooperating with the Red occupier in the struggle against the Ukrainians to come to their senses. But we will bring those who remain loyal agents of Stalin and continue to pillage, murder, and force the Ukrainian population to resettle and persecute [it], to their senses by means of lead [i.e., bullets]!

To Poles who are working in the administration and the militia!

Betraying your people, you have opted to collaborate with the bloodthirsty Bolshevik occupier – you are murdering the innocent Ukrainian population, you are looting its property, burning down farmsteads, tossing children into flames, killing women and old people, and carrying out bestial orgies throughout Ukrainian villages. And now we have been waiting for you to come to your senses, expecting that your political wisdom will come to the fore. But in your inactivity you are [indecipherable]. Therefore, we [indecipherable] have more radical measures. Nevertheless, by this we are not aiming to launch a struggle against the Polish people, who, just like us, are waging a merciless struggle against the Stalinist occupiers, but against you, traitors and agents. For the last time we are appealing to you to come to your senses: do not persecute, do not rob, do not shoot, do not kill the civilian Ukrainian population; do not beat prisoners, but treat them humanely, do not force [them] to resettle because the Ukrainian people will reply with armed self-defence and, after all, with this you will not resolve the border issue because you still do not have a state, and second, this issue can be resolved [only] by the actual Ukrainian and Polish governments; during encounters with the [Ukrainian] insurgents do not try to use weapons, and then you will leave with your lives. Do not carry out the orders of the Stalinist secret agents because these are the orders of those who killed hundreds of thousands of Poles from 1939 to 1941, who created the immense Katyn cemetery,<sup>5</sup> who today are executing Polish patriots in the prisons of Lublin and Rzeszów.

If you do not change your attitude to the Ukrainian population, then we will speak with you in the language of arms. And if innocents die in the meantime, then responsibility for this falls on your black conscience.

Come to your senses because your people will curse you!

Death to the German-Bolshevik invaders and their vile agents!

Long live the independent states of enslaved peoples!

March 1945 *The Ukrainian Insurgents*

Zenon Savchenko<sup>6</sup>

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 34, fols. 101–2.

5 The Katyn Massacre refers to a series of mass executions of over twenty-two thousand members of the Polish military and intelligentsia, carried out by the NKVD in April–May 1940, under the direction of Lavrentiy Beria, with Stalin's approval. Stalin severed relations with the Polish government-in-exile when General Sikorski publicly called for the International Red Cross to investigate the mass graves found by the Germans in Katyn Forest, in April 1943.

6 Vasyl Halasa (1920–2002), head of the Propaganda Section in the Zakerzonnia Territorial leadership of the OUN.

DOCUMENT 113: INSTRUCTION OF THE OUN  
LEADERSHIP ON BOYCOTT OF ELECTIONS TO  
THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE USSR

*Secret!*

*22 November 1945*

*For implementation by Krai Responsible Leaders for Propaganda!*

*Instructions*

*In connection with the boycott to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR*

Our stand on the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is negative because:

- a) The Supreme Soviet is the organ of an occupying power in relation to Ukraine.
- b) The Supreme Soviet is the tool of imperialistic policies in the hands of Stalin and his clique.
- c) The elections to the Supreme Soviet are neither free nor democratic.
- d) Today foreign countries are diligently studying Stalinist democracy.
- e) The Bolsheviks boast that they have liquidated our movement and the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle.

*That is why we are fully boycotting the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.*

The task of the Krai Responsible Leaders for Propaganda is to achieve the complete implementation of a boycott through the political mobilization of the masses.

1. The propaganda action for the boycott of the elections is to be launched among the population on 1 February 1946 in order to stop the Bolsheviks from familiarizing themselves too quickly with our real attitude to the elections. Until that time, broad explanatory work is to be carried out in accordance with the Instruction with regard to the propaganda campaign against the so-called elections on 10 November 1945, as well as intensive organizational preparation. When local conditions, such as Organizational difficulties, the weakness of the propaganda apparatus, demand it, deviations from the designated deadline are permitted.

2. To run off the leaflet *Ukrainians* in the necessary quantity for the territory in printed form, cyclostyling machines, typewriters, and by 1 February to deliver them to all stanytsias propaganda groups [and] UPA units so that it will be disseminated everywhere between 1 and 10 February, and especially on the day of the elections.

3. To deliver the *Calls for a Boycott* ... to all stanytsias, propaganda groups,

[and] UPA units by 1 February 1946, and to ensure that they appear en masse at the appropriate time. Low-level cells are to be issued with thoroughly elaborated guidelines about how to disseminate the appeals.

4. In the event that the Bolsheviks repeat the elections, the boycott is to be repeated.

5. The course of the elections must be recorded extremely accurately in all villages: how the Bolsheviks prepared the elections, what methods they used to terrorize the population, what armed force they used in every locale, how the population raised resistance during the period of the elections, etc. Individual acts of terror against individual citizens are to be provided accurately, with the mandatory listing of name, surname, age, form of terror.

6. The result of the election boycott is to be reported immediately.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

On behalf of the HOSP

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 38, fol. 12.

DOCUMENT 114: INSTRUCTION:  
CONCERNING SOME POLITICAL-PROPAGANDA ERRORS

[Russian-language document]

COPY  
*Translated from the Ukrainian*  
28 January 1946

*For internal use by leaders of propaganda sections  
Concerning certain Political-Propaganda errors*

In the publications of OUN raion propaganda cells and in the statements of certain propagandists one often encounters an incorrect approach to certain political problems, an incorrect assessment of political events and certain phenomena.

We will try to indicate the most important and frequently occurring of these mistakes and to explain what the correct assessment should be in every individual case.

1. Despite the fact that we have elucidated this question in political instructions, our people still frequently lump Stalinist imperialism together with the imperialism of the Russian people in general.

Our standpoint should be that it is not the people who are responsible for one policy or another of a given state, but only its political leaders, the ruling clique that (especially in such a state as the USSR), in possession of a corresponding apparatus of coercion, imposes its policies on the people by force, without reckoning with the people's protest.

In the struggle against Stalin, who in a certain sense equally oppresses both the national minorities and the Russian people, it is necessary to enlist the Russian people as well.

In the current imperialistic policy of the USSR the guilty party is not the Russian people as a whole but their current political leaders, the Stalinist clique, and for that reason it is necessary to attack not the entire people in [our] propaganda but only the clique.

Consequently, we, desiring to have the Russian people as an ally in our struggle against the Stalinist exploitative regime, should not ascribe imperialistic aspirations to them, since in doing so we would be placing the entire people as a whole in the position of our enemy.

It is necessary to speak about Stalinist imperialism, not Russian, about the imperialism of the Stalinist-Bolshevik clique, and not about the imperialism of the Russian people. It is necessary to speak about imperialistic elements among the Russian people as Stalinist agents, hirelings, traitors, and enemies of their own people.



We cannot close our eyes and, consequently, remain silent about the fact that even today a large proportion of Russians extol Stalinist policy. But whereas 80 percent of Russians praise this policy, for the time being 20 percent remain in passive opposition, and we should get hold of these 20 percent for ourselves and train them against Stalin, to know how to distinguish and separate the Russian people into agents of Stalin the imperialist – enemies of their own people – and genuine patriots, that is, those who are against Stalin the imperialist, against the annihilation of the people by means of the policy of constant arming, the policy of the constant “strengthening of the USSR’s military might.”

It is more than likely that we too can say with confidence that 20 percent are agents of Stalin, and 60 percent of the Russian people are in opposition.

Taking into account the need to involve the Russian people as well in the struggle against Stalinist imperialism, our propaganda should be active in this direction and set forth our positions clearly. This means that it is necessary not only to threaten Stalin’s hirelings with a bullet but also to draw the second part of the Russian people into an active struggle, but it is necessary to show them the goals for which they should struggle. To this proportion of Russians we should speak about the friendship of peoples in the struggle against reaction (this may be indicated along with the struggle against tsarism by pointing out that the Bolshevik clique betrayed the ideals of the October Revolution), about future, friendly cooperation within a system of independent national states.

In implementing this line in relation to the Russian people, it is necessary to be consistent and insistent. None of us should stir up individual cases of disagreement with the Ukrainians on the part of the Russians. It is necessary to remember that propaganda is successful even when it has at least shaken, if not convinced, only one out of a hundred of our enemies in his current views, which are hostile to us.

2. Very often, in looking at Hitlerite or Polish propaganda, we speak about the Bolsheviks as “wild Asia,” as “the barbaric East.”

It must be remembered that:

- a) the Western one is also a “wild” and “barbaric” people, and it is not pleasant for us to hear such compliments.
- b) in the USSR live dozens of oppressed peoples and, consequently, our allies, if not today then a bit later, at the moment of the awakening of their national and political awareness. Just as not a single German has gained our sympathies in speaking about us as about *Bärenvolk* (bear people), so we too will not earn the sympathies of the oppressed peoples if we speak about them as about “wild Asiatics,” “Eastern barbarians.”

Today Bolshevism is the blackest reaction not because it originated and developed in the East but because it is that kind of political system.

We have observed an analogous phenomenon on the part of Hitlerism. Hitlerism emerged amidst the most cultured people in the world, and it was the same type of reaction as Bolshevism. The main role was played not by geographic or racial factors but by the reactionary political foundations of the system. For that reason, such epithets as “wild Asia,” “Eastern barbarians” should disappear from our propaganda.

3. We often say with emphasis “communist paradise” instead of the USSR; party members are called “communists,” and the Bolshevik system – “communist.”

We should know that the Bolsheviks are not communists, that the Russian Bolsheviks in the persons of their leaders betrayed the ideas of communism, and that a special Bolshevik system, not a communist one, was created in the USSR.

Although the ideas of communism have been destroyed, they are supreme, noble, and for a long time to come they will trouble the hearts and minds of many who are oppressed and exploited.

On the contrary, Bolshevism is black reaction, an exploitative system that has no equal in history.

If we speak about communism as about Bolshevism, then above all we will demonstrate our lack of information in that regard, that it is as though we do not know how to grasp reality and assess it correctly; secondly, we are vulgarizing the concept of communism, and thereby we ourselves are setting the communist element against us, and at present this is undesirable for us.

Genuine communists should struggle just like we do, against Stalin, the exploiter of the labouring and oppressed peoples. This is why one should not mix Bolshevism with communism; on the contrary, it is necessary to contrast one against the other, criticize Bolshevism more actively and more eloquently, and be neutral towards communism.

4. We often use the term “Red occupiers,” “Red executioners,” and the like.

Just as Bolshevism has nothing in common with communism and even socialism, it has nothing in common with the Red Banner, the symbol of the working class’s just struggle for its liberation. Under this banner this struggle is continuing in the world even today, and we consider it a just struggle, a progressive phenomenon.

So there is no need to present the Red Banner, the symbol of the struggle for justice, as odious in the Ukrainian people’s consciousness.

We should channel the Ukrainian people’s hatred not against the Red Banner, with which the Bolsheviks are merely masking their imperialism, but against a different symbol, Stalin and his clique, the Bolshevik Kremlin, and the like.

5. One should also not use such a term as “bosiak” [someone down-and-out], regardless of the fact that it is very widespread among the people. After all a bosiak is not at all to blame for the fact that he is a bosiak.

It was the Stalinist clique that turned [such a person] into a bosiak, that is, into someone tattered, shoeless, hungry, and because of this bosiaky should be pitied; it is necessary to help them understand who is responsible for their poverty, not laugh at this situation of theirs. This is not only impolitic, for we will not achieve anything through mockery, but [it is] also unethical to laugh at someone else's misfortune, for which he himself is not to blame.

With such an appellation for Red Army soldiers we will only be convincing them that we are truly kulaks, who only know how to laugh at someone's misfortune.

6. We should consider the "United Nations" in the form in which it exists today as an imperialistic organization that is relinquishing leadership of the world into the hands of three superpowers. We, as an oppressed people, cannot expect anything good for ourselves from such an organization. In thus assessing the "United Nations," at the same time we should underscore that we are in favour of close cooperation among all the peoples of the world; we are for people's organizations, of which each nation could be factually and informally an equal member; we are against hegemonies relying on the force of some of the members of such an organization.

It should be especially emphasized that at the present time the "United Nations" is a reactionary organization because the Stalinist USSR – the largest prison of nations in the world, the most reactionary, imperialistic state in the world – is permitted to take part in it.

7. The inevitability of a conflict between the Anglo-Americans and the Bolsheviks (not necessarily in the immediate future) must be argued above all by the discord and contradiction of the imperialistic interests of each of the states, and not by, for example, that *England does not agree that a dictatorship should hold sway over one-sixth of the globe, that for the liberation of nations England will wage a struggle against the Bolsheviks*. In our estimation, England is also an imperialistic state, and therefore such ideas on her part cannot play any role (except for cloaking its imperialistic plans).

8. The victory of socialism in England and France must be assessed positively. We are for the elimination of the exploitation of man by man, we consider the destruction of the capitalist system in the struggle of the working people of other states for their liberation as a just one; we welcome their victories.

This [is] especially relevant in England and France because the socialist parties of all states are independent, they are not subordinated to Bolshevik policy; on the contrary, they are inimical to the Bolsheviks (of course, excluding communist parties).

The situation is different in Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Poland.<sup>7</sup>

The governments of these states consist for the most part of so-called left parties. These are Stalinist agents, who are operating on the direct orders of Bolshevik Moscow.

From the standpoint of the needs of the broad masses, in some countries the programs of these governments, and hence of parties, are correct; the reforms carried out by them are indispensable.

However, all these reforms resulting from the contacts of the leaders of these parties with Bolshevik imperialistic Moscow, as a result of the subordination of the governments of these countries to Bolshevik imperialistic policy, which in reality bears in mind only the narrow interests of the ruling clique and not the genuine interests of the broad labouring masses, are inimical to the broad masses, [they are] anti-people. The goal of these reforms is to gain, by employing, on the one hand, a whole number of socialist questions and, on the other, the broad masses' lack of information about the true goals of Bolshevik policies, the sympathies of the masses so that it will be easier to oppress them in new forms.

Concerning the programs of these governments (excluding foreign policy), in our propaganda we should emphasize that it is not the broad masses, of which only part has come out in favour of these programs, but the corrupt, perfidious leadership of these parties and secret-service governments. The broad masses of the above-mentioned countries are falling victim, on the one hand, to Bolshevik policies, on the other, [this is happening] through their lack of information. If the intent of Bolshevik Moscow to gain political, economic, and cultural control over these countries were not concealed behind these reforms, everything would be perfectly in order.

But because the policies of the imperialistic governments of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, and Poland are leading to the complete subordination of these countries to Moscow's plans, and in order to gain the trust of the masses it is masked by social reforms, this is precisely why all the peoples are in mortal danger.

It is not necessary to speak about the Bolshevism of the broad masses, and [we should] not be surprised by the secret-agent nature of its leadership, why these masses desire reforms, but to lay special emphasis on the goals of the Bolshevik imperialists and the corruptibility of their agents.

7 The Romanian Iron Guard was founded in 1927 by Corneliu Codreanu. Aligning itself on 4 September 1940 with General Ion Antonescu's regime, its members were purged following a brief civil war in January 1941. The Serbian Chetniks were a Yugoslav royalist and Serbian nationalist movement led by Draža Mihailović. The Croatian Revolutionary Movement, founded in 1930 and commonly known as the Ustaše, proclaimed an independent state on 10 April 1941 under the leadership of Ante Pavelić.

Thus, under no circumstances will we march in step with reactionary groups from the indicated countries that, for the sake of their selfish class interests, are against all reforms, for our path is not theirs and we will attack the Bolsheviks.

9. However, it is necessary to be very cautious in the assessment of some anti-Bolshevik movements in countries that are in fact occupied by the Bolsheviks. We often ascribe revolutionariness to some of them, are ready to shake their hand firmly and in a friendly fashion, and to consider them as our genuine friends.

Let's take the example of the Polish AK. Today it is waging an active anti-Bolshevik armed struggle on Polish territory. However, can we regard the AK, taking into account its leadership's policies, as politically analogous to our UPA? Never. We have a general enemy and nothing more. Since we are saying boldly and plainly that we are fighting for the USSR and so that every nation will live in its own independent, national state, the AK in fact is subordinated to its emigration, which is seeking the restoration of Poland within the 1939 borders, that is, in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands. Whereas we are against landowners and capitalists, the AK is actively opposed to the nationalization of landowners' lands.

For that reason, one must in no way speak of the AK as an army analogous with the UPA. This often happens in our midst (especially when it is necessary to say something about the front of oppressed nations).

However, this does not mean that it is necessary to remain silent about the struggle that is being waged today in the Polish lands, in Romania, Yugoslavia. It is necessary to speak about this struggle, but only as a struggle of oppressed nations, against the Bolsheviks, but not about the fact that a "front is already in operation." The word "front" must not be used. A "front" is something organized, that already exists and operates, but in our country at the given moment this is just an idea, for the realization of which only initial steps have been taken. We should keep a very close watch so that opportunistic elements, both from the Ukrainian and other nations, do not attach themselves to us ideologically, and also so that we ourselves do not attach ourselves to dubious political groups, currents, or organizations.

The situation with the Romanian Iron Guard, with the Serbian Chetniks, with the Croatian underground groups is the same as the AK's. To be sure, we are pleased by every fact of a clandestine struggle against the Bolsheviks; we note it with joy; but this does not mean that we should now place them on the same plane as ourselves. We should know precisely and clearly who has concluded ideological-political relations, and then we will be in a position to suppress all attempts to attach themselves to us.

10. It has become a habit of ours to call the notion whereby each anti-Bolshevik movement, no matter from which milieu it has sprung, a "national" one, and

even a “healthy national movement.” Thus, for example, we often talk about Greek monarchist circles as national circles; their politics – national politics. This is dangerous. It is better to speak about monarchist groups and their politics as anti-Bolshevik politics, without mixing [them] with “national movements.”

Into the concept of healthy national politics we insert our own specific meaning, and with this same healthy criterion we should approach the assessment of every political movement and not permit anyone (especially us ourselves) to distort this concept.

11. We often talk like supporters of capitalism. For example, we say that the unemployed worker in the USA lives better than in the USSR. To speak like this means to consider unemployment to be a normal, innocuous phenomenon, to condone it.

It is clear that in such a way we will not win over the Soviet worker against the Bolshevik system, for he knows that unemployment is one of the greatest tragedies of the working class in the capitalist system, in which we will not be able to gain him, since he will not know our attitude to all these questions. In this case, we should say clearly [that] we condemn unemployment as a phenomenon peculiar to decaying capitalism, that we are against the capitalistic exploitative system in general, and that at the same time we are against the new methods of exploiting workers in the Bolshevik system.

One must also not attack the Bolshevik system yet remain silent about capitalism; it is absolutely necessary to attack both one system and the other simultaneously. This proceeds from our program, in which we speak out against capitalistic and Bolshevik methods of exploitation.

12. One should not express the opinion that the Nuremberg trial was the “triumph of international justice.”

We will merely pose the question of who is the judge, and then it will become clear that there are no grounds for speaking about this trial as about the “triumph of international justice.” The participants of the trial, the judges of the Hitlerite bosses, are also Bolshevik representatives, that is, the representatives of the most inimical regime.

13. The struggle in Indochina and Indonesia is an independent national-liberation struggle of colonial peoples (the Anamites in Indochina and the Malaysians in Indonesia) against French and Dutch rule. The Bolsheviks have no influence in this struggle. But, at the same time, the struggle of the Azerbaijanis in Northern Iran is inspired by the Bolsheviks, who, in exploiting the Iranian government’s unresolved Azerbaijani questions, are consolidating their influence here, preparing for a takeover of this part of Iran in order to weaken England’s influence.

Translated from the Ukrainian by (Strunina)

5 May 1947

Reference: The original of the document, from which the present translation was taken, was discovered among the documents seized from Stepovy, SB leader of the OUN raion leadership, killed on 5 April this year in the village of Stary Oleksenets, Pochaiv raion, Ternopil oblast.

Deputy Head of Department, Directorate 2 of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR

Captain (Strunina)

True: (Lieutenant Colonel [signature] Makhov)

mb no. 1258

HDA SBU, 13-372-51.

DOCUMENT 115: "WILL THE ATOMIC BOMB SAVE  
ENGLAND? A RESPONSE TO CHURCHILL":  
ARTICLE BY YAROSLAV STARUKH

7 April 1946

*Will the Atomic Bomb Save England? Or Is the Alliance of English-Speaking  
Countries Adequate Protection from the Onslaught of Bolshevism?  
A Response to Churchill*

Mr Churchill's speech, delivered in the month of March this year in America, is basically the first speech delivered in the city of Fulton [Missouri]; it sparked great interest and stirred minds in the entire Soviet Union.<sup>8</sup> It sparked the greatest interest especially in high Ukrainian circles. This was the first attempt at overt criticism of Soviet policies on the part of the most distinguished individual in the contemporary political world. It is also generally known that Mr Churchill had an opportunity to get to know Soviet politics well through direct observation during his cooperation with the Soviet Union during the period of the last war; therefore his opinion on this issue has great significance and weight.

The harsh reaction of the governmental Bolshevik press and Stalin's special speech, with its brutal response to Mr Churchill's speech, have further increased our interest in this matter, as well as the attitude of Mr Churchill and this segment of world opinion that he expressed with regard to the problem of the Soviet Union, his policies, and the further development of international relations.

It is obvious that a huge majority of the population of the USSR is dissatisfied with the Soviet government, and we, Ukrainians, especially, together with other enslaved peoples who are nationally and socially oppressed by the Muscovite-Bolshevik dictatorship [and] totalitarian regime joyfully welcomed Mr Churchill's speech, for we see from his speech and the political situation which has emerged all around that the civilized world is becoming better acquainted with and understands the mendacious Bolshevik policies. We also see that these are wise politicians, who are predicting completely realistically the further course of events and are warning all nations and the entire world about the imminent peril. This is the first case since the period of the war where a distinguished politician has expressed overt criticism of Bolshevik Russia.

Mr Churchill entirely correctly cautions against the unbridled, limitless, aggressive policies of Bolshevik Russia.

8 Winston Churchill's "Iron Curtain" speech, delivered on 5 March 1946 at Westminster College, in Fulton, Missouri, heralded the start of the Cold War.



One could have added many explanations both about the current aggressive policies of Bolshevik Russia, which it pursued and is pursuing in relation to all the peoples enslaved by her, and about what she is preparing for other peoples. For, once Mr Churchill and other politicians who are situated outside the borders of the Soviet Union, outside its "iron curtain," realize what is concealed there on the basis of distant observations, then we, the forced residents of the Red "paradise," on the basis of daily experiences, know the most accurately that Bolshevik Russia is devoting all its energies to preparing, on a huge scale, the further subjugation of the whole world to its savage will. All preparations in the economic, industrial, military, [and] propagandistic-political sphere[s] of Bolshevik Russia are aimed in this direction. They are on such a large, comprehensive scale that in the nearest future Bolshevik Russia will seriously and directly threaten the rest of the world, in as much as no forces will be found that will be able to prevent this growing peril.

The experience of the last war convinced the dictators of Bolshevik Russia that the centralized, totalistic regime that reigned in Hitlerite Germany and that is related to Bolshevism is offering a significant advantage in the sphere of military preparations over other systems. Possessing total, unlimited power over immense territories, over hundreds of millions of people, slaves of this total power, they can prepare better for war than their opponents.

Already today the entire mighty apparatus of Bolshevik governmental propaganda, with the maximum effort, is mobilizing all the forces of hatred against its future enemies on the battlefield, that is, first and foremost, against England and America. Already today dozens of millions of people are being trained more intensively in the further mastering of the military arts.

Hundreds of millions of people are working by the sweat of their brow, without respite, ceaselessly producing military equipment at a furious pace. No one else will be able to compel so firmly and recklessly millions of people to the most difficult, exhausting work and to squeeze out of millions of people so much sweat and labour for their military machine. The totalistic Bolshevik government has hundreds of millions of labourers, from whom it is squeezing the last drop of sweat, and in exchange for this it gives them practically nothing, and in this way it is building gigantic military preparations on a previously unheard-of scale.

The dictators of Bolshevik Russia know that today they are without competition in the world both from the standpoint of the total exploitation in the preparations of all military forces by the hundreds of millions of their inhabitants-slaves and all measures of the territories controlled by them, where from the standpoint of total mobilization to the extent of universal propaganda of the total exploitation of that victory that is provided by the absolute secrecy around what is going on inside its empire, and, on the other hand, perhaps the best, total satisfaction of information about its enemies with

the aid of Comintern masks, and many other aspects that are important from the standpoint of military goals.

The Bolshevik dictators, confident of their unparalleled advantages over their enemies, believe that in this, time is working in their favour, that they need only some brief “respite” to take advantage of their multi-aspected advantages in the sphere of military preparations in order to become totally prepared for the final retribution for control of the world.

These are absolutely not fantastic inventions but utterly real facts. Therefore, the voice of warning issued by Mr Churchill is extraordinarily current. The whole world should be grateful to him for this.

However, the conclusions that Mr Churchill has reached from this are slowly sparking our reservations. Mr Churchill states entirely correctly that in Europe, and even in the whole world, the Bolshevik threat is increasing from day to day, and he states further that England and America alone are still free of this threat.

To this we can reply that it is not just England and America that have not succumbed to communist influences, but above all a whole number of nations in Eastern Europe enslaved by Bolshevik Russia is free of Communism-Bolshevism at their core. They are opposing it actively and fighting against this with weapons in their hands. If, however, the issue is the rest of Europe or even the world, then Mr Churchill’s statement corresponds to reality.

We will ask: Why is it like this? What are the reasons behind the constant growth of communist Bolshevik plans in the world?

On the other hand, since the existence of a grave danger is already being confirmed there, it is necessary to seek an escape from this situation at once. Mr Churchill gave an answer to this question; however, we still cannot avoid expressing our doubts in [its] veracity [and] positive result in the implementation of Mr Churchill’s guidelines.

As for the first question of where to seek the reasons behind the constant increase of Bolsheviks in the world, in our view there are three most serious reasons: the first reason is the dissatisfaction of all the populous nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia with the existing state; the substandard resolution of various policy and social statements, injustice, misfortune, poverty that exist in many countries; non-compliance with the commitments of the Atlantic Charter.

The second reason behind the growth of Bolshevik influences in the world is that other nations that live outside the borders of the Bolshevik “iron curtain” do not know the truth about Bolshevik Russia, they do not know how the many nations enslaved in that huge prison of nations are living and suffering in great poverty. They do not know that the Bolshevik regime is a typical totalistic and terroristic regime, in many respects completely similar to the Hitlerite one. They do not know how many people are arrested and shot every day in our country; they do not know how many concentration camps are in our country;

they do not know what great social inequality and injustice reign in our country, exploitation, poverty, and general Red terror; they do not know what great national oppression is being experienced by Ukraine and other enslaved nations of Bolshevik Russia. If other nations gained a better understanding of Bolshevik reality, there would certainly not be advocates of bloody Red totalism among them. But, unfortunately, no one knows those facts.

Europe knows about the USSR only from Bolshevik propaganda or from orchestrated trips by individual persons, who either do not know or cannot gain an understanding of the profundity of life [in the Soviet Union]. Equally at fault are various politicians who, even though they know more of the truth, remain silent about that or speak about something else, hiding behind the tactic of diplomatic views. In that way, however, they are duping world opinion and in fact helping the work of the Bolsheviks.

And how many times did Mr Churchill himself, for example, praise to the skies the might of Bolshevik Russia and its bloody tyrants, even though he knew Bolshevik reality perfectly well. It was painful to read these praises expressed by various politicians of the world in honour of the Muscovite prison of nations. To this day not a single important politician in the world had enough courage and honour to tell the whole truth about Bolshevik Russia without diplomatic manoeuvres and chicanery. We understood perfectly the need for a diplomatic game with the "allies" during the war against Hitlerite Germany. However, despite everything, this disturbing policy of silence and remaining silent that is applied in relation to the totalists at hand has gone beyond the point of expediency; above all, it is not in accord with its goal, for it has fostered [illegible] of the Bolshevik peril. Now, therefore, Mr Churchill should not be surprised that in all of Europe and the world the onslaught of Bolshevism is growing. Did his own speeches heretofore not contribute greatly? Did he not frequently praise Stalin and Bolshevik Russia, whitewashing the terrible Bolshevik reality? For the sake of momentary benefits, politicians and diplomats concealed the true face of Bolshevik Russia from the world's nations. They are just now beginning to glean the fruits of their actions. Already today they are sounding the alarm, complaining, and tomorrow they will be crying. That policy will avenge itself cruelly against everyone if the leaders of international politics do not correct their errors right now and find a radical solution. As long as such falsehood exists in the world, when all the newspapers of the world will be writing for months about every minor shot in Palestine, Syria, Indonesia, or other corner of the world, and conferences commissions, meetings, negotiations will be convened, but no one mentions even a single word about what is happening in our country, in Bolshevik Russia, even though rivers of blood are flowing, wars that are equal to real wars are raging, even though Bolshevik Russia is pursuing a policy of the bloody, reckless destruction of entire nations, and on the other

hand, these nations are fighting heroically for their salvation, their liberation. Mr Churchill or someone else should not wait for the communist-Bolshevik influences to begin diminishing. As long as Mr Churchill, Bevin, and others continue to cover up the truth about Bolshevik Russia, and play blind man's bluff with the Bolsheviks, pretending that they do not see the naked Bolshevik reality, they should not expect the elimination of the Bolshevik peril. It will knock at their doors very soon.

In our country, in Ukraine, a fierce struggle has long been waged against Muscovite-Bolshevik slavery and tyranny. The finest sons of the Ukrainian people are struggling indefatigably with the greatest efforts for freedom, the independence of our native land. In recent years this struggle has reached the dimensions of a real war. The Baltic countries, too, occupied by Moscow by force and deceit, betrayed [and] abandoned by the rest of the world, are fighting for their independence. It would be a lie to say that the Muscovite-Bolshevik tyrants living it up like lords in Moscow are the result of communist influence. This is merely a manifestation of violence. Meanwhile, Mr Churchill claims that only England and America are free of this threat. It would be better if Mr Churchill illuminated the real influences of communism, which in our countries lie in the brutal violence of an invader that is hostile to us. It is precisely from them [England and America] that world opinion expects to hear the whole truth about the Bolshevik prison of nations, the bloody tyranny of the Bolshevik Red tsars, and the liberation struggle of enslaved nations, and continues to want this. From many standpoints it would be an extremely difficult matter to be the spokesmen of the new world, for the first prerequisite is to overcome communist influences in the world. This is in fact a revelation for the unseeing, overt recognition of the whole truth about the Bolshevik reality without wrapping something up in the papers of diplomatic lack of vision and falsehood.

The third reason behind the spread of Bolshevik influences in the world is the fluid, conciliatory policy of compromise of the world's main superpowers in relation to Bolshevik policies. The Bolsheviks have shown themselves to be extraordinary artists in the art of capitalizing other people's blunders. Today they are very adeptly taking advantage of the opportunistic attitude of Western European and American politicians, who are trying to defer the outbreak of an open conflict as the most distant goal. The Bolsheviks know this well, and that is why they are playing for a brief delay in order to gain time for the final preparation for world devastation. In this shortsightedness and opportunism of many politicians who are responsible for the course of international events, in their pliancy vis-à-vis the Bolshevik chieftains, provocations, and delaying game lies the third reason behind the growth of the Bolshevik peril in the world.

Complaints alone about the growth of the corrupting work of Bolshevik influences in the world will not help. First and foremost, it is necessary to eradicate the basic causes of the emergence and spread of the Bolshevik threat. It is crucial to change the policies and tactics of important politicians in the main democratic superpowers. With their heretofore weak, acquiescent policies they are merely enabling Bolshevik Russia to expand its power and influences in many countries. It is necessary to eradicate fundamentally and radically all the causes of the general dissatisfaction that reigns in many countries because this is a fertile breeding ground for the growth of the communo-Bolshevik cancer. However, the most important issue that can free the world of this threat once and for all and this disgrace that the existence of bloodthirsty Bolshevik tyranny represents for human culture in the twentieth century is the liquidation of the very source of the contagion, the liquidation of the Bolshevik power and empire. Otherwise, if it does not appear in the nearest future, the threat of Bolshevism will very quickly reach unprecedented dimensions. Then there will come the time to which Mr Churchill drew attention prophetically, when all of human civilization will be under threat at its very foundation. By then, however, it might already be too late. And all that will happen faster than Mr Churchill thinks, and there is no one in the world among the most unequivocal opponents of communism, even among the most far-sighted politicians, who could fully grasp the issue of the inroads of imminent peril and disaster. Those who wish to understand and grasp the actual content and terrible mirage of Bolshevik Red fascism should ask us, Ukrainians, who have lived nearly thirty years under its horrible yoke. Those who have not spent a long time in that "Red Paradise" cannot grasp its distinctive essence.

But even that which Mr Churchill said in his speech is sufficient to instill great fear in the world and force [it] to seek some counteractions.

The threat of Bolshevism is growing with every day, Mr Churchill cautions. What should be done in this situation? It is most important to find a distinct answer to this question. This is precisely the main error of Mr Churchill's thinking. Now that he has become convinced that the growth of Communo-Bolshevism is threatening the world, Mr Churchill does not offer advice or escape from that situation. Mr Churchill advises simply to flee to America because that is exactly how one can understand his appeals to England and America, to create an alliance of English-speaking nations. When Mr Churchill offers a plan of the alliance and understands it to be England and America's joint military preparations to the approaching third war, this is understandable but not sufficient. It does not say how to resist, how to counteract, and how to eradicate the actual danger that is the growth of Bolshevism's influences. Today, limiting oneself to England and America is no longer adequate even for those very countries. For this will happen when important politicians of the world's

superpowers shut themselves up in the circle of their alliance and the apparent security that it will provide, but they are sacrificing the rest of the world to Bolshevism, just like they once sacrificed Ukraine, Belarus, the peoples of the Caucasus, and later the Baltic countries, and now the Balkans and Poland are already speaking of the exclusion of the rest of Europe and the world, having enclosed themselves in an alliance of English-speaking countries.

Such a policy will not guarantee them security; on the contrary, it will only hasten the catastrophe for them. How many times has it been said that, from the standpoint of security, the world is undivided? But perhaps Mr Churchill thinks that the atomic bomb will protect England and America even once the onslaught of Bolshevism occupies all of Europe and Asia. In possessing an atomic bomb, will it be possible to defend yourself and win the war even without other nations? Why did Mr Churchill not provide an answer to the most important questions: How to counteract the increasing forces and influences of Bolshevism in the world? The Anglo-American alliance will not withstand that process. On the contrary, the exclusion of other nations in such important plans of the further pursuit of international politics may throw those nations even faster into the embraces of the Bolshevik neoplasm. If we accept that the most significant danger is the rise of Bolshevik influences in many countries of Europe and the world, then first and foremost it is necessary to find a way to counteract. The plan for a close military alliance between England and America with the goal of making certain preparations for the approaching war by the military forces of those superpowers is another matter; however, at the same time, action must be taken against Bolshevism and for retribution against it on a general international scale among all the world's nations. Above all, this concerns some nations that today are in the Bolshevik prison of nations, and then Asia, where Bolshevism can encompass more than a billion people. In that event, there will not be any ocean or any bomb that will be able to curb it. Such hopes are futile.

Only immediate, armed action against communism and its Muscovite stronghold, a struggle on a global scale, encompassing all the nations of the world and all spheres of its life can be the foremost bulwark [against it] and ultimately destroy it. It is crucial to counter the global, corrupting, wide-ranging Bolshevik action with our counteraction, on the same kind of scale. To their preparations it is necessary to respond with the same kinds of preparations, and it is necessary to make an important decision for the elimination of this threat: the liquidation of the Muscovite stronghold.

In order for the world to be able to breathe freely already and to usher in an enduring era of peaceful development, the source of unrest, war, and tyranny, which is red Moscow, must be ultimately liquidated. If communism were not based on the might of the Muscovite Empire, on power, an extraordinarily

aggressive imperialism, Bolshevism would never have existed, and it would never have created a threat and danger to the entire world and human civilization. Moscow is in fact an immense prison of many, formerly independent nations, which it succeeded in subjugating throughout its history. Today it is continuing this same policy under the cover of reconciliation between the communist and socialist order, although its state order has nothing in common with the actual concepts of communism or socialism. The problem of the utter liquidation of the Bolshevik threat is the problem of smashing that prison of nations, which is Bolshevik Russia, and the restoration of freedom and independence to the enslaved nations. Moscow rose to the level of a superpower only after it subjugated Ukraine to its power, and the other nations – later. Moscow will stop being a dangerous aggressor only once its rule ends over Ukraine and over the nations of the Black Sea and Baltic Sea basins. This is the principal and most long-term question that will decide the face of the world in the future. The organizing of a struggle against the proliferation of Bolshevik [missing word(s)] in the world, as well as the organizing of a struggle for the certain destruction of the source of Bolshevism [and] the Muscovite Empire, is first and foremost a question of organizing those forces of Eastern Europe, which have felt the blows of the Bolshevik whip on their own skin, which have been waging a struggle against it since long ago. From this standpoint Ukraine, with its revolutionary, progressive, anti-Bolshevik strivings, can be an example for many nations. We are very surprised that Mr Churchill thinks that only England and America are free of Bolshevik influences, that only they can save the world from the flood of red tyranny. And by this we want to note that Ukraine, which has been groaning under the yoke of Muscovite-Bolshevik slavery for nearly thirty years, is sacrificing the blood of its finest sons to the hateful Moloch, yet despite this, it did not succumb to its influences. If the Ukrainian nation had the freedom to express its will today, as, for example, in England, then Mr Churchill would definitely become convinced that in our country of Ukraine there are significantly fewer advocates of Bolshevism than in other lands.

If the question at issue is the active struggle against the Bolshevik barbarians, then the Ukrainian nation indisputably holds first place. Although Moscow is applying the most horrible, the most massive and bloody measures that are equal only to those of the Hitlerites, until the present time the Ukrainian nation has been waging a broad, political, armed revolutionary liberation struggle against the Muscovite occupier for its freedom and independence. This struggle is being waged by the Ukrainian nation in a joint front with other nations enslaved by Moscow. Today this struggle is being waged first and foremost by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which is engaged in numerous bloody battles against the red occupiers. This struggle is reaching such massive and great dimensions that they may be equated with military battles.

In the struggle against the Bolshevik occupation Ukraine has [made] such great sacrifices that other nations have not experienced in entire wars. There are not many nations in the world that have made so many sacrifices in their liberation struggle as Ukraine has given until now in a difficult, unequal, heroic struggle that relies only on its own forces. Therefore, we are astonished and pained when we see that the world is remaining silent about our great upsurge in the struggle against Bolshevism.

In concluding our comments, we emphasize once again that detailed knowledge of the Bolshevik reality based on long-term, direct observation and on the lengthy struggle against the red tyrants, [and] awareness of the connection with Moscow's imperialistic, predatory, aggressive tendencies and intentions, teaches that the fundamental liquidation of the Bolshevik threat will occur when the Muscovite prison of nations is no more, and in its place will arise a number of states of free nations. Such a policy would correspond to the slogans of the Atlantic Charter and would be the cause – in the event of the approaching war against Moscow, which is already looming – of the liberation of immense energy that is shackled in this tyrannical imperialism. In this war, this energy could bring a victory that otherwise would be doubtful.

Heretofore England's able policy, which is based on the skilful grouping of other nations around it, could have an immense importance in the future competition against the Bolsheviks if it does not support the integrity of the Muscovite Empire and opts for the line of dividing it into separate nations in accordance with ethnographic principles. We cannot sign our surnames to this letter-response that we are addressing to Mr Churchill and his fellow thinkers in Europe and America, as is generally accepted in the democratic-civilized world, because the Bolshevik reality does not allow us this. We are writing this in the name of our numerous fellow thinkers who learned about Mr Churchill's speech, disseminated it in many secret publications, and took the stand towards it as expressed above. As an example, we are attaching one such copy. Our political guidelines in this letter are represented and championed before the world, outside the borders of the USSR, by the external representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. Today the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) is the supreme political-revolutionary organ of the independent will of the Ukrainian people.

In April 1946

*A Group of Progressive Ukrainian Political Figures*

This letter-response to Mr Churchill has been disseminated abroad in various languages.

HDA SBU, 13-376-37-041.



DOCUMENT 116: INSTRUCTION: "FACING THE EAST" –  
PROPAGANDA IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN UKRAINE

No. 6

Instructions for implementing the slogan "Facing the East"

October 1947

Implementing the slogan "Facing the East!" (instructions)

1. Develop the topic for raion centres: "The importance of the OUN's propaganda work in the SUZ." Hold a lecture on this topic at meetings with individual raion centres and prompt a discussion. The members of raion leaderships will hold talks on this same topic with individuals links.
2. Develop the topic: "Helping the Ukrainians in the SUZ is the sacred duty of Ukrainians in the ZUZ." The lecture should have strong reasoning. Emphasize that one issue is the secret agent network, and the second – our truly hungry brothers. Every OUN member must know how to develop a talk with peasants on this topic. A lecture is training in this direction.

The slogan "Facing the East" is to be implemented in three directions:

- a) Gain the sympathies of those Ukrainians who are arriving in the ZUZ for bread or for seasonal work or generally for earnings, and through them send leaflets and literature to the SUZ.
- b) Gain the sympathies of the masses in the SUZ by involving those Ukrainians from the SUZ who are working permanently in the ZUZ.
- c) The involvement of the population of the ZUZ in providing material aid to [our] Ukrainian brothers from the SUZ and in proclaiming the necessity of a struggle for the USSD.

To point a) Ukrainians from the SUZ who are arriving in the ZUZ for bread or for temporary earnings are to be united by three methods: material assistance, by demonstrating that only the Stalinist regime is the cause of their impoverishment, and by special conduct.

It is necessary to reckon very seriously with the fact that in the early months of 1948 a large number of starving people from the SUZ will once again be arriving in our parts. We must prepare in advance for this. Create suitable stores of grain or potatoes, without burying [them] in individual storehouses, but leaving [them] on farms until a certain period of time. OUN cadres should provide the starving with five to ten kilograms each of grain or potatoes, at the same time adding an appropriate quantity of leaflets for dissemination in their raion. At the same time, you must remember that grain may be distributed in the presence of others, but leaflets – never. This must be arranged on the side, without unnecessary witnesses. Besides help with bread, cash assistance may

also be provided – 100 to 150 karbovantsi each. As in the first case, so too in the second, content [information] must necessarily be taken: the raion (where assistance was obtained), a receipt for ... which was obtained as the OUN's assistance to the SUZ, the raion ... (from where a given person arrived), and a signature, the initials of the name, surname, and patronymic. Blank forms of those receipts can be prepared on a typewriter.

Once a large number of people who have come for bread gather in a village, a meeting can be organized. A few OUN members stand guard, and one reads the proper leaflet or, if he is prepared for this, conducts the meeting. Here he explains what the UHVR, the OUN, [and] the UPA are, the goal of our struggle, the causes of the famine in Ukraine, the goals of Bolshevik Moscow, the need for a struggle of the entire Ukrainian nation against the Stalinist regime. If there is no possibility to speak straightaway to a larger number of starving people, then conversations with individual people must necessarily be held. Each OUN member should learn well all the leaflets to Ukrainians from the SUZ and the appropriate Organizational [literature], like *A Reply to Didenko*, and the like, in order to be able to manage such a talk. During conversations place great emphasis on the fact that the famine is a tool in the hands of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime for oppressing the Ukrainian people.

The personal conduct of an OUN member is of important significance in gaining the sympathies of Ukrainians from the SUZ, who are coming to us for bread. Bolshevik propaganda is trying to portray us as bandits, savages, and the like. During encounters with the starving, an underground member should be dressed in clean clothing and cultivated in his behaviour. Very often it happens that a starving person is not welcomed into a house for a night's lodging, and he lies down to sleep on a road, next to a fence, or in a ditch. It is the duty of an OUN member to bring the given person to some farmer and commit him to giving him lodging for the night and feeding him. At the same time, it is not necessary to pretend to be a Bolshevik, but speak in your own language. This starving person should know who is coming to his assistance.

In entrusting leaflets to be distributed in an appropriate raion, you must explain how the given person must hide them, how to transport and distribute. He should realize that we value every member of the Ukrainian nation.

Make OUN kushch and zveno leaders responsible for implementing point "a" in these instructions. All OUN members take part in this work. In this direction, it is necessary to train cadre members constantly. For distributing relief and entrusting the shipping of leaflets to the OUN, appoint kushch and zveno leaders. These OUN members have at their disposal an appropriate quantity of grain or potatoes, money, and a larger stock of leaflets and literature. Report accurately each month about the work that has been completed in that direction.

Each raion leadership of the OUN should have a record of all eastern Ukrainians who are working permanently in his area. Every member of the raion leadership has an appropriate number of employees with whom he becomes personally acquainted, briefly explains the goal of our struggle, and tries to understand the material circumstances of the given person. With his outward appearance and conduct he should gain himself sympathizers on the spot. He leaves Organizational literature, like, for example, *A Reply to Didenko* and *The UPA's Raid into the ChSR* [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], and promises to send other literature.<sup>9</sup> He requests [the easterner], after reading our publications, to pass [them] along to his family members and acquaintances in the SUZ. If he realizes that the given person is in dire material straits, he promises assistance, which he sends soon. Subsequently, he forwards literature and, eventually, assistance through rank-and-file OUN members, on condition that these members do not reveal their identities (he passes through a window or in a designated spot).

Besides Organizational literature, it is necessary to study the history of Ukraine and the novels or memoirs of the Liberation Struggles. Pay heed to the correct selection of books. For that purpose, every member of the raion leadership should have his own library that he restocks by appropriating from the population, unearthing reading room libraries, and purchasing.

At least once every three months a given member of the raion leadership should try to meet personally with his acquaintances from the SUZ for a further meeting; he asks whether he liked the Organizational literature, his comments on it, whether it was passed along to the SUZ, whether he is gathering information about the circumstances in the given person's native raion, and the like. Upon departing, he leaves fresh literature. It is not permitted to go to a meeting empty-handed.

Each member of the raion leadership reports to his Organizational superior about the work carried out in that direction. He passes on news that he has obtained from the SUZ and his impressions of conversations that have been held. It is mandatory to emphasize what impression the first meeting and the Organization made on a given worker from the SUZ. Reports should be prepared in writing; however, it must be kept in mind that the writing must not harm anyone.

Exclude from our care those who are definitely carrying out secret agent work or are hostilely opposed to our movement. It must be remembered that nearly all the administrative employees who have come to us from the east have been recruited for secret agent work; however, not everyone is working against us with equal intensity. Many of them are only nominal agents. Despite

<sup>9</sup> Didenko's identity is not known.

everything, maximum caution and conspiratorial conduct are to be used during encounters with them.

Last winter it was possible to discern rather frequent occurrences of an unfortunate phenomenon whereby the residents of the ZUZ did not show due understanding of material assistance to the starving from the east. In that case, this is the fault of the OUN's cadres. The explanatory action among the population of our territory was not placed on the proper level.

All Organizational cadres are obliged, by means of talks with the population and by means of distributing appropriate leaflets, to create an atmosphere of friendliness and sympathy towards the starving and those who have arrived from the east to earn wages. In particular, make sure that a brotherly attitude towards the starving will hasten the victory of our ideas in the East and thereby hasten the collapse of the USSR. If the rule of the Stalinist regime continues, then the ZUZ will also end up facing the spectre of famine. It must be explained to the population that it too is obliged to clarify to the starving; that the only way out of this tragic situation is an active struggle against the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime. At the same time, attention must [be] focused on the fact that it is not permitted to talk about such matters in one's home, but at bazaars, in fields, or in other people's houses. It may happen that there will be an agent among the starving, and he will definitely try to wreak harm on the given person.

In conversations with the populace one must always emphasize that among the starving is a certain number of NKVD-NKGB agents, and because of this one cannot treat everyone identically. A genuinely starving person can be quickly distinguished from a pseudo-starving person. The slogan "Let us save our Ukrainian brothers from the east from death by starvation!" should be known to all Ukrainians in the ZUZ.

In order to carry out these instructions effectively, it is necessary to prepare beforehand properly established publishing technology. Every raion leader of the OUN should have a serviceable technical zveno and an appropriate supply of paper and tracing-paper. There should be a large print run of all leaflets for the residents of the SUZ and appropriate literature. At the same time, it should be kept in mind that Organizational publications are the face of the OUN. All materials must be very carefully finalized and written without mistakes. Do not issue copies whose print is blurred owing to a large print run. Publishing technology must be set up so that every OUN member will have a supply of materials designated for the East.

October 1947 "0360"

DOCUMENT 117:  
LEAFLET: PEASANTS OF WESTERN UKRAINE

1948

*For the Ukrainian Independent United State! Freedom for Nations!  
Freedom for the Individual!  
To the Peasants of Western Ukraine!*

Throughout 1946 and the winter of 1947, with your very own eyes you were able to convince yourselves of how the Stalinist collective farm paradise truly looks. For you, the thousands of our starved brothers, blue with cold and swollen, collective farmers from the eastern oblasts, who at this time, in search of a piece of bread, poured into the villages of Western Ukraine, were the most persuasive proof of what the Stalinist collective farm system is bringing. And the Stalinist aggressors also want to drive you, the peasants of the western oblasts, into the same kind of collective farm slavery as in Eastern Ukraine.<sup>10</sup> And at the very time that some of you, peasants of Galicia, will be celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the abolition of serfdom, they want to harness you into a new – Stalinist – yoke of serfdom. They want to return you to the same kind – and even worse – situation, in which our grandfathers lived one hundred years ago.

The enemy knows that you despise collective farms, that you do not believe his deceitful propaganda. That is why he is thinking of setting up the collective farm system with the aid of terror, deceit, and intimidation. *You must confront all the enemy's attempts to establish the collective farm system in Western Ukraine with a decisive struggle. If all of you, as one, with the entire village and all villages together, put up united and strong resistance, only then will the enemy fail to impose collective farms on you.* Whether you end up on collective farms will depend on the force [and] determination of your resistance. Unity and coalescence are the guarantee of your victory in the struggle against collective farms.

In order to break your resistance, the occupiers are resorting to the most varied types of intimidation; in particular, they are threatening you with deportation to Siberia. Do not capitulate to these threats. If any of you are truly threatened with Siberia, then you will be deported even after you join a collective farm. Collective farms do not save [one] from Siberia. See how long collective farms have existed in Eastern Ukraine: and are collective farmers not being deported to Siberia? – and how! For picking an ear of grain, for bringing home a tuft

<sup>10</sup> The reference is to the Holodomor, the genocidal Great Famine of 1932–33 in Soviet Ukraine, during the course of which no fewer than four million Ukrainians starved to death.

of straw, a bag of chaff, a bundle of wood, for someone's father or grandfather having been called a *kurkul*, it is Siberia for everything. The MVD is making promises of a release from Siberia on condition that you join a collective farm in order to break the peasants' unanimous resistance. Do not allow yourselves, by means of your agreement, to join a collective farm, to break others down and thereby help the enemy to impose collective farm serfdom.

Although the enemy is spilling thunder in his propaganda on the so-called kurkuls, in practice, the kurkuls, as the most at risk, are actually the first ones being dragged into the collective farm by him. He also does this only in order to divide you and break your resistance. Remember that after the creation of a collective farm, the kurkuls will be the first to be expelled from it and they will be deported to Siberia. Therefore, do not allow yourselves to be divided into warring groups, but fight together, unanimously.

In order to wreck the Stalinist plan of implanting collective farms in Western Ukraine, endurance is required in addition to unity and coalescence. Endurance is the most important. Do not speculate, do not fool yourselves with the hopes that, perhaps, after you join a collective farm the hostile pressure on you will stop, and you will be able to breathe a bit more easily. On the contrary: it is only once you join the collective farms that the worst calamity will commence, a hundred times worse than what is happening right now; real hell will begin. Just compare your life with the lives of our brothers in Ukraine's eastern oblasts. After all, 6 million of our brothers perished in 1933 after collective farms were established. The Stalinist bandits were able to cause a famine a second time, in 1946, only with the aid of collective farms. It is precisely the collective farm system that allows them to do whatever they want with the people, including condemning millions to death by starvation. If it were otherwise, they would not be trying at all costs to drive you onto collective farms. Therefore, do not think only about today, but think what will be tomorrow. If you join the collective farms today in order to avoid persecution by the enemy, then remember that tomorrow you will be dying of starvation. Therefore, what is preferable: to suffer and endure or to break down, join a collective farm, and destroy yourselves, your family, the entire village? There is no doubt that it is better to withstand. The enemy should hear only one answer from you: I do not want a collective farm, I will perish but I will not join a collective farm.

In order to wreck collectivization, destroy all inventories that will be gathered for the collective farms. Bring to a state of uselessness all buildings slated for collective farm accommodations.

Mercilessly destroy all dispatched heads, brigadiers, and all kinds of other Stalinist agents, for they are Stalin's mainstay in the countryside!

Whosoever for the sake of safeguarding his life or measly property sets out on the path of disgraceful subservience to the Bolshevik police organs,

whosoever consciously helps the enemy in enserfing of Ukrainian peasants on collective farms will not escape the people's wrath and just punishment! Let us all, as one, launch a struggle against the serfdom-like Stalinist collective farms!

*Down with the Stalinist Collective Farms!*

*Long Live the Prosperous Ukrainian Peasantry in the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

*Long Live the Unity and Coalesence of the Ukrainian Countryside in its Struggle Against Collective Farms!*

*Long Live the Leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera!*

*Long Live the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

*Death to Stalin and His Gang of Bandits!*

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists  
Kyivsky Print Shop

HDA SBU, 13-376-40-024.

DOCUMENT 118: REPORT ON THE 1947 RAID BY THE UPA  
INTO THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION ZONE OF GERMANY

May 1949

*To the Supreme Command of the UPA  
Report**On a raid into Western Europe by UPA Units, Lemko Sector, Sian Group*

In the Kholodny Yar territory of Lemko sector [there] operated four UPA units: Commander Hromenko's unit, Commander Lastivka's unit, Commander Krylach's unit, [and] Commander Burlaka's unit.

*The Situation as of Spring 1947 in the Kholodny Yar Territory of Lemko Sector*

In spring 1947 the Red Polish army carries out large dragnet operations and prepares a repeat action of expelling the Ukrainian population from the Ukrainian territories of Zakerzonnia.<sup>11</sup> The dragnets involved large armed formations of WP [Wojsko Polskie: Polish Army], which had at its disposal all kinds of weapons and used the most diverse tactics in battles against UPA units. Concurrently with the large and protracted dragnet operations, the WP is carrying out the total expulsion of the Ukrainian population from the territories of Zakerzonnia. In expelling the Ukrainian population, the WP is removing and destroying all foodstuffs left in the deported Ukrainian villages. After the complete expulsion of the Ukrainian population, the enemy is continuing to carry out dragnet operations and blockades of UPA units. During the dragnet operations and expulsions UPA units are waging non-stop battles with the enemy, causing difficulties for the planned action to expel the Ukrainian population. Following the expulsion of the population UPA units are continuing to wage offensive and defensive battles against the enemy. Food has been obtained only through battles. At this time, I issued the following order for further actions in the Kholodny Yar territory of Lemko sector during the dispatching of unit commanders:

11 Between 28 April and 31 July 1947, during Operation Vistula, over 150,000 Ukrainians were forcibly resettled in order to undermine support for the UPA's continuing resistance. On 23 April 1947, by a decree of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party, the Jaworzno camp was selected for their detention. The first transport, consisting of seventeen prisoners, arrived from Sanok on 5 May. Eventually almost four thousand people would be interned, including seven hundred women and children, most of them suspected of being UPA sympathizers. Solomon Morel was the camp commandant. On Morel, see John Sack, *An Eye for an Eye: The Untold Story of Jewish Revenge against Germans in 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).



1. Units are to go on a raid into the territories of Zakerzonnia.
  - a) Units can also carry out raids into Polish territories.
  - b) Units can also carry out raids into the Carpathians. Once they are in the Carpathians, they establish communications with the commander of the tactical sector, Commander Ren.
2. If no communication is established with Commander Ren, the units leave on a raid into Czechoslovak territory and may extend it into the western territories of Germany, occupied by America and England.

After crossing over on the raid into Czechoslovak territory and Austria (occupied by the Bolsheviks), the units ended up in the territories of Germany (occupied by America and England) and surrendered their weapons to the military occupation authorities. All the raiding groups of soldiers who reported to the American occupation authorities were interned; those units that made contact directly with the Ukrainian emigration in these territories without the knowledge of the occupation authority have merged with the émigré masses concentrated in the DP camps.

#### *The Raid of UPA Units across Czechoslovakia and Austria*

The raiding units carrying out the raid were divided into groups of varying numbers, from four to forty people. Some units were divided into groups back in the homeland, and others – in the Czechoslovak territories. During the raid the raiding groups encountered resistance from armed Czechoslovak forces: the Czechoslovak army, units of gendarmes. In the Austrian territories the raiding groups encountered resistance from the Austrian gendarmerie and were shot at by Bolshevik occupation troops. Large numbers of Czechoslovak troops tried to stop the raid by carrying out dragnet operations in forests and blockades throughout villages, and by intersecting the territory with defensive lines.

The Czechoslovak army set up several defence lines: a line that extended along the entire length of the Váh River [Slovakia] through the Tatra Mountains all the way to the Polish-Czechoslovak border,<sup>12</sup> and another strong line that extended along the entire length of the Morava River and reached the Slovak-Polish border.

All highways and railway routes were defended day and night by infantry detachments and patrols consisting of motorized units of the Czechoslovak army.

<sup>12</sup> The Tatra Mountains are part of the Carpathian mountain chain, forming part of the border between Slovakia and Poland. For a recent analysis of the UPA raids into Czechoslovakia, see Michal Šmigel, “Propaganda Raids of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in Slovakia (Czechoslovakia) in 1945–1946: Structure and Forms of Czechoslovak Resistance,” *Propaganda in the World and Local Conflicts* 4, no. 1 (2017): 24–51.

Detachments carrying out non-stop observation, assisted by aviation, were stationed on highways and mountain peaks. During the battles against UPA units the Czechoslovak army and gendarme units did not demonstrate a high level of combat efficiency, and even when they did achieve minor successes, these were determined solely by the numerical superiority of their forces and the excessive fatigue of our units, caused by constant marches, non-stop pursuit by the enemy, and hunger. In battles against our unit the enemy suffered many more fatalities and casualties than our side. For small raiding groups consisting of between four and nine soldiers, mobile and sufficiently clandestine, and adopting skilful guerrilla tactics, the raid was easier than for large units; they suffered utterly insignificant losses or even none at all. The strength and basic tactics of our units lay in infrequent entries into settled areas, in the ability to organize food supply, reconnaissance, and in agile manoeuvring and breaking away from the enemy. To a great extent, the raid was burdened by the lack of sufficient quantities of proper maps, compasses, and binoculars.

#### *Losses Suffered by the Raiding Units*

Relative to the conditions in which the raid and the long road that was covered, the UPA raiding units had only insignificant losses. In comparison to those killed and wounded, larger losses are comprised of those captured. Eighty people surrendered alive to the enemy. The main reason for such a number of prisoners of war was the collapse and disillusionment of Commander Burlaka and the desertion of Commander Brodych, about which the enemy informed the soldiers by dropping leaflets from planes. During the raid Commander Burlaka did not abide by the principles governing the guerrilla method of waging war; he underestimated the crucial need for clandestinity, and throughout the raid, until the disbandment of the unit (in the Tatra Mountains) the enemy forced him to engage in combat wherever and whenever the enemy desired. After his surrender into captivity, Commander Burlaka signed a leaflet with an appeal to the soldiers and officers of the UPA raiding units, appealing to them to throw down their weapons and surrender, at the same time promising that, with the assurances of the enemy government, all those who surrender will stay alive because, as it is, all the units have been smashed and will be destroyed. Losses represented by prisoners of war mostly affect the units subordinated to Burlaka and Brodych and the unit led by Commander Kalynovych, who also surrendered.<sup>13</sup>

13 UPA commander Burlaka, Lieutenant Volodymyr Shchyhelsky, was captured by the Czechs and repatriated to Poland and executed. Commander Brodych was Roman Hrobelsky, who served with the Udarnyky 94a Company of the Lemko Battalion. Kalynovych was Hryhorii Mazur, commander of the Mesnyky unit in the Sian district.

*The Foreign Population's Attitude to the UPA Raiding Units*

For the most part, the Slovak population was already familiar with the liberation struggle. It, particularly the peasantry, has a hostile attitude to the Bolsheviks. In its midst is a clandestine movement against the Bolsheviks and the Czechs, although it is very weak and not widespread. The Slovak population treated the raiding units in a friendly fashion, helping with food, reconnaissance data, and, in certain cases, weapons.

The population of the Czech lands and Moravia was poorly informed about the UPA's struggle; it knows little about the Bolsheviks, and among workers and, to a small degree, among the peasantry there are signs of a friendly attitude to the Bolsheviks. No clandestine movement has been noted among the Czechs.

The Austrian population is under great pressure from the Bolsheviks (arrests, persecution); there is mostly a hostile attitude to the Bolsheviks. Austrians gladly helped with food and reconnaissance when they were paid for this with German marks or American dollars. No clandestine movement has been noted in Austria. Nearly the entire population of Austria expressed itself positively about the Americans. All the people whom the UPA units encountered demonstrated great interest in the Ukrainian nation's liberation struggle, and many requested information and propagandistic literature. Soldiers carried out verbal informational-propaganda work among the populace encountered by UPA units; during the course of lectures with the populace, and in areas where this was possible, the populace was summoned to meetings, during which it was provided with broader and more detailed information, and informational, awareness-raising lectures were delivered. The most indispensable material relating to this informational work is literature written in the language of the population and photographs of the UPA's struggle and Bolshevik atrocities. What was characteristic about the raid through Slovakia was that the Slovak population did not take money for food and assistance, but when people were shown American dollars, they [demonstrated] even greater fascination and readiness to help, probably thinking that there was an outside force standing behind the UPA units, which was helping it.

*The Arrival in the American Zone of Occupation in Germany*

The UPA raiding groups crossed the borders of the Bolshevik and American Zones of occupation in various places. After crossing the above-mentioned border, the majority of the raiding groups reported to the American occupation authorities, while others spent between one and three days concealed in the forests and only later reported to the American occupation authorities; some, without the knowledge of the occupation authorities, got rid of their weapons and uniforms and blended into the mass of the Ukrainian emigration.

Nearly all the groups that reported to the military occupation authorities were interned. The soldiers of the UPA raiding groups were housed in the Camp for Interned UPA Soldiers (this was the official name in the Western world) for nearly two months; later they were released, that is, shipped out of the internment camp with the goal of allowing them the opportunity to scatter, thereby liquidating the official existence of the Camp for Interned UPA Soldiers. The soldiers who were released in this manner from the internment camp and those who were not interned blended into the mass of émigrés, who supported them materially and hid those soldiers without weapons and uniforms who did not possess any documents. In releasing [UPA soldiers] from the internment camp, the American occupation authorities did not provide any legal safeguards for residence in the territories under their occupation. To this time, not all soldiers possessed documents that would give them the right to legal residence in the DP camps or among the German population in general, and the only reason was that documents are acquired only by illegal means, which require large funds that could not be gotten anywhere.<sup>14</sup>

After reporting to the military occupation authorities, each group of UPA soldiers and every UPA soldier were vetted and interrogated by them. The investigators of the agencies of the American occupation authorities were interested in the strength of the UPA, constantly posing all kinds of questions about the UPA's numerical strength [and] what kind of weapons the UPA has, but the most interesting and incomprehensible [issue] for the Americans was with what material means the struggle is being waged. The Americans and practically the entire Western world do not understand how an insurgent army can exist and fight in the Bolshevik underground [*sic*] with their own strength

14 Camps for political refugees, victims of the war, and Displaced Persons (DPs) were set up originally by the military and later came under the administration of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). After 1947 they were under the auspices of the International Refugee Organization (IRO). For more information, see Jan-Hinnerk Antons, "The Nation in a Nutshell: Ukrainian Displaced Persons Camps in Postwar Germany," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 23, nos. 1–2, (2020): 177–211; Marta Dyczok, *The Grand Alliance and Ukrainian Refugees* (New York: Macmillan, 2000); Anna Holian, *Between National Socialism and Soviet Communism: Displaced Persons in Postwar Germany* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015); W.W. Isajiw, Y. Boshyk and R. Senkus, eds., *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons after World War II* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1992); Lubomyr Y. Luciuk, *Searching for Place: Ukrainian Displaced Persons, Canada, and the Migration of Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); and Mark Wyman, *DPs: Europe's Displaced Persons, 1945–1951* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989). On forced labourers, see Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a perceptive treatment of Europe in this era, see Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999).

without any external material support. The Americans showed great interest in how the leadership of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle is carried out. Just as it is difficult for them to understand the existence in the Bolshevik underground of liberation struggles on such a scale, it is no less difficult for them to grasp the possibilities for leading that struggle from one centre. The Americans' interest in the Bolsheviks was of an intelligence-informational nature. The Americans still do not know much about the Bolsheviks. While questioning the UPA soldiers, the investigative bodies of the occupation authorities satisfied themselves with the answers provided by the soldiers, and they never used any kinds of methods for obtaining more than what a soldier said voluntarily.

#### *The UPA Raiding Unit*

It was necessary to organize the soldierly mass that was dispersed throughout the broad expanses of Germany amidst the Ukrainian emigration and to give it a certain organized form so that it could do whatever possible in the Ukrainian emigration and through it also to exert influence on the outside world, which knows so little about the UPA's liberation struggle and its enemy. Within a short period of time it became possible to locate the scattered soldierly mass, link it up with officers, and form [it] into a single UPA unit, which then adopted the name the UPA Raiding Unit. To the degree allowed by circumstances and possibilities, the UPA Raiding Unit is organized along the lines of a military unit. Soldiers who live in one Ukrainian émigré DP camp comprise one group headed by a group commandant. The entire unit is led by the commander of the UPA Raiding Unit with the help of a headquarters created by him. Through its commander the UPA unit is subordinated to the chief of the UPA Mission at the External Representation of the UHVR. The full complement of units, including riflemen and officers, numbers more than 250 people.

#### *The Ukrainian Political Emigration and the UPA Raiding Unit*

The Ukrainian political emigration in Western Europe consists of post-World War One émigrés and new émigrés after the Second World War. In the emigration are many émigrés who were taken as slave labourers by the Germans, and following the occupation by Anglo-American occupation troops they stayed, never to return to the homeland. The diverse Ukrainian emigration is suffering from the fragmentation of national forces abroad: there are around ten political parties in the Ukrainian political emigration. Ukrainian political parties, which are supposed to be carrying out their duty to the fighting land, are expending much energy on fighting with each other. In many cases, it has become a daily practice among certain parties to fight their political opponent

as a national enemy. The strongest political milieux are the OUN -R [OUN Revolutionary] and the OUN -Melnykites, who have been fighting with each other throughout their entire sojourn in emigration. In addition to this great differentiation among ideological and political views, the Ukrainian political emigration is also suffering from a territorial division: Easterners versus Westerners [Skhidniaky–Zakhidniaky]. The territorial division into Easterners versus Westerners is sometimes also reinforced by a church with two rites that are opposed to each other. Finding itself amidst the Ukrainian political emigration in such a state, the UPA Raiding Unit believed that its primary task was to inform the Ukrainian emigration about the liberation struggle in the homeland, about the existence of the UPA's armed insurgent force, to teach by example of the struggle in the homeland, to resolve all contentious questions that exist within the Ukrainian political emigration according to the principle that was introduced by the leadership and Command of the liberation struggle in the homeland. In their encounters with the Ukrainian emigration, singly and collectively, the soldiers, indirectly through it, are informing the Western world about the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle and the threat of Russian Red Bolshevism to the entire civilized world. It must be stated that to this day not all of the entire Ukrainian political emigration acknowledges the existence of the liberation struggle, the UPA's armed insurgent forces, and the political leadership of the UHVR in the homeland and its representation, the ZP UHVR [External Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council] abroad. The ZCh OUN [External Units of the OUN ], which acts as the OUN-R in emigration, recognizes the ZP UHVR only as its rational foundation. The ZP UHVR has not placed itself within the framework of carrying out the duties of a rational foundation of the ZCh OUN-R, as a result of which a situation has arisen whereby the ZCh OUN -R is paralyzing the influences of the ZP UHVR within the Ukrainian emigration. I believe that the reason behind the lack of cooperation between the ZP UHVR and the ZCh OUN-R is a narrow party approach to the concept of the liberation struggle of the latter and the Ukrainian emigration's spiritual disconnectedness from the people in the homeland.

*The Raiding Unit within the Ukrainian Emigration and Its Political Milieux*

From the very beginning of the departure from the internment camp of the soldiers belonging to the raiding units, and even during the period when the raiding units were interned, many political parties in the Ukrainian emigration began representing themselves, each independently of each other, as the leaders or political leadership of the UPA Raiding Units in the emigration. Those who declared themselves include: the Melnykites and Otaman Bulba-Borovets [who] demanded reports on the struggle in the homeland [and continue to do

so] to this day; the UNR (the government-in-exile)[, which] is complaining that it was not informed about the arrival of the army.<sup>15</sup> Many political parties in the Ukrainian emigration called the UPA and the Raiding Unit a “Banderite fighting group” (the term that was used). The ZCh OUN-R and the head of the Leadership Bureau of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, in keeping with an order issued by the head of the Sector of Military Affairs of the ZCh OUN no. 1/48 dated 1.2.1948, ordered the commander of the Raiding Unit as follows: “By a decision of the competent factor of the Organization, the UPA unit in the emigration is under the command of Commander Baida, at the exclusive disposition of the Organization’s leadership Bureau. The unit belongs administratively and economically to the Territorial leadership of Germany. The UPA unit is militarily subordinated to the Sector of Military Affairs of the ZCh OUN. After the final stationing of the Unit in the territory, I will issue by separate order instructions for regional Military Responsible Leaders concerning cooperation on military work with local UPA subunits.” (Comment: The order was not issued to the commander of the unit; the commander found out about it accidentally.) During a meeting of the Raiding Unit’s officers, the state of affairs pertaining to the political leadership of the Raiding Unit was discussed, and the commander sent a letter to the leadership Bureau of the ZCh OUN, in which he confirmed that the relations between the Raiding Unit and the External Units of the OUN were not in accord with the relations between the UPA and the OUN in the homeland. The letter stated that the UPA in the homeland is subordinated through the supreme commander of the UPA to the General Secretariat of Military Affairs of the UHVR. The UPA Raiding Unit is subordinated to the chief of the UPA Mission at the ZP UHVR.

#### *The Future of the Raiding Unit Abroad*

The material security resources of the soldiers of the UPA Raiding Unit are in such a state, albeit temporarily, that each soldier of the Raiding Unit must independently provide for his own material security because the material assistance from the Ukrainian emigration in Europe and overseas is so minimal that it is not sufficient for the medical treatment of sick soldiers [or] even for the partial upkeep of invalids. The best solution to the material existence of the Raiding Unit on the whole, and for each soldier in particular, would be disbandment and for each soldier to go to work and earn a living. The economic state of occupied Germany and neighbouring states in Europe after the war is difficult, and it is very difficult to find a job. During a meeting convened by the chief of the UPA Mission at the ZP UHVR the following solution to the material support of the soldiery was adopted:

15 Otaman Taras Bulba-Borovets set up a resistance movement, the Polissian Sich, in the Sarny district of Volyn oblast on 8 August 1941 (from 20 July 1943 it was known as the Ukrainian Revolutionary Army); it was eventually forced to subordinate itself to the OUNb.

1) Soldiers who can find a material support base in Europe remain on its territory as long as possible; 2) soldiers who do not have any possibility to support themselves in Europe seek a solution to this problem by looking for work outside of Europe; 3) as much as possible, direct the departure of soldiers seeking work to the US and Canada. In crucial cases, agree to the departure of numerically small groups to other overseas countries where there are already Ukrainian émigrés.

The Raiding Unit continues to exist mainly in the form that was adopted at the outset, except that groups are stationed in the states where the soldiers will be working. Leadership and liaison with groups or individual soldiers are to be maintained by letter. As for the further leadership and maintaining communications between the soldiers and the Command of the Raiding Unit, a number of written and verbal information items and instructions are provided, which I consider unnecessary to cite here. The Command of the Raiding Unit remains in the territories of Europe as long as this will be possible and necessary, and it will carry out its work within the framework of the tasks of the UPA Mission at the ZP UHVR. As for liaison between the Raiding Unit and the Supreme Command of the UPA, it will be arranged by the political leadership of the UPA Raiding Unit, the ZP UHVR. I anticipate further orders from the Supreme Command of the UPA.

In the name of the soldiers and officers of the UPA Raiding Unit I convey my most sincere wishes for success in the struggle. *Glory to Ukraine!*

\* \* \*

Report submitted by:

Commander Baida, Acting Deputy Commander of the Lemko tactical sector  
in the Kholodny Yar territory

May 1949 [signature]

(-) Commander Baida

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fols. 222–6.



DOCUMENT 119: APPEAL OF THE UNDERGROUND  
LEADERSHIP TO THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION (1949)

October 1949

[written by hand]:

*To be disseminated without signatures*

*Freedom for nations and the individual!  
For the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

A

*Message from Fighting Ukraine to the Entire Ukrainian Emigration!  
Our Brothers Scattered throughout Distant Foreign Lands!*

Four years have passed since the war in Europe ended. But the war in Ukraine did not end. For four years you have been able to see how the peoples of Western Europe [and] America are rebuilding their life in peaceful conditions. But in Ukraine there is no peace! A brutal struggle is still raging in Ukraine, shots are not abating, flames are not dying down. In factories and plants, on collective farms and individual farmsteads, schools and institutions, in the forests and mountains, in Ukraine, in remote Siberia and Kazakhstan, everywhere the Ukrainian people are standing at the barricades of liberation. They are standing bloodied but not bowed, unconquerable, unvanquished.

Filled with hatred of slavery and servitude, violence, and lawlessness, they have declared a merciless war against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism. Mindful of the justice of their cause, today they are rising to the summit of devotion and heroism.

Now that they have taken their fate into their own hands, they are determined to forge it to the end. And they are forging it without respite; they are forging indefatigably, fearlessly.

Having placed themselves in the avant-garde of the sacred struggle of peoples for the collapse of the fortress of totalitarianism, despotism, and terror – the Stalinist USSR – they are bravely and admirably fulfilling their great and important duty. Today they have raised on high the flag on which are written words that are dear to all nations and people: “Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!”

In this savage struggle, the likes of which history has never known, not a single Ukrainian man or Ukrainian woman dares to remain on the sidelines. All Ukrainians must take part in it, no matter where they may be today. Fighting Ukraine looks upon you, our brothers scattered throughout foreign lands, as a sector of the single front of our great liberation struggle that goes far beyond the boundaries of the national struggle, which has universal human

importance. Fighting Ukraine looks upon you as fighters in the great cause of liberation, who have opened up a front in Western Europe, the countries of America, in Australia – anywhere where at least one Ukrainian is living. Fighting Ukraine sends you fighting, fraternal greeting to your positions.

The fatherland is listening carefully to everything that is happening in both the old and new Ukrainian emigration. The Ukrainian people are keeping close watch on whether the front in the emigration is marching step in step with the front in the Ukrainian lands, whether it is lagging behind, breaking down. For the people have the right to demand that the Ukrainian emigration not lag in any way from the struggle in the Lands, so that it stands completely at the summit of its tasks, which history has placed before it.

Above all, fighting Ukrainian demands that the Ukrainian emigration represent its nation and its liberation struggle to the outside world with dignity and responsibly.

Ukraine is just now entering the international arena. The world knows little about her, and much of what it does know is vague and distorted. Your task, Ukrainian emigration, is above all to change this situation, convey the truth about Ukraine and her struggle to all nations and people outside the borders of the USSR. The homeland has done everything in its power in this direction, and continues to do so. Through its struggle the homeland has created great capital, and you, Ukrainian emigration, must draw on it in the international sector in the interests of the liberation cause.

Destiny has scattered, and continues to scatter, you throughout all the countries of the world, to its remotest corners. But, today is not the time to rail against this cruel fate: it must be turned for the good of the entire Ukrainian nation. You must exploit [the circumstances] that you have found yourselves today, practically among all the nations of the world, in order for these nations to learn as much as possible about Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, their strivings in the past, their heroic struggle today.

Remember that *today every Ukrainian abroad is a representative of fighting Ukraine.*

Remember that, in looking at each one of you, foreigners are looking at the entire Ukrainian nation, that, in judging each one of you, they are judging our entire nation.

Therefore, each one must conduct himself in such a way as not to tarnish the name of his nation; behave in such a way as to increase its glory. Every day ask yourselves what good and beneficial thing you have done for Ukraine.

You must be spiritually connected to Ukraine as closely as possible. You must live through her, her aspirations and struggle. Disillusionment in the success of our great struggle must not lodge in you. You must not be undermined by doubts as to the correctness of our struggle in the Lands. Otherwise, you will

never ignite foreigners' belief in the justice of our struggles; you will not instill in them the conviction of the feasibility of our struggle; you will not unite their friendliness towards our nation.

Fighting Ukraine demands that the Ukrainian emigration be a passionate carrier of the ideas, for the realization of which the Ukrainian people are fighting.

Make foreigners aware of the crucial need for the partition of the USSR into free national states of all its peoples. Prove to them that all the enslaved peoples of the USSR seek independent states, and they have fought and are fighting ardently and courageously to achieve them. Explain to them that the partition of the USSR is demanded by the interests of all the nations of the world because only in this way can the threat of the revival of Russian imperialism, which, today, in the form of Bolshevism, threatens the entire world, be destroyed once and for all.

Everywhere disseminate the concept of the building of an international order based on a system of free, independent states of all peoples. Only this kind of system will create the best pre-conditions for successful political, economic, and cultural cooperation and unity among nations because it will provide the opportunity to build it on the foundation of genuine equal rights, voluntariness, mutual respect, and trust. Only such a system is capable of eliminating blood-shedding wars and ensuring lasting peace in the world.

Explain to foreigners that the Ukrainian nation is fighting to realize the leading ideals of mankind, for freedom for nations and the individual, for real democracy, for a just social order, where there will be neither exploiters nor exploited.

*Fighting Ukraine demands that the Ukrainian emigration tirelessly bring the truth about the Stalinist USSR to all the nations of the world and actively mobilize them in the struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, this greatest enemy of all mankind.*

The world is still inadequately informed of the truth about the USSR. It has still not completely grasped even the fact that Russian-Bolshevik imperialism is a threat to it. To reveal to all the nations the real face of Bolshevism, to tear off its mask of democracy and socialism, and to expose it in all its repellant nakedness – this is your great duty, Ukrainian emigration.

Help enlighten the millions of foreigners who still believe wholeheartedly in socialism in the USSR. Tell them about the terrible persecution of the peoples of the USSR, about the colonial plunder of their riches, about the unparalleled exploitation and slave-like status of the worker, about the new serfdom on collective farms, about the crushing of the intelligentsia.

Show the entire world this “most democratic” country, where people are driven to the voting boxes by means of terror, where the people are forced to vote for their executioners and oppressors, where the courts are agencies

of violence and lawlessness, where the individual's mouth is not only bound, but his thought is chained, where the individual is turned into a slave without rights, where millions are sent to prisons and concentration camps.

Reveal to all the nations this country where religion is suffocated, the church is defiled, freedom of conscience is buried, [where] not just Christian but also universal human morality is trampled, and to the mockery and disgrace of all mankind heavenly liberties are loudly advertised and a church, which is in essence merely an appendage of the MGB and the MVD, is maintained. Tell about the destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church and the Greek-Catholic Church, about the murdered and deported Ukrainian bishops, priests, and faithful. Explain to foreigners that the current Russian Orthodox Church has nothing in common with a free church and is an MVD secret intelligence agency. Call upon all Christians, all the faithful of other religions, to a decisive struggle for the destruction of the mortal enemy of humanity – Bolshevism.

Fighting Ukraine demands that the Ukrainian emigration be an active co-organizer of a single front of all nations that are enslaved and endangered by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

The Russian-Bolshevik imperialists have already enslaved many nations, and plans are being made to place a yoke on all the other nations of the world tomorrow. All Bolshevik declarations about the possibility of the peaceful coexistence of two systems are only deceptive propaganda. In fact, all the efforts of the Kremlin leaders are aimed at preparing a new war for the conquest of the entire world. All life in the USSR is subordinated to this one goal. The hopes of the Western world that the war may be averted are vain hopes built on sand. World wars cannot be averted by any means.

You, Ukrainian emigration, must preach this truth to the nations of the West at every step of the way. For you it should be the point of departure in your practical political work among these nations. Tell them clearly that today the entire world is facing the question, not about how to avert a new war – it is inevitable – but how to save freedom, independence, and culture, how humanity is to avoid slavery and perdition – and this is not inevitable. And you must also answer them clearly that the only salvation for the world is the speediest possible and complete destruction of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism in its current Western positions. And this can be achieved only through the organized efforts of a single front of all nations that are enslaved and endangered by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism.

You, Ukrainian emigration, must not only advocate the need for such a front and convince the world of its necessity. You must do everything possible so that the anti-Bolshevik front acquires concrete, organized forms. For this you must arm yourself with faith in the justice of this cause, but you must also demonstrate as much organizational talent, tolerance, and endurance because

all people who crave freedom, regardless of racial, national, and religious affiliation, regardless of their political convictions, must be united.

First and foremost, you must apply every effort to uniting in a single anti-Bolshevik front the emigration of all the nations of Bolshevik-controlled Europe and Asia, and the enslaved nations of Central and Southeastern Europe.

The homeland applauds the successes that have been achieved in this sector. Develop and deepen these successes, Ukrainian emigration. Tirelessly and doggedly vanquish all difficulties and differences that stand in the way of the complete unification of the emigration of the nations of the USSR. Strengthen this union in its organized actions both before the émigré masses and the outside world.

Simultaneously with the action of unifying the emigration and the enslaved nations of the USSR, you, Ukrainian emigration, must carry out the most active work among the Western nations in order to unite all the freedom-loving people of the world into an anti-Bolshevik front. Make contacts and strengthen them with national and international organizations that are fighting for the human rights of liberty. Seek to create an international organization whose goal would be the struggle against imperialism and totalitarianism, for the defence of the rights of nations and the individual.

Remember, our brothers in the emigration, that the question of organizing a single anti-Bolshevik front of all nations is not only the task of the leaders of political parties. This is the duty of each one of you. Remember that the issue of the anti-Bolshevik front, just like the representation of the Ukrainian nation, may be raised not just among the political and state circles of other nations and by diplomatic means. This issue may, and must, be raised among the broadest masses of all the nations of the West, in factories, mines, farms, schools, and institutions. Only once the broadest popular masses join the anti-Bolshevik movement, only once this movement has such a broad base will it be capable of destroying its enemy.

Remember that the spread of truth about the USSR, the mobilization and organization of nations for the struggle against Bolshevism, is a mission of global importance, common to all mankind. Therefore, be worthy of this great mission that history has placed upon you. Carry it out with apostolic devotion and determination, carry it out with the same kind of bravery and dedication with which the insurgents are fighting today. If you do this, future generations of all nations will remember you with gratitude.

In order to carry out all these important duties you, our brothers in foreign lands, must be united and not splintered, you must act with one accord, and not at odds. Fighting Ukraine decisively demands complete unity from the Ukrainian emigration, unity not in words but in actions, active unity, and not the paper kind, unity on the basis of the people's liberation struggle in the Ukrainian lands.

The situation that exists today cannot continue. There cannot be any kind of division into Greek Catholics and Orthodox, autocephalists and those who support unity, and especially [not] into “Easterners” and “Westerners.” Such a division cannot be looked upon with indifference. The emigration must apply every effort to destroy completely the harmful consequences of the long enslavement and artificial borders, with which the occupiers divided and are dividing the living body of the Ukrainian people. All differences among Ukrainians must disappear in joint work and struggle. The aware part of the emigration must do everything in order as quickly as possible to raise the level of national consciousness and political maturity of the nationally unaware part of the emigration. This is a very important, simply the chief, task of the internal life of the Ukrainian emigration. The resolution of this question lies completely in the hands of the aware part of the emigration. All responsibility for the success of this cause also falls upon it.

At this crucial moment, in this important situation in which the Ukrainian nation finds itself today, the Ukrainian emigration also cannot allow itself *any discord and party squabbles. Today all party differences must disappear completely, they must be subordinated to one goal – the cause of the Ukrainian people’s liberation.* Today the division can proceed not along the line of one Party or another but along the line of patriots and traitors of the Ukrainian nation.

The homeland sees a problem not in the existence of various parties in the emigration but in the fact that these parties do not know how to coexist and cooperate with each other, not even among themselves. The homeland is indignant at the decline of political and civic morality within the Ukrainian emigration, which is inflicting harm on the entire liberation cause, which in the eyes of foreigners is disgracing the entire nation and forming a false view of the struggle in the lands. Fighting Ukraine is indignant at the fact that in the party struggle in the emigration, national values and sacred things are being squandered. Fighting Ukraine most decisively condemns all those who refuse to rise above their narrow party interests, who speculate on the liberation idea.

The homeland notes with sorrow that there are people within the very emigration who for a long time have utterly doubted the existence in the lands of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, and the clandestine Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and some of them have even spoken out against them. It took a raid by UPA units, it took living witnesses, it took insurgents covering one thousand kilometres amidst battles in order finally to convince these Doubting Thomases that the UHVR, UPA, and the OUN exist, that they are acting and fighting in the Ukrainian lands. But even after this, there are still people in the emigration who are trying in every way to diminish the importance of the struggle in the lands, to reduce its scale, to devalue it politically. The homeland calls upon all these people

to cease all manner of devaluation of the liberation movement in the lands and to devote all their energies to the interests of Fighting Ukraine. To those who, blinded by their own personal interests, do not find the courage and willingness to desist from their statements against the liberation movement in the lands and deliberately continue to devalue it, the homeland clearly declares that it will regard their work as a crime against the Ukrainian people and their liberation struggle in Ukraine.

Brothers in the emigration: today the homeland has achieved full unity. The emigration must follow in the footsteps of the homeland. Everyone who truly grieves for the fate of his nation, who truly seeks its liberation, who is filled with a sincere desire to devote himself to the nation, who holds dear the idea of the Ukrainian State – unite in the joint effort to achieve the realization of our great goal. Create a solid, single front and speak out to the outside world decisively and unanimously. May the political differences of the Ukrainian emigration be channelled towards the formation and growth of Ukrainian political thought, and not towards Party squabbling. Prove that you understand the historical importance of the present moment and are standing on the summit of your tasks. Serve as an example of unity and organization for other nations, because unity and organization is necessary for all nations in order to put a victorious end to the struggle against Bolshevism.

*Émigré brothers who are doing physical labour:* Unable to return to the Fatherland, you have ended up in the factories, mines, and farms of practically all countries outside the borders of the USSR. Today you are working alongside workers of all nationalities. Today you are working in this milieu, in which there are mostly people who have fallen victim to mendacious Bolshevik propaganda. Help these millions of workers to shake off the shackles of Bolshevik deception. With the force of your lengthy experience, convince them that there is no socialism in the USSR, that the USSR is a country of the most reactionary totalitarianism and tyranny. With your hatred of Russian Bolshevik imperialism ignite a fire within them, because in their souls they hate all kinds of slavery, violence, and lawlessness the same way as you. At work-benches forge a friendship with them, lay the foundations of a close friendship between their nations and the Ukrainian nation.

Take part in the work of workers organizations of the Western nations and be an example of friendship and solidarity. Create Ukrainian workers' organizations and champion your rights in an organized fashion. Develop your cultural-educational life broadly.

Take part in the work of international anti-Bolshevik trade unions and represent there the millions of Ukrainian workers who today do not have a chance to speak freely in their own name. Together with all workers, fight imperialism and totalitarianism, for genuine democracy and social justice.

Ukrainian poets, writers, artists, scholars, journalists in the emigration: Free Ukrainian scholarship and culture are completely stifled in the Ukrainian lands. The free word has been driven deep into the underground. In these circumstances, upon you falls the great task of building up the Ukrainian culture and scholarship, enriching its treasury with new values and achievements. The homeland joyfully notes the contemporary creative achievements of the Ukrainian emigration in the fields of scholarship and culture, and calls for even greater efforts in this direction.

Build up and strengthen free centres of Ukrainian scholarship and culture, concentrate in them all the creative forces that are found in the emigration. Apply all efforts to the finest possible development of Ukrainian Studies because this is precisely what is being subjected in the lands to the horrific distortions and fabrications on the part of the Russian-Bolshevik occupiers. Raise a new generation of scholars.

Take advantage of every opportunity to represent Ukrainian culture and scholarship in a worthy fashion to the outside world. Tirelessly popularize its achievements. Carry Ukrainian songs, music, and theatre everywhere. Forge and strengthen links with cultural and scholarly organizations, and individual scholarly representatives of other nations. Do not neglect a single opportunity to make your contribution to the work of international cultural and scholarly organizations. Let the world see the Ukrainian culture and the creative talents of the Ukrainian people in all its fullness.

*Ukrainian women in the emigration:* The homeland rejoices in your activism and organized nature, and the successes achieved as a result of this. Strengthen your organized nature even more; develop your activism even more broadly both in the internal émigré and external sectors. In the emigration diligently maintain the glorious traditions of Ukrainian womanhood in civic and personal family life. Take advantage of every opportunity to work with women in the West. Apprise them of the terrible danger of Bolshevism. Stir the conscience of all women and mothers throughout the world [by pointing out] the slavish position of women in the USSR, the destruction of families, the fate of millions of children who have been starved to death, locked up in prisons and places of deportation, forcibly torn from their mothers and made homeless by fate. Let the women of all nations take their place in the universal human struggle against Bolshevism.

*Ukrainian youth:* In the emigration you must march in the avant-garde of the struggle, just like the youth are doing in the Lands. You must devote yourselves completely to the interests of Fighting Ukraine and be prepared at her every call to stand alongside your friends who, with weapons in their hands, are fighting for the liberation of the people, for happiness, joy, and the creative work of Ukrainian youth in a Ukrainian State. You must be highly organized



and active; you must constantly temper your lofty ideals and tirelessly raise your level of general and specialist knowledge and political maturity. Take broad advantage of your life among other nations in order to learn everything that is good and beneficial in them, in order to adopt their work experience in all facets of life and state building, but protect yourself carefully from all kinds of corrupting influences that would weaken your lofty ideals and undermine moral steadfastness.

Ukrainian youth, you as well as our emigration are facing the task of acquainting foreigners with the Ukrainian people's liberation struggle. Do this at every opportunity and by all means. For this make use of your personal acquaintances, contacts with other nations' youth organizations and international youth organizations. Light a fire in the young people of all nations for the struggle against Bolshevism. They will soonest understand you; first because youth are affronted to the greatest degree by lies and violence, and they are always ready to struggle against them.

*Fighters and commanders of UPA raiding units:* You carried out the task placed on you by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council courageously. The homeland followed your raid with bated breath, and its successful conclusion sparked immense joy in the homeland. The entire nation rejoices that you made it over the other wall of the Bolshevik prison of nations in order to make a protest there, in front of the whole world, against the oppression of the Ukrainian nation by the Russian-Bolshevik invaders and to tell the truth about the liberation struggle in the lands.

Your arrival in Western Europe as direct participants and living witnesses of the liberation struggle in the Lands fundamentally influenced a change in the views of both foreigners and our own people concerning our liberation struggle, and put an end to the falsification of the truth about our struggle. And this is your great achievement for the entire liberation cause. History will judge you worthy.

Even though today you have ended up far away from your native lands, the struggle is not over for you. The enemy, which is oppressing your Fatherland, is also operating there, and you must struggle against him the same away as you recently fought with weapons in your hands in Ukraine. In foreign lands continue to maintain and cherish the heroic traditions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and carry on high the flag of its glory.

Brothers in foreign lands! Soon you will be scattered even more throughout the world, you will end up even farther from the Fatherland. But, know that all this is temporary, that your sojourn in foreign lands, your longing for the Fatherland, will inevitably come to an end.

When the resurrectional [*sic*] bells ring out and Ukraine rises in a mighty echo of glory, all of you will return forever to the Fatherland. And then, all the

children of Ukraine who are scattered throughout the world will gather in a “free, new family” in order to build their glorious, free, new life together in happiness and joy. And then the words of the great Prophet [Taras Shevchenko] will come true:

*A new Ukraine will rise  
To end the night of slavery  
Our serf-born son's glad orisons  
Will greet sweet Freedom's dawn!*

Believe mightily in this, and all of you, fight bravely so that this great day will arrive as soon as possible.

Regardless of all the incredible difficulties, Fighting Ukraine will continue to struggle with as much determination as it has struggled until now, without sparing either effort or blood.

Fighting Ukraine will do everything in its power so that the Ukrainian nation will build its huge temple of Freedom as quickly as possible and once and for all, so that you may return to Ukraine not as servants but as its free masters.

In Ukraine, the month of October, 1949

In the name of Fighting Ukraine:

Reverend Professor M. Lavrivsky, member of the UHVR, head of the underground Greek-Catholic Church

Brigadier General R. Lozovsky-Chuprynka, head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR and the commander in chief of the UPA

V. Koval, deputy head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, member of the UHVR

Professor H. Zeleny, member of the UHVR

Captain P. Poltava, head of the Political Instruction Department, Supreme Headquarters of the UPA political instructor

Major D. Sokil, member of the Supreme Headquarters of the UPA

Major M. Dubovy, commander of UPA-North

P. Maksymovych, member of the OUN leadership in the Ukrainian Lands

O. Hornovy, journalist and member of the OUN leadership in the Ukrainian Lands

Captain V. Khmel, member of the headquarters of UPA-West

Major V. Hrim, commander of the Hoverlia Military okruha of UPA-West

Z. Savchenko, head of the OUN in the Northwestern Ukrainian Lands

I. Vasylenko, head of the OUN in the Central-Eastern Ukrainian Lands

Captain R. Ilnytsky, head of the underground organizations of the OUN Youth

A. Shybalynska, head of the clandestine Ukrainian Red Cross  
K. Vladan, engineer, head of the OUN okruha in the Western Ukrainian Lands  
I. Budko, head of the OUN okruha in the Eastern Ukrainian Lands  
T. Ilian, head of the OUN okruha in the Northwestern Ukrainian Lands  
S. Stal, head of the OUN in Bukovyna  
Professor S. Kuzmenko, editor of clandestine publications  
D. Bei, artist  
I. Fesenko, UPA doctor

In Ukraine, October 1949

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 36, fols. 282–8.

DOCUMENT 120: REPORT ON A UPA RAID  
INTO ROMANIAN TERRITORY (1949)

12 October 1949

*The Two-Week Raid into Romania*<sup>16</sup>1. *Description of the Raid*

On 26 June 1949 Captain Khmara's unit and I, as the propaganda representative (a total of seventeen people) were heading to the Romanian border between the Reheska [Radieskul] and Stih [Stogu] Mountains in order to launch a propaganda raid into Romania. At 10:00 this unit's reconnaissance team (four riflemen) unexpectedly encountered a Bolshevik border guard unit, probably six fighters, and a battle commenced in the thick fog that was drifting that day along the peaks. During that brief battle, which was not anticipated by either side, Rifleman-Machine Gunner Neporadny distinguished himself; with his courageous machine-gun onslaught he drove the Bolsheviks from their advantageous position (old trenches) and went shouting into the attack: the Bolsheviks, leaving behind one killed soldier and grabbing one seriously wounded fighter from the battle, scattered in a panic.

Machine Gunner Neporadny captured one PPSH, one rifle, and one grenade. On our side, Rifleman Ivanenko was seriously wounded; Rifleman Sybiriak grabbed him quickly from the battlefield. Alerted, after three hours up to three hundred Bolsheviks from the military outposts in Stih and Shybenia arrived at the site of the skirmish. Leaving behind Riflemen Sybiriak and Neporadny to take care of the wounded fighter, the unit marched as quickly as possible to the border in order to cross into Romania during the night at all costs because the Bolsheviks had launched a broad-scale action in the borderland zone. During the night, at 2:00 a.m. Moscow time, the unit crossed the Romanian border near the centre of Reheska, around two kilometres from the military outpost in Stih.

We arrived on the Romanian side at the alpine meadow of Hershtu [*sic*] almost at daybreak. At the shepherd's cottage I did not find any acquaintances from the previous year, but I mentioned them; we quickly came to an understanding. With sadness and great hatred for the government of Petru Groza, those people told us about the arrest of an authoritative person from their village, whom I had met the previous year. Those people's nice attitude

16 Photographs from this UPA raid into Romania were uncovered and published by Vasyl Humeniuk and Lubomyr Luciuk, *Their Just War: Images of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army*, trans. Marta D. Olynyk (Kingston: The Kashtan Press, 2007). Hutsuls are found in the Subcarpathian lands between the Maramureş region of Romania and Ukraine's Bukovyna region.

towards us convinced us that none of them would report [us] to the border picket (outpost), and we spent the day peacefully near the shepherd's cottage.

On the evening of 27 June we headed farther along the main road alongside the Sokoliv stream, in the direction of the village of Poliany (Poieni De Sub Munte). En route I visited several trustworthy people, acquaintances from last year. During discussions with these people I conveyed to them the goal and conditions of our struggle, life in the Soviet hell, Bolshevik terror, and the cruel treatment of the population, Bolshevik prisons, the treatment of captured, seriously wounded insurgents, and the heroic feats of our underground. From them I learned about the coup that had taken place in early spring in the area of Craiova–Turnu Severin and Timișoara, with the goal of toppling the government of Petru Groza. The coup failed because of treachery, and as a result government troops crushed the coup and captured several leaders. I will mention [this] in greater detail in a separate chapter.

With the help of these authoritative people, I arranged with a shepherd from the alpine meadow of Stănișoara to bring us to the village of Zud, where it would be possible to meet with Romanian guerrillas. Although the village was still fifty kilometres away, nevertheless the shepherd, "H," very gladly agreed to go to that place with us, despite the bothersome rain that was pouring down almost non-stop. We dried off at the shepherd's hut, which was much bigger than shepherd huts in our alpine meadows, and the shepherd, "H," an interesting youth with a handsome face, acquainted us, speaking in his rather well-developed voice, with Romanian *doina* [folksongs].

On the night of 29 June we entered the village of Repedeș (Kryvy). Here "H" headed for a house on the main road to find out whether there was any militia on the bridge. For two hours we waited in the garden for "H," but he did not come. This was an unfortunate surprise because the plan for our further march to the village of Zud suddenly broke down. We thought that he had been arrested and was being detained by the militia. The situation appeared to be very difficult, and the annoying rain had almost completely soaked our last dry threads [of clothing]. However, the way out of this situation was very close at hand, although we knew no one in the entire village. I knew that the population in this village was Ukrainian (Transcarpathians) and believed that I would be able to come to an understanding with them, but the risk was not to encounter any communist. Next to the first house, in which a light was still burning, I stopped a passing man and after a few words uttered in a somewhat different accent, I saw that he was not a Romanian. He was a Ukrainian named "I" who was from that very house. He welcomed us very wholeheartedly into his house, was interested in our struggle, was delighted that he had seen our army, and moreover was surprised when he heard that we were Ukrainian insurgents-Banderites from western Ukraine. He invited us to spend the

night in the attic of his stable, but because it was on the main road and we had left obvious traces of ourselves in the gardens and orchards leading to this road, we decided to distance ourselves at least a bit from the road. Then "I" led us across the narrow footbridge over the small Sokoliv River, whose waters had been significantly enlarged by the constant rains, and we ended up in the attic of his father's stable, completely away from the road. "I's" father is an Austrian soldier, who had had an opportunity to taste the benefits of a rifleman's life; he was therefore pleased to see us, was interested in our life, our struggle, and told us about the difficult conditions of their life under the current communist government, and he tried to feed us as best as possible. We had a good rest here, and during the day we became embroiled in all kinds of deeper discussions with "I" and his father. I left them a couple of posters [proclaiming] "Stalin Is a Pig," several *bofony* [insurgent paper currency or receipts for a paid-off loan] depicting [Hetmans] Mazepa and Vyhovsky, and two brochures, *Who Are the Banderites and What Are They Fighting for?* and *The Bolshevik Democratization of Europe*. Among other things, "I" said that the militia and the border troops were inspecting documents in Vișeu and Sighet, and on trains. He himself had been checked five times. This inspection was done by the militia in connection with our crossing of the border, thinking that [we were] some kind of smugglers-speculators.

After this good rest, during the night of 30 June "I" escorted us along the line of the footbridge through the village of Ruskova, the edge of the village of Leordina, in the direction of the village of Zud. During the crossing of the bridges over [the] Vișeu and Iza rivers, the militia guards hid behind the booth. After the beautiful and large village of Leordina, we thanked "I" and said goodbye, and on his instruction stopped en route to see a trustworthy Romanian. This Romanian treated us to a good breakfast, and we billeted near him at Vârful Runcului, near the village of Rozavlea. This authoritative individual treated us extraordinarily well: during a discussion with him I saw that he had a very good understanding of politics, and he had harsh words for Petru Groza's government. During my deep discussion with this earnest Romanian, I explained to him who we were and arranged with him that he would go by himself to the village of Zud in order to find that shepherd, "H," and to find out from his friends whether it would be possible to meet with Romanian guerrillas there. Towards evening on 2 July he returned from Zud and informed me that there were no guerrillas there, only people in the underground who were hiding by themselves; that the week before there had been a major dragnet operation there, during which a schoolteacher was killed by mistake. The population was panic-stricken, and those underground members had fled into the mountains, farther to the south. Those underground members probably knew about certain links with the Romanian guerrillas, but

they were hard to track down, especially since the eyes of the government troops would be on that territory. The shepherd, "H," knew with certainty about such conditions in that territory. He became frightened of conducting such a group of armed people into his village and that is why he fled, because he was afraid of the consequences in his village because of us; in the event that he was unable to make contact with us.

In order to establish any kind of liaison with the Romanian guerrillas, it was necessary to cover some 150 kilometres farther southward. Seeing such difficulties, where we had neither money nor a map of those territories, or proper footwear, we decided together with Comrade Commander Khmara to return closer to the border, into the area of those known, trustworthy people, and from there to send someone by train to the south in order to find a liaison for us there.

At this time, rumours began spreading among the populace that some five thousand Ukrainian insurgents had crossed into the Maramureş Mountains. The populace that had seen us was spreading rumours that we had arrived in connection with the new war. Therefore, we had to hurry as quickly as possible and, after crossing the Iza River during the night, we entered the outermost houses in Lower Vişeu. Here we had breakfast, during which I talked with the locals about international political events, about the inevitability of a new war, about the front of enslaved nations, about Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialism, about the collective farms, and I distributed many leaflets and posters "Stalin the Pig Is Digging Up the Globe." This poster was in great demand, and both young and old people were generally interested in us. Later, we moved over to other houses, even closer to Lower Vişeu, where I took a couple of pictures and had a broader conversation with the homeowners about various current topics, during which I distributed some leaflets among them. I was aware that our propaganda among the Romanian population would quickly spark a manhunt by Romanian government troops, and therefore we hurried in the direction of those trustworthy people with the idea of going into hiding there; let them [government troops] look for us here in the vicinity of Vişeu. So, that very night we arrived in the village of Ruskova, where we entered the home of "D," where we billeted in the stable the entire day of 4 August [*sic* July]. That same day, nine militia men walked around the village and then came upon our tracks somewhere in the mountains, and the woman of the house where we were staying was very afraid that we would encounter them in her stable. In the evening we entered the house and had long discussions on political topics with the owner and his wife. Upon hearing our insurgent songs, the housewife was so enchanted that she completely forgot about all her fears, and her fascination was boundless. This was one of the most aware families that we encountered in those Ukrainian villages; however, they know very little about

Ukraine and about our national liberation movement. After leaving them a few leaflets, "Stalin Is a Pig," a few Mazepa and Vyhovsky *bofony*, and a few of the above-mentioned brochures, we departed in the direction of the village of Repedea (Kryvyi). Here too the local population treated us very well, and, like earlier, we held propaganda discussions.

At the same time, we learned from secret intelligence that the border troops were patrolling the alpine meadows and questioning shepherds about the guerrillas, and several carloads of troops had arrived in the village of Poliany. Therefore, the command of the border troops had already been informed that some kind of guerrillas had arrived from abroad, but which direction was not certain. So, it was crucial for us to sneak our way across Poliany to the opposite peak of Vertep-Stănișoara, which we did during the night of [6-]7 July, and by noon we were already at the alpine meadow of Rahasel [*sic*].

Here we saw about fifty shepherds cottages (cattle pens), from which up to 250 milk cows were being led out to pasture, and along with them no smaller a number of people of various ages. And all of them were Ukrainians. This community of people, at first glance exhausted by the difficult life, crushed by misery, and wretchedly dressed, was very intrigued by us, as we were no less by them.

My earlier view was not to make ourselves known to those people and not conduct any propaganda before we achieved some kind of result in our mission, but my idea was not accepted. Although these people would have seen us from a distance, they would probably have thought that we were their border troops. At the demand of our unit commander, I held a brief meeting, and afterwards the fellows continued their conversations on political and economic subjects with individual small groups. A few older men and women wiped away tears when they heard my words that we are Ukrainian insurgents-Banderites, who have not forgotten about them and have come to visit them and cheer them up with the news that in a short while there would be another war, and that the Ukrainian Independent United State would include them in our great Ukrainian family, so that neither the Romanians nor the Hungarians would maltreat them any longer. During the whole meeting we took many photographs with them and distributed several of the above-mentioned brochures, many posters, "Stalin Is a Pig," and a few anti-collective farm leaflets. Unfortunately, it must be noted that the majority of them are illiterate or just barely literate.

In one of those shepherd's cottages the boys found a Romanian from whom they wanted to get some sour cream, but could not make themselves understood to him. Summoned to that shepherd's cottage, from the very first words of our conversation I recognized that he was some sort of technician, a dairy implements specialist, assigned by the state to collect a quantity of



milk and produce butter and Swiss cheese. Before I arrived, the lads were already trying to show who we were with the help of the leaflets, and I had to finish explaining the whole matter. During my conversation with him he appeared to be somewhat anxious and hesitant, but it was too late to conceal from him who we were because he had seen our leaflets. I gave him about a dozen leaflets so that he would distribute them in his village of Zud, and we departed. A few minutes later we were told that the Romanian was a party man and that he had raced over to Poliany to inform on us to the border troops command. After eating lunch, our unit departed from those shepherds' cottages in the direction of the alpine meadow of Vertep. En route a man with a hat in his hands caught up with us; we stopped him and he began saying: "I met a Romanian with whom you had spoken at the alpine meadow of Rahasel, and he showed me your leaflets and boasted that he was running to the village to tell the commandant about you; this path will lead you to the Ukrainian shepherd's cottage of Vertep; there you will be able to get a good meal, and large forests start there; you yourselves know what to do next. I have trampled on your tracks up to this point."

Such a sincere attitude to us [by a man] who did not know us made a pleasant impression on us; we gave him a piece of hand soap, for which he was very grateful because it is almost impossible to obtain soap there. After arriving at the shepherd's cottage in Vertep, we saw a huge herd for the first time in our lives: 1,600 sheep and 25 people working and 18 milking stalls. We summoned all the workers and conducted propaganda talks with them and, at the same time, took a few photographs.

The people at both shepherds' cottages from Stănișoara quickly learned about our arrival in Vertep, and soon a shepherd named "V" came to us from the upper shepherd's cottage in order to find out how we had managed without "H"; at the same time he wanted to see if I was very angry with him. I did not express any anger or vengefulness against "H"; I merely said that he had acted badly but that I forgave him. Because I forgave "H" for that wrongdoing, this shepherd, "V" – his friend – promised to prepare a ram for supper. But the plan for our further route was interrupted because the boys were very tired, and Commander Khmara decided to spend the night there. So, the ram supper was delayed until morning. On the morning of 8 July the shepherd "V" came again and we went with him to his shepherd's cottage.

After covering about two kilometres, near the shepherd's cottage in Vertep, we heard a couple of volleys from a PPSH and a couple of shots fired by a ten-chambered rifle. It became clear to us that the Romanian army was approaching the shepherd's cottage, thinking that we were still there. We took that shepherd "V" with us and skirted the forest all the way to his cottage, planning somehow to still eat that ram that had been prepared for us. On the way I kept asking

“V” how to reach the alpine meadow of Hershtu as quickly as possible, and I kept telling him that I wanted to cross the border there. Later, I sent him from the forest to the cottage to bring us that cauldron with the cooked ram without being spotted somehow. In the woods near the shepherd’s cottage I encountered the shepherd “S” – my acquaintance from the previous [raid] – who was already looking for us to let us know that he had run into three soldiers in the woods near the shepherd’s cottage, who were speaking in the Rehat accent (of old Romania). Half an hour later I sent “V” back to the shepherd’s cottage and left “S” with me. After a few minutes we saw on the alpine meadow, not far from the cottage, a group of Romanian soldiers gazing in the direction where we were standing. This meant that we had to leave quickly.

We took “S” with us to lead us to the main road above the village of Luhy, and during our retreat I kept questioning him about crossing the forests on the other side of the Sokoliv River to the alpine meadow of Hershtu, in the direction of Balcatul. Before setting out, we stopped for a minute in order to observe the crossing place and instantly saw, at a distance of forty metres from us, five cars loaded with troops in full combat gear. Then I let “S” leave, thinking that if he is caught and questioned, he should also direct the troops in the direction of Mount Hershtu, and we quickly headed out on the road, forded the Sokoliv River, and quickly climbed up the opposite steep bank among the high grass and beech shrubs. From the opposite peak we observed the alpine meadows from which we were retreating and the surroundings from which we had fled. At the alpine meadow of Boc, where we stopped to eat supper, we found out that that day twenty-five cars delivered troops to the foothills of Mount Hershtu. Therefore, my plan to cross the border only in Chyvchyn had certain prospects, but it was crucial to hurry so that the Romanians would not get their bearings and block our way.

On the morning of 9 July we found ourselves on Mount Piciorul-Lutoasa, where in one shepherd’s cottage we obtained accurate information about the movement of the Romanian troops. That day forty more cars with troops and other units arrived by the footbridge. The village of Poliany had not seen this many troops even during the war, and the population was very alarmed because everyone knew that these troops were heading against us. Some troops occupied the peaks of Vertep–Stănișoara–Bârsănescu–Hershtu–Corbu, while others advanced in order to cut us off on the road near the border with Transcarpathia, in the direction of Balcat.

This meant that my plan to steer the army to Hershtu was completely successful, and we were able to head calmly to the border in the direction of Mount Chyvchyn. I came to an arrangement with one headman from those alpine meadows for him to distribute our leaflets two weeks later in Sighet. For his sincere attitude to us and for escorting us to the next mountain, Lutoasa,

bypassing the paths along which Romanian border guards walk, I gave him several of our insurgent photographs and my beautiful Hutsul stiletto knife.

From the alpine meadow of Lutoasa we took another shepherd, who escorted us to within five kilometres from Chyvchyn, bypassing the border outpost's picket at Lutoasa. We scattered a lot of our leaflets near the picket and along the road that is patrolled by border troops.

At 2:00 Moscow time we crossed the border at Mount Chyvchyn, surprised that there were neither plowed land nor wires.

### *2. Bolshevik Operations as a Result of the Border Crossing*

When we entered the first shepherd's cottage in the alpine meadow of Chyvchyn, we found out that we had crossed the border no farther than two hundred metres from an outpost. On the evening of 10 July we learned that Bolshevik scouts had noticed us crossing, but they did not have the courage to open fire at us because they thought that our group, which they had seen at the border, was only the rear part of some larger unit. Our crossing of the border as well as those few leaflets that the boys had mistakenly scattered at the border had seriously alarmed the Bolsheviks. That same day a commission from Stanyslaviv arrived at the crossing place, and in their hunt for us, Bolsheviks were dispatched [words obliterated by fold in paper] in large groups, beginning with Chyvchyn all the way to Pip Ivan [mountain peak in Ukraine], while other units blockaded from the valley and tried to prevent us from entering villages. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks did not succeed in this, and their actions did not have the slightest success.

After a brief period of wandering and sneaking in and out among the Bolsheviks on the alpine meadows of Albyna and Popadia, we managed, via Mokrysh and Lukonia, to break through to Hranitny, where we met up with Comrade Svyst. With his help we headed farther across Holoshyna along the main road, along the Bily Cheremosh River at Stovpen-Holova, with the goal of crossing the Chorny Cheremosh as quickly as possible in order to exit the borderland zone.

### *3. The Romanian Population's Attitude to the UPA*

Our unit's first encounter with the Romanian population after crossing the border took place in the alpine meadow of Hershtu between the outposts (pickets) at Corbu and Copilas [*sic*]. And although it was not more than sixty kilometres to Corbu and more than two kilometres to Copilas, nevertheless we spent the day tranquilly, with no fear that the Romanians would report us to the picket. The headman and several shepherds who had a public school

education (six grades) were very interested in our struggle and complained about the communist government of Petru Groza because he had created difficult living conditions, granted excessively great rights to many Jews in their environs, and dismissed from army and civilian posts all those officers and non-commissioned officers and officials who were politically suspect, meaning that they were not supporters of communist views. Last summer three hundred doctors had been arrested, and they disappeared without a trace. In general, all the local inhabitants whom we encountered expressed their dissatisfaction to us so sincerely, as though we were the ones who had the power to improve their fate. About all the Romanians whom we met, with the exception of that one party official from the alpine meadow of Rahasel, who informed the border guards, I can say that their attitude to us was very friendly, and, upon hearing that we have links with the Romanian guerrillas and that all enslaved nations are opposing the Bolsheviks in a single front, they were so open in their statements, as though to Romanian guerrillas. Among other things, I was compelled to remark that at the outset of our conversations the Romanian population, both peasants and intellectuals, posed questions about whether we are being helped by the Americans therefore, just like in our territory. Obviously, I was forced to adapt to the demands of that territory and had to mention the American help because I saw that Romanian hope and the certainty of success of their revolutionary struggle were only thanks to Truman. Both young and old were interested in our heroic struggle, especially in our insurgents' photographs.

#### 4. *The Ukrainian Population's Attitude to the UPA*

During all our encounters with the Ukrainian population on Romanian territory (the Maramureş region) it was possible to note the extraordinarily good attitude towards us. Our population feels very much forgotten and suffers from all kinds of abuse at the hands of the Romanians; it simply does not believe that someone cares for them. All those Ukrainians who met with us were profoundly moved upon hearing our words that we, Banderites, had come from western Ukraine to visit them and bring them the news that the Ukrainian Independent United State will not abandon them to their fate but will include them in the great Ukrainian family. To a certain degree, the Romanian population's attitude to them is full of hatred, probably because many of them are Bolshevik activists and members of the Communist Party. This hatred is also exacerbated by the fact that the Bolsheviks, to wit, the Romanian Communist Party, gave them Ukrainian schools, much Ukrainian (Bolshevik) literature and the Ukrainian newspaper *Novyi vik* [*The New Age*], which comes out in Sighet. During Romanian rule before the war they were not permitted to have

Ukrainian schools, and this explains why the mass of those Ukrainians now is very ignorant and very few know how to read and write in Ukrainian.

Seeing a Ukrainian army and hearing insurgent songs in their native language, they could not treat us deceitfully because the Ukrainian blood simply instinctively rose up in them. Among other things, I must note that we had the good fortune not to be with a single party official or Ukrainian activist. In their eyes, as well as in the eyes of the Romanian population, our arrival meant the beginning of a new war, which delighted them very much because they believe that only war can bring them a better life. They believe in American assistance the same way as the Romanians. Our literature, *bofony*, several leaflets, and posters of "Stalin Is a Pig" sparked great interest in them. Our insurgent songs made a profoundly moving impression on them. In general, it may be said that, although those Ukrainians are still poorly acquainted with the tactics of Bolshevik deceitfulness, nevertheless the majority of them are fully aware that Bolshevik Ukraine is hostile to them. The Ukrainian school that Petru Groza's government gave them is not a source of great consolation to them because the majority sees that learning in that school is only about Lenin, Stalin, the Komsomol, the Pioneers, and about the elder Russian brother. They expressed incomparably more trust and all their hope for improvement in the OUN program, with which I familiarized them. They call the newspaper *Novyi vik* a "Muscovite rag." They only send their children to school so that they will learn how to read and write in Ukrainian. The organizing of Pioneers among schoolchildren is proceeding very slowly. In the Ukrainian literature that they receive there they would like to read something about our hetmans, about the glorious Cossack period, about the liberation struggle in 1918–20, about the national life of our people, but instead of this, unfortunately, they are reading about the October Revolution of the proletarians, about Russian writers, about collective farming, about the heroes of the Communist Party, about the Great Patriotic War, etc.

Here and there among those Ukrainians one can still encounter former Sich Sharpshooters, who know what a liberated Ukraine should be like and scholarship on it. Today's communist government is forcing both Romanians and Ukrainians to create collective farms, by means of which the Bolsheviks are drawing down great hatred upon themselves because the population knows that this is being done because of pressure from the Bolsheviks.

### 5. *The Political Situation*

From the local inhabitants I learned that an uprising took place in Romania in the springtime of this year, whose goal was to topple the government of Petru Groza. The main battles of the uprising took place in the area of

Craiova–Turnu Severin and reached all the way to Timișoara. The coup failed because of treachery. The troops were commanded by General [Leonard] Mociulschi, who even now commands one small division. During this failure, some leaders of the revolutionary movement were captured, including Spiru Blănaru, engineer Aurel Vernitescu, Petre Domoseanu, Ion Tănase, Dr Tarziv, Gheorghe Popovici, Teodor Ungureanu, Petre Pușchiță, Lieutenant Colonel Ion Uta, Gheorghe Ionescu, and Romulus Maritescu, who were executed. As confirmation of this information, I must cite the newspaper *Viata Sindicala* [*Trade Union Life*], which is the central mouthpiece of the General Confederation of Labour of the People's Republic of Romania. I will quote the words with which the prosecutor, Lieutenant Colonel Nicolae Constantinescu, accused those political criminals:

Mr President, Gentlemen Judges! For two days we have already been examining the case of these accused. They transgressed by killings which, by their brutality, social danger, and the goal that they were pursuing, show us once again that in the transitional period from the old world to the just, new world of freedom, blossoming, and peace, the struggle of that which is old and must disappear with that which is new and gaining a stronger life is not diminishing but, on the contrary, becoming stronger. After confessing during the investigation and here before the court, and after witnesses gave their witness statements, these accused sought to create favourable circumstances for their criminal action aimed at toppling our regime of the people's democracy and restoring the monarcho-fascist regime, the bourgeoisie, and landownership. We heard here from the lips of the accused how they organized illegal, terrorist, semi-military fascist-style organizations. We heard how they terrorized entire areas of the civilian population by robberies and threats, we saw the brutality with which they carried out political assassinations of labouring peasants, who worked actively in the party. The accused made an attempt on the life of our democratic regime. It also turned out that the accused were preparing a treacherous attempt on our state democratic order, on our people's republic. This is how the criminal actions were carried out by the accused – representatives of the exploiting masses, elements from the ranks of speculators-capitalists, former legionnaires, members of the Iron Guard, and members of the National Peasant Party ... They hated the working people whom they had exploited all their lives, as well as our regime of the people's democracy that liberated the people from the robberies and persecution by landowners. Encouraged by the war propaganda of Anglo-American imperialistic circles, the accused organized themselves into terrorist gangs and committed robberies, tortures, and murders, and sought to destroy the regime of the people's democracy.

In order to achieve their base goal, they are presenting themselves as isolated individuals. On the contrary, these accused are organizing and leading terrorist gangs, they are arming themselves, they are arming all the members of gangs, they are training them so that they will know how best to control the fatal fire of weapons during meetings, they are training them in the school of hatred and murder and are switching to action with their acts of terror. These terrorist, fascist-style gangs are working conspiratorially, they have their liaisons, they are drafting plans for special actions, they are designating tasks and leading organs and compiling lists of people assigned to [commit] killings and all the necessary means with which they expected to reach their goal. This terrorist gang was organized in order to strike at the achievements of the working people.

The prosecutor then analyzes the transgressions of individual leaders, from which I will quote the most important words:

The accused belong to several subversive-terrorist organizations united with each other by a common goal and the means established to achieve it. Therefore, Spiru Blănaru, the old legionnaire, who from the time that he was a high school (lyceum) student, after instructions received in August 1948 from the legionnaire Bubi Roman, is assembling the remnants of the legionnaires and reactionary elements from the National Peasant Party ([Iuliu] Maniu) – he is demanding that they obtain weapons or he himself is arming them and creating a terrorist gang that is operating in the mountains surrounding the areas of Terehova–Turnu–Severin. The accused Aurel Vernitescu, Tănase Ion, Ungureanu Teodor, Popovici Gheorghe were operating with their gangs in the vicinity of Arad–Timișoara. There they created a state of unrest among the population, disseminating all kinds of manifestos with fascist and anti-democratic content. They carried out actions with the goal of occupying public institutions from that area or in order to kill heads of institutions. Among their members was also retired Lieutenant Colonel Ion Uta, a former prefect (county head) in the Antonescu government, together with Pușchiță Petru. Finally, Domoseanu Petre, a retired commander, an old legionnaire, who on Blănaru's order abandoned his home and organized his gang in November 1948. Lieutenant Colonel Uta's gang has been operating since 1947, and operating together with him are Vernitescu and Dr Tănase Ion. In their ranks are Tito's chauvinistic elements from among the Serbian population from Banat. The main such element of the Serbian organization is Popovici Gheorghe, who organized the Serbs on the written instructions of Tănase Ion.

At the head of the central leadership of this organization was Tănase Ion (Black Cane, Bastonul Nigru) ... All these accused carry weapons of all calibres, from a pocket pistol to heavy machine guns. And what did these bandits engage and in what did they take pleasure? They held meetings during which they engaged in "education," so-called "ideological," nurturing the fascist-legionnaire character – in a word, educating in the pistol and murders. These former and current exploiters of labouring people, fascists, and former members of the National Peasant Party, the tool of exploiters and robbers of the labouring people of our country, were inflamed by the propaganda and radio broadcasts of Anglo-American [radio] stations against the USSR and against the states of the people's democracy, and most of all by propaganda calling for a new imperialist war ...

Spiru Blănaru thought that war would break out in the fall of 1948 and, upon seeing that hope had deceived him, he continued to prepare his gang for future actions regardless of when war would break out. This gang planned to strike a blow against the government in March 1949, but our state apparatus, placed in the service of the working class and the entire nation, exposed these plans in time and prevented anarchy.

Finally, this prosecutor demands the highest degree of punishment. With words of similar content, they were also accused by [another] prosecutor, a lieutenant colonel, the military judge Staniscu Simion, who demanded the death sentence for them. The trial of those political criminals took place at a military tribunal in Timișoara, and they were sentenced to death.

In order to inflate this whole affair Bolshevik-style and in order to emphasize the interest in and protest of the entire Romanian population against this affair, meetings took place in villages, cities, and in factories, during which the workers condemned those criminals of the nation and demanded the highest degree of punishment. I considered that this matter was being given more importance in periodicals than it deserved in reality in order to present those accused in the blackest possible colours to the population so as to punish them by death, and in order to prove that all similar reactionary intentions were futile. However, from the accusations of these two prosecutors, who are showing themselves to be rather weak jurists because there are many contradictions in their accusations, one may grasp that a political organization is at work there, which is seeking to topple the current government of Petru Groza, and not some kind of gang of robbers.

According to the information of the population, the preparation for that uprising acquired a more intensive dimension in 1948, after the liquidation of the National Peasant Party by the Petru Groza government. This was the sole liberated party of opposition under Maniu's leadership, which was joined by



all the vestiges of right-wing parties in Romania, particularly the Iron Guard and the National Liberal Party (Dinu Brătianu). The Communist Party of the current People's Republic of Romania, headed by Petru Groza, was afraid of such a strong opposition and liquidated that National Peasant Party in 1947. As a result of this liquidation, the Romanian national liberation underground is beginning to organize itself with the participation of former members of the National Peasant Party, the Iron Guard, and the Liberal Party. Blănaru, the leader, himself, is a long-time associate of the former leader of the Iron Guard, Corneliu Zelea Codreanu, who was killed on the orders of Armand Călinescu, minister of the interior, in 1938. Before the war the National Peasant Party had rather hostile relations with the Iron Guard. The Iron Guard was still a young party, nationalistic throughout, straight-up chauvinistic, which promoted the slogan "Romania for the Romanians." I believe that the liquidation of the National Peasant Party by the Petru Groza government was caused more by those members of this party who left the Iron Guard these were more national revolutionary members. Today's Romanian guerrilla movement is operating in a more armed fashion and less propagandistically; at the same time it is clear that national solidarity is being maintained even without propaganda. In general, the population has a hostile attitude to the current government because they see that the program of the Romanian Communist Party is Moscow's program. They see this clearly from the current literature and periodicals, about which the population says: "We do not recognize our periodicals because this is completely Bolshevik but in the Romanian language."

I will cite a few facts in support of this: nearly all the pages of the newspapers *Scantea Satelor* [*Village Flame*] from Sunday, 12 June 1949; *Scantea*, no. 444; and *Viata Sindicala* from 26 June 1949 are filled with these kinds of articles: "The Sole Path to Saving the Poor and Middle Peasants" (which discusses the superiority of the collective farm over private farms and offers advice to Romanian peasants to follow the example of the Soviet peasants, who know how to harvest more [than] three thousand kilograms of wheat from one hectare); "150 Years since the Death of the Great Troubadour of Freedom, A.S. Pushkin"; "Pushkin, the Genius of Russian and World Literature"; "14 Years since the Death of the Great Soviet Scientist, I.V. Michurin"; "We Cannot Expect Grace from Nature, But We Must Wrest It" (in this article about Michurin, the Bolsheviks exalt him for having created three hundred new genera of fruit trees and a new kind of wheat that produces ten thousand kilograms of grain from a single hectare; "By Working Alone on Fragmented Land, It Is Not Possible to Eradicate Poverty and the Robbery of Exploiters" (in which the author of the article, Hr Kolybaba, criticizes and lays all the blame for poverty on individual farmsteads, and regards collective farms as the sole path to a flourishing and prosperous life). In addition to articles with

content similar to these mentioned above, every day numbers of articles are published about Lenin, Stalin; about socialist competition, production quotas; about the democratic achievements of the working people of the People's Republic of Romania, etc. The majority of the Romanian [politically] aware population fears and is fleeing, with cries of alarm, from the Bolshevik fighters. In some cases, the population fled from us, thinking that we were Bolsheviks. Afterwards, once we had talked with them and after they realized that we are the ones who are fighting the Bolsheviks, they changed instantly and treated us like Romanian guerrillas, and consoled themselves with the thought that the end of communism is very close.

The general political situation and the entire Romanian population's certainty that the current communist government will be toppled [are] based on the Americans' help. According to the information of the population, in the People's Republic of Romania communists comprise no more than 10 percent, among whom are very many who are working only for a piece of bread and who at any moment are ready to raise arms against Petru Groza's clique. The main force on which the Petru Groza government relies is the army and the police, whom the Bolsheviks completely reformed and sifted through, having dismissed all politically uncertain [individuals] even before the withdrawal of Bolshevik troops from Romania. Today, there is a very small number of Bolshevik troops in Romania, only individual units of the MGB and MVD throughout oblast centres. The militia is organized the same way as in our country. The Komsomol is being organized very slowly. High school and university youth have a hostile attitude to the communist program. The organization of churches is proceeding through the sieve of the Bolshevik purgatory. A very large proportion of priests consists of young people of the Bolshevik stamp, and there are significantly fewer long-time priests.

#### 6. *The Economic Situation*

The general economic situation in all of Romania is extremely depressed. The value of the Romanian currency (*lei*) is very low. The old currency was replaced by the new currency already in 1947, whereby twenty thousand old lei were equal to one new lei. Mid-level officials receive a monthly salary of two to three thousand lei. The following prices indicate how difficult their lives are: 1 kilogram of wheat, 90 lei; 1 kilogram of corn, 25 lei; 1 kilogram of butter, 80 lei; 1 kilogram of good-quality *bryndza* [sheep's milk cheese], 150 lei; a pair of shoes, 3,000 lei; a horse; 25,000 lei; a cow; 35,000 lei; a piglet (two months old), 1,000 lei; a mature piglet (around 70 kilograms) 8,000 lei.

The peasantry lives very poorly because of high procurements. There are no more landowners and larger farms; their lands were partially divided among

the poor population, and part went to the state [indecipherable word]. In particular, I must emphasize that the Ukrainian population (the Maramureş region) lives in even greater poverty because the Romanians confiscated alpine meadows and smaller pasturelands from them, and, in addition, they do not even want to provide them with a supply of grain, despite the fact that there are railways, good roads, and buses to the most far-flung mountain settlements (populated nooks). Despite the fact that the Ukrainian population lives in far more impoverished conditions, nevertheless their method and look of farming are far better than the Romanians.

### *7. Final Comments*

In order for such a raid to achieve better successes, it is vital that a unit be much smaller (four to five people) because then there is a better chance of moving about and feeding oneself.

A unit must be supplied with very sturdy footwear as well as some items that, in dire straits, can be exchanged for money, such as soap, Hutsul knives, Hutsul cigarette cases, razors, etc. Incidentally, there is a very high demand for small arms (pistols).

The leaflets had great success, and there was even greater demand for the posters with the caricature of "Stalin Is a Pig."

It is vital to have a good topographic map of Romania at least with a scale of 1:500,000.

If it proves advisable to repeat such a raid, then more OUN literature and histories of Ukraine are required for the Ukrainian population in the Maramureş region.

Border outposts on the Romanian side are located thus: on the mountains of Corbu, Copilas, and Bocu. The main administration of border outposts in this area is located in the village of Poliany, as well as one platoon of militia. One sergeant and nine to twelve privates serve in the outposts. Relations between the Romanian and Bolshevik border guards are quite hostile. I heard from people that there were two incidents in which the Bolshevik border guards opened fire on Romanian border guards, and that is why the Romanian border guards control the border at a distance of two hundred to five hundred metres from the border, and the Bolshevik border guards control the border right next to the ploughed zone. The ploughed zone, which extends along the very line of the border, is six to eight metres wide and helps to monitor whether anyone is crossing the border. As a result of our raid, the Bolsheviks have begun reinforcing the border with barbed wire.

Although the Petru Groza government marshalled considerable military forces against us, and although a good secret agent network has probably

already been organized in the area where we crossed, nevertheless I think that a similar raid could be repeated – since it would be worthwhile – but, there were would be greater difficulties.

I am unable to provide more exhaustive information because the unit encountered a very limited number of people who could inform right down to the last detail.

*Billets*, 12 October 1949

(-) D-45

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 66, fols. 227-36.

## DOCUMENT 121: LEAFLET: JEWS – CITIZENS OF UKRAINE

(Draft)

1950

*Freedom for nations      Freedom for the individual*  
*Jews, Citizens of Ukraine*

A thousand years have passed since the days when your ancestors, after crossing the Caucasus, arrived in the Ukrainian lands and began to settle down here permanently. A thousand years of life of your people's representatives were closely interwoven with the lives of our ancestors. Even today, in one fashion or another, it is interwoven between you and the Ukrainian people. After all, you are living, working, and developing in our lands.

During the past thousand years coexistence between the Jews and Ukrainians was manifested in various forms. There were times when the Jews, expelled from Spain in 1492, found refuge among the Ukrainians, found support from them, for which they should have been grateful. There were moments when, thanks to Poland's imperialistic policies, the Jews: "Leased all the churches in glorious Ukraine. / To whichever Cossack or peasant God gave a child to swaddle, / He had to go to the Jewish lessor and pay a *szostak* [coin of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], / So that he would allow the church to be opened, / And to baptize that child" (sixteenth-century folk *duma*).

In fact, the tragedy of the Jews was that very often they hitched themselves to the wagon of one imperialist state or another, and that this was so, you should heed the words of your historian, Dr Shal, who expresses them in his school textbook of Jewish history:

During that period the Jews in Ukraine are intermediaries between the magnates (great lords) and the peasants. The lords, unable in their immense properties personally to obtain either taxes or compulsory services, use the services of Jews who are settled either in small towns or villages. In the interests of their master, the Jews frequently levy all contributions in a heedless way, thereby eliciting the hatred of the peasant masses towards them. The so-called *arenda* of church keys through the Jews has caused the greatest hostility.<sup>17</sup> This *arenda* means that the lords, in order to force the peasants to pay the contribution, hand over the keys to churches to the Jews. The Jews

17 In Poland the *arenda* system provided for the lease of real estate or income deriving from monopolies associated with it, such as forests, mills, fishponds, and, especially, the right to produce, distribute, and sell alcoholic beverages, and it was often in Jewish hands, a source of resentment and tension between Jews and their Christian neighbours.

return these keys to the priests only when a peasant, who is supposed to have a wedding, funeral, or baptism, pays all his tax debts.

As a result of this stance of the Jews towards the Ukrainian people, terrible anti-Jewish pogroms that claimed the lives of 200,000 people took place. These were the times of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the period of our people's great uprising against the Polish lords and their lackeys for their national liberation.<sup>18</sup>

And when the Cossacks, the then state government, completely expelled the Jews from Ukraine, then the reason for this must be sought only in the loss of a healthy way of thinking on the part of the Jews in those days.

For why could they not reconcile themselves to the fact that, having arrived in someone's land, it was necessary to reckon above all with the lawful masters of this land? The twentieth of Sivan, the day of fasting and mourning for the victims of the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine, would never have happened, your poet would never have written: "Killed and massacred, quartered into parts, / Scholars and rabbis, young and old / The heart grows faint, the soul trembles in pain, / It cries and cries without end, no one will gladden it," if your ancestors had felt sympathy for the Ukrainian people then enslaved, had helped in their misfortune, and not exploited their temporary weakness at the time for the sake of their own momentary profit.

And in examining the pages of our history, pages that raise the issues of Jewish coexistence with Ukrainians, it is hardly possible not to wonder why history taught the future Jewish generation so little.

After the grand days of the Ukrainian state under Hetman Khmelnytsky, Ukraine fell into slavery once again, and the Jews, regardless of their recent and cruel past, once again became a tool in the hands of imperialistic forces. After returning to the Ukrainian land, through their inappropriate conduct once again they sparked the broad peasant masses' hatred of them. And that time their unusual step was punished in a terrible way. The eighteenth century arrived and with it the peasant rebellions known as *haidamachchyna*. In Uman alone nearly twenty thousand noblemen and Jews perished.

It was only before the First World War that relations between Ukrainians and Jews began to be established in a positive direction to a certain extent. The idea that the enslaved Ukrainian people must be treated with greater understanding (Ivan Franko's work, *Fateful Crossroads*, may serve as an example) is emerging among the Jews with increasing frequency. However, these were merely glimmers of the correct mapping of the issue. In the main, tension between the enslaved Ukrainian masses and the Jews was quite significant. But the Jews were not the

18 Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1595–1657) was hetman of the Zaporozhian Host in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, against whose forces he led a successful uprising between 1648 and 1657, creating a Cossack Ukrainian state. Widely regarded as a national hero in Ukraine.

only ones responsible. At the time, the percentage of Jews in Ukraine was quite high. It was very important for the occupiers of Ukraine to direct the hatred of the popular Ukrainian masses not against themselves but against someone else. And the choice (above all under the Tsarist regime) fell on the Jews. It was not difficult to provoke the Ukrainians, considering the behaviour of the Jews in the past and their great concentration in cities (in eastern Ukraine – 26 percent of the national composition of the urban population), which was connected with the seizure by the Jews of nearly all branches of trade and thus the exploitation of the peasant and labouring masses.

When the Tsarist and Austro-Hungarian prisons of nations collapsed, the Ukrainians set about building their own state. But the Muscovite Bolsheviks became instantly hostile to the Ukrainian independent state. The struggle of the Ukrainian people for their free life began. The attitude of the Jews to this issue varied. Some, like the distinguished political figure Moyshe Rafes and the unformed Jewish masses, sided with the Bolsheviks on the question of Ukraine's independence, while others, who were organized in the Jewish organizations Bund and Poalei Zion, were positively disposed towards Ukrainian statehood. In the Ukrainian state at that time the Jews had their own representative in the Council of Ministers, and their personal and cultural autonomy was recognized. Despite this, during the above-mentioned period, violent anti-Jewish pogroms broke out. The distinguished Zionist and member of Poalei, Solomon Goldelman, wrote about the causes of this:

And what kind of impact should the arrival in their villages of Bolshevik requisitioning detachments, headed by commissars from small-town-based Jewish youths, have on the Ukrainian peasants? Or "the rule of commissars" [komisaroderzhavii], with the great participation of Jewish semi-intellectuals, those Jews whom [the Ukrainian peasant] had never seen in power until then, and always considered this as natural, and those with whose fathers he traded – and suddenly that Jew is in command. He commands in the name of detestable foreigners, who are robbing, requisitioning his grain, his property ...

And that is why it is so difficult to struggle against the pogromist moods in the army. Here the agitation of cultured Ukrainian elements does not suffice. Here propaganda backed by facts is required. And if the Ukrainian Cossacks and national people's circles and the mass on which the Ukrainian intelligentsia relies do not encounter the cooperation of Jews in their work, do not encounter in practice the sympathy of Jewish parties towards the Ukrainian renaissance, it will be difficult to overcome the historical mistrust of Jews.

We, Jewish socialists, must take this task upon ourselves.

Such pogroms did not exist in the western regions of Ukraine.

Moreover, in 1918 a significant number of Jews joined the struggle of the Ukrainian citizenry for its national liberation. Among other things, in 1919 a separate Jewish battalion was formed in Ternopil, which took active part in the battles for the Ukrainian State.

After the end of the First World War and following our defeat during the period of the Liberation Struggles, relations between Jews and Ukrainians developed in a different form in the eastern Ukrainian lands, and in a different one in Ukraine's western regions. After some time, many Jews in Bolshevik-occupied Ukraine realized that the Ukrainian people had once again fallen into terrible captivity and began to sympathize with Ukrainian revolutionary clandestine groups. But the majority, regardless of the lessons of the past, became actively involved in the destruction of the conscious Ukrainian element, hand in hand with the Muscovite occupiers. A high percentage of Jews, taking advantage of their wide connections, obtained lighter work in various administrative positions. This moment was not and is not forgotten by the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists. At every step of the way and by various methods they are seeking to channel all the hatred of the exploited peasants and workers specifically against the Jews. They wish to conceal from the Ukrainians' eyes the real root of evil. This was done by the tsarist enslavers [and] this is done by their heirs, the Kremlin tyrants headed by the gangster Stalin. It is highly likely that you are not as familiar with the methods of the MVD and MGB organs as we, Ukrainian revolutionaries, are. For your partial orientation we will reveal some of their proclivities to you. In recent years the MVD and MGB have been clashing with the force of our movement, they began to use various devices to combat the growth of the revolutionary movements in Ukraine. Among other things, they are creating fictitious clandestine organizations in order, with their assistance, to hunt down the more conscious Ukrainian element, mainly among young people. In order to create the impression that these are truly anti-regime organizations, they are issuing orders to the leaders of these organizations to disseminate anti-state leaflets containing appeals to the population to combat the Jews, "leaches on the body of the Ukrainian nation." We have at our disposal a whole number of such appeals/leaflets. In addition, the members of such organizations are conducting a whispering campaign in a similar spirit. As we can see, with this they are killing two birds with one stone. And today, when you are noticing the growth of anti-Jewish moods among the population in Ukraine's eastern regions, the cause of this phenomenon is, on the one hand, those Jews who are in fact serving the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists and, on the other, the exploitation of this fact by the MVD and MGB organs with the goal of distracting the attention of the population from the true cause of their horrible situation.



The situation was somewhat different in Ukraine's western regions. Here, increasingly wider contacts between Ukrainians and Jews were established. With increasing frequency one could encounter Jews who were overt sympathizers of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. As a consequence of this, during the period of German occupation many Jews found refuge in the ranks of the UPA. Some of them even attained rather important positions, and the physician, Dr Kum – a Jew by nationality – was awarded the Silver Cross of Merit for his devoted work in the ranks of the UPA by a Resolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council of 30 May 1947.<sup>19</sup>

Today all the Ukrainian lands have ended up under Muscovite-Bolshevik occupation. The Ukrainian people have not ceased the struggle for their national liberation. For the seventh year in a row fearless revolutionaries in the ranks of the OUN and the UPA, under the leadership of the UHVR, are fighting for the construction of the Ukrainian Independent United State. And you Jews, of all people, should treat this national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people with respect and sympathy. You should because you have learned from bitter personal experience what it means to be a stateless nation, what it means to conduct a struggle for your liberation. For more than two thousand years the Jewish people were forced to bear on their shoulders all the consequences of life in slavery. And the fact that today you have your own State must be credited not to those Jews who marched in the hundreds of thousands against the red-hot barrels of the Gestapo's machine guns and submachine guns, not to those Jews who placed themselves submissively in deep pits on top of the corpses of their brothers and sisters in order to shed their own blood a minute later (seeing this, we often asked ourselves: in the name of what are these people laying down their lives?), but to those Jewish revolutionaries who, with weapons in hands, fought at the walls of the Warsaw ghetto against the German plunderers, those who within the organizations Irgun Zvai Leumi or Stern prepared bombs in order to blow up English or Arab fortresses with them.<sup>20</sup> After two thousand years of heavy slavery the

19 On Goldelman, see Lev Bykovsky, *Solomon I. Goldelman: A Portrait of a Politician and Educator: A Chapter in Ukrainian Jewish Relations* (New York: Ukrainian Historical Association, 1980). UPA documents and memoirs mention Jewish doctors, only some of whose names are known, in particular Samuel Neumann, who worked under the pseudonym "Maksymovych"; Antin Coleman, known as "Coal"; Warm Shay, "Falcon" (another of his pseudonyms was "Violinist"); and Abraham Sterzer. The Jewish physician, nom de guerre "Kum," died alongside the wounded insurgents under his care. For a more general treatment of Ukrainian/Jewish relations, see Paul Robert Magocsi and Yohanan Petrovsky-Stern, *Jews and Ukrainians: A Millennium of Co-Existence* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

20 The Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) was a Zionist paramilitary organization that operated in the British Mandate for Palestine between 1931 and 1948, an offshoot of the older and larger Jewish paramilitary organization, Haganah. The Lehi, "Fighters for the

Jews built their own State of Israel and appeared in the international arena as a free people with a state. And today, when it is clear to all who should be credited with the creation of the State of Israel, those are the people who should understand the Ukrainian people's struggle. Moreover, you, Jews, know perfectly well who the Bolsheviks are and what their attitude is to enslaved people. You yourselves see very well the kind of paradise that has been created by Stalin and his clique of Muscovite-Bolshevik cannibals. Who could tell better about this than those tens of thousands of your brothers and sisters by nationality whom the executioners from the MVD and MGB murdered in the cellars of the Stalinist prisons and in exile?

And just like the Jewish revolutionaries, with weapons in their hands, rose to the defence of the Jewish people's human rights and achieved those rights, so too we, Ukrainian revolutionary Banderites, have set out on the path of national liberation struggle. We believe with all our hearts that this struggle, a life-and-death struggle, will be won by none other than the Ukrainian people alone. This time is not far off.

What kind of mutual relations will there be then between the Jews and the Ukrainians?

We clearly declare in our programmatic resolutions: we are struggling "for the equality of all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of their nationality, in state and civic rights and duties, for equal right to work, livelihood, and rest." But the lesson of history, the current hostile stance on the part of a great number of Jews and, to a certain extent, the measures of the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists, cannot remain without a single trace. In order to secure a proper place for yourselves in the Ukrainian Independent United State, in order to acquire respect for yourselves in Ukrainian society, you, Jewish citizens of Ukraine, should begin applying efforts in this regard already today.

That is why we, Ukrainian revolutionaries, appeal to you:

Remember that you are in the Ukrainian land and that it is in your own interest to live in complete accord with its lawful masters, the Ukrainians. Stop being a tool in the hands of the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists. The moment when the times of Khmelnytsky will be repeated is no longer far away, but this time we want them to be without anti-Jewish pogroms. We do not want your poets to write in the future, as in the past:

"I shed bitter tears / For the souls of good and honest men, / Whose blood has been shed, like the water of mountain currents."

Today, during the period of the Ukrainian people's cruel struggle for their freedom, for national independence, we appeal to you Jews, citizens of Ukraine:

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Freedom of Israel," often known pejoratively as the Stern Gang, broke from the Irgun in 1940 and also perpetrated acts of terrorism.

*Bring to their senses your brothers in nationality, who with their hands are helping the bandits from the Kremlin crucify our people. Tell them to cease their criminal work.*

*Help the Ukrainian revolutionaries because they are also fighting for a better future for you.*

*Join the anti-Bolshevik struggle, and thus you will achieve respect for yourselves and a fitting place in the Ukrainian Independent United State.*

*Death to Stalin and his lackeys!*

*Death to the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists!*

*Long live the state of Israel and friendship between the Jewish and Ukrainian peoples!*

*Long live the Ukrainian Independent United State!*

*Glory to the leaders of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Movement, [Stepan] Bandera and General [Taras] Chuprynka!*

*The Ukrainian Insurgents*

*March 1950*

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 65, fols. 283–95.

DOCUMENT 122: ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE  
UNDERGROUND'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS EMPLOYEES  
OF THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATION

September 1950

*For the Ukrainian Independent United State!*  
*Freedom for nations!*  
*Freedom for the individual!*

*Announcement*

*concerning the revolutionary underground's position towards employees of the  
Soviet administration and all other institutions in western Ukraine*

A certain number of uninformed citizens until now persist in thinking that the Ukrainian revolutionary underground allegedly condemns the very fact of service in Soviet administrative and other institutions. That is why, according to their opinion, it is destroying everyone indiscriminately, even innocent Soviet functionaries. Such an understanding of the position of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground towards employees of Soviet institutions is completely erroneous. The Ukrainian underground never persecuted and is not persecuting functionaries of administrative, procurement, and other institutions simply because they are functionaries. If victims from among those institutions fall at the hands of the underground, then this is the result of the following circumstances.

The Bolshevik power in western Ukraine, having encountered a widespread liberational insurgent and underground movement and the decisive resistance of the broad masses, not only threw police detachments of the MVD and MGB into the struggle against them but also functionaries of various institutions – administrative, procurement, cooperative, cultural-educational, and the like. Furthermore, the Bolshevik power armed them and gave them complete freedom to persecute and terrorize the population. Many Soviet functionaries, possessing such freedom and being loyal servants of the Bolshevik oppressors, are committing various crimes against the population on the territory of actions of the UPA and the underground, and against the Ukrainian nation as a whole. They are severely beating hundreds of thousands of people, raping women, demolishing houses, seizing agricultural products from peasants, looting property from the populace, frequently killing innocent people.

Of course, the Ukrainian underground regards such “functionaries” as enemies of the Ukrainian people, as lackeys of the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers, and is trying them in the revolutionary court. They frequently perish at the

hands of underground assassins after a decision of the revolutionary court on the basis of accurately collected and verified indictments. There are also cases where employees of various institutions are killed in battle against underground members and insurgents as voluntary or forced members of armed MVD groups during actions targeting the population; bullets do not discriminate. If innocent people die in such clashes, then they must be regarded first and foremost as victims of Bolshevik terror, the criminal Bolshevik system. The Ukrainian underground is pained by such victims and seeks to avoid them as much as possible.

Innocent victims will be reduced, or it will be possible to avoid them entirely, when Soviet functionaries observe the following rules of conduct:

1. They will not actively oppose the Ukrainian liberation movement and will not assist Bolshevik police agencies.
2. They will not take up arms voluntarily. If they are forced to do this, they should inform the underground through the population that they will not be using these weapons. In particular, functionaries should do this in the event that they are sent to villages individually or in small groups.
3. They will not take part in actions targeting the population, such as deportation, collectivization, shanghaiing young people to the FZN [training schools of the Factory-Plant Education network], and the like.
4. Employees of procurement institutions and all participants of procurement campaigns during their service trips to villages should conduct themselves humanely with the populace, not abuse it, not force it to hand over state procurements and fulfill other obligations.
5. They will not take an active part in the Russification of Ukraine.

This especially concerns teachers and employees of cultural-educational institutions.

If Soviet functionaries adhere to the above-listed demands, nothing will threaten them on the part of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground either now or in the future.

The Ukrainian liberation revolutionary movement is aimed above all against the highest Muscovite-Bolshevik ranks, which are totally responsible for the current situation in Ukraine, and against all loyal lackeys of the Bolshevik bosses. Our goal is the national and social liberation of the Ukrainian people, including the liberation of the working intelligentsia, from Bolshevik oppression and exploitation, the liberation of the nations and labouring masses of the entire USSR. We are calling all Ukrainian patriots, all honest [missing words] Soviet people.

Death to the Bolshevik oppressors!

Death to the Muscovite-Bolshevik occupiers of Ukraine!

Long live the liberation struggle of the nations and labouring masses of the USSR against the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters!

Long live the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for the national-state liberation of Ukraine from Muscovite-Bolshevik rule for a genuine classless society, for genuine democracy.

September 1950

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the Ukrainian Lands

HDA SBU, 13-376-44-066.

DOCUMENT 123: APPEAL OF THE UHVR TO THE  
PEOPLES OF CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN EUROPE  
AND THE BALTIC REGION

1953

*Appeal of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council  
to  
the nations of Central and Southern Europe and the Baltic States*

To the nations enslaved by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists, the leaders of anti-Bolshevik forces in the enslaved countries and in the emigration: Albanians, Bulgarians, Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Hungarians, Poles, Romanians, Slovaks, and Czechs!

For the ninth year in a row your nations are growing weak from the onerous and brutal occupier's yoke of Bolshevik Russia.

Throughout this period Moscow, with the help of its puppets, destroyed hundreds of thousands of the most valuable national activists in each enslaved country, hundreds of thousands of the finest citizens and patriots, looted and shipped to itself hundreds of factories, an immense quantity of machines and technical equipment looted or taken at an absurdly low price, an incalculable quantity of industrial raw materials, industrial products, food, and many other kinds of riches.

In exchange for this, it is has given the countries enslaved by it killers, trained in its country, satraps – “gifted” governor generals – and other “officers of criminal investigation departments” of the Russian imperialistic government for the colonial provinces, cynically called countries of People's Democracies.

However, the greatest harm that the Bolsheviks inflicted on all the enslaved nations of this space, without exception, is on the spiritual plane. And this occurred not as a result of the weakness of the enslaved but as a result of the targeted direction of the Bolshevik action in this question, as a result of the occupier's perfidious and super-barbaric methods. The Russian-Bolshevik imperialists are purposefully killing, eliminating, uprooting from individual national organisms precisely those spiritual elements that are the foundation of the social and state life of nations, the main source of power in their resistance to the enemy's onslaught, the most basic strength and initial point in the launch of the struggle for liberation. Under the guise of so-called socialist and communist re-education, total Russification of all sectors of life of the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia is being carried out.

As the Bolshevization of the economic system progresses, as the collectivization of agriculture expands, as the looting of the enslaved countries

by Bolshevik Russia increases for the further buildup of its military industry and military preparations, the more the broad masses are becoming impoverished, the more the noose of material destitution is tightened, the more all life in the countries of the so-called People's Democracies comes to resemble life in the USSR; the top-priority problem for the individual is becoming the acquisition of the most essential means of survival. Mass police terror and, as though mocking truth and the individual, mendacious Bolshevik propaganda about the "free, prosperous, and happy life," about the "building of socialism and communism," are spreading over all this.

Slavery is becoming increasingly more difficult, there are increasingly more victims, life both for the entire nation and for the individual is becoming increasingly more intolerable, dozens, hundreds of patriots are dying every day, every hour from the bullets of the MVD and its foreign branch offices; hundreds and thousands are being driven into prisons and concentration camps every day; every hour the enemy is tearing from the national organism of each enslaved country some element of its strength, its life.

As in the past, so too today it is not known how long this will last. But one thing is certain: it will be like this as long as Bolshevik Russia rules over nations.

This is the domestic situation and such are the domestic prospects of the enslaved countries.

As regards the external political, international situation, it is also not comforting for the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks.

The Western states, who by the agreements in Tehran, Yalta, [and] Potsdam handed the nations of Central and Southern Europe over to Bolshevik Russia's sphere of influence, did not adopt any effective measures, neither initially nor later, once it became clear to them that the Bolsheviks had broken these agreements and gone further than they had expected; that the Bolsheviks had in fact, albeit not formally, annexed these countries.<sup>21</sup> With all

21 The Tehran Conference (28 November to 1 December 1943) involved US president Franklin D. Roosevelt, the British prime minister Winston Churchill, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Joseph Stalin. Among the decisions made was a commitment by the Western Allies to opening a second front against Germany. Stalin also pressed for a revision of Poland's eastern border, securing the incorporation of western Ukrainian and Belarusian territories in the USSR, Poland being compensated with a redrawing of the postwar German-Polish border, moving it west to the Oder and Neisse rivers. This redrawing of borders was formally ratified at the Potsdam Conference. At the Yalta Conference (4–11 February 1945) the "Big Three" prioritized the unconditional surrender of Nazi Germany, confirmed the Curzon Line as the eastern border of Poland, and agreed to the repatriation of all Soviet citizens to the USSR at the war's end. It was also agreed that, in addition to the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian and Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republics would have voting rights at the United Nations. At Potsdam (17 July–2 August 1945) President Harry S. Truman, Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and General Secretary Joseph Stalin confirmed postwar Germany's borders, discussed reparations and de-Nazification, set the



the changes of governments and viewpoints in Western circles, nothing has essentially changed with regard to this question. They are still ready to “do business” with the USSR, on condition that the latter suspends its aggressive and adventurist policies and contents itself with the Potsdam status quo. All the declarations heretofore of certain Western statesmen about their non-recognition of the enslavement of countries by the Bolsheviks are merely a tool in order to “clear their conscience” of those encumbrances that are descending on them for Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam; this merely a device for [demonstrating] moral support for the nations enslaved by Russia, and nothing more. Political and armed assistance on their part for the liberation of the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks and for the elimination of the danger to themselves is not only not on the agenda of their policies – it is not even evident at the bottom of the list. The Western states are avoiding, and will continue to avoid, an armed confrontation with the USSR at the cost of many things, including leaving a number of nations under the Bolshevik yoke. As their representatives declare, the Western states are arming in order to “scare off the aggressor” from attacking fresh victims, and not for the liberation of those whom they, in one way or another, pushed into the maw of the Russian-Bolshevik Moloch. This is corroborated by the entire practical policy of the Western states and quite a few declarations of their highest-ranking official representatives.

The “broader” coexistence of the two systems, which the Bolsheviks are proposing temptingly and which official circles in the Western states avidly desire, may last quite a long time.

The possibility of breaking away individual so-called satellite countries from the USSR in a manner similar to the way Yugoslavia separated or by means of individual armed uprisings or some kind of putsches is also not very likely. Moscow has perfectly mastered Yugoslavia’s experience. In the three most important mechanisms in these countries it has planted not only a “foreign” element loyal to it but also Russians: the police, the army, and the party. And these will then take care of liquidating attempts at separation. In addition, the countries of Central and Southern Europe are cordoned off from the Free World by a region of Bolshevik zones of occupation that are inundated with Soviet troops, in Germany and Austria. It is clear from this that as long as the main nucleus of the Russian-Bolshevik Empire, the USSR, is in operation, the enslaved nations of Central and Southern Europe (it is pointless to speak about the Baltic states) will not be liberated. The sole path to freedom for these nations is the collapse and liquidation of the USSR.

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occupation zones in Germany and Austria, and provided for the mass expulsion of Germans from the countries of East-Central Europe.

The question of how long all our nations will have to suffocate beneath the weight of the Bolshevik yoke may be of no concern to the Western states, but it is to us. Every day each of our nations pays a costly and bloody tribute for the enslaving country's "care" for us.

In this situation enslaved nations can neither resign impotently from the struggle for liberation nor throw themselves desperately into premature, atomized, and unusual actions or, furthermore, feed off the illusory hope for some spontaneous collapse of the Russian-Bolshevik prison of nations.

In the face of the above-mentioned policy of the Western states in relation to our mutual enemy, the USSR; in the face of the USSR's might; in the face of the Russians' increasingly greater consolidation on the basis of Russian chauvinism, messianism, and racism, inflamed by the Bolsheviks; on the basis that the Russians are obtaining a commanding and advantageous position in the enslaved countries, for us, nations enslaved by Russia, anti-Bolshevik political parties, it is in no way beneficial to vie with the enemy in fragmented fashion. Our enemy is powerful, crafty, brutal. Therefore, might must be opposed with might.

In the current situation there are two realistically possible routes to liberation for all the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks: a war of the Western states against the USSR, bolstered by national-liberation revolutions of the enslaved peoples, or a national-liberation revolution of all or at least the majority of the nations enslaved by Russia, reinforced by armed and political support of the Western states.

If the first prospect is deferred for an indeterminate period of time, if we cannot influence its acceleration and course, then our nations have no other choice but to mobilize all forces and means for the realization of the second prospect. There is no other way. All the personnel changes in the government of the USSR will not change the destiny of the enslaved nations; they will not ease [it]. The nations in the space from the Laba [River] to the Pacific and Indian Oceans are enslaved not by the Soviet dictator, not twenty-five or ten heads from the Kremlin Politburo, not world or Soviet communism, but the Russian imperialistic state.<sup>22</sup> This is a fact, an unquestionable truth, not just one of the versions defining Russian Bolshevism and its policy of enslavement. No matter how positions within it change in the conditions of its integral, current existence, it will not repudiate the enslavement of foreign nations. Conquest, enslavement, oppression of foreign countries and peoples are the primary and most important political commandment of all Russian governments.

Reckoning with all this, we, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, propose the following to the enslaved nations of Central and Southern Europe, the enslaved nations of the USSR:

22 More commonly referred to as the Elbe River.

1. To create a joint coordinating centre for harmonized operational leadership of the entire liberation struggle of all the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia.

2. To unite and concentrate all our efforts on the basis of political and military preparation for the victorious launch, at an appropriate time, of the national-liberation revolutions of all or at least the majority of the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks. In keeping with this approach, channel all activities of clandestine organizations in the enslaved countries and the work of our emigrations in the free world in keeping with this approach, also carry out a radio-information action from radio stations abroad, aimed at the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks.

3. Jointly, or at least in coordination, conduct both political-diplomatic and political-propaganda actions in the Free World aimed at gaining effective support from the nations and governments of the West for the cause of liberating all the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia, on the one hand and, on the other, for creating in the future a political pact of forces in Europe's East and West that would adequately guarantee the state existence of the enslaved nations, preclude aggression on the part of Russian and German imperialisms, [and] secure lasting peace in Europe and the whole world.

4. As the goal of the anti-Bolshevik liberation struggle, to put forward, first of all, the national and state independence of all the nations enslaved by the Bolsheviks as the most indispensable prerequisite for the spiritual, cultural, and economic burgeoning of each nation and, second, the division of the USSR into separate national, sovereign states free and independent of Russia as the guarantee of the state existence and possibilities for the peaceful life and development of all the countries of Central and Southern Europe, the Baltic states, for all of Russia's neighbours near and far.

5. In resolving territorial disputes among the enslaved nations themselves, the main principle should be the ethnographic principle as the most just for all in that respect. If, however, certain circles consider territorial disputes between individual nations as impossible to be resolved according to the above-mentioned principle, even then general cooperation is not to be broken off. The very life and existence of our nations are in mortal danger; therefore, the issue of future borders in the face of that is of secondary importance. Consequently, even in such circumstances all the enslaved nations should cooperate with each other in those spheres in which mutual interests and advantages are completely obvious and not subject to disputes.

We, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the supreme leadership of the Ukrainian liberation underground in Ukraine, are unshakably convinced that in the struggle against Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, the Bolshevik-enslaved nations of Central and Southern Europe and the enslaved nations of the USSR will be able to attain liberation the quickest through joint and coordinated

actions, through the unification of all our forces. Given this factor, a favourable opportunity for a general armed uprising will also arrive unconditionally. Without it will pass many an opportune moment, and as a result of that our nations will be dripping blood in slavery for many long years to come.

We, the Ukrainian liberation underground, are living [and] fighting inside the USSR, we are fighting against the first shock-troop column of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism, and thus we have an opportunity to see at first hand everything that concerns our common enemy, to see all the elements of its strength and weakness, to see clearly on which factors and forces we must rely in the struggle against it if we aspire to liberating our nations from Russian-Bolshevik occupation.

Next, we, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, seek to emphasize that political reconciliation with Russian imperialism afterwards, if it retreated to the pre-1939 borders, a policy that is being advocated by certain émigré circles in the nations of Central and Southern Europe and the Baltic states, conceals a whole number of grave dangers and consequences for those very nations. It does not behoove the above-mentioned nations to believe the fairytale that all the danger to them from Russian imperialism will disappear automatically together with the liquidation of Bolshevism and the replacement of a Malenkov by a Kerensky or some Russian Adenauer.<sup>23</sup> If, even after the rout of the Bolshevik system, Russia would rule over Ukraine, Belarus, the Caucasus, and Central Asia; even if it still retained, besides the 90 million-strong population in Russian ethnographic lands, the 100 million-strong population of the non-Russian nations; even if it still had at its disposal, in addition to immense mineral wealth [and] mighty industry on Russian territory, the wealth and industry of the non-Russian countries as well, then the state independence of the liberated nations of Central and Southern Europe and the Baltic states would once again be only short-lasting, seasonal.

The sermons of Russian émigrés [who claim] that, with the disappearance of Bolshevism the Russian Empire, identical to the pre-1939 borders, will turn into a peacemaker, into a good neighbourly *uncle*, are worth as much as similar declarations of the Russian Bolsheviks in the days when they were vying for power against Russian tsarism.

Those who know Russia well have no doubt that, even after the liquidation of the Bolshevik regime in Russia, Russian great-state chauvinism and

23 Following Stalin's death on 5 March 1953, Georgy Malenkov temporarily replaced him as premier of the Council of Ministers and highest-ranking member of the CPSU's Secretariat. After the February Revolution of 1917, Alexander Kerensky became minister of justice, then minister of war, and finally chairman of the Russian Provisional Government, overthrown by Lenin's Bolsheviks during the October Revolution (7 November 1917). Konrad Adenauer, a Christian Democrat, served as the first chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany) from 1949 to 1963.

imperialism will raise its head very quickly, faster than revanchism in vanquished Germany; Russia has more favourable circumstances for this. As well, the rise to power of a new dictator and conqueror is a very easy matter in Russia. Furthermore, even Russian “democrats” will not be above swooping down at one of its neighbours or another at an opportune moment.

Briefly: As long as a Russian government – under one name or another – of world perceptual-ideological orientations, one of Party composition or another, has that physical and material force, those military-strategic possibilities that allow it to rule over the non-Russian nations of the USSR, over their territories [and] wealth, not a single one of these governments will repudiate imperialistic policies, particularly with regard to the much weaker and smaller neighbouring states, as long as the Russian state is not restricted to the ethnographic Russian lands, as long as it has such great material and physical might, then the desire and opportunity for seizing neighbouring countries will always be found in Russian rulers. This is corroborated by the entire history of the Russian state and its aggressive wars, all its habits, psychology, [and the] moral and political attitude of the Russian ruling stratum.

The paths of Russian-Bolshevik imperialism are the routes of Russian imperialism in general, well known since time immemorial – paths along which the former tsarist imperialists marched, tried to, or dreamed of doing. The Bolsheviks successors in Russia will proceed along this same path, as long as they have the physical capability for this.

If, for example, one analyzes the political situation in 1878, then it becomes eminently clear that Bulgaria and Romania in those days were saved from the fate that they have met today only by the fact that the Russian imperialistic offensive against the Balkan region was opposed by other superpowers, and at the time Russia did not have sufficient strength to realize its plans no matter what. But the Russian ruling clique has not removed these plans from its foreign policy agenda in this sector. It was only drawing up forces and waiting for favourable circumstances.

The same may be said of Russia’s plans in the First World War. If it, Russia, had reached the Versailles table as a victor, without revolutions at home, then the fate of the countries that its armies occupied during the campaign against Germany would have differed little from that which Russia foisted on them after the Second World War.

Neither was another pro-Russian political theory reigning in the circles of some Slavic nations justified – a theory that was based on the principle that the existence of a great Russian Empire is in the interests of the nations of Central and Southern Europe because it serves as a counterweight to German imperialism. This theory has been refuted by the above-mentioned examples and all the practical policies of Russian and German imperialisms. The Russian

and German Empires found a common language in the division of the sphere of influences, in the enslavement by them of many neighbouring nations, either individually or together, more than they fought against each other. And even when they were fighting against each other, the nations situated in the region between Germany and Russia did not benefit from this. Their lands always became battlefields: when the Germans were winning, they grabbed them for themselves; when the Russians were winning, they did the same thing.

Finally, we will note that even federalist schemes, which in recent times have been gaining in popularity in certain émigré circles of the nations of Central and Southern Europe, are in fact only a half-measure. Even in this case, the above-mentioned nations would not attain complete security from the aggression of Russian and German imperialisms if they joined the United States of Europe (if indeed such a union will ever come about). If the Russian Empire remains intact, if it rules over the non-Russian nations of the contemporary USSR, then it will have so much power that it will also pose a mortal danger to the entire federation. Even under those circumstances Russia will be striving eagerly for wars against its neighbours; even under those circumstances, by its very existence it will compel neighbouring countries to live in constant fear of an attack, constantly work for war, for defensive preparation. Instead, if the USSR is dismembered into separate, independent, national states, with the Russian state limited to Russian ethnographic territory, such regional federations or a general European federation would be completely effective security against Russian and German imperialisms.

In order to ascertain the correctness of this statement, it suffices to reach the proper conclusions from today's situation. If, for example, you take away China, the countries of the so-called people's democracies, and the Baltic countries from the USSR, then it is clear that even then the Russian Empire, Russian-Bolshevik imperialistic policy, rests upon colossal physical and material forces that it has at its disposal [and that] it would pose a grave danger to all of Europe at the very least. Even under those conditions, all the nations of Europe would have to resort to an arms race if they did not wish to become a colony of Russia. The fate of the closest neighbours of the Russian Empire in a similar situation in future is not even discussed. Therefore, if one just shifts the current situation into the future, then the fate of the countries of Central and Southern Europe and the Baltic states will unfold with utter clarity.

Incidentally, this problem is intrinsically very simple and clear. But for the leaders and political parties of some enslaved nations this clarity is obscured by their eagerness to seize parts of foreign states [and] in the future eagerness to seize these lands even in concert with post-Bolshevik Russian imperialists. Nevertheless, we advise all leaders, parties, [and] nations that worship their own predatory conception[s] to think seriously and responsibly about the

future fate of their nations. To think about whether they, with their own hands, are preparing a future catastrophe, future enslavement for their countries, or whether they are thus digging a grave for their own future states. It is time to adopt the experience that has been provided by history.

At the same time, we emphasize that our position vis-à-vis Russian imperialism put forth above should not be equated with our attitude to the Russian people. We, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the entire Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik liberation movement, treat the Russian people on the whole, the broad Russian masses, the same way as all peoples – in a friendly and positive fashion. We ardently desire that the Russian people too will finally be liberated from the yoke of their own tyrants and will construct an order in their land, under which they will be able to live humanly. But we are resolutely against a Russian state, with its rule in one form or another, ruling, oppressing, [and] exploiting both our people and other non-Russian peoples. As well, the Russians should understand that the Russian ruling clique, in enslaving the non-Russian peoples, is thereby separating itself from the fate of the Russian people. It draws the forces and means from the enslaved countries for the oppression of the Russian masses as well. There is a lesson in this for the Russians: against whom and for what kind of future Russia they should be struggling.

To the nations of Central and Southern Europe and the Baltic states enslaved by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists!

The life of our nations is in mortal danger. Our countries have been enslaved by a strong and brutal occupier. Our nations face a long and difficult struggle. Therefore, let us not fragment our forces; let us not create separate groups to overcome together. This is only advantageous to the enemy; this merely postpones the day of liberation. Let us unite all our forces in a joint struggle against the common enemy and for goals that are common to all our nations!

Glory to the fallen fighters of all the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia who perished in the struggle against the occupiers or were tortured to death in prisons [and] concentration camps for the freedom of their nations!

Long live the single front of the liberation struggle of the nations of Central and Southern Europe, the Baltic states, and all the other nations of the USSR!

Long live the free independent states of all the nations of Europe and Asia enslaved by the Bolsheviks!

Long live the freedom of nations and the individual!

Long live friendship among nations and people of the entire world!

*In Ukraine, in the underground, 1953  
Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council*

DOCUMENT 124: ORDER OF THE UPA SUPREME  
COMMANDER ON THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UPA

*Order of the Commander in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army  
No. 0552*

*In Ukraine*

*14 October 1952*

I *order* all cells of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation underground:

1. Today, 14 October 1952, on the Day of the Jubilee Celebrations of the tenth anniversary of the UPA, to pay homage, with a minute of silence, to the Glorious Memory of all the Comrade Fighters and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and all the Comrades-participants in the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation underground movement of the struggle, who died as Heroes in the struggle for the liberation from enslavement of the Ukrainian people during the entire ten-year period of the existence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, between 14 October 1942 and 14 October 1952.

2. During the minute of silence, read out the names of those Comrades of Glorious Memory who contributed the most to the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and to the development of its military-combat and moral-political forces, specifically:

1942

4 December – killed: General/Political Instructor Lehenda-Ivan Klymiv, head of the organizational division of the Military Section of the OUN leadership, the first organizer and political instructor of UPA units

1943

Spring – killed: First Lieutenant Ostap, the first organizer of UPA units in Volyn and Polissia

5 May – killed: Commander Som-Vasyl Ivakhiv, first commander and military instructor of units of UPA-North

1944

Killed: Colonel Dr Yurii Lypa, journalist and military doctor attached to UPA-West

August – killed: Commander Kropyva, deputy commander and chief of staff of UPA-South

22 August – killed: Colonel/Political Instructor Pavlenko-Rosytslav Voloshyn, the organizer and political instructor of UPA-North units

December – killed: Commander Yasen-Mykola Svystun, deputy commander of UPA-South



23 December – killed: Commander Kulia-Yakiv Chornii, commander of Military Okruha Sian, UPA-West

## 1945

Killed: Commander Pol, commander of the officer training school of UPA-North and UPA-West

Killed: Captain/Political Instructor Khmury-Avashchuk, head of the political instruction division and editor of press publications at the command of the Military Okruha Buh, UPA-West

Killed: Captain Sabliuk, commander of units in the Vinnytsia region, UPA-South

February – killed: Lieutenant Colonel/Political Instructor Yevshan-Yosyf Pozychaniuk, editor of press publications at the Supreme Command of the UPA

12 February – killed: Colonel Klym Savur (Dmytro Kliachkivsky), commander of UPA-North

24 April – killed: Commander Yahoda, commander of the North Sector of Military Okruha Sian of UPA-West

15 September – killed: Lieutenant Colonel Kyivsky-Yakiv Busel, head of the political instruction units at the Command of UPA-North

19 December – killed: General Perebyinis-Dmytro Hrytsai, chief of the Supreme Military Headquarters (HVSh) of the UPA

25 March – killed: Lieutenant Colonel Mitla-Oleksa Prysiazhniuk, head of the counter-intelligence division of the UPA-North Command

19 December – killed: General/Political Instructor, Taras P. Duma-Dmytro Maivsky, head of the political instruction unit at the Supreme Command of the UPA

## 1946

6 January – killed: Colonel Konyk, commander of the South Sector of Military Okruha Sian, UPA-West

25 May – killed: First Lieutenant/Political Instructor Vasylenko-Petro Volosh, political instructor of Military Okruha Sian, UPA-West

30 October – killed Commander Political Instructor Robert-Yaroslav Melnyk, the organizer and political instructor of units in Military Okruha Hoverlia, UPA-West

Killed: Colonel Hrehit-Rizun, commander of the Sector of Military Okruha Hoverlia, UPA-West

Killed: Colonel Vorony, commander of Military Okruha Buh, UPA-West

Killed: Colonel Bodnarenko, commander of Military Okruha Lysonia, UPA-West

Killed: Major Enei, commander of Military Okruha UPA-North

Killed: Major Chernyk, chief of staff of Military Okruha UPA-North

1947

Killed: Major/Political Instructor Zolotar, the organizer and instructor of units in Military Okruha Buh, UPA-West

23 January – killed: General Mykhailo-Mykola Arsenych, head of the SB counter-intelligence division at the Supreme Command of the UPA

3 August – killed: Major Zadorozhny-Ostap Bezpalko, the first organizer of UPA units in the Kholodny Yar area and Uman region, acting commander of Military Okruha Lysonia, UPA-West

22 September – killed Colonel/Political Instructor Stiah-Yaroslav Starukh, member of the political instruction division at the Supreme Command of the UPA, head of the political instruction division of Military Okruha Sian, UPA-West

1948

4 November – killed: Major/Political Instructor Fedir-Taras Tershakovets, acting commander at Military Okruha Buh, UPA-West

9 November – killed: Major Dmytro, acting head of the SB counter-intelligence division at the Supreme Command of the UPA

1949

30 January – killed: General Lytsar-Oleksa Hasyn, chief of the Supreme Military Headquarters (HVSh) of the UPA

17 April – killed: Colonel Shelest-Vasyl Sydor, member of the Supreme Military Headquarters of the UPA and commander of UPA-West

Killed: Major Ren-Vasyl Mizerny, commander of the South Sector of Military Okruha Sian, UPA-West

1950

5 March – killed: Brigadier General Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych, Supreme Commander of the UPA

28 November – killed: Lieutenant Colonel Hornovy-Osyp Diakiv, member of the political instruction division at the Supreme Command of the UPA and acting commander of the VO Buh, UPA-West

1951

19 January – killed: Colonel Maksym Dubovy, commander of the UPA-North

22 December – killed: Colonel Voliansky-Petro Fedun, Deputy Supreme Commander of the UPA and head of the political instruction division at the Supreme Command of the UPA

22 December – killed: Colonel Maksym-Roman Kravchuk, member of the Supreme Command of the UPA

1 July – killed: Lieutenant Colonel Khmel, commander of the officer training school in Military Okruha Hoverlia, UPA-West, member of the Military Headquarters of UPA-West

1952

3. I authorize the commanders of Military Okruhas to expand this list with the names of all those comrades of glorious memory who made the greatest contribution to the organizing of UPA units and raising their military-combat and moral-political values on the fields of operations for which they were accountable. All supplementary lists of names of fallen comrades of glorious memory, along with a detailed description of their military and political activities, are to be forwarded to your superiors.

V. Koval  
Supreme Commander of the UPA

HDA SBU, file 376, vol. 60, fols. 286–8.

DOCUMENT 125: APPEAL ISSUED BY THE SUPREME  
COMMANDER OF THE UPA*Message*

*from the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army  
Glory to Ukraine! 14 October 1952  
Fellow fighters and commanders of the UPA! Fellow members of  
the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle!*

Ten years ago, in the fall of 1942, the first armed units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were formed in the territories of Volyn–Polissia, which launched the struggle against the German-Hitlerite and Russian-Bolshevik enslavers of the Ukrainian people.

Very quickly, barely two years later, the flames of the insurgent struggle encompassed nearly all the Ukrainian lands. After long years of an enslaved life the Ukrainian nation launched a holy liberation struggle for its natural life to a free and independent state life on its own national territory, for its independent, united state.

During this time the UPA matured into a more than 100,000-strong, well-organized, trained, and armed fighting force. Our insurgent army was forming and growing in the very difficult conditions of the all-out terrorist policy of the German-Hitlerite occupiers, in the conditions of an international political and military situation (an alliance between the Allies and the USSR, enemies of Ukrainian national liberation on both sides of the front), which was very unfavourable to the Ukrainian liberation cause, and, finally, of the considerable difficulties of the internal Ukrainian order.

Despite all this, the Ukrainian people – on the initiative and under the ideological-political leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, experienced and tempered by the years-long revolutionary liberation struggle, with their own forces, without any kind of assistance from outside, through the heroic efforts of their finest patriots, created within a very short period of time an army that in terms of its moral-fighting values far outstripped not only the armies of our enemies but also the better armies of the world's other nation-states.

As a result of the UPA's numerous battles against the occupying armies of the German-Hitlerite imperialists and against the looting partisan gangs and occupying armies of the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists in 1942–45, great swaths of the Ukrainian lands – all of Polissia, the greater part of Volyn, Subcarpathia, a considerable number of raions in Galicia, and some raions in Right-Bank Ukraine – were almost completely liberated from the enemies.

In all the liberated districts the so-called insurgent republics, the supreme sovereign power was in the hands of the people, in the hands of UPA and

OUN representatives mandated by the people – the all-national revolutionary parliament of Ukraine – and its bodies.

Despite the difficult war conditions and constant battles against the occupiers, in the liberated districts the Ukrainian people ably set up the functioning of all the most important spheres of political, social, economic, and cultural life and established a proper system and order in everything. In all that creative work our people demonstrated their great state maturity and their superb administrative-organizational capabilities.

Impassioned by the example of the Ukrainians and their selfless and sacrificial assistance, other enslaved peoples, like the Azerbaijanis, Georgians, Armenians, and the peoples of the Northern Caucasus, the Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and other peoples of Central Asia, the Belarusians, the Baltic peoples, and others, launched their struggle. The First Conference of the nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia took place in the month of November 1943, on the UPA's initiative, in the Volyn land liberated from the German occupation. The main goal of the conference was to unite all the forces of enslaved peoples in a joint liberation struggle against the German-Hitlerite and Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. And such unification ensued.

The patriots of nearly all the enslaved peoples enslaved by Bolshevik Russia fought for their liberation in the ranks of the UPA, shoulder to shoulder with the Ukrainians, and individual nationalities, like the Azerbaijanis, Uzbeks, Georgians, Armenians, and Kazakhs, had their own separate national military formations in the UPA.

The UPA also undertook the defence and protection from persecutions by the German-Hitlerite imperialists of many patriots of the Western European nations, like the Czechs, French, Dutch, et al. who ended up in Ukraine during the war, and helped them to return safely to their homeland. The Jewish population too, exterminated to a man by the German-Hitlerite barbarians, found protection for itself in the UPA, and many Jews actively joined the UPA's struggle against the German-Hitlerite imperialists. Particularly valuable to the UPA were the services of the many Jewish doctors who worked in various medical units of the UPA.

In fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and for the construction of the Ukrainian independent united state, the UPA simultaneously fought for the liberation of all enslaved peoples, for the right of each nation to live in its own national, sovereign state. Based on the practice of its activities, the UPA implemented its main great slogan, "Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!"

The years 1943–45 were the period of the greatest upsurge of the insurgent liberation struggle in Ukraine and, simultaneously, of the fullest growth of the UPA's forces. Over a half-million army of the Ukrainian revolutionary

liberation struggle was then standing at the head of the direct armed struggle against Ukraine's occupiers.

The liberation insurgent struggle of the Ukrainian and other nations against the German-Hitlerite enslavers had a serious effect on the breakdown of their fronts and greatly accelerated the moment of the German-Hitlerite armies' retreat from Ukraine and from all the other lands occupied by them and, finally, their ultimate capitulation in May 1945.

Through its combat-insurgent and sabotaging-subversive actions and their political-revolutionary activities against the German-Hitlerite imperialists, the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle was not only fighting for freedom for the Ukrainian people but also thereby significantly aided the liberation struggle of all the other enslaved peoples that were under German-Hitlerite occupation and made a great contribution to the cause of the ultimate victory over the German-Hitlerite barbarians.

The retreat of the German-Hitlerite aggressors from Ukraine and their capitulation in no way improved the situation of the Ukrainian people because after them even worse barbarians arrived in Ukraine – the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. In early 1944 the preponderant majority of Ukraine, including the larger part of the UPA's territories of operations, and more than half of the UPA's combat units, ended up under Russian-Bolshevik occupation, and by the fall of 1944 nearly all the Ukrainian lands, all the UPA's territories of operations, and all UPA units ended up in those circumstances.

The liberation insurgent struggle that was initiated by the Ukrainian people against the German-Hitlerite imperialists continued with even greater energy against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists. Courageously and without the slightest hesitation, the Ukrainian people launched a struggle against the world's biggest police and military imperialistic predator.

In numerous battles against the many thousands of occupying troops of the Russian-Bolshevik enslavers, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army championed the rights of the Ukrainian people to a free and independent state existence and defended them from terror and looting. Until 1946, in the considerable expanses of the Ukrainian lands, in all its territories of operations, the UPA did not allow the Russian-Bolshevik occupiers to establish their slave systems.

Only when the Second World War had come to a complete end, once it had become clear that the Western superpowers, for the sake of illusory peace in the world, are ignoring the slogans they had proclaimed about national-state independence for all the nations that had fought against the German-Hitlerite imperialists and, furthermore, are knowingly handing over to Russian-Bolshevik enslavement some nations that helped them achieve victory, the supreme leadership of the liberation struggles of the Ukrainian people was

forced, beginning in 1946, to change its liberation struggle tactics and to switch from broad, mass insurgent forms of struggle to conspiratorial-clandestine forms of struggle.

With the change of tactics of the struggle, the liberation efforts of the Ukrainian people entered a phase of a protracted, long-lasting, and very difficult struggle. But, thanks to these very clandestine-conspiratorial forms of the struggle, even in the most difficult conditions of enemy terror we were able to preserve our organized military-combat and political forces and to continue the struggle successfully for our liberation to the present day.

*Fellow fighters and commanders of the UPA! Fellow members of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle!*

For a full ten bloody, heroic years we have been standing together with our entire nation in the struggle for Ukraine's freedom and state independence. For nearly nine of those years we have been fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialistic oppressors – the cruelest and fiercest enemies not only of the Ukrainian nation but [also] of other nations that are enslaved by them, and the same enemies of all the free nations of the world.

During this ten-year struggle we engaged the enemy in countless major and minor battles and military clashes; we inflicted a number of serious blows on the enemy, as a result of which they suffered considerable losses of both human life and materiel. But, one should not seek our greatest successes in combat operations. Our real and greatest successes are, above all, our complete ideological victory over the enemy.

During the course of the ten-year struggle we were the first to formulate the ideological-political and socioeconomic positions of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle into an entire clear-cut system and thereby tempered and sharpened our ideological weapons [in such a way] that in all battles against the deceitful duplicitous Russian-Bolshevik ideological system we always come out the victors. The Russian-Bolshevik imperialists and their servants do not even have the courage to engage us in an open ideological-political struggle.

For our just, foremost revolutionary ideas and our holy liberation struggle, we managed to win the friendship and support not only of all honest and typical Ukrainians but generally also of all people of goodwill who are living in the slave-ridden USSR.

Furthermore, our great achievement and success lie in the fact that we not only showed the bright light of Truth to the Ukrainian people and to all the other enslaved peoples of the USSR, we also showed them the sole correct path, how to fight for this truth.

We were the first to set out on the path of struggle against the world's most horrific and most gruesome Russian-Bolshevik tyranny, and in the course of the struggle we found and improved our tactics, methods, and means for overcoming the enemy. With our struggle we disproved all previous claims that a revolutionary clandestine struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik police system is impossible. We also disproved the false myth of the "invincibility" of the Bolshevik police organs – the NKVD, MVD, and MGB. With the aid of facts, our very existence, and our struggle we proved that such a struggle is not only possible but also crucial, and the only real one for an enslaved nation. Throughout the entire existence of the USSR we were the first to organize successfully and place the struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists on a high level and on the appropriate plane, and in those respects we achieved significant successes in spreading our revolutionary ideas and our organizational clandestine network throughout all the expanses of Ukraine, throughout the entire USSR.

In the flames of the ten-year insurgent struggle we restored the statehood traditions of our people and their strivings for Ukraine's state independence and freedom, and deeply and enduringly implanted the majestic ideas of an independent united state and struggle for it in the hearts of Ukrainians.

We also restored the military traditions of our people and covered the battle flags of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army with undying glory, and we raised the art of insurgent-guerrilla warfare to the highest level.

In the flames of the ten-year struggle we forged such noble spiritual and moral values in the Ukrainian nation, raised the feeling of patriotism in it so high that even the enemy's greatest brutal terror did not scare it away from the struggle for its liberation, and during this struggle it demonstrated such fine examples of mass heroism as the history of mankind has not heretofore seen.

In the ranks of the UPA and the revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle we raised and tempered the most resolute and heroic fighters for the Ukrainian people's freedom and state independence – magnificent army commanders and talented political leaders, without whom our people's liberation struggle would not have been possible.

The foundations laid by us during the ten-year struggle in the Ukrainian people's strivings towards freedom and an independent state were the greatest of the entire period of our stateless existence, and we are utterly convinced that the Russian-Bolshevik occupiers will never again succeed in putting our nation on its knees and forcing it to drag the yoke of slavery in silence.

Through our ten-year struggle we also achieved significant positions on the front of international politics. We overcame the indifference and lack of interest of many of the world's nations with regard to Ukraine, its people, and its liberation struggles. We overcame all the efforts of our enemies to present



the Ukrainian cause in a distorted and warped fashion, and the Ukrainian people as an amorphous ethnographic mass, immature and incapable of independent state existence. We brought the Ukrainian cause into the arena of international political life, and we are constantly achieving better positions for it.

Today our gains in the field of international politics are also larger than ever before in the entire period of our centuries-long statelessness. We have already won the goodwill and sympathy of the world's nations for the Ukrainian people and their struggles for state liberation. Today the nations of the world outside the Iron Curtain are observing our liberation struggle attentively and carefully, and even learning from us how to fight against Russian-Bolshevik tyranny.

It was not easy for our people to achieve all these unquestionable victories, gains, and positions that they have today both in Ukraine and outside its borders, on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Better than anyone else, the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists have assessed our forces and our great capacities and all the dangers from the UPA and the entire Ukrainian revolutionary liberation underground that to this day still pose a serious threat to them. Thus, they have mobilized and are sending into combat against us not only all their huge police forces but also the most chauvinistic units of the Soviet Army and its entire party-Soviet apparatus of occupation to local areas.

The countless, most savage and barbaric raids and roundups by the many-thousand Russian-Bolshevik hordes in the UPA's territories of operations, police and military blockades of these territories, mass deportations of Ukrainians into exile, mass resettlements, and the utter destruction of locales sympathetic to the insurgent movement, arrests, beatings, torture, murder, public executions, gallows, etc., etc. – this is far from a complete list of Russian-Bolshevik methods of “pacifying” the Ukrainian nation, which has risen up to struggle for its freedom.

And what equally brutal and perfidious deceitful methods have the Bolshevik barbarians not used in the struggle against the UPA and the Ukrainian liberation underground? Deceit, treachery, secret agents, the poisoning of foods and medications, infernal machines and mines, gases, infectious bacteria, etc., as well as the crude maltreatment of the bodies of those killed. In the battle of heroes, these are the Bolsheviks' most favourite methods of fighting against us. In short, there is no villainy in the USSR that the Russian-Bolshevik barbarians have not tried to employ in the struggle against us.

However, the enemy did not succeed in killing the Ukrainian people's faith in their strength and their will to the struggle, or in destroying their revolutionary organized forces. Even today we are standing firmly on our battle positions and continuing our hallowed liberation struggle, regardless of the fact that throughout the ten-year struggle we suffered heavy and very painful losses of personnel.

Many of the finest sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation, many of the finest warriors of the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle – fighters and commanders, rank-and-file and leaders – have fallen as heroes in the struggle for the liberation of their people, for the achievement of the Ukrainian Independent United State. Our unforgettable first supreme commander of the UPA, Brigadier-General Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych; also fell in battle a number of the most distinguished military commanders of the UPA, like General Perebyinis-Dmytro Hrytsai, General Lytsar-Oleksa Hasyn, Colonel Klym Savur-Dmytro Kliachkivsky, Colonel Shelest-Vasyl Sydor, Colonel Hrehit-Rizun, Colonel Konyk, Colonel Vorony, Colonel Bodnarenko, Colonel Dubovy, and others also fell; a number of the UPA's most distinguished political educators and political leaders of the Ukrainian liberation underground, like General Lehenda-Ivan Klymiv, General Taras P. Duma-Dmytro Maivsky, Colonel Pavlenko-Rostyslav Voloshyn, Colonel Stiah-Yaroslav Starukh, Colonel Maksym-Roman Kravchuk, Colonel Voliansky-Petro Fedun, Lieutenant Colonel Yevshan-Yosyf Pozychaniuk, Lieutenant Colonel Kyivsky-Yakiv Busel, Lieutenant Colonel Hornovy-Osyp Diakiv, and others; also fell a number of the most distinguished members of the UPA's counter-intelligence Security Service, including its most capable head, General Mykhailo-Mykola Arsenych; a number of the most distinguished members of the other services of the UPA, for example, liaison, health, economic management, et al.

Today, the day marking the UPA's tenth anniversary, in our most profound sorrow and with inexpressible pain in our hearts, we bow our heads in respect to the shadows of all those thousands of well-known and nameless Heroes who, in the struggle to achieve Ukraine's freedom, gave all their energies, talents, and, ultimately, their life. To you, Heroes of Ukraine, we swear that we will continue the cause of liberating Ukraine from enslavement, which you initiated, until our final breath, until the complete liberation of our people, until the achievement of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

*Fellow fighters and commanders of the UPA! Fellow members of the  
Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle!*

Great and glorious is our martial path, along which we have marched during these ten years of the Ukrainian people's liberation struggles in all the lands of Ukraine as well as in the lands of neighbouring nations – the Belarusians, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Romania.

We have done everything that was in our power to achieve freedom for our nation, in order to achieve the Ukrainian Independent United State. But, we have still not succeeded in achieving this.

We still have not achieved ultimate victory, but neither have we lost. We are fighting! Sooner or later we will achieve victory. For our cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian and other nations from Russian-Bolshevik slavery is holy and just.

At the present time we have achieved only the most crucial launching positions for the further struggle. We have consolidated these positions and are holding them in our hands, regardless of the enemy's constant, frenzied attacks.

The main reason why our nation is still in enslavement lies in the fact that during the Second World War the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists managed once again to dupe the Western superpowers and obtain substantial assistance and support from them, with whose assistance they not only saved their empire of slaves, the USSR, from inevitable collapse and achieved victory over the German-Hitlerite imperialists, but also considerably consolidated their rule over all the nations previously enslaved by them and imposed their imperialistic yoke of slavery on a number of new nations that were previously free. The peaceful situation in the world gave the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists the opportunity to throw their entire colossal, oppressive apparatus at defeating the liberation movement of the Ukrainian people's struggle and similar liberation movements of other peoples enslaved by them and to prevent the further growth of the mass insurgent liberation struggle from escalating to such an extent that that this struggle could shatter the USSR from within.

In fundamentally mastering the situation from within and having restored its economy, which was somewhat damaged during the war, the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists instantly launched their typical aggressive policy aimed at the gradual subjugation of the rest of Asia and Europe. It was only then that the Western states, befuddled by the Russian-Bolshevik love of peace and Soviet democracy, came to their senses and seriously set about preparing their forces for defence from the Russian-Bolshevik threat, although to this day they do not have enough decisiveness to stand up to this danger in open combat.

The current situation in the world is such that two irreconcilable camps are facing each other: the camp of nations of the free, democratic world and the camp of Russian-Bolshevik imperialistic tyranny and slavery. Both camps are vigorously mobilizing all their forces and means for the impending decisive battle.

The entire course of political events in the world is evolving with inexorable consequence in the direction of the next world war. And the faster it comes, the better, because humanity will experience fewer torments and suffering. We detest war, but we detest lack of freedom and slavery even more, and that is precisely why we see the war as the only wisest solution for all of free humanity and, above all, for all the peoples enslaved by Bolshevik Russia. Perhaps the

Western states will succeed in temporarily deferring the deadline of the onset of war, but none of them will manage to avert the war itself, which has been prepared by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists, who are only waiting for the most propitious moment to launch it.

Until these critical events looming in the world [occur] we must maintain our battle positions. Until that time we must safeguard our organized political and combat forces in order at the proper moment once again to go forward on the attack and [move] towards ultimate victory. Let us remember that nearly the entire result of our years-long struggle until now, nearly the entire cause of the Ukrainian people's liberation will depend on how much we will be able to maintain our position and preserve our forces until wartime.

Friends, do not be troubled by the fact that right now, in comparison to the enemy, we have a small handful. But there are entirely enough of us to raise, at the proper moment, the entire Ukrainian and other nations enslaved by Bolshevik Russia and the oppressed and exploited masses of the USSR, and from within to smash the rule of the Russian-Bolshevik tyrants, and on the entire territory of the slave-filled USSR to establish a new just system and order based on the full state sovereignty of all nations.

The enemy is also aware of all those great potential forces of ours today and of all those great capabilities of ours tomorrow, in the event of war. The enemy knows that while our leading movement of today exists, with its most just political and social ideas and its fearless fighters for implementing them, he cannot dream of victory over the world. For those very reasons in recent times the enemy has very significantly toughened its struggle against our revolutionary liberation struggle and is aiming all his strongest barbaric attacks against our liberation positions.

But, our movement has withstood all these enemy attacks and will certainly withstand many others. For our strength is in our Truth, in our holy enslaved Motherland-Ukraine, in our heroic Ukrainian nation, and in all the nations enslaved by the Russian-Bolshevik imperialists.

Our ten-year heroic struggle, our successes and achievements, our very existence today are raising and enflaming [people] to a decisive struggle against and active resistance to Russian-Bolshevik reaction, slavery, and tyranny not only over the Ukrainian people and all the peoples enslaved by Bolshevik Russia but also all advocates of freedom for nations and individuals, all advocates of genuine democracy and a genuine, just peace in the world.

We are entering the next ten-year existence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army with the strongest belief that we will conclude our liberation struggle victoriously, that the Ukrainian nation will finally achieve its sovereign state and begin living a free, happy, and cultured life in it.

*Fellow fighters and commanders of the UPA! Fellow members of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle!*

Courageously maintain all the positions of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle, which we have achieved until now!

Continue to gain new positions for the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle in all the expanses of Ukraine, throughout the entire USSR!

Disseminate the ideas of revolutionary liberation, gain supporters and adherents and active fighters for their implementation!

Fight against the enemy's attempts to sow in our nation disillusionment in the possibility of Ukraine's liberation and its independent state existence separate from Russia!

As assiduously as possible preserve the cadres of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle, value them as your greatest treasure! Do everything in order to protect the cadres from failure!

Constantly improve your ideological-political and military level!

Study and adopt the best methods and means of the clandestine-conspiratorial tactics of struggle – the only possible and correct tactics at the present time!

Be even more careful and sensitive to enemy advances!

Long live our Ukrainian Insurgent Army!

Long live the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement of the struggle!

Long live the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the clandestine parliament of fighting Ukraine and the General Secretariat – its government!

Long live the Ukrainian Independent United State!

(–) V. Koval

Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

PART THREE

The Soviet Security Organs  
and the Struggle against  
the Ukrainian Liberation  
Movement, 1940–50



## Command Assessments of the UPA's Struggle

DOCUMENT 126: ORDER BY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR  
OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, LAVRENTIY BERIA, ON  
REPRESSION OF FAMILIES OF MEMBERS OF  
THE UNDERGROUND (1944)

[Russian-language document]

31 March 1944

Lp

*Top Secret*

To the Deputy Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR  
Commissar for State Security 2nd Rank, Comrade Serov  
To the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR  
Commissar for State Security, 3rd Rank, Comrade Riasnoi [Riasny]  
City of Rivne

In response to your order no. 1–83 of 29 March of this year concerning the repression of members of the families of OUN members,

*I order:*

1. All adult members of the families of convicted OUN members, as well as of active insurgents both arrested and killed during clashes, to be deported to far-flung districts of Krasnoiarsk Krai, Omsk, Novosibirsk, and Irkutsk oblasts, and their property confiscated in accordance with the order of the NKVD USSR no. 001552 of 10 December 1940.<sup>1</sup>
2. Establish the following order of drafting the documents of the deportees:
  - a) On the basis of existing documented data on the practical bandit activities of OUN members and insurgents, heads of raion divisions of the NKVD-NKGB draw up reasoned findings on the deportation of their families.
  - b) Accordingly, heads of oblast directorates of the NKVD-NKGB examine the

<sup>1</sup> Krasnoiarsk is on the Yenisei River, Omsk is on the Irtysh River, Novosibirsk is bisected by the Ob River, and Irkutsk is on the Angara River, all located in Siberia, several thousand kilometres from western Ukraine.



findings submitted by raion divisions and, in the event of their authorization, draw up resolutions on each family being deported

c) The findings of raion divisions, together with the resolution of the head of the oblast Directorate of the NKVD-NKGB concerning deportation, are submitted for authorization by Comrade RIASNOI of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR.

d) The NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR forwards the authorized resolutions on deportation for subsequent authorization by the Special Board of the NKVD USSR through the 1st Special Division of the NKVD USSR.

3. The deportation of members of OUN members' families and insurgents is to be carried out following authorization of the resolution on deportation by the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, without waiting to receive the decision of the Special Board.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR  
General Commissar for State Security

L. Beria

No. 122

31 March 1944

True: *signature*

HDA SBU, fond 9, file 628 (19), fols. 180–180v.

DOCUMENT 127: ORDER CONCERNING MEASURES ON  
THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE  
OUN UNDERGROUND AND THE LIQUIDATION OF ARMED  
OUN GANGS IN THE WESTERN OBLASTS OF THE  
UKRAINIAN SSR, 9 OCTOBER 1944

[Russian-language document]

lp 21 13 October 1944  
Top Secret  
Order  
*of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR  
and  
the People's Commissar for State Security of the USSR for 1944*  
Contents

*No. 001240/00380. On Measures to Intensify the Struggle against the OUN  
Underground and Liquidate the Armed Gangs of the OUN in the Western  
Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

No. 001240/00380 9 October 1944 City of Moscow

For the purposes of the successful completion of the struggle against the OUN underground, the guarantee of the liquidation of the OUN's armed gangs and anti-Soviet organizations in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, [and] the enhancement of the leadership of the agentura-operational work of the organs of the NKVD-NKGB in these oblasts,

*We order:*

1. People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Riasnoi, to be entrusted with the leadership of the agentura-operational work of the UNKVD-UNKGB in Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Drohobych, and Chernivtsi oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in the struggle against the OUN underground and the armed OUN gangs.

People's Commissar for State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Savchenko, and the head of the Border Troops of the NKVD of the Ukrainian District, General-Major Comrade Burmak, to be appointed to assist Comrade Riasnoi.

2. Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, General-Lieutenant Comrade Strokach, to be entrusted with the leadership of the agentura-operational work of the UNKVD-UNKGB of Rivne, Volyn, and Ternopil oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in the struggle against the OUN underground and the armed OUN gangs.

Deputy People's Commissar for State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security Comrade Yesipenko, and the head of the NKVD Interior Troops of the Ukrainian District, General-Major Comrade Marchenkov, to be appointed to assist Comrade Strokach.

3. NKVD troops assigned to the struggle against the armed OUN gangs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to be stationed in:

Lviv oblast: 17th Infantry Brigade; three battalions of the 25th Infantry Brigade; 18th Cavalry Regiment; 118th Separate Infantry Battalion of the 16th Infantry Brigade 66, 219 separate Infantry battalions of the 24th Infantry Brigade of NKVD Interior Troops.

Stanyslaviv oblast: 19th Infantry Brigade of the NKVD Interior Troops .

Drohobych oblast: 210th Separate Infantry Battalion of the 17th Infantry Brigade of the NKVD Interior Troops.

Chernivtsi oblast: 192nd Separate Infantry Brigade of the 19th Brigade, 237th and 240th separate Infantry battalions of the 23rd Brigade of the NKVD Interior Troops.

Rivne oblast: 9th Infantry Division (comprising three regiments) and the 169th Separate Infantry Battalion of the 18th Infantry Brigade of the NKVD Interior Troops.

Ternopil oblast: three battalions of the 21st Infantry Brigade; two battalions of the 25th Infantry Brigade; the 174th and 193rd separate Infantry Battalions of the 19th Infantry Brigade of the NKVD Interior Troops.

4. People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Riasnoi, to be permitted in crucial cases, depending on the concrete operational situation in local areas, to carry out the redeployment of the above-mentioned formations and units of NKVD troops within the boundaries of the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

5. Within a ten-day period, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, General-Colonel Comrade Apollon, to additionally assign and dispatch two infantry regiments and one separate infantry battalion for the disposal of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Comrade Riasnoi, in order to reinforce the formations of NKVD Interior Troops assigned to the struggle against the armed OUN gangs.

6. The Department for the Struggle against Banditry of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR to be reorganized into a Directorate to enhance the leadership of the work of oblast directorates of Ukraine's NKVD.

Within a three-day period, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Obruchnikov, and People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Riasnoi, to examine and submit for

authorization staff lists and placement of the personnel of the Directorate for the Struggle against Banditry.

7. Following the issuance of the present order, Comrades Riasnoi, Strokach, Savchenko, and Yesipenko are to begin carrying out the following work immediately:

a) Review existing agentura processing and investigative cases on OUN members in corresponding organs of the NKVD-NKGB and outline indispensable measures to ensure the detection and liquidation, within the shortest possible time, of anti-Soviet organizations and armed OUN gangs operating in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

b) Over the course of daily agentura-operational work on pursuing the OUN underground, focus the main attention on: the seizure or liquidation of the leaders of bandit groups, oblast, nadraion, and raion OUN "leaderships," the rout of fighting groups and the OUN's "security service."

On the organization of agentura-operational measures to ensure the detection of lines of communication: safe houses, secret meeting points of oblast "leaderships" of the OUN, for the purposes of establishing the location of the "central leadership," the penetration in its structure of our vetted secret agents for the subsequent liquidation of the OUN's central leadership.

c) To ensure the detection and liquidation of OUN depots of weapons, ammunition, food, uniforms, and technology (print shops, typewriters, and other duplicating aparata).

d) Through daily work with the agentura, reach the point that, as a rule, Chekist-military operations for the liquidation of the OUN gangs will be ensured by indispensable, preliminary agentura work assuring the ascertainment of the location of gangs, their numerical strength, leading personnel, arms, the detection of possible routes of retreat.

Chekist-military operations to liquidate the OUN gangs are to be carried out after advance cordoning off of the raions in which the gangs are based, the organization of barriers and ambushes on the routes of their possible retreat, so that the gang will be encircled, deprived of the possibility to rebase itself in neighbouring raions and utterly liquidated.

Plans for the liquidation of the OUN gangs are to be developed and implemented with adherence to consistency: upon the cleansing of gangs from one group of raions, secure the liquidation of gangs in other neighbouring raions affected by banditry, without however permitting the penetration of bandit gangs in raions that have been cleansed of gangs. With those goals in mind, have combat-ready military garrisons, ambushes, barriers in corresponding populated areas, on probable routes of the gangs' movement, in places where gangs were previously based, along with the creation of a secret agent-informant network.

e) Intensify measures of repression in relation to the members of families of active participants of OUN organizations and gangs, both those arrested or killed and those with illegal status.

Carry out the deportation of these contingents in the order established by the directive of the NKVD USSR no. 122 of 31 March 1944.

f) After being detained, individuals evading mobilization into the Red Army are to be sent for verification to special NKVD camps.

g) In the work on liquidating OUN organizations and gangs, along with secret agent-informant work, broadly practise the involvement of the local population, for which armed assistance groups are to be created under authorized district militia officers, drawing into these groups honest Soviet citizens from among the members of families of Red Army servicemen, local party-Soviet activists, and individuals who suffered at the hands of OUN gangs.

h) Immediately inform the CC CP(B)U and the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR about all shortcomings in the work of local party, Soviet, and economic organizations detected during the course of hunting down the OUN gangs on the territory of the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

8. People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Comrade Riasnoi, and the head of the Main Directorate of Interior Troops of the NKVD USSR, General-Lieutenant Comrade Stakhanov, are to order the border detachments of the NKVD in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to ensure the cleansing of anti-Soviet and bandit-spy elements from the borderland zone.

9. For strengthening the work of the NKVD-NKGB organs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR reorganize existing raion divisions of the NKVD and NKGB, temporarily increasing the staff of the NKVD-NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

Within the structure of raion divisions of the NKVD in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR create departments for the struggle against banditry, numbering three to five people in each, staffing them with operatives with experience in the struggle against banditry.

Divisions of cadres of the NKVD and NKGB USSR are to dispatch 250 experienced operatives each to the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to provide assistance with improving the agentura-operational work of the UNKVD-UNKGB.

Review the composition of heads of raion divisions of the NKVD and NKGB in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR and replace those who do not meet the requirements of their assignment.

With those goals in mind, divisions of cadres of the NKVD and NKGB

USSR are to dispatch fifty experienced heads of raion divisions each at the disposal of the NKVD and NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

For carrying out this work, the Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Obruchnikov, is to dispatch the deputy head of the Division of Cadres of the NKVD USSR to the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

10. For improving investigations of cases on arrested active members of the OUN and the leaders of bandit groups, create investigative groups of twenty-five people each under Comrades Riasnoi and Strokach.

Within a five-day period, Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Comrade Obruchnikov, and Deputy People's Commissar for State Security of the USSR, Comrade Svinegurov, are each to select and dispatch twenty-five experienced investigators, NKVD-NKGB employees, at the disposal of Comrade Riasnoi and Comrade Strokach.

11. Comrades Riasnoi and Strokach are to organize the work of the investigative groups in the following way: so that cases on arrested active OUN members and leaders of OUN bandit groups are not delayed by the investigation.

Data presenting operational interest (about the location of gangs, illegals, messengers, weapons depots, technology, etc.), obtained during the course of an investigation, are reported to them immediately for operational use.

12. The completed investigative cases on arrested OUN members, transferred to Military Tribunals, are to be taken under special observation with the goal of preventing procrastination in their examination by instances of jurisdiction.

Separate verdicts in relation to leading members of the OUN and the heads of OUN gangs are to be announced to the population of the raions on whose territory the condemned conducted their anti-Soviet work.

13. For the purposes of increasing the efficiency and manoeuvrability of NKVD troops taking part in operations in the struggle against the OUN gangs in the western oblasts of the USSR, the head of the Directorate of Military Supply of the NKVD USSR, General-Lieutenant of the Service Corps, Comrade Vurgaft is to dispatch to their locations during October–November of this year two hundred trucks, simultaneously providing these troops with a regular supply of the food and clothing allowance and hot meals.

14. The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar for State Security, 3rd rank, Comrade Riasnoi, is to submit a report every five days on the course of the struggle against the OUN underground and the liquidation of armed OUN gangs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to the NKVD USSR and First Secretary of the CC CP(B)U Comrade Khrushchev, and to inform about the most important matters by means of extraordinary reports.

Comrade Riasnoi is to order the heads of the UNKVD of the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to systematically inform the first secretaries of corresponding oblast committees of the CP(B)U about measures that have been implemented in the struggle against the OUN underground and armed OUN gangs.

15. Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR, Commissar for State Security, 2nd rank, Comrade Kruglov, is to depart on site to inspect the alignment of forces and the organization of work in keeping with the present order, providing indispensable practical assistance.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR  
General Commissar for State Security L. Beria  
People's Commissar for State Security of the USSR  
Commissar for State Security, 1st rank V. Merkulov<sup>2</sup>

True: *signature*

HDA SBU, fond 9, file 629 (20), fols. 10–13.

<sup>2</sup> Vsevolod Merkulov served as people's commissar for state security from February 1941 to July 1941 and again from July 1943 until 1946. He was also deputy people's commissar of the NKVD from 1941 to 1943. Arrested along with his patron, Lavrentiy Beria, he was executed on 23 December 1953.

DOCUMENT 128: INFORMATION ON THE ACTIVITIES  
OF NKVD AGENT DROZD

[Russian-language document]

*Top Secret*  
*November 1944*

*To the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Commissar  
for State Security, 3rd Grade, Comrade Riasnoi*  
*Information about penetration agent Drozd*

In the month of September 1944 the Zhovkva raion department of the NKVD recruited the penetration agent Drozd.

The recruitment of Drozd was carried out under the following circumstances:

On 21 September 1944, at approximately 12:00 at night, a stranger approached the man on duty at the Raion Department of the NKVD and requested that he be brought to the head of the Raion Department of the NKVD.

The head of the Raion Department of the NKVD, Captain of State Security Comrade Syrkin, received the stranger.

During the course of the conversation the stranger introduced himself as Putko, Hryhorii Stepanovych, born in 1911, a native of the village of Mokrotyn, Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast, and stated that he is a member of the "organization of Ukrainian nationalists" and one of the leaders of the OUN underground on the territory of Zhovkva raion; he has weapons on his person.

Then Putko began asking that he be punished for committing a crime against the Soviet government. Putko declared that, seeing the inanity of the OUNites' struggle against the Soviet power, he decided to go to the NKVD organs and give an honest account of both his criminal activities and the activities of "OUN" and "UPA" members who are known to him.

About himself Putko related that, being a member of the OUN, he is working as a so-called raion leader responsible for supplies and materiel and under his jurisdiction are storehouses with food and uniforms belonging to a UPA gang.

The family of Putko, H.S., consists of his father, Putko, Stepan Tymofiovych, born in 1880, a native and resident of the village of Mokrotyn, Zhovkva raion; mother, Putko, Yevdokia, born in 1890; and brother, Putko, Ivan Stepanovych, born in 1924, he is with a UPA gang.

Putko, Hryhorii Stepanovych himself, born in 1911, a native and resident of the village of Mokrotyn, Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast, is a poor peasant by social status, a Ukrainian by nationality, a citizen of the USSR, not a party member, literate; from 1931 to 1932 he served in the Polish army as a rank-and-file soldier, and then he returned from the army to his native land, to the



village of Mokrotyn, and until the month of November 1941 he lived with his father and was engaged in farming.

During the period of the temporary occupation of Lviv oblast by the Germans Putko was forcibly mobilized by the Germans and sent to work in Germany, where until the month of December he worked at a brewery in Berlin as an ordinary worker.

In the month of December 1943 he fled Germany and arrived in his native land, in the village of Mokrotyn, and went underground: he hid in the surrounding forests of Zhovkva raion, Lviv oblast.

Taking into consideration the potential of Putko, H.S. for intelligence work and his voluntary appearance at the Raion Department of the NKVD, the latter was recruited and sent to process the OUN underground and UPA gang formations.

After recruitment and the assigned mission Drozd immediately began taking part in intelligence work and provided a whole number of valuable materials, such as:

For the period from 22 September to 16 December 1944, thirty-four planned meetings with agent Drozd took place according to schedule and eight off-schedule appearances.

During this very period eighty secret service denunciations were received, as a result of which:

1. Chekist-military operations and 3 ambushes were carried out, as a result of which: 96 people were detained, including 3 stanytsia leaders, the head of the Ukrainian police (under the Germans) of Kulykiv raion, 46 OUNites, 30 people who were hiding from the Red Army draft. Twelve bandits were killed, among whom were: the head of Zhovkva County, Levadny; the head of Zhovkva County (women's network), Lastivka; the raion leader of the military-political network of Zolochiv raion, Zavada, Mykhailo; a member of a county fighting group of the UDSB (Ukrainian State Security Service) codenamed "Pirus." During the course of these operations, 9 hand machine guns of all models, 25 rifles, 3 submachine guns, 3 pistols, 10 grenades, and 10,000 cartridges of various types were seized.
2. Nine storehouses belonging to the bandits were located, from which 160 tsentners of grain, twenty-five tsentners of meat, uniforms and other items of clothing were seized; in addition forty head of large, horned cattle, captured by the gang during a raid on an army subunit that was escorting the cattle for the Red Army, were seized.
3. One hundred and fifty members of the "OUN" and participants of the "UPA" were entered into records management, eight of whom were UPA company commanders, with complete set-up data, special

characteristics, and place of residence. Complete data on Khmara's battalion staff; descriptive data on the leading composition of Zhovkva County.

4. The organizational structure of the OUN and the UPA of Zhovkva County was established; leading instructions of the OUN central leadership were acquired; the morale state of the UPA bandits; the activities of individual leaders of the OUN and the UPA.
5. With Drozd's materials, the killing of a number of leading party-Soviet workers and other citizens was averted.
6. The system and character of communications of the OUNites and UPA bandits in Zhovkva raion were determined.
7. Drozd systematically informed on new bandit movements, the gang's weaponry, disposition of gang groups, which enabled [us] to inflict unerring blows in order to smash the OUN underground and UPA gangs.

All the denunciations provided by Drozd were confirmed by another agent and arrested bandits.

#### *Personal Traits of Agent Drozd*

Exceptionally disciplined, during the period of work he did not fail to make an appearance a single time; on his own initiative he made eight additional appearances, generated by operational necessity.

Thoroughly developed, he carries out all the NKVD organs tasks precisely and in a well-thought-out manner; during a meeting he introduced a number of schemes for the liquidation of the gangs, and to improve secrecy he drafted plans of the gangs disposition and the bandits storehouses; he has an excellent memory; he is well acquainted with the territory of Zhovkva raion.

I consider it possible to use Drozd for open work in the NKVD organs.

*Head of the NKVD Directorate of Lviv Oblast, Military Commissar, 2nd Grade*  
[signature] Hrushko

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 63, fols. 112–15.

DOCUMENT 129: ORDER BY PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR  
OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR: ON FUR-  
THER MEASURES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OUN AND UPA  
BANDITRY ON THE TERRITORY OF STANYSLAVIV OBLAST

[Russian-language document]

11 December 1944

2-lr

Copy

*Top Secret*

Copy no.: \_\_\_\_

*Order  
of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR  
for the year 1944*

*Contents: On further measures in the struggle against OUN and UPA banditry  
on the territory of Stanyslaviv oblast*

No. 00191 11 December 1944 City of Stanyslaviv

The liquidation of the OUN underground and their bandit formations on the territory of Stanyslaviv oblast is still in an unsatisfactory state.

Raions in the oblast remain befouled with insurgent elements that are terrorizing Soviet-party activists and disrupting economic and political life in populated areas.

For the purposes of successfully inflicting an operational-military defeat on the OUN gangs and the OUN underground,

*I order:*

1. The existing operations sector to be liquidated at once. Impose personal responsibility for the liquidation of the OUN and UPA gangs by territory on the heads of the RO NKVD and RO NKGB, and commanders of military subunits and units stationed on the territory of the raion.

2. A redeployment of subunits of NKVD Border and Interior Troops to be carried out on the territory of Stanyslaviv oblast in accordance with the approved bulletin. Complete the redeployment by 15 December 1944.

3. Impose responsibility for the operational use of subunits of NKVD troops in a raion on the head of the RO NKVD, and leadership and responsibility for completing the operational objectives to liquidate the gangs on the unit commander.

I am giving advance notice to all heads of RO NKVD that the deployed military subunits of NKVD troops on the territory of a raion are to be used only for liquidating gang formations and the OUN underground.

All the plans of the Chekist-military operations being carried out are being drawn up and developed together with the head of the RO NKVD and the commander of a subunit (unit). Reports on the outcomes of operations underway and usage are to be submitted to the head of the UNKVD and the commander of a unit (formation) with two signatures, the head of the RO NKVD and the commander of a subunit (unit).

4. For the successful liquidation of local fighting groups [and] self-defence groups committing terrorist acts against party-Soviet activists, garrisons manned by between twenty and forty people are to be stationed for periods of five to twelve days in the populated areas where they are located. During the sojourn of these garrisons, the complete liquidation of bandits and the deportation of their families must be secured. Experienced operatives are to be assigned to the garrison.

5. For the purposes of the successful completion of the Chekist-military operations, it is necessary to prepare each operation carefully on the basis of operational data on the location of the gangs.

During the period of carrying out operations, all those captured and detained are to be subjected to thorough intelligence interrogation by operational and officer staff of troops, and all obtained data on the locations of gangs, the presence of depots, etc., are to be acted on immediately, and detainees are to be used as guides.

6. During dragnet and combing operations of populated areas and forested zones, prior to the reckoning it is necessary to cordon off these raions with troops or set up ambushes with the goal of preventing the departure of bandit and fighting groups from the area of our troop operations.

7. During the Chekist-military operations, explain to all the personnel of NKVD organs and troops about the methods and ways of hiding adopted by the UPA gangs and the OUN underground in populated areas, and demand a thorough search of bandits concealed in these hideouts. For the training of personnel, commanders of units and subunits are to carry out exercises with the personnel about ways to detect bandits hiding in various hideouts.

8. The practice of the struggle against banditry has shown positive results of the action of ambushes laid at night. For that reason, demand that commanders of subunits and units lay nocturnal ambushes, in keeping with the instruction confirmed by me, on the probable roads and directions of gang movement. These roads and directions may be entries and exits to populated areas, crossroads and paths, fordings across river obstacles, individual pathways, and cuttings in forested zones.

9. All heads of the RO NKVD are to review the personnel of destruction battalions and cull all unsuitable individuals and arrest suspicious ones. Use the personnel of destruction battalions only for the struggle against the UPA gangs together with subunits of troops. For boosting the military training of destruction battalions, commanders of units and subunits are to single out officers and sergeants for holding exercises with them.

10. The existing agentura of the OBB [Department for the Struggle against Banditry] is to be reviewed at once. Cull all those who are unpromising and do not instill trust, replacing them with people who are capable and devoted to us.

11. Agents with raiding possibilities are to be used for route trips with the goal of ascertaining gangs, their places of concentration, and paths of movement.

12. In all agentura matters, for the elaboration of targets being undertaken in them, acquire a reliable internal agentura capable of gaining the trust of the gang leaders.

13. Investigations of cases on arrested OUN and UPA gangs are to be accelerated and submitted at once for scrutiny by the Military Tribunal. Cases on pogromists and murderers are to be completed within a five-day period and handed over to circuit sessions of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

14. Commanders of military formations are strictly to keep all literature and correspondence published by the UPA and the OUN confiscated during the implementation of operations, and to present it for elaboration to the head of the UNKVD, with interesting documents subsequently dispatched to me.

15. Impose personal responsibility on the heads of the RO NKVD and NKGB to cleanse raion Soviet/Party organizations of secret agents implanted by the OUN and the UPA for intelligence and subversive activities.

16. The general operational leadership of all army units and NKVD organs on the territory of Stanyslaviv oblast is to be placed on my deputy, Militia Commissar 3rd Class Comrade Diatlov; appoint General-Major Comrade Demshyn to assist him with the direct leadership of army units and formations.

Signature/s of the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR  
Commissar for State Security, 3rd Rank (Riasnoi)

True: Head of the Department of the UKGB for Luhansk oblast

Major (Muzyka)

*True copy (signature)*

Mb no. 879

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 64, fols. 86–90.

DOCUMENT 130: REMINISCENCES OF STRYISKY  
ABOUT HIS ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT (1945)

2 November 1945

Copy

*Memoirs of the Deportation**The "black days" from 11 August 1944 to 29 October 1945**1. Reason for arrest*

Based on the decisions of the oblast leadership of the SV and the leading members of the okruha leadership, the okruha leadership of the SV issued a directive that during the period of Bolshevik reality the okruha leadership of the SV is to remain in the okruha or kushch units. Therefore, carrying it out, I, together with responsible section leaders and a fighting group, joined Bubai-chuk's fighting group with the responsible leader of the Military Section. Our direction was the vicinity of the village of Zubrytsia. We crossed into the forest of Yasinka Masova, where we met up with Rizun. Here a battle took place along the German [?]. After the battle we went to the village of Yasinka Stetsova. Here we were hindered by the Germans, who were occupying the mountain peaks for a battle against the Bolsheviks. Now we went in the direction of the village of Kindratiiv, where in broad daylight we crept up practically to the very village. We waited there until evening, and in the evening we headed to the village of Zubrytsia. When we were approaching it, shots from a machine gun were heard. We halted. We decided to wait until morning, until the matter was clarified. We did pitch camp here. This was on a mountain between the villages of Holovske and Zubrytsia. All day you could hear cannon firing. It was the Germans firing from Mount Borynia. There were only whistles and explosions near us. The Germans were firing at the Bolsheviks, who were trying to occupy the village of Holovske. From this it was clear that we were between two lines of fire. Our goal now was to cross into the Bolshevik rear in order to operate in the rear. There was no need for us to retreat behind the Germans. We moved to another mountain, where we were thinking of resting another day. After nearly three days of insomnia I had a chance to get some rest. I spread a blanket on the tall, green grass and lay down on it to rest, not noticing that it was very damp, even muddy, underneath me. My comrades saw this, but were loath to wake me up. I slept like this until I woke up by myself, almost completely stiff. I tried to get warm, but it was impossible. I ran, jumped, waved my arms, but the blood was completely unable to enter my blue hands. Then Comrade Kobzar and I and another fighter decided to go to the village. I went to the village with them in civilian clothing and without weapons. The Bolsheviks

were already in the village. The movement of going to the village warmed me up so that the blood hit me, which raised my temperature. Near a hayrick Kobzar fed me with *lohaza* [ground barley gruel] and we said goodbye. I told him that I would come to them in the evening, once I felt better. Kobzar and that fighter went to the forest. And I remained behind at the hayrick. Towards evening I moved to a safer hayrick. I lay there until evening, and in the evening I got up and headed to the forest to my people. Leaving the village, I met two boys who were going on reconnaissance to the village. They asked me to return together with them to the village because they did not know this village well; furthermore, the Bolsheviks were there and might attack soon. I returned with them once more to the village, but in approaching it we encountered Bolshevik checkpoints. They detained us, but we quickly explained to them that we are from that village and had been in the forest all day so that the Germans would not take us away. They let us into the village and ordered us not to leave the village anymore. I tried to leave it but saw that the village was well surrounded; I decided to spend the night on a hayrick. Yary and Chorny came to me at the hayrick. We slept through the night; in the morning Chorny left us, and Yary and I remained behind. I felt very sick, so I did not get up, I did not want to eat or get up. Suddenly intense shooting came from the forest. Searches were taking place in the village. The searches were being carried out by the Soviets, and local people were showing what was located where.

### 2. Arrest

The arrest took place on 11 August 1944 at 2:00 (Moscow time). A local peasant, Koblyk, Petro, led the Soviets with submachine guns to that hayrick. The Soviets with submachine guns surrounded the hayrick, dragged both of us out – that is, me and Yary; they took my boots [and] documents right from underneath the hayrick and took me to the headquarters.

### 3. Death

We were brought to the headquarters of the 151st Zhytomyr Infantry Division. We were placed in the care of the special NKVD Death Department, which means death to spies [i.e., SMERSH].<sup>3</sup> En route to Death we encountered two disguised girls, concerning whom Koblyk admitted that they were not local. They were Huk, Maria, from the village of Hai Vyzhni, and Hnativ, Maria (false surname). We were brought together to a house where the headquarters were located. Here we sat down on the bench running along the house. I had several

3 SMERSH, “Death to Spies,” officially came into being on 14 April 1943. An umbrella organization dedicated to counter-intelligence, counterterrorism, and fighting “anti-Soviet” elements, it remained in existence until 4 May 1946, under the command of Viktor Abakumov, who became minister of state security after the war.

messages in my pocket. I tried to destroy them. At first I ate them as long as there was enough saliva, and when my mouth became very dry, holding my hand in my pocket I tore them there and threw out the tiny pieces and buried them in the dust on the bench. Later, they summoned us one by one into the house for a report. When they summoned me, they frisked me. During the search they did not find anything new, except for what was in the briefcase that they had found back at the hayrick. It contained: 1) an identity card (*Kennkarte*), 2) two anti-Bolshevik songs. The following reports were drawn up: 1) arrest report, 2) search report, 3) interrogation report. The interrogation was easy, nothing physical was done. We were sent to another house for a night's lodging. There we were guarded by a soldier who looked like a Jew, but he spoke Ukrainian very well. When he saw that the girls were sighing, he said the following words to them: "Don't lose heart, you're losing heart too quickly" and asked: "Did you understand what I said?" We spent the night in that house. On 12 August I was summoned to sign the reports that they had recopied cleanly in black ink. Yary was then released. Then I was immediately detained with some thirty other individuals. They sent [us] for counter-intelligence, which may [be] called no. 1, located in the village of Holovske, but in the hamlet of Kryntiany.

#### 4. *Counter-intelligence*

The place in which we were now situated was a new shed, into which all of us were driven. Among acquaintances I saw here: Krymsky from the SB, Lisovyk, Chuikevych-Klymiv, Kavka, Chorny, Dovbush. Only the two above-mentioned girls and I were interrogated. The interrogation was carried out firmly with the application of various methods. They spoke nicely in order to jolt the person's conscience. From time to time, they rearranged one's face so that it would be redder, as well as the nose. They shoved the entire body head-first into a mountain stove and said they would burn [me]. They promised me twenty-five years' hard labour. However, they were unable to budge me with this. I accepted all the horrors patiently, with a certain equilibrium, without showing myself to be a suspicious type. My innermost thoughts were for them to cause me death because I felt that this is what would in fact happen, but it would be necessary to experience the most terrible torments. This was 13 August 1944.

#### 5. *Counter-intelligence*

On 13 August 1944 they brought me and the rest of the detainees to the village of Rybnyk, where the counter-intelligence headquarters was located. Here for the first time they gave me some food. There were interrogations. During an interrogation they repeatedly questioned me about the UPA's movements.



Where are they quartered? Where are their storehouses? The whole time I denied that I had been there and do not know anything. Here for the first time I encountered cross-interrogation. They did not drag anything out of me, although they tried to do this in a variety of ways. I was aware of the place where I had landed.

### 2. *Militia division (Drohobych)*

After the interrogation, on 14 August 1944 they began moving us from Rybnyk to Drohobych. Bringing us through Kropyvnyk Novy, Skhidnytsia, Mraznytsi, Boryslav, Hubychi, they brought us to Drohobych, to the militia division. There were interrogations here. Some people were released. Among the released was Chuikevych-Klymiv. Here the interrogation took place in such a manner as to make it seem that they did not know anything about me. They only stared at me to see if they could confuse me with some facial expression. The whole time they stood in front of me, making fun of me, they said: "Comrade leader!," laughing at me because I had allowed myself to fall into their hands alive. I was asked whether I had thought about what would happen to me. When this too did not confuse me, that chief removed from a cranny in my briefcase a scrap of blotting paper with a password. Then he asked how I could lie so deliberately. For me this was a great internal blow. However, I did not tremble, holding myself staunchly. I said calmly: "You did not find this on me but took it from other hands, therefore someone put it there. This does not belong to me." He put it back where it had been.

### 3. *Oblast office of the NKVD*

On 15 August 1944 I was brought from the militia division to the oblast office of the NKVD. Almost no food was issued here. People were most tormented by hunger. Here I got another investigator, senior lieutenant of the Justice Department Novikov. There was an introductory series of interrogations here. What was distinctive was that people were most tormented by hunger. I refused to be interrogated because I was starving. When the investigator went for cigarettes, on the table I saw my briefcase with that password; I removed it and shoved [it] into my mouth in order to eat it. For this operation I stood next to the window. As soon as I began mixing that piece of paper with saliva the investigator entered, and at that moment I spat what I had in my mouth out of the window, so the story of the piece of mail with the password ended that way. Here the interrogation was only about my admitting to the actions that I had carried out as a raion propagandist of the OUN. However, I was deaf to questions from that direction of the investigation. On 18 August 1944 we were moved from the offices of the oblast NKVD to a prison past Drohobych, on a mountain near a forest. The Bolsheviks call it prison no. 1, we call it Brygidky.

#### 4, *Prison no. 1*

Here they instantly threw us into a cell where there were very many of us altogether. We were summoned for reports. One time I was summoned by the investigator and told to sign that I was arrested on 6 September, despite the fact that I was arrested on 11 August. I asked what I had been arrested for. The investigator said that he had everything typed on another paper; if I signed right away, this would speed up my case. I told him to read this indictment; he read out that I am a member of the OUN, a raion propagandist, conducted propaganda against the Soviet power. I was for the establishment of an Independent Ukraine. I burst out laughing at him and asked him where he had gotten such an outrageously stupid fantasy. He became angry with me, threw me on the floor. Before throwing me down, he said that I am a traitor to the fatherland who violated Articles 54-1a and 54 (II), which entail the harshest punishments.<sup>4</sup> Now I was taken to the bathhouse; I was shaved; I washed myself and they brought me to cell 22, building 5. Grey prison days followed with the same food ration. Every day we received the following fare: in the morning, 45 dkg [dekagram, 1 dkg =10 grams] of bread and water. At around 9:00, approximately half a litre of *balanda* [thin gruel or soup] and some balanda at around 1:00 as well. I immediately began receiving packages, which were of great help to me. In the cell with me sat the following people: 1) Danyliv, Myron, village of Vasylia-Vysotske Vyzhne; 2) Melen, Mykola – Koniukhiv; 3) Ilnytsky, Vasyl – Maidan; 4) Skytiak, Petro – Oriv; 5) Khomut, Vasyl – Vistriv; 6) Kravchenko, Ihor – Kharkiv (university professor, history lecturer); 7) Zubar, Petro – Kharkiv (university professor, chemistry lecturer); 8) Prokopovyk (Chorny Voron) – Strichky; 9) Petrykanyn – Styniava Verkhnia; 10) Huk, Mykola – Hai Velyki; 11) Puzych, Vasyl – Yasinka Mala; 12) Yuzefiv – Kolpets; 13) Matsan – Stupnytsia; 14) Voloshansky – Stupnytsia; 15) Lib, Ivan – Dnipropetrovsk; 16) Obynak – Dorozhiv; 17) Trusiak – Dorokhiv [Dorozhiv]; 18) Makukh – Dorozhiv; 19) Veselonsky – Luka; 20) Khrobak, Mykhailo – Kropyvnyk Stary. Some were becoming depressed, but everyone kept each other's spirits up; day after day passed this way.

#### 5. *A series of interrogations in prison*

There now began a series of interrogations. The interrogations were of various types. They tried to extract anything, and when they failed they were very angry. I had lost all hope of surviving because I had no intention of betraying

4 Articles 54-1 to 54-14 of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's Criminal Code of 1927 and 1934 were a complex of definitions of "crimes" setting out liability for "counter-revolutionary activities" and "treason against the motherland." On 20 July 1934, Article 54-1a was added. It referred to "Treason against the motherland (acts aimed at harming the military might of the USSR, its national sovereignty, or the inviolability of its territory, such as: espionage, betrayal of military or state secrets, crossing to the side of the enemy, flight or defection abroad)." Article 54-2 referenced the crimes of bourgeois separatism and nationalism.

anyone, as they wanted me to do. During one interrogation I used silence two times. The investigator raged, called his henchman for tortures; however, I put myself through the test and maintained my resolve to remain silent. Finally, he told me that he does not want to lose his health because of me, and I would have an opportunity over twenty-five years to become convinced that I am stupid. He threw me into the cell, and the next time he conducted the interrogation with other questions. The reports were written in the Russian language, and they posed questions in Russian. They wrote a title at the top: report of the interrogation, then they wrote the date, then the title on the personal information, after the information they came to the questions. They wrote: *vopros* [Russian for question]; they ticked off two points, wrote the contents of the question posed to the defendant. When they answered, they wrote *otvet* [Russian for answer] and wrote the contents of the answer. They wrote correctly, at the same time demanding the information that they wanted. After the completion of the report they tried to get the defendant to sign, in several places to boot. And precisely in these places: after the end of the personal information, at the end of the report, and in the middle, where there were incomplete lines.

*6. A series of interrogations in the oblast office of the NKVD from  
12 September to 24 September 1944*

Because they did not get anything from me, they took me to the cell and led [me] into the corridor. This was 12 September 1944. Here they told me to turn towards the wall, while they went ahead to open the cell. The one who was taking me shouted [in Russian] “The hardest nuts. Fuck their mother!” It turned out that they were taking five of us, specifically: 1) Puzych, Vasył-Ya. Masiv; 2) Reverend Bandrovych, village of Lastivky; 3) Holoshansky [*sic*], Stupnytsia; 4) Prokopovyk – Strilky; 5) Str. [*sic*] We were brought to the prison courtyard, put into a car, and driven to the oblast office of the NKVD. Here there began a series of interrogations by accomplished sadists. The most horrific tortures that I remember were the following: they stripped me half-naked, the upper part, placed me in a corner of the room, and beat me from the bottom up to underneath the chest. This quickly led to fainting. That type of torture destroyed my health forever. One time I was subjected to cross interrogation, at which the following persons were present: General Saburov (a leader of the partisan movement), Hero of the Soviet Union,<sup>5</sup> 2) a public prosecutor, 3) Novikov, the investigator. The cross-interrogation lasted over six hours. And

5 Along with Sydir Kovpak, Alexander Saburov was a leader of the Soviet (Red) partisan movement in central and western Ukraine from late 1942 and, after the war, held senior ranks in the NKVD and MGB. He was awarded the Order of Lenin and made a Hero of the Soviet Union on 18 May 1942. See Alexander Gogun, *Stalin's Commandos: Ukrainian Partisan Forces on the Eastern Front* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2016).

in order not to become confused, I remained silent for the most part. To me, silence is golden. Another type of torture was shoving or beatings with an ordinary stick. This had no effect either. For strong-willed people devoted to Ukraine the Bolsheviks do not have a device to break the spirit. After patiently enduring the tortures at the oblast office of the NKVD, I was brought back to the prison.

#### *7. Return to prison*

On 24 November 1944 I returned once again to that prison of mine. They immediately placed me among convicted people. I sat for an entire day with them. On 25 November 1944 I was moved to the same cell where I had been before, specifically cell 22, building 5 (the cellars).

#### *8. A further series of interrogations*

The interrogations began once again. I was so sick of all this that I wanted desperately to die. Together with Melen, Mykola, we decided to escape to freedom in order to die more quickly. Skitiak, Petro, agreed to this very gladly, however, the rest were cowardly and our plans were wrecked. When I returned from interrogation or was sitting in an interrogation, I would always sing these words: "Mama, from beneath the executioner's knouts I did not break my life, when the accursed ones began to judge, I did not beg for mercy."

#### *9. Strict regime*

Nevertheless, the investigation dragged on without any results. Thus, all this dragged on until December 1944. In early December I had a final interrogation; after, they threw me into the cell and introduced a strict regime. They held back packages; they issued uncooked bread. And to such a degree that when I broke the ration apart and placed it on the radiator, once the bread became warm, it became soggy and the dough dripped down. Back when the last package came from Malamerychyn, Mariika, I sent a notched letter asking friends for help. I sent a greeting to my friends for the last time. I was on strict regime in the Drohobych prison until 25 January 1945.

#### *10. Deportation*

On 19 January 1945 I was summoned from the cell. They told me to wait in the corridor. From another cell they summoned Kravchenko, Ihor, professor of Kharkiv University. At this very time he was in the hospital cell. The two of us were moved to cell 6, building 2. You could not even see through the crowd of people who were there. There were nineteen people, the two of us came; the size of the cell was four-by-two. That same day we were brought to the bathhouse. It was instantly suspicious that two cells had been assembled in the bathhouse.

We stayed like that until 25 January 1945. In the morning we received water, bread, and right after this a shout was heard: "Gather your belongings!" We were led into the corridor and told to kneel in rows of five. The same was done with many cells. The entire corridor was filled with people. The on-duty personnel who guarded us in the prison told us: "Dress warmly, boys, because you're going to Dnipropetrovsk." We were led to the prison courtyard and from there, reading out [our names], they led us, one by one, into the building that may be called the Inner Gate. That is how they sorted us, as many as were needed for a [railway] car. Some man in a Hutsul sheepskin jacket said that he was sick; when the doctor came to him, right away, he asked ironically: "Where does it hurt, maybe your ass?" They put him on the transport, and already at the station in Stryi we saw him being taken out dead. After the roll-call, all of us were taken through an iron gate, and farther on we knelt down again in fives. Finally, the gates were opened and we were brought to a train that was standing in the same place where bricks were being unloaded. I ended up in a Pullman car, there were ninety people altogether. According to rumours, fifteen hundred of us were taken from Drohobych. There was a stove (but no wood for it), two barrels (*parashas*) [latrine buckets], nothing more. It was a terrible sight as they led us to the train cars: people were clawing their way towards us, crying, but although the Bolsheviks were shouting [and] did not let them through, they did not shoot.

### 11. *The journey*

We sat in the cars until the evening of 26 January 1945, and in the evening they attached cars that had been pulled from Sambir, and together on the morning of 27 January we started moving. We travelled via Stryi–Khodoriv–Lviv. We arrived in Lviv one week after leaving Drohobych. Here additional cars were attached and sent on the journey; we travelled very quickly. Immediately past Lviv, a Pole named Tsybukh, from Boryslav, escaped through a window. They instantly took away the stove. They transported us via Ternopil–Kyiv–Kursk. From Kursk they headed towards Voronezh because they were supposed to drop off boys who were travelling to the army on the same train. We headed for Riazan. There in Riazan oblast, in the city of Riazhsk, we were brought to a bathhouse. Afterwards, we were given the first hot meal of the journey. Later, we were transported to Moscow–Kirov–Kotlas–Pechora.<sup>6</sup> In Pechora everyone was dragged to a commission because Pechora is a transit point for all those northern camps. Here was the commission; I was given a kind of wadded pea-jacket and wadded

6 Pechora is a sub-Arctic town located in the Komi Republic of the Russian Federation, near the Ural Mountains. Kochmes is a smaller settlement in the autonomous Komi Republic of the RSFSR. One of the most notorious forced labour camps of the GULAG, Vorkuta was established in 1932 as a coal-mining centre just north of the Arctic Circle, exploiting the Pechora coal basin along the Usa River. A major uprising took place there in July–August 1953.

underwear. We were immediately sent back to the train and transported another three hundred kilometres farther north. We went eighteen kilometres past the city of Kochmes. The train stopped and we looked out to see, there was a sign on the station house: "Otpor Station." We all got off there, and one escort with dogs brought us to the camp. The camp was approximately two kilometres from the station. We drew near the camp and written there was: "Column No. 4 of the III Construction Department of the Pechora Railway." Right away they fed us properly. This was 2 March 1945. Therefore, the journey lasted from 25 January to 2 March 1945. I suffered especially en route because I was the most poorly dressed. The only other such naked person was Khai from the village of Liutovysk. People froze en route even though they were better dressed. The hunger was terrible en route because they gave food in a funny way. One time, for example, they issued tinned food and flour, another time – fish and peas, a third time – nothing, sometimes crackers.

#### 12. "Column No. 4" Camp

1. Guard post.
2. Double barrack for people.
3. Kitchen.
4. Bakery.
5. *Kapterka* (warehouse) along with housing for the *prorob* [Russian *prorab*, medium-level construction leader].
6. Barrack – the place of my posting for a long time.
7. Shoemaking workshop.
8. Barrack.
9. Bathhouse.
10. Disinfection chamber.
11. Doctor.
12. Assistant.
13. Toilets.
14. Watch.

For three days after our arrival we did not go out to work because not everyone had warm clothing yet. After three days they dressed us well and sent us to work. I ended up in a forestry brigade whose foreman was Kravchenko, Ihor Sydorovych, professor of Kharkiv University, who knew Krymsky well. I was in the forestry brigade for only eight days. After eight days the assistant took me to his section. There I helped him to write; he gave me better food to eat, so I was with him until 8 May 1945, until I was taken to the hospital. They fed us this way in the camp: 600 grams (60 dkg) of bread, 500 grams of soup, 200 grams of groats – that was for breakfast. For lunch, nothing, unless

someone was working Stakhanov-style, then 200 grams of groats or a baked pasty. In the evening, the same thing as in the morning. Sometimes they gave some fish. People were sick with dysentery or they came down with scabies. In addition, they were always hungry. Starvation brought people to a horrible state. A man from Bibrka, surname Rudnytsky, was very hungry; he took a tinned food can and next to the toilets he collected the ground barley gruel that came out whole out of people because of dysentery, rinsed it, and made soup for himself out of this. People ate all sorts of filth that they laid their hands on. They stole whatever they could from one another. The goal of our deportation was for us to repair the railway that had been built on top of a swamp in order to transport coal mined in Vorkuta. Stronger people were taken farther north to the coal mines. Those who were doing forestry work loaded logs on their shoulders or sleds for burning in the camp. At that time I came down with scurvy; my legs were completely swollen, and from time to time my whole body swelled up. This means that the trans-polar climate was harmful to me. The entire time I did not lose hope of returning to my native home.

### *13. Central Infirmary No. 1, City of Kochmes*

Because I had been walking around for a long time swollen from scurvy, I was sent to Central Infirmary No. 1 of the III Construction Department. It was a bit better here than in the camp because they gave better food to eat and did not send [people] out to work. I was now in building 6. I was there until 2 October 1945.

#### *The Layout of the Infirmary*

1. Building no. 2.
2. Building no. 4.
3. Kapterka.
4. Lab [or] brigade.
5. Building no. 6.
6. General kitchen.
7. Kitchen for the OP [service personnel].
8. Water tower.
9. Bathhouse.
10. Building no. 7 (tuberculosis).
11. Joiners shop and the morgue.
12. Building no. 5.
13. Building no. 10.
14. Building no. 1.
15. Building no. 11.
16. Watch.
17. + 18. Guard post.

I was only in buildings 6, 11, and 7. Mildly ill people were in building 6. I recovered there a bit, and they wanted to take me away to work even farther north in that autonomous republic, ASSR, and for that purpose I had already been moved to building 11. I became very ill there. I began to get severe stabbing pains in the chest. The doctors began to examine me and said that I had a damaged liver. Later they said that I had diseased lungs, "tuberculosis." They transferred me to a room with tuberculosis patients, building no. 7. Now I became like a board and was isolated from the world. After a test I was moved to a third ward, from which it was forbidden to leave. I was given injections. That is, they put calcium into the blood to heal the scars in the lungs. These injections were called hot ones. I had stabbing pains more on the left side. In addition to the injections, they treated me with calcium administered orally and diluted in water.

#### *18. Orientations*

We knew everything that was happening in the world, but only once we got to the infirmary. There were radio receivers here. We knew when the war ended, about the atomic bomb. We placed the greatest hopes on those events that would ensue in connection with the disbanded London Conference. It was known to us that the issue of such unfortunate people as we was raised there. Events were leading to increasing improvement, but we were seriously ill and therefore did not believe anything. Everyone knew that there was supposed to be an amnesty for those people who had been sentenced according to Article 205, that is, desertion. We had not been tried in Drohobych, and there we were called a special contingent. One security guard said that we were resettled there forever, for the study of the northern territory. After the deserters were pardoned, there was an order: all invalids, that is, those who were "certified" as no longer fit for work, were to be sent home so that their families would take care of them until their death. My doctor acquaintances began to talk more about this with me. They promised that they would send me to the commission and help turn me into someone unfit for work. That is what happened. I was designated as certified. There was no longer any question of a hopeless return home.

#### *19. Release*

One time the doctor said that he had already seen me on a list of those who were going home. I did not believe this, but on the morning of 10 October 1945 the orderly was told to get me clothing. He brought [it], helped me to dress, and together with forty-eight people we were sent to the station in Kochmes. There was a passenger train here; they did not want to take us. We were sent back to the infirmary. During the night, perhaps at around 12:00, they took us to the station where there was a freight train. We were transported to the city of Pechora, to a transit point. We spent three days here. We received bread and



tinned beans for three days. On 14 October 1945, at 12:00 at night, I obtained my release. They even paid me three hundred rubles, not knowing what it was for at the time. Now it turned out that the three hundred rubles had been sent to me by my family, and when I was arrested, it was not allowed to give me money. That money was a great help to me en route.

20. *The return*

From the transit point in the city of Pechora we departed on the morning of 15 October. We travelled home very fast. We travelled through Pechora–Kotlas–Kirov–Bui–Moscow–Briansk–Kyiv–Lviv. They fed [us] better than before. I arrived home on 29 October 1945. I arrived looking very awful. My fellow villagers who met me in Sambir did not recognize me at all. At home I found my mother still alive, but I did not see my sister Iryna and her two children. She had been deported to Arkhangelsk oblast.<sup>7</sup> I returned home, my health was perhaps damaged for good, but I have no regrets because I know that this is for our general cause, for Ukraine. I had an opportunity to test myself, that I was worthy, or whether I had a strong will or not. Prison hardened me even more, taught me some things, provided me with experience, and an even greater hatred of enemies. My only regret is that I am so young but already so damaged that right now I cannot enter the whirlwind of the struggle for an Independent Ukraine.

Handwritten signature:  
("Stryisky")

*Billets*, 2 November 1946

P.S. I can clarify all questions sent concerning incomprehensible places [in the text]. For the distribution of individual chapters, please also send questions or drafted topics.

SU! [*Glory to Ukraine!*]  
Handwritten signature:  
("Stryisky")

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-086.

7 Arkhangelsk oblast contains the Solovki special camp, set up in 1923 on the Solovetsky Islands of the White Sea as the first detention camp for opponents of the Bolshevik regime. General works and memoirs about the GULAG include Anne Applebaum, *Gulag: A History* (New York: Doubleday, 2005); Helene Celima, *Women in Soviet Prisons* (New York: Paragon House, 1985); Oleg V. Khlevniuk, *The History of the Gulag: From Collectivization to the Great Terror* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Tomasz Kizny, *Gulag: Life and Death Inside the Soviet Concentration Camps* (Buffalo, NY: Firefly Books, 2004); Ruth Derksen Siemens, *Remember Us: Letters from Stalin's Gulag* (Kitchener, ON: Pandora Press, 2008); and Lynne Viola, *The Unknown Gulag: The Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).



The "White" UPA unit in battle, 12 July 1947.



Kalyna Lukan, "Halyna"  
(1925–1951), OUN leader in  
Kosiv, killed in battle with  
an MGB group.



Dmytro Oleksiuk, "Yilak"; his wife Pavlyna Tkachuk; and Ivan Shvedyuk, "Sulfur," standing at the hideout's entrance.



At the entrance to a UPA bunker, Stepan Stebelsky, "Horseradish," probably 1947.



UPA leaders listening to intelligence reports: Petro Melnyk, "Cloud"; Nazariy Danyiuk, "Perebyinis"; and Dmytro Bilinchuk, "Cloud."



Hutsul insurgents with Dmytro Bilinchuk, "Cloud."



Unidentified UPA unit celebrating Easter in the forest.



“Olena,” an OUN printer in the Bolekhiv district, killed May 1950.



“Aeneas,” an OUN leader in the Kalush district, and “Olena,” a printer of the Bolekhiv district leadership of the OUN.



UPA soldiers on the June 1949 raid into Romania (in the centre, at the back, is Dmytro Bilinchuk, “Khmara” [Cloud]).



A group of UPA soldiers on the raid into Romania (at right Dmytro Bilinchuk, “Cloud”).

A group of  
insurgents  
(on the right  
the commander  
of the Hutsulshchyna  
unit, Petro Melnyk,  
“Cloud”).



Insurgents crossing a river in the Carpathian Mountains (date and place unknown).

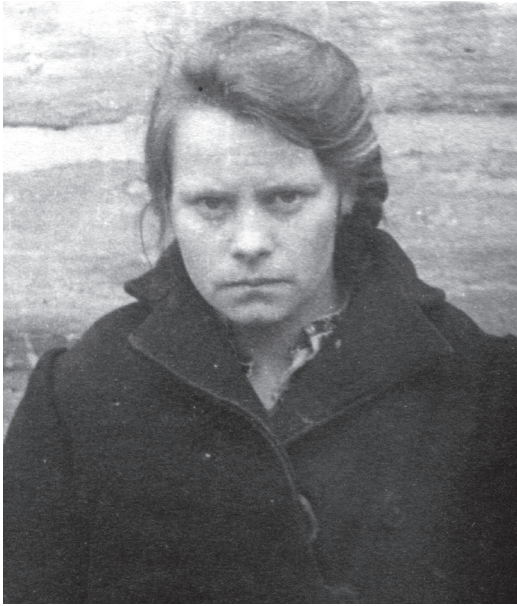


Members of the OUN cleaning their weapons (place and date unknown).



The UPA leaders "Neporadny"; Nazariy Danyliuk, "Perebyinis"; and Dmytro Bilinchuk, "Cloud."





Yulia Oleksiivna Yatskiv,  
an underground activist.  
Photo taken during  
her trial.



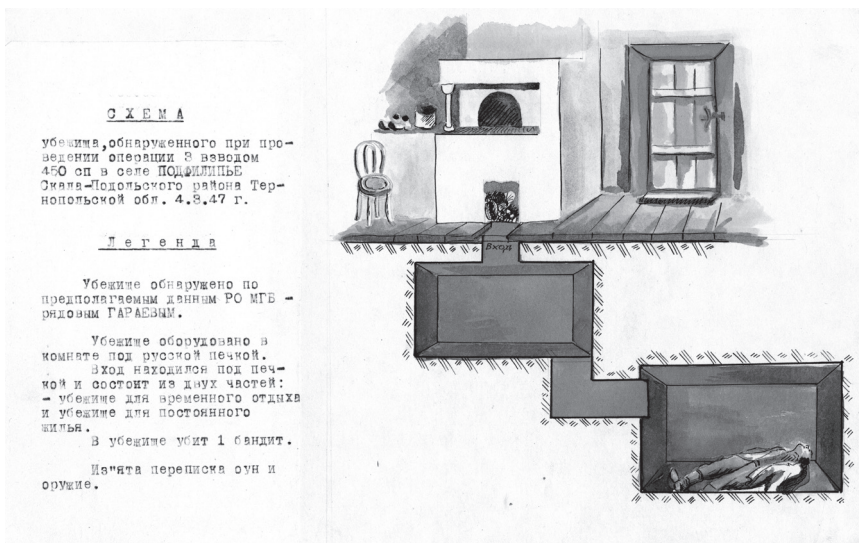
Larysa, a member of  
the underground.



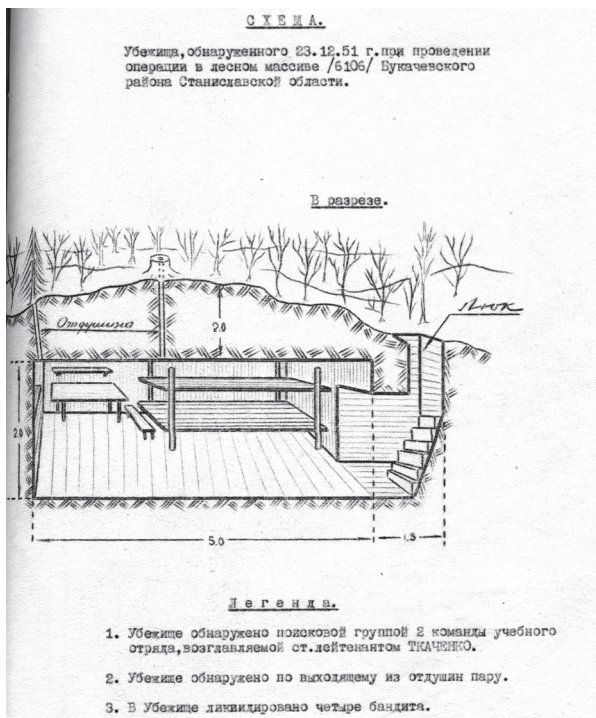
Liaison group of the UPA commander-in-chief Vasyl Kuk, "Demyan," "Orach," "Baida," "Dovbush," "Taras," and "Petro," 1952.



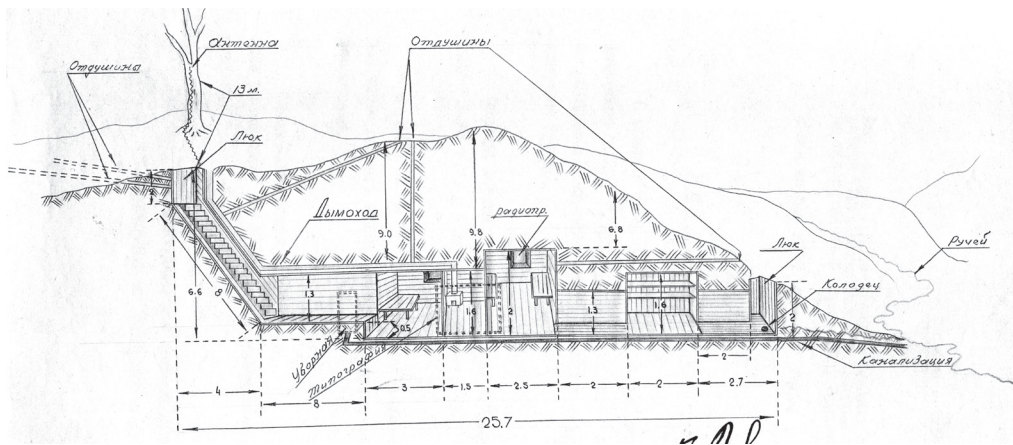
Oleksandra Paievska, "Orysia" (1908–1953), district propaganda officer. Captured and tortured in 1952, then shot.



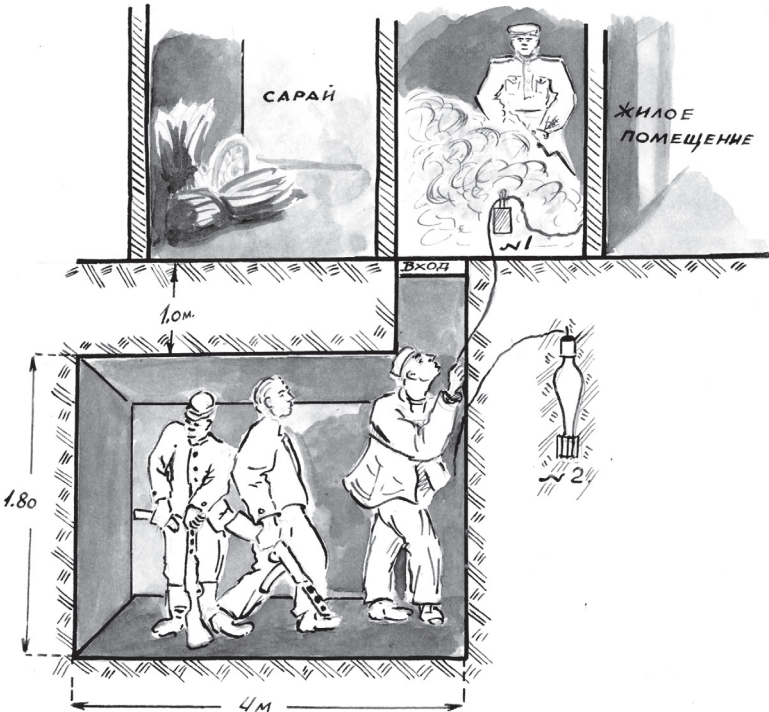
Schematic of a UPA hideout found on 4 March 1947, Ternopil region.



Schematic of a UPA hideout found by the MGB in the Bukachiv forest, 23 December 1951.



Schematic of a UPA bunker.



An MGB officer's sketch of the discovery of a UPA bunker and its capture.



The insurgents "Lev," "Yurko," and Mikhail Duda, "Gromenko," killed by the MGB group on 7 July 1950, after parachuting from a British plane.



A Ukrainian woman with an insurgent, possibly found and killed at her home during an NKVD operation.



Insurgents killed by the NKVD (the women with typewriters were likely secretaries).



An MGB officer and his agent-fighting group in the Carpathians, 1951.



Former OUN fighters recruited by the UMGB. Seated from left to right: S. Tyshkivsky, "Volyn-yak," "Nightingale," and J. Zboryk, "Orlenko," an officer of the UMGB in the Stanislav region. Standing: I. Golembovsky, "Climate," "Pigeon," and "Crook."



State security officers planning a counter-insurgency mission in the Rivne region.



The home in Bilohorshcha, near Lviv, where Roman Shukhevych was killed in battle, 5 March 1950.



Trophy photograph  
of UPA commander-in-chief  
Roman Shukhevych after his  
death in battle, 5 March 1950.



Employees of UNVD "anti-banditry" units in western Ukraine (Lviv, 1945).





UMDB officers from the western regions of Ukraine photographed after receiving state awards at the Kremlin (1948).



Weapons seized from members of the Kamyanyets-Podilsky OUN district leadership by the MGB, 1951.

DOCUMENT 131: EXTRACT FROM REPORT ON THE  
SPECIAL GROUPS BY THE DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST BANDITRY OF THE NKVD OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR,  
COVERING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1945<sup>8</sup>

[Russian-language document]

*Extract*

*from a report of the UBB NKVD Ukrainian SSR for the 1st half of 1945*

*On the combat activities of Special Forces Groups*

In connection with the organized, successive rout of UPA gangs and the liquidation of the OUN work network, in combination with the development of party-political work in the countryside in Ukraine's western oblasts, from early spring 1944, the phenomenon of UPA bandits, members of the OUN, and those evading service in the Red Army turning themselves in to the NKVD organs has noticeably increased.

Among those who have turned themselves in, along with active members of the OUN underground who have realized the futility of further struggle against the Soviet government, were many people who had joined the UPA gangs or who had taken part in OUN activities because of forcible mobilization or who had temporarily fallen under the sway of the slanderous, provocative propaganda of OUN and UPA leaders.

Many of the UPA bandits and members of the OUN underground who turned themselves in, having grasped the gravity of the crimes committed by them and desiring to expiate their guilt before the Soviet government, declared their desire to take personal part in the rout of the OUN underground and the UPA gangs.

Keeping in mind that the members of the OUN underground and UPA bandits who have turned themselves in to the NKVD organs have broad links with the leaders of the OUN underground and UPA gangs, and are also very familiar with the clandestine ways of the anti-Soviet underground, some of these people have begun to be used by us in the capacity of individual

8 The Soviet secret police were organized as the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and the People's Commissariat for State Security (NKGB). In 1946 these agencies were renamed as the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) and the Ministry of State Security (MGB). Until 21 January 1947 the *spetsgruppy* (special forces units) were controlled by the NKVD/MVD's State Directorate for the Struggle against Banditry (GUBB). Later they were transferred to the control of the MGB. The Soviet police system was reorganized following Stalin's death in 1953. The Soviets also established an agentura (informants network) to undermine the nationalist movement.

agent-fighters and, subsequently, in special-purpose combat groups, which we call special forces groups [*spetsgruppy*].

Agent-fighters were assigned the mission to penetrate the OUN underground or UPA gangs with the goal of capturing or physically destroying the heads of the OUN and the UPA.

In those cases where an agent-fighter, having joined the ranks of a gang or the OUN underground, did not have an opportunity to destroy physically or capture a leader, his mission included compromising the leader of a gang or the local underground with the goal of intensifying and stirring up the internal demoralization of the gang or local OUN organization.

The special forces groups that were created within the task forces of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, at the NKVD Directorate and the RO NKVD had the following tasks:

1. The capture or physical destruction of the leading centres and individual leaders of the OUN and the UPA.
2. The liquidation of small UPA gangs and local fighting groups of the OUN and the SB.
3. Subjecting UPA gangs to the task force strike of NKVD organs and troops.
4. The liquidation of the system of the existing OUN-UPA link through the rout of communications posts, the destruction or capture of couriers and liaison chiefs.
5. The gathering of indispensable intelligence data prior to the execution of large Chekist-military operations.
6. The exposure and liquidation of storehouses and hideouts of the OUN and the UPA.

As a rule, the special forces groups consisted of OUN and UPA gang members who had turned themselves in; a group was commanded by one of the former heads of the UPA gangs; the task force leadership of the group was headed by a task force associate who had joined its ranks.

In Rivne and Volyn oblasts the ranks of the special forces groups were also joined by former Kovpak partisans, who are very familiar with local conditions and have extensive experience in the struggle against OUN banditry.

By their outward appearance and arming, with their knowledge of local, everyday features, the language, and clandestine mode of activity, the personnel composition of the special forces groups in no way differed from the UPA bandits, which misled the vital communications apparatus and the leaders of the UPA gangs and the OUN underground, and provided the members of the special forces groups an opportunity to establish direct relations with them.

In a number of cases, the actions of the special forces groups were closely connected with the actions of the penetration agents embedded in the UPA gangs or the OUN underground.

In cases involving the threat of exposure or the inability to carry out the planned capture of OUN and UPA leaders, the members of the special forces groups destroyed the latter, and in many cases created the impression within the OUN milieu and amidst the population that the destruction of the heads of the OUN and the UPA had been carried out by SB bandits.

The composition of each special group included between three and fifty or more people, depending on the cover story and the mission, who represented themselves as the *pochet* (personal bodyguard) of a make-believe gang leader or one of the *viddily* (subunits) of the UPA.

The special forces units have played and continue to play a significant role in the question of liquidating OUN banditry in Ukraine's western oblasts.

As of 1 October 1945, 156 special forces groups were operating in Ukraine's western oblasts, with a total of 1,783 people divided among the following oblasts:

Name of Oblast	No. of Special Groups	No. of Members
Rivne	49	905
Volyn	33	397
Chernivtsi	25	106
Lviv	26	219
Stanyslaviv	11	70
Drohobych	10	52
Ternopil	2	34

TRUE: Lieutenant Colonel Makhov

HDA SBU, file 372 (1962), vol. 82, fols. 81–4v.

DOCUMENT 132: EXTRACT FROM A REPORT ON THE  
ANTI-UPA STANYSLAVIV OPERATION PREPARED BY THE  
DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BANDITRY,  
COVERING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1945

[Russian-language document]

-lr

Top Secret Copy no. \_\_\_\_

*Extract*

*from a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for the first half of 1945  
The Stanyslaviv Operation*

Until the month of April 1945, of all the western oblasts of Ukraine, Stanyslaviv oblast was most affected by OUN banditry.

Stanyslaviv oblast is directly adjacent to the Carpathian Mountains, and a large part of its territory is covered by forests. These advantageous natural conditions allowed the gangs to conceal themselves well and to disappear from the blows of our troops. The gangs hid in forests and underground hideouts [and] in large numbers of scattered, small populated areas. As a rule, upon detecting the movement of our Chekist-military groups, the bandits departed during the time of the operations deep into the Carpathian Mountains. In the foothills of the Carpathian Mountains schools existed for training the command structure of the UPA and training-reserve companies, in which the bandits did military training, having arrived there from all the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

In connection with this, the NKGB-NKVD organs adopted a decision to carry out in the month of April a mass-concentrated Chekist-military operation throughout the entire Stanyslaviv oblast, and mainly in the raions of the Carpathian Mountains.

For the execution of such an operation, in addition to the military formations of the 17th and 19th Rifleman Brigades, the 256th Infantry Regiment of the NKVD Interior Troops and troops of the Subcarpathian Border District, the 17th Brigade of Interior Troops, the 42nd Motorized Infantry Border Regiment, a manoeuvre group of the 89th Border Detachment, and the 6th Separate Aviation Regiment of the NKVD were redeployed to Stanyslaviv oblast from Lviv oblast.

For the execution of the operation, the 64th Reserve Infantry Regiment of the Red Army was also involved; the 2nd Tank Company of NKVD Interior Troops of the Ukrainian District was also stationed in the city of Stanyslaviv.

Thus, the military formations taking part in the operation numbered up to eleven thousand fighters.

With the goals of a more successful execution of the operation [and] the careful combing of all forested zones, populated areas, and mountains, the operation was divided into three stages:

1st stage:

Between 1 and 13 April of this year, on the territory of Bolekhiv, Dolyna, Vyhoda, Rozhniativ, Perehinske, Kalush, Solotvyna, Bohorodchany, Nadvirna, Lysets, Tysmenytsia, Otnia, and Lanchyn raions.

2nd stage:

Between 17 and 2 May of this year on the territory of Zhabie, Kosiv, Putyliv, Yabloniv, Kut, Pechenizhyn, Yaremche, Zabolotiv, and Kolomyia raions.

3rd stage:

Between 3 and 9 May of this year on the territory of Obertyn, Tlumach [Tovmach], Korshiv, Hvizdets, Chernelytsia, Horodenka, and Sniatyn raions. The fundamental method adopted for the troops' operations was "combing," that is, the thorough search by each company of populated areas and locales over the course of three to five days. The main goal of this measure was the detection of all well-disguised underground hideouts on a given territory, in which bandits were hiding. In addition to this, the following measures were carried out:

1. In pursuit of detected large and small gangs, military detachments were assigned the task of relentlessly pursuing them all the way to their complete annihilation.
2. Individual military groups were stationed on possible routes of the gangs' movement with the goal of intercepting and destroying the relocating gangs.
3. At night concealed ambushes were set up, and a repeat search of populated areas was also carried out at night-time.
4. The process of combing mountain slopes covered with forests and shrubbery was carried out from top to bottom along the diagonal, simultaneously on both slopes leading to valleys.
5. For the purpose of having an effect on the bandits, during all stages of the operation an order of military commanders was disseminated, in which were set forth demands for voluntary surrender and applied repressions with respect to bandits, their families, and the bandits' accomplices. In order to aim troops at the gangs, special groups of the NKVD organs, created during the course of the operation, out of bandits who had voluntarily surrendered, were used.
6. Aircraft of the 6th Aviation Regiment were widely used; the entire area of operations was controlled by their activities, which, in many cases, facilitated the detection of gangs and aiming land troops at them.

During the entire course of the operation constant combat clashes took place with resisting bandits, as a result of which the bandits were destroyed or captured alive.

The most characteristic combat clashes from among those that our troops and subunits carried out against the gangs are the following:

During the early morning hours of 1 April of this year, during the departure to the baseline position, a subunit of the 209th Brigade of NKVD Interior Troops, finding itself marching in the vicinity of the village of Yasenovets, Rozhniativ raion, clashed with Dovbush's gang of up to one hundred men.

4 [*sic*] During the ensuing battle forty-five bandits were killed, three bandits were captured alive. The remnants of the gang, taking advantage of the darkness, departed to the vicinity of the Nahorbniia pit.

On 1 April of this year, the 208th OSB [Separate Infantry Battalion] of the 17th Brigade of NKVD Interior Troops, during a combing operation in the vicinity of the village of Sukhoduv, Perehinske raion, detected and completely liquidated a bandit group numbering 17 men. As a result of the battle, 10 bandits were killed and 7 were captured alive.

On 1 April of this year, during an operation in the vicinity of the village of Yamnivets, Rozhniativ raion, a subunit of the 78th Border Detachment clashed with Dovbush's company, part of Zhuravel battalion. As a result of the battle, forty-five bandits were killed and three were detained.

On 2 April of this year, during a combing operation in the village of Nazirna, Zabolotiv raion, a subunit of the 266th SP [Infantry Regiment] clashed with a bandit group from a local self-defence kushch. The gang, numbering thirty-five bandits, was completely liquidated together with the leader.

On 3 April of this year, a combined company of the 206th OSB [Separate Infantry Battalion], during the execution of a combing operation in a forested zone located near the village of Kadubne [*sic*], Kalush raion, an SB fighting group numbering 13 men was detected and completely liquidated. During the ensuing battle 11 bandits were killed, 2 bandits were captured.

On 3 April of this year, a gang numbering 35 men was detected in the vicinity of the village of Naturki, between the Kolomyia–Sniatyn stations. As a result of the battle, the gang was surrounded and completely liquidated by a landing group of the 26th Armoured Train. All thirty-five bandits were killed during the battle. Explosives, a detonating fuse machine, and a Bickford fuse were seized from the bandits.

On 6 April of this year, a County SB fighting group from the OUN's Dolyna county, under the leadership of SB commandant Zorian, was detected in a forested zone of Dolyna 5 raion, where there was also part of a fighting group with the SB commandant of the OUN's Kalush County, Vlas, and the SB commandant of the 2nd OUN raion, Chorny. In the ensuing battle Vlas, the

SB commandant of Kalush County; Zorian, the SB commandant of Dolyna County; and Chorny, the SB commandant of the 2nd raion, were killed. Seventeen bandits and SB documents were captured.

On 6 April of this year, during an operation carried out in the vicinity of the village of Sukhodil, Rozhniativ raion, a subunit of the 17th Brigade of NKVD Interior Troops clashed with the company of Dovbush and Tiutiunnyk. During the course of the battle forty-seven bandits were killed and three were detained.

On 11 April of this year, an operation was carried out in the vicinity of Chorny Lis by a subunit of the 17th Brigade of NKVD Interior Troops. The subunit clashed with Vershnyky Company. As a result of the battle, sixty-two bandits were killed. Among those killed were the company's propagandist and three platoon leaders. Company Commander Vershnyk was captured.

On 12 April of this year, during an operation carried out in the forested zones in Buchach raion, a subunit of the 19th Brigade smashed Ovod's Company, which lost twenty-one bandits who were killed and forty-six were captured.

On 23 April of this year, during a combing operation in the forested zone south of the village of Liubiazhnia, Yaremche raion, a subunit of the 87th PO [Border Detachment] clashed with the company of Kruk and Zavziaty led by Berkut. As a result of the battle, eighty-nine bandits were killed, twelve were detained. Among those killed, Company Commander Zozulia and the sub-raion OUN leader Prut were identified.

The largest concentration of bandit formations was detected in areas on the territories of which the second stage of the operation took place. These areas are located in the foothills and mountains.

During the course of the operation it was ascertained that the battalions of the leaders Nedobyty, Knysh, Skub and Stepovy were located in these areas. By the start of the operation each of these battalions numbered between two hundred and three hundred men.

In addition, twelve training reserve companies were permanently based there. The task of the latter was the training of individuals once again drawn into the gangs, who, after training, were sent to existing companies and battalions.

The rout of the gangs in these areas during the first days of the operation sparked a panic among the bandits not only in the reserve companies but also among existing battalions.

In small groups and solo, the bandits sought to conceal themselves deep in the mountains, but they were intercepted everywhere – they were destroyed or captured.

Out of twelve commanders of reserve companies, nine were killed.



In Zhabie raion a well-equipped bandit camp, tucked away in the fold of a mountain, consisting of earthen huts, with a total of up to one thousand men, was detected.

A storehouse with ammunition, in which sixteen thousand rifle cartridges and six cases of hand grenades were stored, was discovered in the camp. The camp was blown up.

As a result of the combat operations of our military formations and units, during the period of the operation:

Bandits killed: 2,167

Bandits captured: 6, 311

Gang accomplices detained: 2,421

Deserters from the Red Army: 130

Red Army draft dodgers: 3,013

Simultaneously, 772 families of bandits, numbering 1,800 individuals, were deported. As a result of the combat operations and the political work among the population, the political personnel of formations and local party workers, during the period of the operation 3,997 bandits voluntarily surrendered.

Among those who voluntarily surrendered were leaders of small bandit groups.

Doroshenko, the leader of a company from Nedobyty's battalion, voluntarily surrendered, and he brought with him 17 armed bandits, who surrendered 1 hand-held machine gun and 17 rifles.

During the period of the entire operation from 1 April to 9 May 1945, the following weapons were seized and captured from the bandits:

Mortars: 13

PTRs [anti-tank weapons]: 10

Heavy machine guns: 28

Hand-held machine guns: 127

Grenade launchers: 5

Submachine guns: 224

Rifles: 1,054

Pistols: 179

Hand grenades: 3,998

Mines: 3,900

Rifle cartridges: 566,124

During the course of the operation great losses were inflicted on the command personnel of the gangs and OUN organizations.

Among the command personnel, beginning with battalion leaders all the way to squad leaders, 40 men were killed, among them 2 battalion leaders, Nedobyty and Stepovy. In addition, 37 men were captured alive.

From among the leading personnel of the OUN underground, 35 people were killed, including 6 raion leaders, 7 subraion leaders, and 10 stanytsia leaders.

One hundred and twenty OUN activists were captured, among whom were 7 raion leaders, 7 subraion leaders, 15 individuals responsible for supplies and materiel, and 71 stanytsia leaders.

No less serious a blow was inflicted on the SB (Security Service). Eight raion, 1 county, and 1 okruha SB were liquidated, a total of 138 people.

As a result of this entire operation, armed gangs were liquidated for the most part in Stanyslaviv oblast, and a serious blow was struck at the OUN underground. By the end of the operation the situation changed sharply in the direction of improving the general situation and the strengthening of the low-level organs of Soviet power.

As was established, during the course of carrying out the operation, there were no rural soviets in the majority of the villages in Zhabie, Yabloniv, and Kosiv raions, located in the Carpathians, and in connection with this, they were created and normal work was launched.

During the period of the operation our losses comprised: thirteen men killed and thirty-nine wounded.

True: Head of the 1st Department of the 4th KGB Division under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR,

Colonel *signature* (Makhov)

Typescript. Copy

HDA SBU, fond 13, file 372, vol. 72, fols. 33-43.

DOCUMENT 133: GUIDELINES TO HEADS OF NKVD  
DIRECTORATES IN THE WESTERN OBLASTS CONCERNING  
THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OUN AGENTS IN  
SOVIET INSTITUTIONS

[Russian-language document]

*June 1945*

PK-1            Copy  
                  Top Secret  
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                  Only \_\_\_\_\_

*To the Heads of the UNKVD in the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

The NKVD organs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR have completed significant work on smashing the OUN underground and the UPA gang-formations.

However, insufficient work has been carried out to uncover clandestine OUN organizations in oblast and raion centres.

From the confessions of arrestees and documents seized from bandits it is being established that the main communications and intelligence points are embedded in cities and raion centres.

In addition, the OUN is embedding its people for propaganda work in raion centres.

From the confessions of members of the OUN's central leadership who have been arrested by the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR it is known that the OUN's print publications were being disseminated among low-level links through a post located in the city of Bibrka in Lviv oblast. They maintained contact with Lviv also through Bibrka.<sup>9</sup>

For the purposes of the most effective work in intelligence and communications, the OUNites are penetrating work in raion Soviet institutions, land agencies, the postal service, telephone stations, military commissariats [*voenkomaty*], destruction battalions, etc.

In a number of raions OUN members who have penetrated the work of these organs have been exposed. They were carrying out large-scale work to gather information on the addresses of leading Soviet/party workers, the system for protecting raion centres, the presence of arrestees, their bodyguards, the conduct of arrestees during interrogations, troop shifts; they carried out

<sup>9</sup> Bibrka is a small town in Peremyshliany raion, about thirty kilometres southeast of Lviv.

surveillance of NKVD-NKGB service buildings, identifying individuals who visit these agencies.

On the basis of these materials, the OUNites developed plans of attacks on raion centres.

OUN members working in raion centres are operating covertly, especially carefully.

The work concerning the reappraisal of workers and employees has shown that Soviet institutions and enterprises are swamped by a hostile element.

With the goals of accelerating the struggle against the OUN underground in cities and raion centres, it is essential:

1. To plant agents in institutions which, in keeping with the nature of their work, are constantly linked with the countryside (departments, liaison, land departments, financial organs, Raion Departments of Public Education, etc.).

2. To inspect carefully the personnel composition of Soviet institutions from among local residents, extermination battalion fighters, civilian personnel of Military Commissariats, etc.

Individuals who arouse suspicion in connection with the underground are subject to agentura processing.

3. During interrogations of detained bandits and underground members, expose connections with cities and raion centres.

4. In monthly reports on the results of the struggle against banditry, in a special account report on the work on oblast and raion centres. On 15 July of this year report on measures adopted with regard to the organizing of agentura work in raion centres.

Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR

General-Lieutenant T. Strokach

June 1945

8/1/157357

Information. Document filed in dossier, fond 2, list 109, no. 1, pp. 58–59

True: (Lieutenant Colonel) Makhov

City of Kyiv

pk-1

m/b no. 16

Executant: Kolodin

Printed: 1 copy

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 59, fols. 38–9.

DOCUMENT 134: YULIA SHOLOHON'S PLEDGE TO  
COLLABORATE WITH THE NKVD

2 July 1945

R-31

Kolomyia area

Copy of a commitment to appeals for collaboration with the NKVD organs  
Signed statement

I, the undersigned citizen of the village of Stetse, Sniatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast, Sholohon Uliana [*sic*] Petrivna, born in 1898, a kulak by social status, owns 1 house, 1 barn, 1 stable, 1 horse, 1 cow, 1 calf, and 5 hectares of land.

I am submitting this signed statement to the NKVD organs in connection with the fact that bandits, Ukrainian-German nationalists (Banderites and others), in relying on kulaks and other pro-Hitlerite elements, and obtaining assistance from kulaks [in the form of] food, ammunition, weapons, and other things, are waging an active struggle against the Soviet government of the workers: they are killing representatives of the government, leading Soviet activists, peaceful and defenceless citizens – old people, women, and children – looting their property, burning and looting the people's property, schools, reading rooms, and other public buildings and installations, that is, in relation to the Ukrainian people they are conducting themselves the same way as the German-fascist occupiers.<sup>10</sup>

Therefore, I am taking complete responsibility for the inviolability and safety of the representatives of the Communist Party [and] organs of the Soviet government, as well as public workers and civilians who live in my village.

I am also taking complete responsibility for the following state and public property: grain procurement by the Stetse s/s [village soviet], the club, the cooperative, telephone poles, [and] the school. With the goal of preventing manifestations of terror and sabotage on the part of the Ukrainian-German nationalists on the territory of my village, I pledge on the strength of responsibility, concerning which it is noted below, in a timely fashion to inform the NKVD organs or representatives of these agencies by all means that will be at my disposal, and also at any time of the day or night about all schemes, intentions, and plans of the Ukrainian-German nationalists and their accomplices both in my village and neighbouring villages.

I pledge to report immediately to the NKVD organs all information about the location and contacts of the Banderites and their accomplices about which I will know.

<sup>10</sup> The term "Ukrainian-German nationalists" was a pejorative Soviet description, underscoring the Ukrainian insurgents' alleged collaboration with Nazi Germany.

In connection with my affiliation with kulaks, who are the mainstay of Banderite banditry, I have been informed that, in accordance with Soviet laws, I will be held responsible for each occurrence of terror or murder as well as sabotage that will be manifested by the Banderites in my village with my property, freedom, and my life, as well as the fate of my family.

To which I sign my name

/-/ Sholohon, Yulia [*sic*]

2 July 1945

“147” confirms conformity with the original.

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-048.

DOCUMENT 135: GUIDELINES ISSUED TO HEADS OF NKVD  
DIRECTORATES IN WESTERN OBLASTS CONCERNING THE  
STRUGGLE AGAINST THE OUN IN CITIES

[Russian-language document]

12 August 1945

K-1

Copy  
Top Secret  
Sole Copy  
Only \_\_\_\_\_

*To the Heads of the NKVD Directorate in the Western  
Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

In connection with the mass execution of Chekist-military operations carried out in rural populated areas and forested zones, as well as in connection with the fact that garrisons of NKVD troops or Red Army units are constantly stationed in the majority of the populated areas in Ukraine's western oblasts, the conditions of the illegal existence of members of the OUN underground have become difficult, regular communications among organizations have broken down, possibilities for the movement of illegals, etc., have been restricted.

For that reason, the central leadership of the OUN issued instructions to OUN leaders to transfer their work from villages to cities, where the workers of a leadership (oblast, okruha, raion, etc.) are to live on an illegal basis or legalize themselves with fictitious documents.

They are intending to use girls in the capacity of couriers, whom they will furnish with appropriate documents so that they can pass themselves off as arrivals from the eastern oblasts.

At the present time OUN members are actively organizing safe houses in cities.

The agentura-investigative processing of the *CENTRE* case has established that many OUN members who occupied leading positions in the underground during the German occupation and in the first months after the expulsion of the Germans legalized themselves and arranged for their studies in various educational institutions, as well as work in Soviet institutions, continuing clandestine work that is hostile to the Soviet Union.

Educational institutions and legal workplaces are used as a base for clandestine activity and hiding places for illegals.

For the purposes of exposing leading OUN links in cities and hiding places of underground members who have penetrated educational institutions, Soviet and economic institutions, it is essential to:

1. Accelerate agentura work in cities, above all in oblast and large raion centres.

2. Begin cataloguing and establishing surveillance of OUN members who have legalized themselves and arranged for a job or studies in cities.

3. Take into account the families and relatives of repressed OUN members who are living in cities, also by ensuring agentura processing [Russian *razrabotka*: Soviet euphemism for a combination of surveillance, influencing, misinforming, and recruiting] with the goal of exposing illegals who are hiding with them.

4. With these same goals in mind, to expose kinship and other ties of OUN members in the functioning underground.

5. In order to expose the nationalistic element, to implant secret agents among students and teaching staff.

6. Pay attention to the recruitment of street cleaners and caretakers, who frequently either belong to the organization or are aware of the illegals' work in the buildings that they service.

7. With the exposure of members of the OUN underground, after appropriate preparation, to carry out secret observation in order to obtain detailed evidence and determine the suitability for recruitment for the purposes of penetrating the underground.

8. To reach such a state of affairs whereby there is a penetration agent in each link of the OUN organization, carefully inspecting the work of that agentura.

Take the organization of work in cities under your personal control.

Report regularly on the course of implementing these instructions by sending information about agents recruited and embedded in the underground.

Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant General (Strokach)

12 August 1945

no. 863/OP

City of Lviv

Information: From a dossier, fond 2, list 109, no. 1, fols. 148–51

True/ Lieutenant Colonel Makhov

29 August 1960 [date when copy was prepared]

City of Kyiv

pk-1

Printed: 1 copy in \_\_\_\_\_

Executant: Kolodin

Typist: Kushnir

m/b no. 18

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 59, fols. 27–30.



DOCUMENT 136: EXTRACT FROM A REPORT ON THE  
OPERATION TO CAPTURE THE OUN LEADER OF BUKOVYNA  
BY THE NKVD DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
BANDITRY, COVERING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1945

[Russian-language document]

lr

*Top Secret*

Copy no. \_\_\_\_

*Extract*

*From a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for the first half of 1945*

With regard to Chernivtsi oblast

Agentura file: FANATYKY

On 27 December 1944, during the execution of a Chekist operation in the village of Vaslovtsy [*sic*], Sadhora raion, Chernivtsi oblast, the leaders of the OUN in Bukovyna were captured:

1. Halytska, Artemizia Hryhorivna, codenamed "Motria," born 1911, native and resident of the city of Sadhora, Chernivtsi oblast, a Ukrainian, from the petty bourgeois class, white-collar worker, schoolteacher, higher pedagogical education, citizenship of the USSR, member of the OUN since 1937. Has relatives.
2. Haiduk, Myroslav Ivanovych, born 1920, member of the OUN leadership in Bukovyna, member of the Banderite current of the OUN since 1941, pseudonyms: "Bychuk," "Dovbush," "Shapka," "Havryl," "Fedir," born in the city of Vynna, Chernivtsi oblast, a Ukrainian, completed high school and an architectural technical college, a civil engineer and architect.

Refusing to surrender herself alive, during her detention Motria tried to commit suicide with a shot from a pistol; she wounded herself in the head and was brought in serious condition to the polyclinic in the city of Chernivtsi, where she was placed under the guard of UNKVD operatives.

In the polyclinic Motria, refusing to make any statements and seeking a fatal outcome, tried to use her finger to open up the wounds on her head.

The arrested Haiduk, Myroslav – Fedir described Motria as a person who will never give any statements that we need concerning the OUN and the UPA in Bukovyna.

During the investigation of the case of Haiduk-Fedir it became clear that Haiduk is willingly giving out [information about] the OUN's structure in Bukovyna, but is trying to safeguard the Organization and shrink the framework of the statements given to the investigation.

With the goal of exposing the OUN underground in Bukovyna and its links with the central OUN leadership, it was decided to carry out a scheme to

“smuggle” Motria out of the polyclinic, as though by the workers of the central OUN leadership.

This scheme was aimed at obtaining from Motria all essential data on OUN organizations and their members in Chernivtsi oblast by substituting our workers under the guise of the representatives of the central OUN leadership.

The following workers of the UNKVD in Chernivtsi oblast were assigned in the capacity of representatives of the central OUN leadership:

1. Deputy head of the UNKVD, Lieutenant Colonel Bilenko, played the role of a leading worker of the central OUN leadership, codenamed “Taras.”

2. Head of the operational division of the UNKVD, Senior Lieutenant Honcharenko played the role of the head of the SB Section, codenamed “Ivan.”

3. Operational authorized representative of the OBB, Senior Lieutenant Husak, played the role of an OUN underground member codenamed “Stetsko.”

The main content of the plan of the indicated scheme was:

The above-mentioned UNKVD workers, supposedly on assignment from the central OUN leadership, arrived in Bukovyna, where they learned about the arrest of Motria, Fedir, and others.

In connection with this, they organize Motria's abduction from the polyclinic.

According to their assignment, the “OUN members” abduct Motria from the hospital and place her in one of the safe houses in the city of Chernivtsi, where during this period they explain the reasons behind the failure of a number of OUN organizations and her own capture and that of Fedir.

The plan to abduct Motria was carried out successfully on 7 January at night, when access to the hospital was completely possible; in addition, the nurse on duty was a local Ukrainian woman, who enjoyed Motria's trust.

The successfully created setting in the safe house where Motria was located, her treatment by a doctor – all this convinced her of the veracity of what was taking place.

At first, the arrival at the house of Taras, Ivan, and Stetsko, who were pretending to be representatives of the central OUN leadership, made Motria suspicious, but later, as a result of their able conduct, Motria's suspicions disappeared.

This was facilitated by the circumstance that Motria mistakenly took Taras to be Yary, Rykhardt [Richard (Riko) Jary], a member of the central leadership, whom she had never seen but knew about his traits from rumours.

Thus, Motria began to treat Taras, Ivan, and Stetsko as genuine representatives of the central OUN leadership and to offer frank explanations about the state of OUN work in Bukovyna. She recounted that she has been an active member of the OUN from 1937 to 1942 and leads the organization in southern Bukovyna.

In 1942 she smuggled the head of the OUN in northern Bukovyna, Kobzar, out of a Romanian prison in the city of Iași, after which she was forced to go to Galicia, where she worked in the OUN as the head of the Bukovyna section.

She was personally acquainted with the commander of the UPA, Shelest, and Ivan Bandera, and the other brothers of Stepan Bandera, with the brother of Konovalets, with Yarema, the head of the Foreign Affairs Section of the central OUN leadership, and other OUN leaders.

In connection with the improvement in Motria's health, she was informed by Taras that, on the instructions of the central OUN leadership, he is obliged to carry out an investigation into the failure of a whole number of OUN organizations, which happened after her and Fedir's arrest by the NKVD organs.

The head of the SB Section, Ivan, was instructed to conduct the investigation.

While informing Motria about the initiation of an investigation, Taras stated that if the investigation confirms Motria's innocence then, after what happened to her, there was no point for her to remain in Bukovyna.

Ivan began the investigation and obtained from Motria lists of the OUN underground, supposedly for inspection, [to ascertain] who among her links had been arrested by the NKVD organs.

During the execution of the scheme, in order to leave Motria with the impression that secrecy was secure, two safe houses were changed, and Motria's transfer from one house to another had to be carried out by transporting her inside an empty cupboard, rug, etc.

In order to provide Motria with professional medical assistance, the professor and surgeon Bulevsky, a Ukrainian, who had to impersonate a Melnykite-Bulba man, was involved in the plan's elaboration.

Professor Bulevsky had worked previously as a physician in the partisan formation led by Hero of the Soviet Union, Comrade Medvedev; he had waged a struggle against Bulba's men; he was very familiar with their way of life, and in conversations with Motria he recounted episodes from his Bulba life.

Klava and Dasha, two Ukrainian women, who were the owners of the safe houses, were also involved in the elaboration.

In private conversations Motria recounted that during the Romanian occupation of Chernivtsi oblast, negotiations were held between the OUN leadership and the Romanian government about questions of cooperation in the struggle against the USSR; an agreement was reached on a number of points, although the agreement was never signed because of conflicts that had arisen.

On the basis of the agreement, the Romanian authorities released from prison a number of distinguished OUN workers, who settled down in Bucharest, where there are safe houses, and they began to unfold anti-Soviet nationalistic activity.

These statements by Motria completely coincide with Fedir's statements.

As the scheme unfolded, Stetsko demonstrated special concern for and attention to Motria, which put him in Motria's good graces.

Motria often complained to Stetsko that Ivan was conducting the investigation very severely, and she expressed the fear that this brutal SB man is capable of strangling her without the permission of the central OUN leadership.

Stetsko, taking advantage of Motria's friendship and trust, obtained additional statements from her about many OUN members, and it was also established that Motria was not informing Ivan about the content of her conversations with Stetsko.

As a result of interrogations by the investigator Ivan, Motria gave evidence against 242 OUN members in Bukovyna, excluding the personnel of an UPA battalion.

Information was also obtained from her about OUN members from other oblasts, totalling more than six hundred people.

During the operational implementation of the materials obtained by carrying out the scheme with Motria we arrested:

1. Members of the oblast leadership: 2 people
2. County leaders: 1 person
3. Raion leaders: 4 people
4. Subraion leaders of the OUN : 5 people
5. OUN stanytsia leaders: 31 people
6. Stanytsia leaders for supply and materiel: 4 people
7. OUN propagandists: 2 people
8. OUN couriers: 9 people
9. OUN members: 117 people

In addition, during the execution of the operation to capture OUN members on the basis of Motria's evidence, were killed:

1. Members of the oblast OUN leadership: 3 people
2. Raion leaders of the OUN: 3 people
3. Subraion leaders of the OUN: 5 people
4. Stanytsia leaders of the OUN: 9 people
5. OUN propagandists: 1 person
6. Members of the OUN and the UPA: 216 people

The measures that were carried out to smash the OUN underground led to the circumstance that Todoriuk, Volodymyr, codenamed "Tur," who was once again appointed the leader of Bukovyna by the OUN leadership after Motria's arrest, was forced to flee to Galicia with the head of the SB, Halahan, for which they were dismissed from work, and in March 1945 Oleh was appointed the leader of the Bukovynian leadership of the OUN.

By means of agentura measures as well as the developed statements given by Fedir, it was ascertained that in April–May 1945 the oblast OUN leadership in Bukovyna was headed by Tur-Todoriuk, Volodymyr, a former lawyer, a former Melnykite and Gestapo agent.

With the goals of liquidating the OUN leadership of Bukovyna, a scheme to compromise the reappointed leadership of Tur, and his military leader, Perebyinis, was carried out.

Taking advantage of the links with the OUN underground, we dispatched agent Fedir in the month of May this year on a raid throughout the raions of the oblast, and in accordance with the cover story that was assigned to him, he spread rumours among clandestine organizations about the incompetent leadership and connections of Tur as a Gestapo agent, former Melnykite, and unfit leader who had sown mistrust within the Organization.

As a result of the executed scheme, in the month of June 1945 Tur was dismissed from his post as leader of the Bukovynian leadership of the OUN and shot by the SB. Perebyinis, the battalion commander, was demoted to the ranks and sent to the Viktoria Company in Stanyslaviv oblast.

True: Head of the 1st Department of the 4th KGB Directorate under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR,

Lieutenant Colonel      *signature*      Makhov

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 72, fols. 17–25.

DOCUMENT 137: EXTRACT FROM A REPORT ON THE INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF SOVIET AGENTS ENLISTED IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND, PREPARED BY THE NKVD DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BANDITRY (JULY–SEPTEMBER 1945)

[Russian-language document]

2-lr

Top Secret

Copy no. \_\_\_\_\_

*Extract*

*From a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for VII–IX 1945*

		As of 1.VII. 1945	Recruited during the quarter	Dismissed during the quarter	As of 1.X. 1945
Agentura movement during the quarter by category for all western oblasts	Residents	175	82	9	248
	Agents	1,196	340	152	1,384
	Informants	9,843	2,296	795	11,344

As indicated in the cited data, the secret agent-informant network of the NKVD organs in Ukraine's western oblasts grew markedly during the third quarter of this year; its growth progressed in all categories and, what is most important, the number of recruited agents rose significantly.

The number of "rezidenturas" also increased.<sup>11</sup>

The informant network also expanded through the cultivation of informing in populated areas, especially those far away from raion centres, which prior to this remained open.

Mass recruitments of rank-and-file secret agents were carried out among the local population and the accomplice base.

<sup>11</sup> The term "rezidentura" refers to a base of operations in a foreign country where agents liaise with their controllers.

During the reporting quarter much attention was focused on training the agentura, which, as earlier, took place in the direction of habituating in it feelings of responsibility, devotion to our work, discipline, honesty, the ability to enter a hostile milieu and not succumb to its influence, to grasp the main issue.

At the same time, demands on it were increased with respect to the clear-cut execution of our tasks.

For the purposes of accelerating the work of the secret agent-informant apparatus, despite training work, we widely implemented the practice of material encouragement of the agentura, and, in order to safeguard it from destruction by the "SB," special attention was focused on the secrecy of meetings and links with the agentura.

The agentura-operational work that the NKVD organs have completed to the present time has made a significant impact on the change in the operational situation in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

Many OUN documents that we captured note that the NKVD organs have embedded in the OUN-UPA a large number of powerful penetration agents and that: *This work is constructed creatively.* (See the document attached to the report.)

Those same documents state: "The NKVD organs are exclusively installing their agentura network and conducting operations, setting up ambushes so that it is impossible to leave; all the raions are blockaded by Bolsheviks" and further: "Without a doubt, the greatest losses have been suffered by the security service."

True: Lieutenant Colonel *signature* (Makhov)

mb no. 782

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 72, fols. 78-80.

DOCUMENT 138: EXTRACT FROM A REPORT ON THE  
NUMBER OF SOVIET AGENTS ENLISTED IN THE STRUGGLE  
AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND AND EXAMPLES  
OF THEIR UTILIZATION, PREPARED BY THE NKVD  
DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BANDITRY  
(SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 1945)

[Russian-language document]

*Top Secret*  
Copy no. \_\_\_

*Extract*

*from a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for September-  
December 1945*

*Acquisition of a secret agent-informant network*

The movement of the secret agent-informant network in the IV quarter of 1945 with regard to Ukraine's western oblasts is characterized by the following data:

	Type of Agentura	As of 1.X. 1945	Recruited during the quarter	Dismissed during the quarter	As of 1.I. 1946
Agentura movement during the quarter by category in all western oblasts	Residents [agents]	248	35	10	273
	Agents	1,384	348	127	1,605
	Informants	11,444	1,670	782	12,332
	Total:	13,076	2,053	919	14,210

To a significant degree the growth of the secret agent-informant network accelerated the detection and liquidation of UPA bandit groups and the OUN underground, and also enabled [us] to uncover a number of terrorist and sabotage acts committed by them.

On the basis of secret agent and investigative data of NKVD Directorates in the western oblasts, during the reporting period a number of successful Chekist-military operations were carried out, as a result of which 103 bandit



groups were liquidated, as well as 163 OUN organizations completely or partially.

By means of our agentura, significant work to demoralize the personnel composition of the gangs and compromise the leading composition of the OUN-UPA was carried out, as a result of which many of them were destroyed by the SB, and a significant number of bandits surrendered.

In connection with the OUN-UPA leadership's constant changes of tactics governing the activities of the gangs and the work of the underground we adopted new measures in our work (operations designed as baits), and agentura-operational combinations that were adopted earlier were improved: compromising active OUN members, demoralization, physical destruction by means of secret agents, activities of special groups, etc.

As a result of cleansing the secret agent-informant network of ballast and double-dealers, the replenishment of its composition with new recruitments carried out successfully and the improvement of the means of communication, the agentura's qualitative composition was significantly improved, and its work became more effective.

The use of mass summons of the population for a conversation with NKVD operational personnel in populated areas played an important role in disorienting OUN members with regard to individuals connected to agentura work with our organs.

For the purposes of selecting a candidate for recruitment as a penetration agent, with whose help it would be possible to liquidate the gang leader Hrizny, the Zhovkva RO NKVD sent a letter marked for recruitment to "K," a gang member, with a proposal to surrender secretly to the RO NKVD; at the same time, he was guaranteed safety and a pardon for his guilt. After appearing secretly at the RO NKVD, following a conversation, bandit K was recruited as a fighter-agent under the pseudonym "Kurchavy" and he was assigned the task of killing the gang leader Hrizny.

In carrying out our assignment, Kurchavy determined that Hrizny was supposed to be at the hamlet of Hutysko during the night of 18 December 1945.

Concealing himself in a hiding place near the house where Hrizny was supposed to appear, Kurchavy waited until he arrived and killed him with a shot from his rifle. Several bandits who were with Hrizny scattered; the body of the killed Hrizny was hidden by agent Kurchavy and then delivered to an operational group of the RO NKVD.

For this exploit, his brother, whom we knew to be an OUN member, was released from under guard, and he later gave us active help in the struggle against banditry.

In early December 1945, during a conversation with the bandit Kyiv (from Hrizny's former company), Kurchavy ascertained that an OUN print shop

was located in a well-disguised underground hideout in a forested zone three kilometres from the village of Nova-Skvazhava. However, the bandit Kyiv did not say who is working in it and where exactly it was located. After uninterrupted observations and searches, on 9 December 1945 Kurchavy succeeded in establishing the approximate location of the print shop by tracks in the snow leading into the forest.

That very day a Chekist-military operation was carried out, as a result of which were liquidated the so-called "Maly krai" [Small Land], the print shop of the Lviv oblast OUN leadership, and the headquarters of the UPA's 2nd Military Okruha, codenamed "Buh" (for details of the operation, see the section "Chekist-Military Operations" in this report).

In November 1945 the detained bandit, Zhubii, Roman Fedorovych, codenamed "Zaporozhets," the former leader responsible for supplies and materiel of the UPA group Zahrava, escaped from a KPZ [pre-trial detention cell] in the city of Rivne. After his escape the OUN leadership appointed Zaporozhets commandant of a nadraion SB fighting group. During the course of his work he carried out a number of audacious terrorist acts on the territory of Hoshcha raion.

Soon, the Hoshcha raion office of the NKVD established through the aguntura that Zaporozhets was hiding in the Vabyn hamlets and visiting the illegally residing brothers Petro and Mykhailo Levasiuk for the purpose of drawing them into the SB fighting group.

Taking advantage of this circumstance, an operative was dispatched to the Levasiuk brothers with the task of meeting with them covertly, recruiting, and assigning [them] the task of physically liquidating Zaporozhets.

The operative, under the guise of inspecting documents in the Vabyn hamlets, also entered the house of the Levasiuk brothers at the very moment when both of them were at home. After a quick conversation with them, he recruited them under the pseudonyms "Aleksandrov" and "Aleksandrovsky" and assigned them the task of liquidating Zaporozhets, and during the next meeting he issued both agents with submachine guns and ammunition.

On 5 December 1945 agents Aleksandrov and Aleksandrovsky killed nadraion commandant of the SB, Zaporozhets, during a visit to their house, and they hid his body in a hiding place. From the dead man they confiscated a submachine gun and a TT pistol.

That very night, in order to prevent the agents from being exposed, an "operation" involving gunfire was carried out in the Vabyn hamlets, during which the body of Zaporozhets was dragged out of the prearranged place, and the impression was created that he had been killed during an operation.

True: Lieutenant Colonel *signature* (Makhov)

DOCUMENT 139: EXTRACT FROM A REPORT PREPARED BY  
THE DIRECTORATE FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST BANDITRY  
OF THE NKVD CONCERNING THE MAIN TASKS FOR THE  
FIRST QUARTER OF 1946 (SEPTEMBER–DECEMBER 1945)

[Russian-language document]

*September–December 1945*

2-lr

Copy  
*Top Secret*  
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*Extract*  
*from a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for*  
*September–December 1945*

The main tasks of the NKVD organs in Ukraine's western oblasts during the first quarter of 1946 are:

1. To safeguard the normal course of the pre-election campaign and the elections themselves to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR by protecting the population, election activists, and the premises of electoral districts from all kinds of encroachments by OUN bandits.
2. To raise and qualify [train] the secret agent-informant network.
3. During the winter period, to inflict a definitive blow at the vestiges of the OUN gangs and underground.
4. Systematically to cleanse the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts of social-alien and hostile elements.
5. Maximally to intensify retaliatory measures against each bandit manifestation, without leaving a single one of them unexposed and unpunished.
6. To strengthen the protection of industrial enterprises, transport, Soviet state farms, MTSs, telephone-telegraph lines of communication, and other national-economic facilities, excluding any possibility of subversive acts and terror on the part of the bandits.
7. To reinforce, numerically and qualitatively, local formations in the struggle against banditry: destruction battalions.
8. To improve the quality of investigations into cases involving OUN bandits use agentura and investigative materials more fully during the course of Chekist-military operations.

True: Lieutenant Colonel (Makhov)  
mb no. 782

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 64, fols. 94–5.

DOCUMENT 140: INFORMATION ON CHEKIST-MILITARY  
OPERATIONS IN LATE 1945

[Russian-language document]

2-lr

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*Top Secret*  
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*Extract from a report of the UBB NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR for 1945  
Chekist-Military Operations and Prophylactic Measures in Late 1945*

By their nature, the Chekist-military operations that were carried out by the NKVD organs and troops on the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts during the fourth quarter of 1945 were divided into:

1. Systematic Chekist-military operations to liquidate the OUN underground and OUN-UPA gangs, which were carried out on the basis of agentura data and investigative materials.
2. Chekist-military operations that were carried out as retaliatory measures to the manifestations carried out by the OUN-UPA.
3. Chekist-military operations with the use of tactical measures: "traps" and "baits."

Carried out concurrently with the NKVD organs' active Chekist-military operations to liquidate the underground and gangs of the OUN-UPA were operations of a prophylactic nature to cleanse the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts of anti-Soviet elements and to smash the material-technical base of OUN banditry.

1. Chekist-military operations carried out along the lines of implementing operational record-keeping on the removal of all categories of anti-Soviet elements and the deportation of the families of active bandits of the OUN-UPA.
2. Chekist-military operations carried out on the basis of agentura data and investigative materials for the search for and liquidation of bandit hideouts, depots, print shops, and other sources of the dissemination of anti-Soviet literature and leaflets.

The main prophylactic measures carried out by the NKVD organs during the reporting quarter were:

1. The installation of a garrison of NKVD and RKKA [Workers and Peasants Red Army] troops throughout raions in accordance with the operational situation.
2. The strengthening of armed protection for the main national-economic facilities.

3. The creation and reinforcement of destruction battalions.
4. The resettlement of residents from railway zones and other national-economic facilities that are the most vulnerable to the bandits.
5. The embedding of informants in all populated areas.
6. The patrolling by detachments of NKVD and RKKKA troops and by fighters of destruction battalions along the major telephone-telegraph communications lines and sectors of highways with a large number of bridges.
7. The periodic mass inspection of documents in densely populated cities and towns.
8. Population census in rural localities together with simultaneous operational cataloguing of bandits-illegals, kulaks, accomplices of gangs, and the families of OUN-UPA bandits.

True: Lieutenant Colonel (Makhov)

mb no. 782

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 64, fols. 91-3.

DOCUMENT 141: OPERATIONAL ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT  
THE RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN  
UNDERGROUND IN THE LVIV REGION AS OF 1 MARCH 1946

[Russian-language document]

1 March 1946

*Top Secret*

*To People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR*

*Lieutenant General Comrade Strokach*

*City of Kyiv*

*Situation Report No. 60*

*on the results of the struggle against OUN banditry on the  
territory of Lviv oblast<sup>12</sup>*

*For 1 March 1946*

*I. Chekist-Military Operations*

In the last few days 157 Chekist-military operations and ambushes were carried out on the territory of the oblast, of them:

Operations with a result 46

Without a result 49

Ambushes with a result 29

Without a result 33

*During the execution of operations and ambushes:*

Bandits killed 20

Bandits detained 21

OUN members detained 6

Surrendered 5

Of the total number of those detained or surrendered:

Arrested 25

Legalized 7

*The most typical operations*

On 28 February, in the village of Olshanytsia [Vilshanytsia], as a result of an operation carried out by subunit 267 of the Infantry] Regiment of the VV NKVD under the leadership of the head of the RO NKVD, Comrade Varak, three were killed and three bandits were captured.

12 Soviet counterinsurgency reports pejoratively described members of the Ukrainian nationalist resistance as "bandits," a term also used by the Germans during the Nazi occupation.

Those killed were the solo bandit Gural, Petro Vasylovych, codenamed “Bohun, Kotyk,” not in the register, and a third bandit was not identified.

Those captured were the solo bandit Lystvak, Pavlo Andriiovych, codenamed “Lastivka”; Lystvyn, Hryhorii Andriiovych, codenamed “Pavlenko,” not in the register; and Huk, Mykola, codenamed “Kiril.”

The solo bandits Gural and Lystva are subject to being written off [the register].

Trophies:

submachine guns	2
rifle	1
pistols	4
grenades	2
cartridges	550

[Words missing, probably Zolochiv raion]: On 28 February the operational staff of the RO NKVD, together with subunit 86 of the Kenigsberg Infantry Regiment of the VV NKVD, three bandits were killed during an operation in the village of Baczów [Bachiv]: Radkoliuk, Illia Illich, codenamed “Mukha,” a resident of the village of Liucha, Yablونiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast; Sambir, Yaroslav, codenamed “Stefan”; the third bandit was not identified.

Two bandits were detained: Diduk, Stefan Ivanovych, and Vynnyk, Oleksii Mykhailovych.

The killed and detained are not on the registers.

Trophies:

hand machine gun	1
submachine gun	1
pistols	2

During the period of the operation a sergeant of the VV NKVD was killed.

Lopatyn raion: On the basis of a developed operational plan, on 26 February subunit 203 of the Infantry Regiment of VV NKVD, with the participation of the operational staff of the RO NKVD, carried out two Chekist-military operations in the village of Truitsa [Triitsia], as a result of which were detained the UPA couriers Dubovets, Anastasia Vasylivna, codenamed “Holubka,” and Tretiak, Kateryna Ivanivna, who is not in the registers.

That same day, during an operation in the village of Chania [Chany], an LVO [Lviv oblast] garrison killed a member of a kushch gang, Marko; Shmet, Mykhailo Pylypovych, codenamed “Medvid,” who is subject to being written off.

On 28 February, during an operation carried out in the village of Strzemilce [Stremilche], a group of fighters of the 203 Infantry Regiment of the VV NKVD, detained one bandit codenamed “Sosna” and a [female] courier of the UPA.

Lopatyn raion: The surnames and the gang formation to which the detained belong will be provided separately.

In addition to situation report no. 58, the killed bandit is Dmytruk, I.N.; detained are Kut, Bohdan, and Faryna, responsible leader for supplies and materiel, codenamed "Roza."

Trophies:

revolver	1
grenade	1
cartridges	12

Zhovkva raion: On the night of 27 February a detachment of fighters from the 267th Infantry Regiment of the VV NKVD, under the command of Sahon, a militia school cadet, organized an ambush in the village of Vionzov [Viazova].

Three bandits located in the house of local resident Velyky, Andrii, having spotted the fighters, opened fire on them; during the ensuing skirmish two were killed, one bandit was captured.

Killed: Luzhno, Hryhorii Mykhailovych, codenamed "Bzhonta," and Dosko, Ivan Ivanovych, codenamed "Zaiats."

Detained: Khytry, Hryhorii. The bandits were dressed in soldiers uniforms with sergeants' epaulettes. He is not in the registers.

Trophies:

rifles	3
grenades	5
cartridges	55

In addition to situation report no. 55, the killed bandits have been identified and they are: Sorzhanytsia, Ivan Maksymovych, codenamed "Bolbiak," and Blyzniak, Dmytro Ivanovych.

Vynnyky raion: On 28 February an operational group of the RO NKVD detained the solo bandit Kalymakh, Mykhailo Mykolaiovych, in the village of Pidhirsia; he is subject to being written off.

Velyki Mosty raion: On the basis of data from Kvitka, an agent of the RO NKVD, the operational staff of the RO NKVD, together with subunit 109 of the MSP PV NKVD [Motorized Rifle Infantry Regiment, Border Troops of the NKVD], carried out an operation on 28 February in the village of Dvirtsi, during which a hiding place was found with four bandits in it.

During the ensuing skirmish the bandit Marmash, Ivan Volodymyrovych, codenamed "Bulba," who was in the registers as a solo bandit, was killed; detained: the solo bandit Martyn, Ivan Pavlovych, codenamed "Osyka" and not in the registers; Khyzhynsky, Ivan Dmytrovych, codenamed "Karmeliuk"; and Seniuk, Mykhailo Romanovych, codenamed "Kruk."



The bandits Marmash and Martyn are subject to being struck off the register.

Trophies:

rifles	3
submachine gun	1
pistol	1
grenades	6
cartridges	513

Kamianka-Buzka raion: On 28 February, in a forested tract situated near the village of Tlumach, a special group of the Department of the VV UNKGB, led by Senior Authorized Operative of the OBB UNKVD, ZAMKOVSKY, killed three bandits in a discovered bunker; one of them is codenamed "Liuty," the other two bandits have not been identified.

Captured:

rifle	1
pistols	2
cartridges	50
2 "Red Star" medals and two "Glory" medals	

Yavoriv raion: On 28 February a local LVO garrison, under the leadership of Senior Authorized Operative of the RO NKVD, Kozlov, carried out an operation in the village of Boratyn, Drohobych oblast, during which Savko, Maria, and Riaby, not in the registers, were detained.

A hiding place was uncovered, from which were seized:

submachine guns	2
flare pistol	1
binoculars	1
blade	1

Hlyniany raion: On 28 February a detachment of fighters from the LVO, together with the operational staff of the RO NKVD, during an operation carried out in the villages of Peltiv, Pohoriltsi, detained the newly discovered solo bandit, Kushnir, Stepan Vasylovych, and the former [female] stanytsia leader, whose surname will be provided separately.

A hiding place was uncovered, from which were seized:

submachine guns	2
flare gun	1
binoculars	1
blade	1

Bibrka raion: On 28 February a local garrison of the LVO, under the leadership of the seconded operative of the RO NKVD, Zagorovsky, carried out an operation in the village of Lopushne, during which the leader of a gang fighting group, Moroz, Koval, Fedir Senkovych, was discovered, who during his detainment mounted armed resistance and then, when all the ammunition was exhausted, he did not want to surrender alive, he wounded himself.



## *II. Liquidation of the Anti-Soviet Underground*

Novy Yarychiv raion: On 26 February, acting on obtained intelligence data, subunit 267 of the Infantry Regiment of the VV NKVD, under the leadership of Senior Authorized Operative Zakyrchenko, carried out an operation in the village of Remeniv to eliminate the OUN network Yunaky.

During the operation five members of the OUN network Yunaky were detained: Kovalyshyn, Vasyl Stepanovych, born 1930; Kharkiv, Yaroslav Antonovych, born 1929; Kolyvoshka, Yaroslav Vasylovych, born 1928; Kulych, Yaroslav Hryhoriievych, born 1930; and Bakhur, Vasyl Mykhailovych, born 1930.

They are not in the registers.

Trophies:

hand machine gun	1
rifles	2

Pidkamin raion: On 28 February the operational staff of the RO NKVD, together with a local garrison of the 203rd Infantry Regiment of the VV NKVD, carried out an operation in the village of Hai Starobridski, as a result of which the OUN kushch leader, Melnyk, Mykola Hryhoriievych, codenamed "Chornohora," and seven gang accomplices were detained.

Continuing the operation in a forested tract situated near this same village, it destroyed ten hiding places and uncovered a storehouse, from which were seized:

grenades	65
rifle grenades	250
rifles	3
pistols	2
cartridges	1,000

## *III. Liquidation of Saboteurs Evading Conscription to the Red Army and Other Anti-Soviet Elements*

Detained within twenty-four hours: evading the call-up to the Red Army

Gang accomplices	22
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Surrendered

Illegals	3
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NOTE: Detained in addition to the above-mentioned operations:

Velyki Mosty raion: gang accomplices	3
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Nemyriv raion:	"	4
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Shchyrets raion:	"	3
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Sokilnyky raion:	"	2
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Novy Yarychiv raion:	"	1
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Lviv raion:	"	2
Maheriv raion: evading the call-up to the Red Army		1
Surrendered:		
Yavoriv raion: illegals		3

#### *IV. Trophies*

hand machine guns	2
rifles	17
submachine guns	11
pistols	13
grenades	81
rifle grenades	250
mines	20
flare pistol	1
binoculars	1
blade	1
typewriter	1 (broken)
cartridges	2,180

NOTE: Trophies captured in addition to the above-mentioned operations:

Busk raion: mines	20
Novy Yarychiv raion: typewriter	1

#### *Information*

During the operation twenty-six hiding places were discovered and destroyed.

#### *V. Our Losses*

Killed: Sergeants	1
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#### *VI. Gang Manifestations*

In recent days no gang manifestations have been recorded on the territory of the oblast

#### *Surrender*

Ponykovytsia raion: On 28 February the solo bandits Buchynsky, Mykhailo Kostiantynovych, codenamed "Koren," and Matvenchuk, Hryhorii Lukych, who are not in the registers, surrendered to the RO NKVD.

Lopatyn raion: On 28 February three bandits, whose names will be provided separately, surrendered to the RO NKVD.

*Mass Summons*  
(For 28 February)

Ivano-Frankivsk raion: Summoned from the villages of: Dobrostan, 13 people; Tsuniv, 11 people; Lesniovitsa [Lisnovychi], 9 people.

Pidkamin raion: 95 people from 5 villages were summoned.

Velyki Mosty raion: Summoned from the villages of: Dvirtsi, 28 people; Butyny, 25 people; Prystan, 23 people; Lybil, 29 people.

As a result of the summons, five hiding places were destroyed stemming from declarations by local residents.

Shchyrets raion: Summoned from the villages of: Serdytsia and Humenets, 15 people.

Rava-Ruska raion: Summoned from the villages of: Huiche, 17 people; Hole Ravske, 19 people; Khlivchany, 11 people. Signatures were taken from 7 people.

Busk raion: Summoned from the villages of: Rakobovty, 5 people; Lanerivka, 5 people; Pobuzhany, 5 people; Yablunivka, 9 people; Volytsia-Derevianska, 18 people.

Novy Yarychiv raion: Summoned from the villages of: Remeniv, 15 people; Pykulovychi, 15 people; Myklashiv, 20 people.

According to the information of those who were summoned, four hiding places were uncovered, one person was recruited.

Between 23 and 25 February, 115 people were summoned from five villages.

Thirteen hiding places were uncovered and three people were recruited.

Nemyriv raion: Twenty-seven people were summoned from the village of Ulytsko-Seredkevych.

Krakovets raion: In the last few days 150 people were summoned from six villages.

Lopatyn raion: Summoned on 25 December from the villages of: Litkuv [sic], 18 people; Kustyn, 18 people; Smazhiv, 11 people.

*On the Number of Completed Mass Summons of Registered Elements and the Population to the NKVD Organs in the Last Twenty-Four Hours*

a) villages encompassed by summons	32
b) number of summoned people	564
c) signatures taken	7
d) prepared for recruitment	1
e) hiding places uncovered	9

*Organization and Combat Activities of Destruction Battalions*

1. Destruction battalions selected and confirmed by the chief of staffs	31
2. Destruction battalions created	287
With a total number of fighters in them	5,452

*Information*

## On the number of gang groups in the oblast

1. In the registers:	gang groups	53
	members	469
	solo bandits	457
	<hr/>	
	Total:	926
2. Newly uncovered: members of gang groups in the registers:	2	
bandits (the names of gang groups to which they belong have not been established)	38	
solo bandits	4	
	<hr/>	
Total:	970	
3. Liquidated:		
a) Recorded in the registers:		
members of gang groups	4	
solo bandits	6	
b) Not recorded in the registers:		
bandits (the names of the gang groups to which they belong have not been established)	38	
solo bandits	4	
	<hr/>	
Total liquidated:	52	
4. Remaining in the registers: gang groups	53	
members	467	
solo bandits	451	
	<hr/>	
Total:	918	

*Head of the NKGB Directorate of Lviv Oblast, Militia Commissar, 2nd Grade*

[signature]

Hrushko

2 March 1946

No. 1/1070

City of Lviv

[rectangular stamp of the Secretariat of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR]

HDA SBU, fond 2, list 31, file 10.

DOCUMENT 142: SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT  
THE FAILURE OF NKVD AGENT APRELSKAIA

[Russian-language document]

March 1946

Top Secret

Copy no. \_\_\_\_\_

*Special Report*

*about the failure of the secret service case Karpaty; a measure aimed at establishing contact with the central "leadership" of the OUN*

As is known from a number of our reports to the NKGB USSR, the secret service case Karpaty exposed a functioning Krai "leadership" of the OUN in the city of Kyiv, which has extended its influence to Kyiv, Poltava, Sumy, Dnipropetrovsk, and other eastern oblasts of the country.

As a result of many successfully completed secret service schemes with regard to the deep penetration of the Kyiv OUN krai leadership by our intelligence service and the intercepting of its Organizational contacts, the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR succeeded in exposing and liquidating the actively operating OUN underground in the Kyiv region and in several other oblasts of Ukraine. The successful penetration by our intelligence service of the krai leadership of the OUN enabled the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR in good time to suppress a number of active manifestations and to learn about the underground's plans.

In the process of the secret service work on the Karpaty case, the terrorist intentions of the most active members of the OUN krai leadership – the illegals Oskilko and Temish and their practical preparation and organization of a terrorist act against one of the members of the Politburo of the CC AUCP(B), \_\_\_\_\_ were exposed.

On the instruction of the NKGB USSR, the secret intelligence case Karpaty, in connection with the uncovered intentions of the processed individuals concerning central terror, was liquidated mainly by the arrests of the members of the OUN krai leadership and the entire lower-level OUN.

During the investigation all the arrestees, as a result of documented material evidence acquired earlier by the intelligence service, were quickly and completely proven guilty of criminal activity, and they fully confirmed all the obtained intelligence data on the Karpaty case.

The plan to carry out the design envisaged leaving individual OUN members in liberty, mainly in an effort to conclude the activities of secret agents on the case and to gain opportunities in the future for establishing new OUN contacts, especially in Ukraine's western oblasts.



At the time it was decided not to subject to seizure the main participant of the Taran case, Zakhazhevsky, who laid claim to the role of leader of the entire OUN movement in Ukraine's East and sought to establish a business contact with the central "leadership" of the OUN.

After the efficient liquidation of the Karpaty case by the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR, Taran-Zakhazhevsky, in view of the failure of the members of the OUN krai leadership and the Organization, immediately went underground without abandoning his intentions to make contact with the central leadership.

During the search for this contact Taran became interested in the personal opportunities of our agents surrounding him, including agent Aprelskaia who was working on the case.

Taking advantage of Aprelskaia's prior OUN contacts in Volyn, we adopted measures in connection with her raid into Lutsk to establish contact with the OUN underground in Western Ukraine, allegedly in the name of the Kyiv krai leadership of the OUN, which continued to exist.

Aprelskaia established such contact through an OUN secret agent in the city of Lutsk, Kaluzhenko, Nina Pavlivna, OUN codename "Zoia," who, as a result of measures undertaken by us through Aprelskaia, arrived in Kyiv, where she was brought to Taran-Zakhazhevsky through the intelligence service.

With the assistance of Kaluzhenko and Aprelskaia, Taran adopted measures aimed at establishing written contact with the active OUN underground in Volyn.

In connection with this, agent Aprelskaia was sent by us five times on a raid into Volyn to make contact with the active OUN underground.

After the second lengthy raid Aprelskaia delivered a written summons to Volyn to Taran-Zakhazhevsky in Kyiv, in accordance with which in August 1945 he left for Volyn for a meeting with OUN leaders.

In late September 1945 our agent Evgenia was also dropped in Volyn in connection with Taran's letter. However, Evgenia did not come back for a long period of time; Aprelskaia too did not return. In December 1945 the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR learned of the failure of our secret agent measure connected with the Karpaty intelligence case to establish contact with the active underground of Western Ukraine.

In and of itself, the raiding assignment of the valuable agent Evgenia into the OUN underground of Western Ukraine was a completely risky undertaking in the sense of fear for Evgenia's fate. This misgiving was based on the fact that Taran might tell the OUN about having been detained by our agencies in 1945. Such an admission by Taran would have quickly sparked the SB's utter suspicion towards him and individuals connected with him, with all attendant consequences.

However, on the basis of the intelligence service's lengthy observation of Taran, the study of his conduct by agent Evgenia herself, we came to the conclusion that Taran, out of fear for his own life, would not tell the SB about having been detained by the NKGB organs and subsequent release from under guard.

As was subsequently determined, Taran's conduct in the OUN underground of Volyn precluded the possibility that our measure would be exposed. As it turned out, Evgenia's exposure took place as a result of agent Aprelskaia's treachery.

Aprelskaia's unexpected treachery brought about Evgenia's exposure. Aprelskaia, who knew the cover story of the OUN krai leadership existing in Kyiv, which was already liquidated by us, as well as our plan to make contact with the active OUN underground in Western Ukraine (since this was being carried out by her), betrayed our measure and plans to the OUN underground, with which she had already established work contact by that time.

The collapse of our measures connected with the Karpaty secret service case was exposed by us according to the following circumstances.

In December 1945 a rank-and-file member of the OUN-UPA codenamed "Chorny" turned himself in to the Torchyn raion office of the NKVD, Volyn oblast; prior to this he was one of the bodyguards of Chuprynka, the leader of the OUN's Volynian-Polissian krai leadership.<sup>13</sup> Chorny fled the underground out of fear of being destroyed, since he was personally engaged in the construction of bunkers for the members of the OUN krai leadership and therefore knew about the location of the leadership.

During the interrogation at the NKVD Directorate of Volyn oblast, Chorny named the exact whereabouts west of the three bunkers where Chuprynka's headquarters were located, reported that a number of representatives of the OUN central leadership were also hiding there, and at the same time he talked about three individuals, whose surnames were unknown to him, who had come to Chuprynka in the underground from Ukraine's eastern oblasts.

Chorny also reported that rumours were circulating among the bandits that one of the easterners had been exposed as an NKVD agent. From among the easterners Chorny identified by name only one girl, Liuda, which corresponded to the name of agent Aprelskaia.

In connection with Chorny's statement about the location of Chuprynka's headquarters, the NKGB Directorate of Volyn oblast carried out a Chekist-military operation, using Chorny in the capacity of guide, who led the fighting group to these bunkers.

13 The city of Lutsk, the administrative centre of Volyn oblast, is located on the Styr River in northwestern Ukraine. Torchyn is about twenty-five kilometres west of Lutsk. "Chuprynka" was the nom de guerre of Mykola Kozak, regional leader of the SB in Volyn, later regional OUN leader in the northwestern territories.

As a result of the operations, all the people found in the bunker, numbering eight individuals, were killed, including the leaders of the OUN's Volynian-Polissian krai leadership (some of the corpses were not identified). Among those killed, Chorny identified: Modest, senior investigator of the SB Section of the OUN central leadership; Vlas, chief of communications of the central leadership; Vik, propagandist of the OUN central leadership; and others. A large quantity of documents, valuable from the operational standpoint, was seized as trophies.

Analysis of the captured documents established that agent Aprelskaia, who was used in the Karpaty case, had stepped onto the path of treachery during the second raid, that is, towards the end of her three-month sojourn in the OUN underground in Volyn (in the month of July 1945), and she betrayed to the OUN all our well-known plans and measures that were being carried out.

Having been turned by the SB, on two occasions Aprelskaia brought OUN disinformational "secret messages" with her to Kyiv, on the basis of which Taran was let through by us, and agent Aprelskaia [carried out a] raid into the OUN underground in Volyn.

Before the dispatching of agent Aprelskaia we assumed that the "secret messages" delivered by Aprelskaia were of a disinformational nature. However, we absolutely did not suspect treason on the part of Aprelskaia, who prior to her departure to the West, was vetted several times by us.

Aprelskaia, cooperating with our agencies, betrayed more than a dozen active members of the OUN underground. As is known from our previous reports to the NKGB USSR, she, taking part in the Karpaty intelligence service case, was one of the main agents through whom the OUN krai leadership in Kyiv was exposed and liquidated; from the very beginning of the elaboration the Organizational and programmatic-tactical instructions of the OUN krai leadership in the SUZ were intercepted through her, the Bila Tserkva okruha leadership of the OUN was exposed, [and] arms caches intended for terrorist plans were exposed with her help. Through Aprelskaia we averted a number of attempts by the OUN to carry out terrorist acts against our agents, who were suspected by the OUNites in connection with cases carried out earlier.

Ending up for a lengthy period of time in the milieu of the anti-Soviet OUN underground in the West, Aprelskaia fell under their influence and betrayed our plan of measures that was being carried out by her. Supposing that the main reason that induced Aprelskaia to step onto the path of treachery was her personal intimate connection established with Chuprynka, the leader of the OUN's Volynian-Polissian krai leadership.

The distinction should be noted that Aprelskaia also reported to the SB that Kaluzhenko, who had been linked earlier with the UNKGB, is not a double agent but is cooperating honestly with us; meanwhile, as is known from the

case, Kaluzhenko was an exceptionally fanatical OUNite and a markedly pronounced double agent.

The SB, after obtaining such data from Aprelskaia, as is evident from documents, called into question the person and conduct of Taran, suspecting him of being an NKGB agent.

Taran and Kaluzhenko, apparently under the influence of torture by the SB, gave false testimony about themselves as well as about the secret collaborators of the NKGB carrying out our agencies' special mission for deep intelligence-gathering in the OUN central leadership.

The NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR adopted measures to locate and capture the traitor Aprelskaia. For these purposes, Aprelskaia's relatives living in Kyiv were placed under continuous intelligence surveillance.

Among Taran's Organizational contacts, the members of the OUN underground who remained unrepressed after the previously completed operational realization of the Karpaty case were arrested. The investigation is being conducted in the direction of exposing other members of the OUN underground who are still unknown to us.

People's Commissar for State Security of the Ukrainian SSR  
Lieutenant General  
(Savchenko)

March 1946

774/s

City of Kyiv

4 copies,

To Comrade Merkulov

To Comrade Fedotov

For the dossier of the Secretariat of the NKGB of the Ukrainian SSR

To Comrade Tanelzon

To Comrade Karnaukh

Basis: [Rectangular official stamp]

True: [signature]

HDA SBU, fond 16, list 7, file 4, vol. 6.

DOCUMENT 143: INFORMATION FROM THE  
UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND: THE TACTICS AND  
METHODS OF THE NKVD AND NKGB

4 June 1946

*The Tactics and Methods of the NKVD and NKGB  
for January, February, March, April, and May 1946*

The Soviet army has been billeted in the entire territory since 14 January 1946. In nadraion VIII, 3, were billeted mostly NKVD Interior Troops, who came from Rava-Ruska. The commander of these troops was a colonel who, together with the staff, had his main quarters in Brody. A major was billeted in Zabolotsi; a major was also billeted in Sasiv and Bily Kamin. The raion NKVD transmitted information and assisted these troops. The troops themselves developed cases, arrested, and interrogated. After the interrogations, the arrestees were sent to Rava-Ruska.

At the same time the raions were also carrying out work. Garrisons numbering between fifteen and thirty fighters were billeted in villages. The garrison commanders were mostly lieutenants.

Before the elections, that is, 10 February 1946, they limited their work to the study and processing of the territory; if they conducted some searches, arrests, or dragnet operations, then it was exclusively on the basis of concrete *vsypy* [information obtained as a result of investigations, interrogations, or denunciations]. Those who were arrested or who surrendered were questioned on the spot, and the materials obtained during the investigation were utilized at once.

NKVD district militia officers were based permanently in the garrisons located in their districts. At the same time, the garrisons were engaged in explanatory preparations for the elections, protecting electoral districts, patrolling of forests, fields, and villages (they searched for tracks).

Troops were billeted in nadraion VIII, 3, depending on how the villages were exposed [as a result of confessions]. There were Red Army troops or units of the OBB. OBB units, or "special units," were billeted in the villages of Pochapy, Obertasiv, Holohory (permanently billeted), Vilshanytsia, and Zadviria. Red Army troops were billeted in all the remaining villages, with which the raion NKVD and district militia officers stayed at the same time.

All the garrisons were linked with each other by a telephone network.

After the elections a powerful crackdown was launched against our movement. They arrested and interrogated almost entire villages. They drew up succinct censuses throughout the villages. On exposed farms, walls

were dismantled, dams demolished, ovens smashed, and ceilings poked and thoroughly prodded with wires. Every morning they drove around a village [to determine] whether anyone had approached the houses from a field. In forests they limited themselves to walking through cuttings and roads, and looking for tracks; if any tracks were found, only then did they follow the tracks; they also walked in skirmish lines through fields. When farmers drove to a field or a forest, they searched to see if they were transporting food. Labourers going to work were not permitted to carry more than a single ration of bread.

Agents gave them few materials. Many materials were provided by captured underground members, those who were dragged out of hideouts or gave themselves up. They were interrogated on the spot, urging them mostly to betray hideouts. Underground members who revealed information about hideouts and gave more materials were released by the NKVD and then used in the struggle against us; they were given weapons and accompanied the NKVD men with wires to search for hideouts.

The Bolsheviks organized ambushes in villages and at approaches to a village.

In the month of March the raion NKVD (most from the OBB) began to organize "destruction battalions" in villages out of demobilized soldiers, western Ukrainians, and those who were returning from Germany. Those people were less informed about our movement, which is why the Bolsheviks succeeded in turning them into *strybky*. Mass agitation was launched among young people to join the Komsomol. The successes are feeble.

Few raids were carried out in villages and forests; they mostly carried out raids of places that had been exposed. If raids did take place, they mustered troops from two or three raions; various garrisons were used in raids. Raids took place in various ways.

If in a village, then they went around to all the house owners and searched thoroughly. They took apart weirs, attics, straw, removed floors and walls, smashed ovens, and prodded carefully with wires. The members of these dragnet squads were accompanied by those who had given themselves up, and they told them in what place there could be a hideout.

When dragnet operations took place in forests, they set up guard posts near the forest, at intersecting cuttings, and the rest walked in a skirmish line, in a sharpshooters' rank, or they walked along roads, shouting [at the residents] to abandon the insurgents. They had prearranged signals with their guard posts: raising a rifle upward or to the side. Unable to go through dense pine plantations, they burned them, as a result of which up to 500 *morgs* [a unit of land measure equal to about two acres (0.8 hectare)] of forest were burned down in the northern forests. They also poked wires into places that had been exposed, old billets, hillocks, [and] high river banks. The raids did not produce positive results.

In the village of Ponykva a public “peoples’ trial” took place on 3 February 1946.<sup>14</sup> The company commander of political instructor Arkadii, squad leader Mukha, two UPA privates, Volodymyr Huziuk and Dmytro Humeniuk, stanytsia leader Liuba Havryliuk, and the girls Olha Horbal, Maria Vavryk, and others were tried. The trial was led by an NKVD colonel (dark) tall, fat, probably a Georgian; he often rode a grey horse. He was the commander of the garrisons that were billeted in this area. The defendants were defended by two lawyers from Lviv. Instead of defending the accused, they urged them to plead guilty, [saying] the court would fine them. Of all the defendants, Mukha and Liuba Havryliuk held themselves the best. The residents of nearby villages were herded into the courtroom. After the verdict was announced, the population demanded the release of all the defendants; they threatened that if they were not released, they would not go out to vote.

All the garrisons began leaving on the 10th and finished by 15 April. Only the special fighting units, OBB troops, and NKVD raion troops were left in place. They are billeting [there] to this day; sometimes they move from one village to another.

Sokolivka – 40 fighters, NKVD raion troops

Perevolochna – 9 fighters, a special fighting unit and 26 strybyky

Turia – 27 fighters, OBB

Rozvazh – 6 fighters, OBB

Bily Kamin – 11 fighters, a guard unit for subsidiary farms, 16 strybyky

Pobich – 25 fighters, NKVD subraion

Kadlubysko – 30 fighters, raion NKVD

Ponykva – 26 fighters, NKVD raion troops

Zharkiv – 20 fighters, NKVD troops

Holubytsia – 20 fighters, NKVD troops

Peniaky – 27 fighters, NKVD troops

Liutovyska – 40 fighters, NKVD troops

Nemiach – 18 fighters, special fighting unit

Stybarivka – 28 fighters, OBB

Chernytsia – 25 fighters, NKVD raion troops and 23 strybyky

Sukhovolia – 11 fighters, special fighting unit

Razhniv – 30 fighters, special fighting unit

Berlyn – unknown

Lashniv – unknown

Koniushkiv – unknown

Slovita – 100 fighters, artillery men

Kurovychi – pilot school, unknown

14 Ponykva is a village in Brody raion, Lviv oblast.

Holohory – 50 fighters, OBB

Bortkiv – 30 fighters, field NKVD troops

Vilshanytsia – 30 fighters, NKVD raion troops

Fyrleivka – 20 fighters, MTS guards

Kutkir – 15 fighters, bridge guard

Pochapy – 25 fighters, OBB

Verbliany – 20 fighters, special fighting unit

Hrabova – 15 fighters, special fighting unit

The special fighting units are commanded by militia officers, namely: [in] Olesko, Kovalenko; Ulianov in Zabolotsi, Sukhin and Korolev in Pidkamin, Voskoboinikov and Bykov in Brody, Chizhov and Zorianov in Hlyniany, and Pogrebnoi.

The special fighting units are composed of Bolsheviks and our people who have given themselves up or surrendered; they are not firmly attached to one district; they are used by all militia officers, who leave for an area in order to take care of various matters.

Billeted in villages, the army sets up guard posts at night in villages, on roads and fields, and passages that have been exposed. Upon noticing a passerby, it begins pulling various tricks (like a clown). With their hands they want to provoke passersby to approach it. Next to it are usually Bolsheviks lying in ambush. After finding a hideout in a forest, they set up an ambush next to it and wait to see if someone comes to the hideout. During the day they set up guard posts in a forest next to streams or wells, thinking that someone will come for water. At night they throw various pieces of metal on the forest roads and lie in ambush near the road. When evening comes, they flatten the road [and] smooth out the tracks on it, and in the morning they note whether there are any fresh tracks. Right now they are setting up guard posts in the evenings at the edge of a forest [to see] if anyone will be going to the village. In the daytime they walk through the forests, they search for paths, singing insurgent songs.

Chizhov's special fighting group is billeted in the village, then it heads in the direction of the raion, enters the forest, and then hunkers down secretly. In the evening they set up guard posts at the edge of the forest on the side of the village, or they go into a village to set up a guard post.

In the morning they go into the forest again.

In many villages they have organized strybyky numbering between ten and thirty people. They are organized in a variety of ways. People, like western Ukrainians, having returned from Germany, an element that has transgressed against us, sign up voluntarily, but the majority is recruited by force. The better ones accompany the Bolsheviks on ambushes and dragnets. At night they billet all together or with the Bolsheviks.



Each strybok signs a declaration that if he surrenders his weapons to the insurgents, he will be prosecuted. That is why in some villages the strybky hide in houses at night.

### *Secret Agents*

In order to keep secret the identities of informers, during an arrest the Bolsheviks pretend to rob them. This applies to informers who are recruited from an environment that has family ties with underground members. Through the mediation of such informers, the NKVD tries to use their relatives in the underground for provocations.

When an informer provides weak materials, the Bolsheviks instruct those informers to spy more thoroughly on active underground members; then they order them to carry out an assassination.

The NKVD arrests a rather exposed girl who is working in the service of the UPA. She confesses, and other girls exposed by her also confess. The NKVD hands her over to the prosecutor's office in Lviv; after her release she is sent into the district. The raion NKGB recruits her as an a-v [penetration agent]; if she does not go into the villages to gather intelligence out of fear, they immediately arrest her a second time and use her as a witness who has already confessed earlier. This witness is once again recruited by the Lviv NKGB as a raiding agent and sent into the field, knowing that the insurgents will liquidate her.

The NKVD is now trying mostly to recruit its agents in the simplest possible way so that it will not be possible to decode him/her. All institutions also recruit secret agents. This proves that all Soviet organizations are taking part in the struggle against us.

The NKVD exerts influence on the family of an underground member or terrorizes it so that its member will give himself up or alert the NKVD as to his whereabouts; then the NKVD carries out a raid and seemingly captures them.

Better work in the NKGB's secret agent recruitment may be observed. They are trying to recruit agents at the first available opportunity, in the briefest period of time and without arrests.

There is an interesting, new method of recruiting secret agents. This recruitment lies above all in the selection of "plenipotentiary" agents, and only afterwards is it verified by the RO NKGB. In order for the resident not to reveal his identity, he is not allowed to recruit agents. He was handed an already prepared network.

The Bolsheviks desire at all costs to undermine our authority among the populace by means of false propaganda; seeing that young people are being raised and becoming fascinated by our struggle, they are already trying to reeducate children and yoke [them] to themselves by means of gifts.

They are engaging all their organizations in the struggle against us, for example, the Komsomol, MTS, military registration and enlistment offices, and others.

There are cases where secret informers are recruited through their families or friends, who work in state positions.

### *Reasons for Peoples' Collapse*

First and foremost, poor preparation for the winter; there were no hideouts, and if they existed, they were not constructed in secret (the work itself was bad, or many people knew about the hideouts who should not have known); there were not enough hideouts, for example, there was a hideout, and when someone appeared, she or he was captured or dragged out alive who knew or could have known about the hideout in question; it was necessary to flee from this hideout. Then they hid in straw or in old hideouts.

Dragnet operations alone produced very little for the Bolsheviks; there were few cases where the Bolsheviks themselves found a hideout, even though they were very primitive. The reason behind the discovery of a hideout was exposure [via investigations, interrogations, denunciations].

Provocation was another major reason. Little attention was paid to this phenomenon: [it] was noted even by SB associates. There was a functioning provocation prior to a crackdown in the Hlyniany and Krasne areas. In other places provocations prior to a crackdown were not observed. Provocation became strongly developed during the crackdown period; it acted immediately (intensive confessions by those who gave themselves up or were captured).

The largest number of people fell because of misjudging the winter and the enemy, and because of laxity and lack of secrecy.

Those who gave themselves up and surrendered alive were mostly poorly prepared underground members of weak character.

*Glory to Ukraine!*                      *Glory to the Heroes!*

*Billets*, 4 June 1946                      (-) Har.

HDA SBU, 13-376-49-038.

DOCUMENT 144: ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE  
KILLING OF THE HEAD OF THE SB OUN, MYKOLA  
ARSENYCH (“MYKHAILO”)

[Russian-language document]

January 1947

*Copy*  
*Top Secret*

*To the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP (B)U of Ukraine,  
Comrade K.Z. Lytvyn<sup>15</sup>  
Report  
on the Liquidation of the Head of the SB Section of the OUN leadership,  
codenamed “Mykhailo,” also known as “Hryhir” and “Maksym”*

In August 1946 the MVD of the Ukrainian SSR created a special operations group to find and liquidate the members of the so-called central OUN leadership.

During the period from August to December 1946 the special operations group carried out agentura-secret intelligence work with the help of fighter agents.

During this period the special operations group ascertained and liquidated more than thirty functionaries of the central OUN leadership – couriers, security officers, technical workers.

In January of this year, through the combined actions of a special operations group and special forces group, it was ascertained that a hideout, in which the head of the SB of the central OUN leadership, codenamed “Mykhailo,” was hiding with little cover, was located in the forest east of the village of Zhukiv, in Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast.

Upon obtaining these data, the MVD of the Ukrainian SSR drafted a plan to carry out an operation aimed at capturing or destroying Mykhailo.

On 21 January 1947 a Chekist-military operation began in the vicinity of the villages of Zhukiv and Hynovychi, as a result of which on 23 January of this year Tikhomirov, a student at Regimental School 290 of the SP VV MVD [Infantry Regiment of the Interior Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs], spotted light steam and slightly thawed earth on the slope of a precipice, two kilometres east of the village of Zhukiv.

<sup>15</sup> Kostiantyn Lytvyn headed the agitation-propaganda section of the Communist Party of Ukraine from September 1941 until 1951. Zhukiv is a large village in Berezhany raion of Ternopil oblast, on the banks of the Zolota Lypa River.

The ventilation air-vent of the hideout was discovered by these signs.

Tikhomirov poked an iron probing rod into the opening of the air-vent, as a result of which a pillow, with which the opening of the air-vent had been plugged, fell inside.

By the smashing sound of dishes, onto which the pillow had fallen, the location of the hideout was accurately ascertained.

The hideout was immediately blockaded by troops, and within one metre from the forest road a well-concealed entryway to the hideout was discovered, which was opened by the soldiers.

The bandits found in the hideout were told to surrender and come out of the hideout.

In response to this, one of the bandits jumped out of the hideout and opened fire on the military-special operations group with a submachine gun, but he was killed by answering fire and fell into the hideout.

After this, from inside the hideout Mykhailo, firing a pistol, shot his wife, codenamed "Vira," and the courier of the central OUN leadership, codenamed "Natalka" (our agent Katria), after which he poured kerosene over documents, lit them, and shot himself.

From the hideout were dragged the bodies of two men and two women, [from] whose identification the fighters of the special operations group established that the killed people were:

1. Arsenych-Berezovsky, Mykola Vasylovych, codenamed "Mykhailo" also known as "Hryhir," "Maksym," and "Demian," year of birth 1910, a native of the village of Nyzhnii Bereziv, Stanyslaviv oblast, a Ukrainian, with higher education. Joined the OUN before 1939; in 1939 he was in the emigration, returned to Ukraine during the period of the German occupation. From 1940 he worked in the SB (Security Service) Section of the central OUN leadership, which was headed at the time by Maksym Ruban. In late 1941 he was appointed head of the SB Section of the central OUN leadership; he held this position until the very moment of his liquidation. A participant of all OUN conferences and congresses.
2. Vira, the wife of Mykhailo, was the leader of the Women's Section of the Lviv city OUN leadership.
3. Natalka, the courier of the central OUN leadership, was our agent, Katria.

The body of the fourth bandit was not identified because his head and face were completely disfigured by the explosion of the grenade onto which he fell.

The following was removed from the hideout:

2 machine guns, 2 pistols, 1 rifle, 1 typewriter, 1 telephone apparatus as well as two sacks of documents, among which were 14 VKP(B) [All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik)] Party membership cards; 17 Komsomol membership cards; 52 military cards; 21 Red Army books; 53 Soviet passports; 12 attestations

of district militia officers; 14 identity cards of MVD-MGB personnel; 200 attestations and certificates of Soviet institutions, as well as copies of SB interrogation reports and lists of Soviet citizens, approximately one thousand people, killed by SB bandits; Mykhailo's personal manuscripts, instructions and directions concerning the work of the SB and other documents.

The bodies of the killed were transported to the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast, where the former members of the central OUN leadership Serhii and Arkadii recognized Mykhailo and his wife, Vira, concerning which identification statements were drawn up. The confiscated documents are being examined.

The operation in the area of Hynovychi-Zhukiv is continuing in the direction of searching for the hideouts of Mykhailo's bodyguards and his archives.

Thus, during the period from fall 1944 to February 1947 the MVD organs of the Ukrainian SSR liquidated seven [*sic*] members of the OUN central leadership: Serhii Dorosh, Halyna, Klym Savur, and Mykhailo.

Three members of the central leadership not yet liquidated, Shukhevych, Roman; Lemish; and Petro are still being sought.

True: Lieutenant Colonel (signature)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 65, fols. 67-71.

DOCUMENT 145: UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND'S REPORT ON  
MASS DEPORTATIONS DURING OPERATION ZAPAD

1 November 1947

*Report  
on the Deportation of the Ukrainian Population to Siberia  
on 21 October 1947*

On 21 October 1947 the Bolsheviks carried out a mass deportation in the entire area of the Ukrainian population to Siberia.

This time, subject to deportation were mainly those families whose members had fallen in the revolutionary liberation struggle against the Muscovite occupier, who were still fighting and who had been sentenced to slave labour.

Two weeks before the deportation garrisons were billeted in the entire area, which carried out mass ambushes, attacks, and the like.

Three days before the deportation the enemy mobilized all automobiles that were located in the raion, together with drivers, and in addition special militia units composed of Muscovites arrived by car. In Zhovkva the deportation began on the night of 20–21 October, and throughout the villages garrisons, the militia, and the entire MVD-MGB gang and all kinds of party members and Bolshevik lackeys occupied the farmsteads of citizens designated for deportation, and waited until morning. Day had barely begun to break when they began taking people away.

They behaved differently in different places. They permitted some to take proper clothing or food. But in the majority of cases, they did not even let [people] get dressed and even took them away barefoot, often without a piece of bread. Quite often there was none in a house at all.

The following citizens were *deported from Zhovkva*:

- |                          |          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------|----------------------|
| 1. Zavadka, Ivan         | 2 people | In hiding – 2 people |
| 2. Holinka, Lev          | 3        | In hiding – 3 people |
| 3. Salo, Konstantyn      | 5        |                      |
| 4. Bandura, Vasyl        | 5        |                      |
| 5. Sikorska, Olha        | 1        |                      |
| 6. Khavunka, Mykhailo    | 2        |                      |
| 7. Sluka, Dmytro         | 3        |                      |
| 8. Stepenytska, Kateryna | 1        |                      |
| 9. Chyk, Ivan            | 5        |                      |
| 10. Furtak, Stefa        | 4        |                      |
| 11. Hushchak Maria       | 3        |                      |
| 12. Kit, Petro           | 5        |                      |
| 13. Holovnych, Yulia     | 3        |                      |

At the time Tokar, Lina, who was being hunted by the MGB, was hiding in Holovnych's house; here she fell into the Bolsheviks' hands; when they were putting her into a car she spat in the Bolsheviks' eyes and instantly took poison; she was brought to a hospital, where she was saved. Right now she is in a prison in Lviv.

*People in hiding who are designated for deportation:*

1. Sydon, Maria
2. Panchyshyn, Mykhailo 3 people
3. Matvisiv, Stefa 4

Deported from Volia Vysotska:

1. Pavdun, Mykhailo 7 people
2. Romanovych, Anna 3
3. Zvir, Parania 3
4. Pavlina, Yulia 2
5. Zvir, Semén 4
6. Zvir, Mykhailo 4
7. Krip, Mykola 2
8. Kalchynsky, Vasyl 1
9. Volokh, Ivan 2

*In hiding:* the family of Kulykivets, Semén – 5 people

Karaba, Ksenia – 2 people

*Deported from the village of Zamochochok:*

1. Nahorniak, Kateryna 3 people
2. Krip, Anastazia 5
3. Klub, Motrona 6
4. Klub, Mykhailo 4
5. Krekhovets, Mykola 3
6. Hadio, Anna 3
7. Dziub, Mykhailo 5
8. Masiuk, Parania 3
9. Puhach, Kateryna 2
10. Klub, Anna 2
11. Shvets, Kateryna 2
12. Hadada, Pavlo 5
13. Vlashchuk, Hryhorii 2
14. Kasian, Maria 3
15. Hadio, Anna 3
16. Pushchynska, Anna 5
17. Klub, Kateryna 4
18. Hadio, Maria 1
19. Buchman, Petro 3
20. Kohut, Maria 3

*Deported from the village of Viazova:*

- |    |                   |                    |
|----|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1. | Kantor, Hryhorii  | 6                  |
| 2. | Lamaha, Eva       | 1(2 are in hiding) |
| 3. | Oryshchyn, Yosyf  | 4                  |
| 4. | Valko, Ivan       | 2                  |
| 5. | Skaprivska, Maria | 4                  |
| 6. | Nykyla, Ivan      | 3                  |

*Deported from Oplitna:*

- |     |                    |   |
|-----|--------------------|---|
| 1.  | Pushchynsky, Ivan  | 5 |
| 2.  | Kupetsky, Stepan   | 2 |
| 3.  | Havryliak, Parania | 3 |
| 4.  | Sikorska, Maria    | 5 |
| 5.  | Syrvatka, Yaroslav | 4 |
| 6.  | Popel, Parania     | 1 |
| 7.  | Havryliak, Maria   | 6 |
| 8.  | Marushka, Anna     | 1 |
| 9.  | Kupetsky, Andrii   | 2 |
| 10. | Panas, Maria       | 3 |
| 11. | Hupalo             | 5 |
| 12. | Huk, Anna          | 3 |
| 13. | Stetsyk, Andrii    | 1 |
| 14. | Mylan, Zofia       | 3 |
| 15. | Pushchynska, Olha  | 2 |

During the deportation of the peasant woman Marushka, Anna, her fourteen-year-old son began running away. The Bolsheviks opened fire and wounded him seriously, put him on a wagon, and threw him into a train car in that state. The further fate of the wounded Marushka, Hryhorii, is unknown.

Three families were *deported from the village of Soposhyn*.

The following were *deported from the village of Kunyn*:

1. Baran, Yurko, aged 60 – 4 members of his family escaped
2. Kovtyka, Yurko, aged 60; Anna, 50; Ivan, 23; Petro, 50; Maria, 26
3. Kachmaida, Hryhorii, aged 60; Olena, 60; Oleksa, 30 – 3 family members escaped
4. Derkach, Pavlo, 60; Ahafia, 50; Anastazia, 17; Olena, 16
5. Khymytsia, Tymko, 50; Varvara, 48; Anna, 48; Vasyl, 10; Myron 8 – 2 family members escaped
6. Romaniv, Ahafia, aged 40; Pelahia, 55; Havrys, 15
7. Derkach, Pelahia, 60 – 2 family members escaped
8. Bosak, Maria, 40, and 4 other family members, altogether 5 people
9. Hren, Maria, 35, and 2 children
10. Teneta, Oleksa, 50; Anastazia, 24 – 2 family members escaped



11. Smoliak, Eva, 40, and 5 children, 2 of them escaped
12. Tsytulua, Parania, 40, and 2 children
13. Rehan, Ilko, 50; Olena, 48; Petro, 20; and 3 children
14. Lypnytsky, Oleksa, 50; Olena, 48; Liuba, 13; Zofia, Maria, 5; the 15-year-old boy escaped
15. Kudyk, Anastazia, 30; Maria, 8; Pylyp, 5  
*Deported from the village of Bir-Kunynsky:*
16. Zhovtovska, Eva, aged 38  
Kuzko, Kuzma, 85
- Kovtovska, Feska, 70; Yaroslav, 13; Zofia, 8; and 2 children younger than 8 escaped
17. Zahailo, Maria, 40; Mykhailo, 17; Ivan, 5, and a 4-year-old girl escaped
18. Salamakha, Maria, 50; Mykhailo, 40; Anna, 24
19. Pavlechko, Petro, 50; Anastazia, 40  
Yatsun, [first name missing], a 70-year-old granny and 2 children, one aged 2 and the other aged 4; the 12-year-old boy escaped. (The entire family was sent to the hospital in Zhovkva because they were very sick with typhus.)
20. Borys, Vasyl, aged 40; Feska, 50; Vasyl, 17  
*Deported from the village of Dobrosyn:*
1. Klub, Semén, aged 60 – two family members escaped
2. Marushka, Yakym, 65; Marushka's wife
3. Hadio, Mykola, 68, and his wife and two children
4. Zhuk, Ahafia, 25; Mykola 17; Zhuk (father), 62; (mother), 60; (daughter), 10 (Zhuk, Metodora, was also supposed to be deported, but she died that very day.)
5. Babukh, Dymko, 60; the rest of the family members escaped
6. Tsiupka, Ivan, 50; Anna, 48; 4 family members escaped
7. Hel, Mykyta, 60; (wife), 50; Anastazia, 22; Teklia, 18; (child), 8
8. Kuliavets, Irena, 60; Maria, 35; Mykola, 28; 3 children, including two boys, 19 and 8, escaped  
*Deported from the village of Pyly:*
1. Soroka, Petro, aged 68; Vasyl, 21; 3 family members escaped
2. Perelytsia, Andrii, 22; (mother), 50; 2 family members escaped
3. Shchyrba, Mykola, 55; Anastazia, 50; Ivan, 22
4. Klub, Ivan, 60; (wife), 55; an 11-year-old boy escaped
5. Machikha, Stefan, 72; Anna, 28; 3 family members escaped  
*Deported from the village of Skvariava Nova:*
1. Bakun, Anna, aged 60; Zavada, Anna, 15 (foster daughter)
2. Zavada, Ilko, 61; Maria, 58; Nastia, 18; Mykola, 10
3. Bakun, Petro, 59; Maria, 55; 2 family members escaped
4. Mykytyn, Eva, 51; Anna, 23; Tymofei, 19; Vasyl, 16; Volodymyr, 10; Paraskevia, 9; Syverko, 7

5. Mazuryk, Semén, 45 (hamlet of Lynnyky); Eva, 50; Rozumiiko; Nastia, 19; Mazuryk, Steftsia, 16; Vasyl, 13

*Deported from the village of Hlynske:*

1. Mykytyn, Osyp, aged 60; Pazia, 50; Anna, 23; Zosia, 20; Kateryna, 15; 2 family members escaped
2. Kravych, Nastia, 40; Irka, 10; Ihor, 2
3. Vorotsianka, Maria, 70; Kateryna, 45; Maria, 17; Nastia, 11; one girl escaped
4. Shchur, Zofia, 50; Vasyl, 24; Mykhailo, 10; 3 daughters escaped

*Deported from the village of Krekhiv:*

1. Hren, Ilko, aged 45; Ahafia, 40; Roman, 14
2. Maternak, Olena, 45; Roman, 7; the husband escaped
3. Salo, Osyp, 20; Roman, 18; Yulian, 16 (the father of those sons was deported back in 1946)
4. Yurochko, Paraskevia, 24; the rest of the family escaped
5. Romaniv, Anna, 40; (son), 10
6. Dedyk, Olena, aged 40; her son escaped
7. Zazulia, Vasyl, 60; Anna, 55
8. Kryvoshansky, M, 60; Zofia, 55; the daughter fled
9. Sharamailo, Ivan (wife and daughter)
10. Kastruba, Ivan, aged 60; (wife), 55; Fed, 25
11. Voitak, Mykola, 55 (hamlet of Ruda Ahafia), 50; Mykola, 23; Olena, 17; Ivas, 10; Marusia, 8; Mykhailo, 6
12. Khymchak, Mykola, 35; (wife), 32; daughter, 5
13. Khymchak, Mykhailo, 65; (wife), 64; the other family members escaped
14. Kustyianych, Vasyl, 33 (hamlet of Khamy); Anna, 30; daughter, 2

*Deported from the village of Fiina:*

1. Pushchynska, Ahafia, aged 55; Anna, 35; the rest of the family escaped
2. Honchar, Yurko, 55; the rest of the family escaped

*Families in Skvariava Nova that were supposed to be deported but escaped:* Kin, Kateryna Vilhan, Mykhailo Mykhaliuk, Anna Hren, Mykhailo. From the village of Krekhiv: Byk, Luka Krochko, Stefan Tsyulia, Mykhailo Vuhliar, Tanka.

*Deported from the village of Poliany:*

1. Rodyk, Maria, aged 50; Dmytro, 18; Stefan, 20
2. Rodyk, Vasyl, 70; Eva, 60; Anna, 30
3. Ferko, Stefan, 35; Pelahia, 55; Dmytro, 18; Ivanka, 12
4. Druzhbliak, Kateryna, 55; Ahafia, 20
5. Chorny, Iliia, 35; Kateryna, 30; Volodymyr, 7; Stefan, 3; Yaroslav, 4, and one nursling
6. Chorny, Vasyl, 50; Maria, 45; Anna, 23; Kateryna, 13

*Deported from the village of Mokrotyn:*

1. Hrekh, Mykola, aged 75, died during transport
2. Pelekh, Mykhailo, 69
3. Pakholok, Kateryna, 65
4. Skira, Kateryna, 58; Anna, 16; Pelahia, 16
5. Shelevii, Ivan, 65; Yaroslav, 12
6. Tsis, Ivan, 56
7. Seniavsky, Hryhorii, 69; [Seniavska] Anna, 69; [Seniavska] Anna, 36  
[Seniavsky] Yevhen, 4
8. Bosak, Ivan, 57; Anastazia, 69; Vasyl, 23
9. Niunko, Demian, 68
10. Bosak, Teodor, 69; Maria, 62
11. Lashchivska Maria, 30 (Lashchivsky); Bohdan, 5; Lashchivska, Maria,  
4; Zhezlo, Teodozii, 25
12. Didyk, Ivan, 66; Maria, 63; Anastazia, 20
13. Yaskiv, Vasyl, 53; Parania, 54; Ivan, 12
14. Svynchak, Vasyl, 66; Maria, 60; Olha, 23; Ivan, 16
15. Martyn, Petro, 48
16. Shurko, Anastazia, 38; Kateryna, 26 (and Kateryna's husband, an  
Easterner)

*Deported from the village of Kopanka:*

1. Khliebyshyn, Pelahia, aged 54; her husband escaped
2. Hnat, Parania, 59; Yevhenia, 16
3. Podorak, Eva, 65; Pelahia, 26; Anna, 14

*Deported from the village of Zhura:*

1. Levus, Maria, aged 48; Anna, 20
2. Skira, Dmytro, 53 (had returned a week earlier from Siberia);  
Anastazia, 50; Mykhailo, 27; Liusia Irka

*Deported from Terniv:*

1. Piadyk, Ivan, aged 70; Maria, 55; Hryhorii, 12
2. Skira, Ivan, aged 55; Maria, 45; Mykhailo, 4; 2 family members escaped
3. Moroz, Iliia, 69; Mykhailo, 37; Anastazia, 27; Olesia, 4; Dania, 2;  
Semén, 1 month (his mother escaped)
4. Zavadka, Anastazia, 65; (daughter), 32; Tatomyr, Daria, 29; Borys, 3; (a  
5-year-old child escaped)
5. Veba, Stepan, 47; Eva, 40; Vasyl, 18; Pazia, 19; Liubov, ?; 3 children  
escaped: 2 boys and a girl
6. Puzhak, Ksenia, 47; Mykhailo, 15 and 3 small children; 2 girls escaped

*Deported from the village of Matsoshyn:*

1. Pavnyk, Eva, aged 23; Bohdania, 4; Myroslava, 3
2. Pavnyk, Vasyl, 65; Domitselia, 63

3. Hrynyk, Panko, 65; Parania, 63
4. Dolna, Anna, 24 (her child escaped and her husband is in Siberia)
5. Pavnyk, Teodor, 65 Maria; 59 Oksana, 3
6. Dziub, Maria, 48; Liubov, 13; Osyp, 16; Ivan, 26
7. Verkhola, Yulia, 37, daughter, 13
8. Pasternak, Mykola, 47; Eva, 43; Mariika, 13; Iliia, 10
9. Hrynyk, Maria, 26

Fifty families were deported from Briukhovychi raion; a list of names will be appended.<sup>16</sup>

All the deportees were robbed of property, live and stationary inventory, grain, potatoes, all kinds of vegetables, forage, and very often clothing as well. Everyone was transported to the railway station in Zhovkva. Also brought here were families from the vicinities of Maheriv and Mosty. During the waiting period in Zhovkva some neighbours and distant relatives tried to pass on food or clothing, but of course the Bolsheviks did not allow any relatives near the train cars, but among them (the Bolsheviks) were people who sympathized with the deportees [and] very often pretended not to notice, thereby enabling [people] to pass something or even to say a few words. That day quite a few people gathered on the streets of Zhovkva, and there they seemed to divide into two camps. The first one consisted of people in whose breasts beat a passionate Ukrainian heart; they were the ones who with their entire being hate everything Muscovite; occasionally, some of them, with clenched lips and a feverish glimmer in their eyes, swore in their spirit vengeance against the enemy for the abuses, for the prisons, for Siberia. Sometimes they said goodbye to their brothers being deported only with a glance, with drooping arms or heads. Other, in view of the presence of the enemy, shouted in their wake: "Hang on, you will come back soon!"

The second camp had a hostile attitude to the deportees, and here you could hear [in Russian]: "Our people did well – once there are no Banderites, life will be good." These were Muscovites, their lackeys and bootlickers. Oh, they know perfectly well that they are strangers here, thieves and bandits, who came to the Ukrainian land and ... uncertain of their future, they are afraid of the people's wrath; they know how terrible it is. They think that with the deportation of the most conscious Ukrainian element they will ensure a criminal, comfortable life for themselves in our land. But no, executioner! Know that as long as a Ukrainian heart beats in the Ukrainian land, so long as even small children are witnesses to your criminal work, you will have no peace. Remember that the day of reckoning is nigh, and vengeance will be terrible.

<sup>16</sup> From 1939 to 1942 and again from 1944 to 1957 the settlement of Briukhovychi served as the administrative centre of Briukhovychi raion.

On the third day the train cars headed to Lviv and from there eastward. En route the enemy encountered some obstacles; already past the Zbruch River the bridges were blown up; in connection with that, there were long stops, of which some of the deportees took advantage.<sup>17</sup> Not many, but some individuals nonetheless escaped. Our underground members met with some of them. Some [of the deportees] have already written. Nearly all are in Kemerovo oblast [Russia], but some only ended up in Novosibirsk.

The grandeur and indestructibility of the spirit are attested even in the letter written by an eighteen-year-old youth from Kemerovo oblast: "We are on the spot; we live in mud huts that we dug out ourselves. I am a bit hungry, but then I whistle; they want to turn me into a blacksmith, but I prefer not to work. Some people have been driven into a state-owned farm that they are just organizing. Almost everyone here is from our locale. We are bothered most by the cold, but everything will be alright; we are not planning to be here long. I, for example, will return home as soon as spring arrives, and you, brother, make sure you take care of my doves."<sup>18</sup>

Some people died without reaching their destination, like, for example, Khavunka, Mykhailo, from Zhovkva, the father of the underground member, Chorny, of hallowed memory; more about the others in the next report.

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Billets*, 1 November 1947

*Glory to the Heroes!*

*Osyp*

HDA SBU, 13-376-72-054.

17 The Zbruch River is the left tributary of the Dnister River and served as the border between the Austro-Hungarian and tsarist Russian empires until the First World War. Following the Treaty of Riga it became the border between Poland and the USSR.

18 Kemerovo oblast (also known as the Kuzbass, after the Kuznetsk Basin) is located in southwestern Siberia and is known as a coal-mining and heavy industrial complex.

DOCUMENT 146: EXTRACT FROM REPORT ON THE  
RESULTS OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE NATIONALIST  
UNDERGROUND AND THE ARREST OF UHVR PRESIDENT,  
KYRYLO OSMAK<sup>19</sup> (1948)

[Russian-language document]

3-lr

*Top Secret*

Copy no.: \_\_\_\_

*Extract*

*from a report on the results of the struggle against the nationalist underground  
and its armed gangs on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR*

*For January 1948*

*On the Arrest of Osmak, K.I., President of the UHVR*

Back in August 1944, during the course of implementing agentura-operational measures on the search for and liquidation of the leaders of the nationalist underground located on the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts, the MGB Directorate for Drohobych oblast received information about the fact that a group of bandits accompanying some kind of OUN ringleader was in a forested zone situated near the village of Luzhok-Horishnii.

According to this information, on 23 August 1944 a Chekist-military operation was carried out, as a result of which the mentioned bandit group was discovered and routed. The OUN ringleader, who was wounded, hid in the village of Drozhiv, Dubliany raion, Drohobych oblast, where on 12 September 1944 he was found and arrested, giving his name as Koval, Ivan Fylypovych.

The arrestee was sent for investigation to the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, where he categorically refused to give testimony.

Soon it became obvious that the arrestee had a clearly invented name and that he is a major leader of the nationalist underground.

In connection with this, the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, with the sanction of the prosecutorial organs, he was actively interrogated for an extended period of time, and the investigative actions in connection with his case were combined with daily penetration-cell agentura measures.

Finally, in January 1948 he confessed that he is:

19 Kyrylo Osmak, from Poltava oblast, was president of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). A participant in the Ukrainian Revolution, he served in the Ukrainian Central Rada in 1917. He remained in Ukraine after the second Soviet occupation, was captured by the NKVD, and died in Moscow's Vladimir prison in 1960.

Osmak, Kyrylo Ivanovych, born 1890 in the village of Shyshaky, Poltava oblast, a citizen of the USSR, a Ukrainian with a higher education, an engineer by profession; in 1928 and 1938 he was arrested by the organs of the GPU-NKVD for anti-Soviet nationalist activities; until September 1944 he had illegal status, being the so-called president of the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). His Organizational alias is "Kyrdiaha."

Through Osmak's confessions it was determined that during the Civil War years he was the head of a department at the Ministry of Agriculture of the "Central Rada" and carried out active nationalist work.

In 1941, having remained living in the German-occupied city of Kyiv, Osmak established contact with the cadre Ukrainian nationalist, Velychkovsky, who in December 1941 was drawn into the OUN of the Melnykite persuasion.

In July 1942 Osmak broke with the Melnykites and established contact with a member of the Banderite central "leadership" of the OUN, Prokop, Myroslav, alias "Volodymyr," on whose instructions he carried out nationalistic work among the Ukrainian intelligentsia in the city of Kyiv, wrote pogromist anti-Soviet articles for the OUN press, and brought new members into the OUN.

In September 1943, with the Germans' retreat, Osmak fled with them to the city of Lviv, where, assigned a mission by Volodymyr, he began preparing to go abroad. With this goal in mind, he left for the city of Stryi, Drohobych oblast.

In early June 1944 Osmak was summoned to the city of Lviv by the central OUN "leadership" for an illegal conference that took place in the building of the Archaeological Institute at 10 Rynok Street.

The conference was attended by Volodymyr, Stryisky, Kostetsky, Vyrovny, and other leading members of the OUN underground.

Opening the conference, Volodymyr announced to those present that, on the initiative of the UPA command and the central OUN "leadership," the question of the consolidation of the forces of nationalist organizations was proposed for discussion, as well as the determination of new organizational forms and methods of struggle against the Soviet authorities.

On the proposal of the chairman of the UPA, Stryisky, the conference participants became members of an "initiative" committee to formulate the title and draft of the platform of the "highest leading organ of the nationalist forces" of Ukraine, the so-called UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council).

The "initiative committee" was charged with selecting the place and time for holding a "Grand Assembly," during which, it was anticipated, the UHVR would be founded and representatives of other nationalist currents would be invited to take part in this "assembly."

At this same conference Volodymyr declared that for the post of president of the UHVR the central OUN leadership would put forward the candidacy of Osmak as a cadre Ukrainian nationalist and active member of the OUN.

The creation of a unified centre for the leadership of the nationalist underground's anti-Soviet activities was stipulated by the need for the OUN leaders to restore their lost reputation, as a result of a number of serious operational blows that the organs and troops of the MGB-MVD had inflicted on the OUN-UPA, [to restore their] influence on the Organizational grassroots, among which has appeared a layer that is disillusioned by the "ideas" of the "independentization" of Ukraine, for the most part among young people, who were forcibly drawn into the nationalist gangs and who have refused to wage a further struggle against the Soviet authorities and are beginning to surrender themselves to local organs.

For that reason, in order to find a way out of the situation that has emerged, to strengthen its fundamentally shattered authority, to prevent the collapse of the underground and mobilize all nationalistic elements for the struggle against the Soviet power, the OUN-UPA leaders decided to create a single centre, subordinating to it other nationalistic organizations and groups, in addition to the OUN.

On 11 July 1944 the first "Grand Assembly" of nationalists took place in the village of Luzhok-Horishnii, Strilky raion, Drohobych oblast, which was attended by twenty-one participants.

Before the start of the work of the "Grand Assembly" it was suggested to the participants to choose temporary aliases for clandestine purposes, according to which registration and the recording of their speeches would take place. In connection with this, the participants of the congress chose the following pseudonyms for themselves:

1. Osmak, Kyrylo Ivanovych – "Horiansky, Marko"
2. Prokop, Myroslav – "Volodymyr Orlovych"
3. Voloshyn, Rostyslav, at the time the leader of the Political Section of the krai "leadership" of the OUN PZUZ, later a member of the central OUN leadership (killed in 1945) – "Tsepiha"
4. Duzhy, Mykola Afanasovych, member of the central OUN "leadership" – "Kolos"
5. Pelensky, Zenon, a prominent nationalist, "Zelenko"
6. Lotyshko, Vasyl Yakovlevych, during the period of the German occupation of the city of Kyiv he worked in the so-called All-Ukrainian Union of Rural Cooperatives "Village Farmer" – "Polonsky"
7. Vovk, Fedir, during the German occupation he lived in the city of Nykopil, Dnipropetrovsk oblast, was the leader of the okruha OUN "leadership" – "Holubenko"
8. Mudry, Vasyl, chairman of the UNDO [Ukrainian National-Democratic Union], the former vice-president of the Polish Diet, and editor of the newspaper *Dilo* [*The Deed*] – "Vavrychan"



9. Rebet, Daria, member of the central OUN "leadership" – "Vilshynska"
10. Lebed, Mykola, member of the central OUN "leadership" – "Yaropolk"
11. Shukhevych, Roman Yosyfovich, leader of the "bureau" of the central OUN "leadership" – "Lozovsky"
12. Bilenky, professor, representative of the "Hetmanites" – "Kocharovsky" and others.

At the "Grand Assembly" the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was represented by the members of the Banderite "leadership" Prokop, Myroslav; Voloshyn, Rostyslav; Duzhy, Mykola; Rebet, Daria; Mykola Rebet; Shukhevych, Roman; "Kostetsky"; Potyshko, Vasyly; Vovk, Fedir; and Osmak. Thus, the Banderite group occupied a leading role and through its majority it achieved the decision of the "Grand Assembly" on the creation of the "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council."

At this "assembly" Osmak was elected president of the UHVR; Vovk, Fedir, as first deputy; Prokop, Myroslav; Rebet, Daria; Duzhy, Mykola; and Pelensky, Zenon were elected members of the presidium.

Shukhevych, Roman was elected head of the UHVR "leadership," the so-called chairman of the general secretariat and general secretary for military affairs; Voloshyn, Rostyslav, general secretary of internal affairs; Lebed, Mykola, general secretary of foreign affairs.

On 25 July 1944 the first session of the UHVR was held near Busovysko Station, Strilky raion, where it was decided to leave Osmak, Vovk, [and] Duzhy on the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts, and all the other members of the presidium were ordered to go abroad.

The presidium of the UHVR ordered Osmak, Vovk, and Duzhy to lead the sabotaging-terrorist activities of the nationalist underground and its armed gangs, and to maintain contact with the presidium members located abroad, using for those purposes the ability of Shukhevych, Roman, member of the central OUN leadership ...

\* \* \*

By means of agentura-investigative materials and the Tlumach [Tovmach] raion office of the MGB, Stanyslaviv oblast, it was ascertained that the resident of the village of Zolota Lypa, Hranat, Anastasia Vasylyvna, has been a member of the OUN since 1944; she carries out the functions of a courier, carrying out communications between the leader of the kushch "leadership," Orlyk, and Strila, the OUN leader in the village of Novo-Selytsia [Novoselytsia], and that the OUN uses her home as a safe house, where meetings of the members of the OUN raion "leadership" with its lower-level links take place.

DOCUMENT 147:  
 PLAN OF INTELLIGENCE-OPERATIONAL MEASURES TO  
 LIQUIDATE MEMBERS OF THE OUN LEADERSHIP

[Russian-language document]

1948

pb-1

Copy  
 Top Secret  
 Sole Copy

*Plan*

*of agentura-operational measures for the search and liquidation of members  
 of the Central OUN "leadership" and their contacts*

*The "Berloga" agentura case*

Hiding on the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts are the remaining heads of the OUN underground: leader of the underground Shukhevych, Roman – "Tur," head of the Organizational Section of the Central "leadership," he is also the leader of the Podillia krai leadership; Kuk, Vasyl – "Lemish"; Kravchuk, Roman – "Petro," member of the central leadership, he is also the leader of the *Halychyna Krai* "leadership."

The agentura and investigative materials that are in the possession of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR attest to the fact that the probable places of concealment of the above-named leaders and their associates are:

1. Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast, and Peremyshliany raion, Lviv oblast, situated at the juncture of Lviv, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, and Drohobych oblasts. Shukhevych and Kravchuk are hiding in the forested zones and villages adjacent to them in the above-mentioned raions.

2. Berezhany and Pidhaitsi raions of Ternopil oblast, on the territory of which Kuk is hiding.

The statements of arrestees and reports of secret agents concerning the above-mentioned leaders boil down to the fact that they, possessing permanent bases in the above-mentioned locations, sometimes hide in other raions, situated as a rule near their permanent bases, with which they are linked by constantly functioning and well-developed lines of communication that reach all of Ukraine's western oblasts.

In addition to links with the western oblasts, Kuk has lines of communications to Volyn and the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

The study of the behaviour of the gang leaders and the practice of measures carried out by us to find and liquidate Shukhevych, Kravchuk and Kuk, are leading to the following conclusions:

Each of the listed members of the central leadership conducts himself extremely alertly; they avoid personal encounters even with couriers arriving from abroad from Bandera if they are not known by sight to the leader, to whom he is being dispatched.

They keep their hiding places and lines of communication from one to another secret; for this reason even in those cases when it was necessary to capture someone from the closest milieu of the above-mentioned leaders, their statements were always limited to information pertaining to a narrow circle of individuals, with whom the captured person had direct communication.

In connection with this, the measures aimed at the dispatching and penetration of our agentura into the leaders' closest surroundings, which have been carried out to the present time, have not achieved their goals.

Together with this, sometimes leading information indicating that "important bosses, "leaders," etc., arrived from the local agentura, which, according to its objective data seemingly does not have straightforward opportunities and contacts for exposing the hiding places of the underground leaders. During verification, they were often correctly oriented about the hiding places of the members of the Central leadership. In view of the fact that these data were received by workers of raion MGB organs, they were either not implemented in a timely fashion or did not receive the proper assessment.

Thus, simultaneously with the necessity to use a targeted agentura against the leaders of the OUN underground, the use of the agentura to shed light on the underground leaders bases is acquiring decisive importance. In this connection, it is crucial to note that the implementation of agentura data compiled to this time by concentrating large groups of MGB troops and blockading localities has not justified itself, in as much as the redeployment of military forces and [their] concentration became known to the underground through a well set up intelligence service and observation.

On the assumption of these characteristic features of the struggle against the leading links of the OUN underground in the western oblasts, the necessity is arising to change somewhat the methods of agentura work by endowing them, above all, with a more conspiratorial character and by carrying out Chekist-military measures, having ensured their mobility and diversity.

Finally, the necessity is also arising to review the practice of investigative work with captured messengers, couriers, and other illegals who possess information of interest to us with respect to the underground leaders, which at the present time is characterized by atomism and the absence of purposefulness.

On the assumption of the above, the following measures have been designated for carrying out the task of searching for and liquidating the main underground leaders: Shukhevych, Kravchuk, and Kuk:

1. Create two special Chekist groups of operatives of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR and the UMGB. One group is to be dispatched to Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast; the other, to Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast.

Make the groups secret under the guise of such organizations whose personnel, as has been established, are travelling unhindered throughout the districts of the western oblasts and are not subject to attacks by bandits (geological surveying, oil prospecting, gathering of medicinal plants).

The selection of the personnel for these groups and the development of measures to conceal them are to be done by Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR by 1 June 1948.

Assign the tasks to the groups: make a careful study of places where, according to data in our possession, Shukhevych, Kravchuk, and Kuk are hiding; carry out recruitment of secret agents, as an exception, under the guise of drawing the recruited individuals into the OUN organization of the Melnykite persuasion or in the name of the Anglo-American intelligence services, for the purpose of exposing contacts and the hiding places of the leaders of the OUN underground. In cases where such a need arises, obtain special sanction.

For the well-timed exploitation of the agentura possibilities of raion divisions of the MGB, on the territory of which will be found special operative groups provided with cover stories, dispatch one experienced MGB operative each to these raions for maintaining unilateral contact between the head of the raion office of the MGB and the operative of a special group. These UMGB operatives are being dispatched to raions with the proper encoding, and during the course of their work they adopt measures, through the heads of raion divisions of the MGB, on averting cases of failure of the work of the special operative groups.

Each group is to be provided with a truck, a radio operator with a carefully masked radio station, and a group of vetted fighter agents [selected] from among the best fighters in Ukraine's western oblasts.

Draw up a budget for cash expenses for carrying out the indicated measures.

The situation with the organization and practical activities of each individual group [and] the stipulated work forms and methods are to be submitted for authorization to the leadership of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

2. Strengthen the existing agentura of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR and the UMGB in the western and eastern oblasts, which has the opportunity to develop and expose the hiding places of Shukhevych, Kravchuk, and Kuk or the members of their closest milieu. With this goal in mind, during May of

this year, identify all the agents and informants of the UMGB who have the possibility to carry out this task, and upon identifying this agentura, draft a plan to use each of them individually as an agent and informant. For this same purpose, make wide use of the existing agentura possibilities of the 1st, 2nd, 4th, and 5th Directorates and Department O.

3. Dispatch to all raions in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, which are known as the hiding places of the members of the Central leadership, workers from the 1st Department of Directorate 2-N with the task of reviewing the entire existing secret agent-informant network there with the object of identifying agents and informants who can be used for obtaining data on the appearance of underground leaders, their couriers and messengers.

For maintaining contact with such an agentura, assign special personnel of raion divisions of the MGB, instruct them thoroughly and, with the participation of the personnel of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, finish working out the conditions of communicating with each individual agent or informant who will be involved in carrying out the above-indicated assignment. Depending on resources and need, provide these agents and informants with technical means of communication.

4. All arrestees under investigation who are being held at present in Stanyslaviv, Lviv, Drohobych, [and] Ternopil oblasts, who were captured during the course of the measures that were carried out on the processing of the members of the central leadership and who can provide any kind of statements concerning their hiding places, are to be concentrated in the investigation section of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

In order to accelerate investigations on these arrestees, create a special investigations group in the investigation section of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, including in it experienced investigators of the peripheral MGB organs of Ukraine's western and eastern oblasts. The deadline for creating the group is 20 May 1948.

Every day the investigative group is to provide the leadership of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR with a summary of obtained statements from these arrestees and telegraphically familiarize corresponding MGB [divisions] with the obtained materials, which are subject to immediate implementation.

This group is also to carry out investigations on cases of arrested OUN members captured on the territory of Poland, with regard to whom there are already instructions from the MGB USSR about their transfer to the disposition of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

5. In connection with the receipt of statements from arrestees and reports from the agentura about the fact that eminent heads of the underground are periodically in the city of Lviv, including Shukhevych, their messengers and

couriers, create a special group of Chekists under the leadership of a staff member of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR for conducting search work in the city of Lviv.

Include in the group staff members of raion divisions of the MGB in the city of Lviv, staff members of the 4th Department, and Department 2-N of the UMGB in the oblast.

Connect with the group of recognizer agents living in the city of Lviv as well as in other western oblasts of Ukraine, who know the underground leaders and their messengers by sight.

Assign the group the task of carrying out an active search and capture of illegals who are arriving systematically in the city of Lviv.

For the more successful completion of this task, along with the use of recognizer agents and secret intelligence, the group should install our agentura, vetted Soviet people, in the main apartments in the city of Lviv, where people arriving from a rural locale stop by.

For the special operative group's communications with the operative group of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR in the city of Lviv, as well as for the timely use of agentura possibilities of the UMGB of Lviv oblast, dispatch the director of the 1st Department of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

6. In connection with the circumstance that the intelligence service of the UMGB of Lviv oblast is not in a position to ensure the completion of the tasks of monitoring the leaders of the OUN underground and their milieu, local residents, [and] illegals in hiding, and frequently fails at its task, it is necessary to strengthen the intelligence apparatus of the UMGB of Lviv oblast, for which:

a) A leading staff member is to be dispatched from the 1st Department of the 5th Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, assigning him the task of verifying and introducing order into intelligence work in the city of Lviv

b) Experienced intelligence agents, numbering twenty people, are to be dispatched from other oblasts for work in the city of Lviv from 20 May to 1 September of t[his] y[ear].

7. For a rapid reaction to statements being obtained about the hiding places of the underground leaders, create a special reserve detachment of MGB Interior Troops of the Ukrainian District, numbering one hundred soldiers and officers.

The staffing of the detachment is to be carried out through a selection from all subunits stationed in the western oblasts the best soldiers, sergeants, and officers, without disbanding and without redeploying existing subunits.

Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR and the Directorate of the VV [Interior Troops] district are to provide the detachment with five service dogs with handlers.

The detachment is to be stationed in the city of Lviv and dispatched to carry out an operation only on the instructions of the deputy minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Comrade Drozdov.

Reference: Copy made from a document contained in the "Berloga" agentura file no. 50, vol. 19, fols. 202-12.

True: (Lieutenant Colonel)      *signature* Makhov

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 62, fols. 144-51.

DOCUMENT 148: THE UNDERGROUND'S ANNOUNCEMENT  
ABOUT AN MGB ROUNDUP IN THE ROHATYN AREA*August 1948**I announce!*

The Ministry of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR has launched a three-month planned operation to liquidate the krai and central leaderships. The operation began on 15 July in all the territories where centres of the above-mentioned leaderships are located. The operation is headed by (Kruglov) himself, who as of this time has transferred his centre to Lviv. The tactics of conducting the operation are new and have never been applied before today. Army formations that have also arrived from Moscow and Kyiv, so-called "special battalions," are taking part. The first strikes were aimed at the northern part of the Rohatyn area, where "Tur," "Petro," "Shpak," and "Vuiko" were supposed to be, according to the confession that was forced from leader Petro's wife during her interrogation.

For conducting this operation the ministry gathered all the more renowned provocateurs from all over Ukraine, whom the ministry used to form eight groups numbering five men each. Each group is provided cover by a platoon of soldiers, who conceal themselves in attics and forests in the daytime. These groups were deployed to the Rohatyn, Stryi, and Khodoriv areas. In the Rohatyn area the provocateurs succeeded in achieving major successes. On 5 August the wounded okruha leader Shpak was captured and his deputy was killed. On 6 August the minister (Kruglov) and Savchenko visited the wounded man. The wounded man is giving important facts that the MGB has not yet had in four years. The wounded man is being concealed very carefully. On 12 August some of those groups left the Rohatyn area and departed to Lviv, putting on a showy leave-taking. They are thus keeping secret the remaining two groups that are staying near the village of Stratyn [Striatyn], in meeting places that have been exposed now. From the wounded man they are learning about the location of Lemish, Tur, Petro, and a number of other raion and nadraion leaderships.

It is expected that within a few days an operation will be carried out in the Berezhany area, which will be aimed first and foremost at the centre, but after the failure, there is an orientation towards the centres of the nadraion leadership and the okruha, that is, "Boz's" and "Orest's." Just like them, the above-mentioned centres of the Ternopil leadership and leaders are being closely tracked. The intensive processing of leader "Burlan," whose centre is located in the northern part of the Koziv area, is being conducted. The Ternopil directorate has selected the most appropriate secret agents for itself,



about which they are greatly boasting in the so-called "Finland" area, and the well-masked provocateur is operating well today.

Prepare all people who are separated from links with the underground, but these people are very well oriented about current affairs. All those people are being processed ~~and will fall any day now~~ [crossed out in the original – typist's notation]. When they fall into the hands of provocateurs, they give accurate information. Be careful with these people if you send them to Lviv and Berezhany because all these people have been processed [turned].

Be careful in the Berezhany–Pidhaitsi–Koziv–Zolotnyky areas, that is, on the borders of those four raions. Prepare all these villages. Also prepare the forests. Expect provocateurs!! In villages today a counter-intelligence service is operating with [the aid of] documents of various employees of Ternopil and Lviv enterprises [who] are engaged in the collection of grain throughout villages and are thus meeting covertly with secret collaborators and recruiting new ones. That counter-intelligence service is arriving from Kyiv on 15 August and right now is located in all the above-mentioned territories.

Send a person for more detailed information!

(Copy in keeping with the original. This material was obtained during the first half of August 1948.)

HDA SBU, 13-376-29-015.

DOCUMENT 149: DESCRIPTION OF THE HIDEOUT OF  
 "LOBODA," LEADER OF THE KAMIANKA-BUZKA NADRAION

[Russian-language document]

2 February 1949

*Description*

*of the hideout of "Loboda," the nadraion OUN leader of Kamianka-Buzka*

City of Kulykiv, Lviv oblast

February 1949

In the fall of 1948 on a hillock in a bare field north of the hamlet of Lisok, in the Velyki Peredrymykhy village soviet, bandits constructed a hideout for "Loboda," the nadraion OUN "leader," in which worked five members of the OUN underground:

Nadraion leader Loboda, the head of the military section Borodaty, raion leader Polovy, nadraion leader of the UChKh [Ukrainian Red Cross] Natalka, and the typist Vira.

The hideout contained four typewriters and a duplicating apparatus, on which nationalistic brochures, leaflets, [and] slogans were prepared.

From here the nasraion leader sent the prepared literature to the five raions subordinated to him (Kulykiv, Kamianka-Buzka, Novy Yarychiv, Novy Myliatyn, and Briukhovychi).

The permanent base of the OUN nadraion "leadership" from the month of November 1948 was this hideout.

The hideout is constructed in the following manner:

In a bare field on a hillock with all-round visibility, a rectangular pit measuring 2.5 metres deep, 3.5 metres wide, and 6 metres long was dug.

The exit from the hideout consisted of a channel at a forty-five-degree angle with a built-in trapdoor/hatch.

The walls and ceiling are lined with boards; in addition to the trapdoor/hatch, there is a wooden door leading to the hideout.

For storing food products, a niche was built into a wall of the hideout, measuring 1 by 1.5 metres, which is lined with boards and was concealed by the door into the hideout.

Installed in each corner of the hideout, and there are four of them, are slanting wooden boxes to allow fresh air to enter the hideout. The hideout was lit by kerosene lamps.

Equipment:

1. Half of the room is occupied by plank beds for five to seven people.
2. A wooden table on posts.

## 3. Bookshelves.

In the hideout, food was cooked on a primus stove. In the corridor were cans for waste products, and there was benzene in a canister.

The masking of the hideout:

The hideout was not above ground. Above the hideout the soil was ploughed and rye was planted.

The hatch and airways were carefully disguised; however, the hideout was detected by ice formation on the trapdoor of the hatch.

In view of the fact that the corridor was straight, the grenades that we threw rolled directly inside the hideout.

Senior operative of Department 2-N of the UMGB LO [Lviv oblast]

Lieutenant (Glushkov)

True: *signature*

Copy

*Plan and Section*

The hideout of Loboda, the nadraion OUN “leader” of Kamianka-Buzka, and Polovy, the head of the OUN raion leadership of Kulykiv (near the hamlet of Lisok Blyshchevodsky, village soviet of Kulykiv raion, 1.2.1949)

PLAN

[Layout follows]

Created by senior operative of Department 2-N of the UMGB LO  
l-t (signature)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 64, fols. 172–4.

DOCUMENT 150: VIOLATIONS OF SOVIET LAWS BY  
MGB ORGANS DURING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE  
UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND

[Russian-language document]

November 1949

Copy no. 3

*Information*

*concerning facts about the violation of Soviet legality by officials of the MGB  
organs*

[written by hand]

In 1949 in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR there were twenty-nine cases involving the violation of Soviet legality and other misdeeds committed by officials of the MGB organs, militia officials, and servicemen of the VV MGB [Interior Troops of the MGB], connected with the murder of local inhabitants and other individuals.

Including: by officials of the MGB organs – 7

by officials of the militia organs – 17

by servicemen of the VV MGB – 5

In addition, there were twenty-one cases involving the unlawful use of weapons by officials of the militia organs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, as a result of which twenty-one people were wounded.

The most typical cases:

On 31 December 1948 the former vrio [acting] head of the Ostroh RO MGB of Rivne oblast, Major Uspensky, S.A., and a senior operative of that same RO MGB, Senior Lieutenant Tokarenko, detained citizen Romaniuk, P.U.

During the course of the interrogation Uspensky and Tokarenko brutally beat Romaniuk, as a result of which he died that very night.

Uspensky and Tokarenko were sentenced by the Military Tribunal to twenty-five years of ITL [corrective-labour camps] with five years' deprivation of rights each.

On 19 March 1949 the assistant of the investigator of the Bilshivtsi RO MGB of Stanyslaviv oblast, Lieutenant Bezkhlibny, N.I. detained citizen Yizhytsky, beat him, and then, by arrangement with Bezkhlibny, the soldier Kargin killed Yizhytsky.

Bezkhlibny and Kargin were arrested.

On 16 August of this year in the village of Radych the district investigator of the Turka raion militia division of Drohobych oblast, Yavorsky, in the militia organs since 1949, got drunk, caused an uproar and then a fight

with the chairman of the village soviet, Yavorsky (his namesake), and then, pointlessly opening fire, he fatally wounded the chairman of the collective farm, Ilnytsky, I.N.

Yavorsky was arrested.

On 13 September of this year on a street in the village of Reklynets, Velyki Mosty raion, Lviv oblast, the director of the financial department of the RO MVD, Senior Lieutenant Mishutin, and the district militia investigator, Rudz, being in an inebriated state, came across citizen Huchenko, a hired labourer, and they began beating him; during Huchenko's attempt to escape, Rudz and Mishutin used their weapons and killed him.

Rudz and Mishutin were arrested.

On 24 September of this year a militiamen from the convoy platoon of the Militia Directorate of Volyn oblast, Koriakin, S.A., drove to the village of Nebushky, Kivertsi raion, [to visit] his friend, citizeness Bondareva.

In a state of intoxication, Koriakin tried to persuade Bondareva to co-habit. Upon receiving a refusal, Koriakin fired his pistol and killed Bondareva.

Koriakin was handed over for trial by the Military Tribunal.

On 15 October of this year the authorized district officer of the Olesko Raion Militia Division of Lviv oblast, militia officer Minbaev, A., born in 1923, who was in the district serviced by him in the village of Koltiv, got drunk, caused an uproar in the village soviet, threatened a citizen with his weapon, and then with a shot from his pistol he killed the collective farmer Mykhailiv.

For the committed crime Minbaev was handed over for trial by the Military Tribunal.

On 9 October of this year, in the village of Hnylche, Pidhaitsi raion, Ternopil oblast, there was a wedding at the home of a local resident Moroz, F.N., which was attended by three soldiers of military unit no. 54441, Ivanov, Nenkin, and Lynn timer.

In the evening the authorized district militia officer of the RO MVD, Militia Lieutenant Abuziarov, A., came to the home of Moroz with the militiamen Khoma, Boliak and Moroz, the senior member of a group for the protection of public order.

Abuziarov and the soldiers, being in a state of extreme intoxication, began fighting with each other. During the fight Abuziarov fired off a round from his submachine gun at the soldiers, as a result of which the soldier Ivanov was killed, and Nenkin and Lynn timer were wounded.

Abuziarov was arrested.

On 18 October of this year a light infantryman of a separate operational search security detachment of the UMVD, Efimets, became extremely drunk at the train station square of Ternopil Station, who detained at the station a resident of the city of Ternopil, Dmytrenko, A.S., the son of the chairman of

the railwaymen's trade union, and, after inspecting his documents, took him from the railway station to the city under arms.

En route, right on the railway station square, Efimets and Dmytrenko went up to the kiosk of the travel lunchroom, near which was located at the time an operative from the MGB guard post at Zolochiv Station, Denisov, A.N., and he [Efimets] began demanding vodka from the female vendor.

At this time the detained Dmytrenko took to his heels. Efimets fired three shots at the fleeing man from his pistol, one of which smashed a window of the kiosk.

Lieutenant Denisov began setting the hooligan straight. In response, Efimets swore at Denisov and shot him with his pistol, seriously wounding him.

Denisov grabbed Efimets and fell with him to the ground, where, continuing to defend himself, he got hold of the pistol and shot Efimets with two bullets.

Denisov was brought to the railway hospital, where he died after an operation.

On 5 November of this year the district militia investigator of the Koziv RO MGB of Ternopil oblast, Karabin, I.I., came to a wedding at the home of Tyt, V., in the village of Medova, where, being in an inebriated state, he caused an uproar and pointless shooting, as a result of which he killed the local residents Petryk and Zhvylyko.

Karabin was arrested.

On 13 November of this year in the village of Nemiach, Pidkamin raion, Lviv oblast, a group of soldiers from a subunit of MGB troops headed by Junior Sergeant Kotserubsky, without the permission of the garrison head, went to a wedding at the home of the local resident, Hub, Illia, where they began getting drunk. In a state of intoxication, the soldier Pankratov demanded vodka from the chairman of the Popivtsi village soviet, Palenychka, who was attending the wedding. After receiving a refusal, Pankratov fired his pistol and killed Palenychka.

Deputy Head of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSSR  
Lieutenant Colonel

(Pastelniak)

“ ” November 1940

City of Kyiv

True copy [written by hand]

HDA SBU, 372-59.

DOCUMENT 151: INFORMATION ON THE NUMBER  
OF SOVIET AGENTS SEARCHING FOR MEMBERS OF  
THE OUN LEADERSHIP

[Russian-language document]

16 January 1950

Pk-1

Copy  
*Top Secret*  
*Sole copy*

*Reference*

One hundred and thirty-two agents are engaged in the search for members of the central OUN “leadership” and on the surveillance and recruitment [*raz-rabotka*] of their contacts, including: in the search for Shukhevych and his contacts – 53, Kuk – 31, Kravchuk – 48.

Between 12 November 1949 and 15 January 1950, thirty-six new agents were recruited.

Engaged in the surveillance and recruitment of members of krai and okruha OUN “leaderships” and their contacts are 184 agents and 63 informants, of whom 56 agents and 16 informants were recruited between 12 November 1949 and 15 January 1950.

Deputy head of the department of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR

Major (Podtepa)

“16” January 1950

Reference: A copy made from a document located in the “Berloga” file, no. 50, vol. 29, fol. 65

True: Lieutenant Colonel *signature* Makhov

m/b no. 168, typed by Kushnir

11.X.1960 [date when this copy was made]

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 59, fol. 64.

DOCUMENT 152: INFORMATION ON THE KILLING OF THE  
UPA'S SUPREME COMMANDER, ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH (1950)

[Russian-language document]

*Top Secret*

*Report*

*on the liquidation of the Leader of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in  
the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR – Shukhevych*

Despite the Chekist measures carried out by the MVD organs, as a result of which UPA gangs were smashed and a significantly large number of the leading members of the OUN “leaderships” were liquidated, it was not possible to locate and liquidate the head of the OUN underground, Shukhevych, by 1950.

However, during the course of the agentura-special operations measures it was established that Shukhevych's trusted couriers are “Anna,” “Darka,” “Roksoliana,” and “Marta”; that he has at his disposal many contacts among the nationalistically inclined Uniate clergy,<sup>20</sup> [that] he is involving it in vigorous anti-Soviet activity, uses the apartments of priests for sheltering and meetings with the heads of the OUN, and that he periodically visits the city of Lviv, where [he] has reliable secret addresses and safe houses.

The MGB of the Ukrainian SSR collected all the agentura and investigation materials on the central OUN leadership, on the basis of which was drafted a plan of special operations measures to locate and liquidate Shukhevych.<sup>21</sup>

In keeping with this plan, the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR created special operations-Chekist groups for the liquidation of Shukhevych and the members

20 The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church is also referred to as the Uniate Church and was established in 1596 following the Union of Brest. During the first Soviet occupation of western Ukraine attempts were made to undermine this church, and these were renewed after Soviet forces recaptured the region in the summer/autumn of 1944. On 11 April 1945 the NKGB arrested Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj and four other Galician bishops, Hryhorii Khomyshyn, Ivan Liatyshevsky, Nykyta Budka, and Mykola Charnetsky (only Metropolitan Slipyj and bishops Charnetsky and Liatyshevsky survived). Those who refused to “convert” to the Russian Orthodox Church faced persecution. The Soviets even organized a synod (*sobor*) in Lviv from 8–10 March 1946 that resulted in a call for the “reunification” of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Patriarchate of Moscow. Despite oppression the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church continued to exist as a “church of the catacombs” until (and beyond) the collapse of the USSR.

21 Confirmed as the home leader of the OUN by the Third Grand Assembly, held 21–25 August 1943, Roman Shukhevych was made supreme commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in November of that year. On 15 July 1944 he was elected to head the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and confirmed in the top post of the UPA, then promoted to brigadier-general in 1946. He died in battle against Soviet troops on 5 March 1950, in Bilohorshcha, aged forty-two.



of the central OUN leadership, Kuk, and Kravchuk. The special operations-Chekist groups were composed of leading operatives who, in contrast to prior practice, were released from all other work duties.

In the process of executing the plan of measures, on 10 January 1950 an operation was carried out in Stanyslaviv, Lviv, Ternopil, and Drohobych oblasts to arrest Uniate priests, about whom there was reliable information on their links with the OUN underground and Shukhevych's couriers Anna, Darka and Marta.

Subjected to active interrogation, the arrested priest Verhun testified that Maria, the mother of Husiak, Darka, was hiding in the home of the priest Lopatynsky in the village of Duhova, Rohatyn raion, Stanyslaviv oblast.

As a result of the adopted measures, on 26 January this year, Husiak, Maria, was found and, along with Lopatynsky and his daughter, a student at the Lviv Medical Institute, Lopatynska, Lidia, who had come to her father's house for the winter holidays, was arrested, subjected to in-cell processing, and also investigated.

During the interrogation Husiak and Lopatynska confessed that in late December 1949 Shukhevych's courier Darka arrived from the city of Lviv in the village of Duhova, visited Lopatynska's home, and after a few hours left on an OUN assignment; that in the city of Lviv she is organizationally connected with the registrar of one of the polyclinics, by the name [of] Olia, who is the caretaker of the safe house of the central OUN leadership, and that Darka should appear in the city of Lviv in the second half of February 1950 and visit the apartment of an associate professor of the Medical Institute, Kmetyk, where Lopatynska, Lidia, lived as a relative of Kmetyk's.

At this very time a special operations-Chekist group of the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast, tasked with the liquidation of Shukhevych, stepped up the work with the agentura in the city of Lviv, directing it towards exposing individuals connected with Darka and Anna.

In connection with the publication of Order no. 312 of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 30 December 1949, about surrendering, considerable attention was focused on the members of the OUN underground and their accomplices, who turned themselves in to the organs of the Soviet government, keeping in mind [the need] to expose among them those members of the underground who, on their own initiative, could impart facts about the hiding places of the OUN leaders and their links.

The work that was completed in keeping with Order no. 312 of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR completely justified itself and led to substantial results.

On 31 January 1950 a member of the OUN underground, previously an agent of the Shevchenko raion office of the MGB, with the pseudonym of "Pavlychka," turned herself in to the militia division in the city of Lviv, who,

upon turning herself in, requested that a meeting be organized for her and an MGB operative with the goal of imparting information about the underground to him.

This information having been obtained, the head of the special operations-Chekist group tasked with finding Shukhevych came at once to the militia division; Pavlychka told him that in 1948, under the sway of Darka, the courier of the central OUN leadership, she ended her collaboration with the MGB organs, adopted the status of an illegal, and, hiding in the city of Lviv, met with her periodically at the home of her aunt, who lived on 5 Lenin Street, apartment 2. Imparting these data, Pavlychka expressed her desire to collaborate in future with the MGB organs and, upon her very first meeting with Darka, to betray her to us and thereby atone for her guilt.

Great importance having been attributed to Pavlychka's information, she was re-recruited, accepted for making personal contact with the head of the special operations – Chekist group to liquidate Shukhevych, and directed at locating Darka in the city of Lviv.

Thus, through the testimony of Husiak, Maria, and Lopatynska, Lidia, as well as the facts provided by agent Pavlychka, it was ascertained that Shukhevych and his couriers were hiding either in the city of Lviv or in one of the populated areas adjacent to the city, and therefore it was crucial to focus all attention on the search for them and their capture specifically in these places.

In this connection, along with the daily work with agent Pavlychka, the associate professor of the Medical Institute, Kmetyk, and the keeper of the main safe house of the central OUN leadership in the city of Lviv, by the name of Olia, who was proven to be Navrotska, Olia, who was working as a registrar at Polyclinic 4-1, were identified, and both were placed under observation by secret agents and their apartments were placed under operational surveillance.

During a regular meeting on 2 March 1950 agent Pavlychka reported that, having met Darka in the city of Lviv, she spoke with her and arranged for Darka to visit her aunt's apartment the next day and have a lengthier conversation there with Pavlychka.

In setting the task of capturing Darka alive at all costs, at the same time ensuring the complete secrecy of her capture and obtaining accurate information from her about Shukhevych's place of concealment as quickly as possible, Pavlychka was thoroughly instructed by the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast about her conduct during the meeting with Darka and at dawn on 3 March 1950 experienced special operatives were dispatched to direct Darka's capture.

On 3 March, during the second half of the day, the surveillance team reported that Pavlychka had left the aunt's apartment with an unidentified young woman and, after saying goodbye to her, she signalled to a special operative that Darka was with Pavlychka.

This information having been received, Darka was immediately taken under operational surveillance by an undercover reconnaissance team, which brought it to Nabaika Street, and, seizing an opportune moment, with decisive actions covertly detained her and delivered her swiftly to the MGB Directorate.

At the moment of her arrest and while being transported Darka resorted to energetic measures in order to commit suicide, trying to take the poison that she had on her person or to use a weapon; however, these attempts were stopped in time through the confiscation of the vial of potassium cyanide and a cocked pistol.

Husiak, Daria Yuriiivna, born 1924, a native of the village of Truskavets in Drohobych oblast, a Ukrainian from a middle-peasant family, with an incomplete high school education, was handed over for interrogation to an investigative group of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR in the city of Lviv. During the initial interrogation she behaved defiantly and straight out declared that she did not intend to give any statements about the underground.

Taking this into consideration, the process of unmasking Husiak was divided into two stages: the first was active interrogation, during which it was crucial to break her will and resistance and to obtain statements of acknowledgment, and the second was in-cell processing.

Morally and physically broken, at around 14:00 hours on 4 March Husiak was forced to name a number of her organizational OUN contacts in the city of Lviv, and, in part, she gave a statement about the link with the above-mentioned Navrotska, Olha, the caretaker of Shukhevych's safe house in 1947–48, Yaremko, Olena, and others. However, Husiak categorically refused to name Shukhevych's last hiding place, declaring that she was bound to him by an oath.

Keeping in mind that Husiak turned out to be a person of strong will and of a fanatical mindset, it was decided, along with the interrogations, to use the opportunities afforded by in-cell intelligence work in order to outwit the arrested woman in the cell and thereby obtain information from her about Shukhevych's hiding place.

For implementing this plan, a so-called hospital cell was outfitted inside the internal prison with two bunks, where the first to be placed was agent "Roza," for whom a cover story, including information that had been obtained by her from the arrested mother of Husiak and the writer Olha Stepaniv about Shukhevych and Darka during the time she shared the same cell with them.

The cover story consisted of the fact that Roza, while living in the cities of Berlin and Vienna, had become acquainted there with Ukrainian nationalists; she knows Shukhevych and his family well and she was arrested for involvement in a foreign intelligence service, on whose assignment she was liaising between the external centre in Munich and the OUN leadership in Ukraine. Finding herself in prison, Roza is systematically and actively interrogated; she spent a

long time in a punishment cell and "caught a cold," as a result of which "she became ill" and was placed in the "hospital" cell. In order to impart a semblance of Roza's "sickly" condition, she was treated with cupping glasses, her eyelids were painted with a brilliant green antiseptic, and her head was bandaged.

In addition, it was assumed that if Husiak does not name Shukhevych's hiding place, then possibly she will try to inform the people outside about her arrest in order to warn Shukhevych about the imminent danger. With this goal, an operational scheme was carried out, which was supposed to boost Husiak's certainty that a link with "freedom" was possible. The scheme boiled down to this: through the investigator, contact was established between agent Roza and another agent, "Orlenko," who was placed in a cell located one floor above the "hospital cell," which afforded them the possibility to communicate by tapping, using for this the prison alphabet and Morse code, which both of them knew very well.

It was also arranged between the agents that at a signal from Roza, Orlenko should transmit a TASS report, published in the press, about the USA breaking off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, keeping in mind that Husiak should already have known about this from the press, but Roza could not have known about this since she has been in prison for a long time.

When Husiak was placed in the cell, Roza, using her knowledge of individual details about the personal life of Shukhevych and Husiak herself, quickly earned her trust, and Roza's "disastrous" condition and the "hospital" setting in which she had ended up drew them closer together.

After becoming convinced that Husiak did not know how to communicate by tapping, Roza gave a signal and Orlenko began to transmit, and then Roza translated the TASS announcement about the USA breaking off diplomatic relations with Bulgaria.

As was to be expected, Orlenko's transmission of this information made a good impression on Husiak and, finding out from Roza that the person doing the tapping had somehow received the TASS announcement from "outside," she came to believe in the possibility of establishing contact with "freedom."

After this, Husiak told Roza that she was connected with Shukhevych and had carried out his assignments pertaining to the OUN's nationalistic activities in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR and that the investigators interrogating her are seeking statements about Shukhevych's hiding place and his delivery to the MGB organs.

After hearing what Husiak had to say, Roza warned her not to say anything about Shukhevych's hideout, but if the investigation continued actively to demand these statements and she will be feeling that she cannot withstand the pressure, then it was necessary first of all to warn Shukhevych and after that to provide information about his hiding place.

Husiak became interested in this suggestion and asked Roza to advise her about how practically to carry out the transmission of information to the outside about her arrest. To this Roza replied that she would think about it and then give her advice.

As a result of the control over the conversation through Nadia's measure, after a three-month stay in the cell Husiak was summoned to an interrogation in order to take Roza and instruct her on her further conduct in the cell. It was decided that Roza, after Husiak's return to the cell, would tell her that she, desiring Husiak's assistance, would write a declaration addressed to the prison warden with a request to permit Roza to pass an old fur coat to her relatives, and in exchange she would request that they send her a semi-seasonal coat. Then Roza tells Husiak that when the transfer is permitted, together with the coat a note is to be passed to Shukhevych with a warning about her arrest, which Roza's sister, Iryna, living in the city of Lviv, will be able to "deliver" quickly to the addressee.

Carefully thinking through the details of this cover story, Roza was sent to the cell and, after Husiak's return from interrogation, she expounded her advice to her, by what means it would be possible to try to establish contact with "freedom." Husiak accepted Roza's suggestion and immediately asked her to write a declaration and tried to obtain permission for the parcel.

Carrying out Husiak's request, Roza wrote the declaration, which led to the decision that she is being permitted to pass a fur coat to her relatives and to receive a coat.

Believing the cover story about the parcel, at 21:00 hours on 4 March, Husiak wrote the following letter to Shukhevych and his courier Dydyk, codenamed "Anna":

My dear ones!

Keep in mind that I have landed in a Bolshevik prison, where there is not a single person who has gone through what awaits me and not been broken.

After the first stage I am standing firm, but I don't know what lies ahead. Many people know about me, and the main question is Shukhevych and Dydyk.

Six people grabbed me, and there was no chance to do away with myself. They knew that I had a pistol and poison.

I am in a hospital cell with a neighbour, Roza, who greets you. It is better to die ten times than end up here.

Kisses,  
Niuska

In the note Husiak indicated the address: Khrobak, Natalia, the village of Bilohorshcha, Briukhovychi raion, Lviv oblast. Handing the note to Roza, Husiak said that the village of Bilohorshcha is located in a suburb of Lviv, adjacent to the urban-type village of Levandivka; that Khrobak, Natalia, lives in the first house in the village; and that after receiving the note, she will personally deliver it to Shukhevych or Dydyk.

After receiving the note, Roza sewed it inside the fur coat and transmitted it to "freedom." In order to forestall the failure of the scheme and to strengthen Husiak's confidence that her note would be sent to its destination, some time later, in Husiak's presence, a prison officer on duty gave Roza a receipt from her "sister" about the delivery of the fur coat. In pursuit of these same goals, two days later a note from Roza's "sister" was fabricated, in which she informed that she had "delivered" the note discovered in the fur coat to its destination. The note with the reply was inserted into a box of matches and "delivered" by Roza in the presence of Husiak, which delighted her, and she declared that she had warned Shukhevych about the danger in a timely fashion.

Thus, as a result of persistent interrogations, a carefully developed and ably executed Chekist scheme, and the use of technology, on the second day after Husiak's capture we succeeded in obtaining accurate information from her on the hiding place of Shukhevych and his closest aide Dydyk, Halyna, codenamed "Anna."

With these facts at our disposal, during the night of 4 March a plan was developed for a Chekist-military operation that stipulated the involvement of the leader of the structure of the special operations group of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR and the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast, as well as senior officers from the 62 SD [62nd Infantry Division] of MGB troops.

At dawn on 5 March of this year the village of Bilohorshcha, numbering 160 households in which live people resettled from Poland, and the large stand of trees adjacent to the village were thoroughly blockaded.

One of the special operations groups identified Khrobak's house, captured it, and subjected it to a thorough search, demanding the surrender of the bandits hiding in the house.

During the search the owner's son, Khrobak, Danylo, tried to escape, but he was detained, taken for active interrogation, during which he declared that in the centre of the village of Bilohorshcha, in the apartment of his sister Koniushyk, Anna, lives a woman in the capacity of housemaid, whose description did not elicit any doubt that Khrobak had named Dydyk, Halyna.

After this, the special operations group arrived at once and surrounded the house, the second floor of which was occupied by a separate apartment of Koniushyk, Anna. In response to the woman's refusal to open the door, the operatives broke it down [and] rushed into the apartment, where a woman,

calling herself a housemaid, Kulyk, Stefania, was found, and as confirmation she produced the necessary documents.

The operatives immediately recognized the housemaid Kulyk, Stefania, as Dydyk, Halyna, seized her, confiscated a pistol, informed her that she was Dydyk, and suggested that she give up Shukhevych, Roman, who was hiding together with her in one house, alive. The captured woman denied that she was Dydyk and declared that she does [*sic*] not know Shukhevych at all, and that there is [*sic*] no one in the house but her.

A thorough search of the house was begun together with Dydyk's interrogation, with the purpose of finding Shukhevych. After a few minutes, shots were heard from behind the wooden screen on the second floor landing, after which an unknown, partially dressed man appeared armed with a pistol and a grenade, who quickly headed towards the staircase in order to escape from the house. On the stairway the unknown man ran into an operative, engaged in a fight with him, and at that moment was killed by a soldier who was running upstairs.

The dead man was definitely identified as the leader of the vestiges of the Ukrainian nationalist underground and smashed gangs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, Shukhevych, Roman Yosyfovych.

The search continuing, the following was removed from the apartment and from the secret compartment in which Shukhevych was living and hiding: ciphers and codes for communicating with Bandera and the leaders of the OUN in Ukraine's western oblasts; OUN literature; Shukhevych's notebook with his personal entries; a large number of fabricated seals and stamps of Soviet institutions and organizations, including the seals of the MVD and militia organs; chemicals for cryptography and instructions on methods for using them; a typewriter as well as personal documents – a passport, military and trade-union membership cards in the name of Polovy, Yaroslav, a schoolteacher from the village of Lishchyna, Novi Strilyshcha raion, Drohobych oblast.

The captured Dydyk, Halyna, had been living legally in the village of Bilohorshcha as a resettled individual from Poland, working as a housemaid for Koniushyk, Anna, and possessing documents in the name of Kulyk, Stefania.

Dydyk, Halyna Tomivna, born 1912, a native of the village of Shybalyn, Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast, a Ukrainian, from a family of poor peasants, with a middle pedagogical education, illegal status since 1944, OUN codename "Anna."

At the moment of capture, as a result of a powerful nervous shock, Dydyk experienced a nervous shock; her legs became paralyzed and she could not speak. Therefore, along with medical measures used to treat Dydyk, only Husiak was sent for interrogation because with the liquidation of Shukhevych, the arrested woman, his contacts in the village of Bilohorshcha – Khrobak,

Natalia; Koniushyk, Anna; and Khrobak, Danylo – could not reveal anything substantial about Shukhevych's links.

Further agentura-investigative measures to unmask Husiak were drawn up on the basis of outwitting her once again. With this goal in mind, it was decided to present the matter in such a way as though Shukhevych were alive, arrested, and giving evidence, and if necessary to give her a "note" from him with the advice not to be obstinate during the investigation.

In keeping with the measures that were implemented in this direction, during the regular interrogation of Husiak the "report" of Shukhevych's interrogation was presented, which talked about his arrest in the city of Lviv at the apartment of Chernetsky, a doctor. After this, she was shown a note written and addressed to Husiak "personally" by Shukhevych, in which the latter wrote that the "affair had failed" and advised her "not to torment herself and to give statements about everything."

This scheme strengthened Husiak's belief that Shukhevych was alive, and was conducting himself frankly during the investigation, and for that reason she began to give statements more freely about Shukhevych, as well as about his Organizational links and safe houses that were used by Shukhevych, Husiak, and other couriers of the central OUN leadership.

Husiak stated that, in possession of a fake passport in the name of Denys, Anastasia Petrivna, in January 1950 she visited the city of Moscow, where on assignment from Shukhevych, by means of personal observation, she ascertained the address of the American Embassy (15 Makhovaia Street), where Shukhevych had the intention of sending a trusted member of the OUN underground for negotiations with a representative of the American Embassy.

According to Husiak's testimony, in recent times the OUN underground had set itself the task of expanding its influence to the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR. With this goal in mind, Shukhevych decided to dispatch to one of the eastern oblasts his personal courier, Ilkiv, Olha, codenamed "Roksoliana," who was supposed to settle there in a permanent place of residence, establish criminal links, and, in the event of war, to seize power on the spot and proclaim an "independent Ukraine."

Husak further testified that on Shukhevych's assignment, in 1948 she left for Kyiv and Poltava in order to ascertain the possibilities for blowing up monuments of V.I. Lenin in Kyiv and [Tsar] Peter I in Poltava. Halyna also left for Kyiv on an assignment from Shukhevych.

During the course of the investigation Husiak gave statements about thirty safe houses and secret addresses in the city of Lviv, which were used for Organizational purposes by the couriers of the central OUN leadership. In addition, she named forty-seven safe houses and OUN liaison posts that existed in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.



When questioned about Shukhevych's courier Roksoliana, Husiak stated that prior to the departure to Ukraine's eastern oblasts she hid out in Drohobych oblast and that the probable place of her appearance in the city of Lviv may be the OUN safe house on 8 Shchors Street, where she reported to the caretaker of this house.

Among the most important organizational links Husiak named Khmilovsky and Biloskursky, Uniate priests in the village of Mshany, Ivano-Frankivsk raion, Lviv oblast, noting that Shukhevych maintained links directly with Khmilovsky and sent him letters under the pseudonym of "44-44." Biloskursky's apartment was the contact post of the central OUN leadership.

After regaining consciousness, the arrested Dydyk, Halyna – "Anna" – declared during interrogation that in recent times Shukhevych was truly paying more attention to the questions of carrying out anti-Soviet, nationalistic activities in the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR. With this goal in mind, in late 1949 he sent Dydyk to the city of Kyiv to organize a safe house, where members of the OUN underground could stay.

Dydyk also testified that in early 1950 Ilkiv, Olha – Roksoliana was supposed to depart to an eastern oblast, and in connection with this she met in person with Roksoliana, to whom she handed over Shukhevych's assignment and money.

From Dydyk's statements it is clear that in June–July 1948, and in 1949, she, together with Shukhevych, twice underwent a cure at health resorts in the city of Odesa, the first time on a business trip to the Karl Marx Sanatorium and the second time with vouchers for treatment and meals at the polyclinic of the Lermontov health resort.

During the course of the investigation Dydyk named eleven safe houses in which Shukhevych had hidden, and the majority of them were prepared personally by Dydyk. In particular, she stated that Shukhevych had been hiding out in the village of Bilohorshcha in an apartment prepared by her, and she was living legally from the fall of 1948 until the moment of her capture. In addition, Dydyk gave statements about twenty-six safe houses for couriers of the central OUN leadership.

Among the safe houses Dydyk named an apartment in the city of Lviv on Mariupilska Street, the keeper of which was Uhryn, Maria. According to Shukhevych's mission, this apartment was organized by a member of the "Podillia" territorial "leadership," Goliash, codenamed "Bei," who was carrying out a special assignment from Shukhevych in the city of Lviv.

The MGB organs' further agentura-operational measures were aimed at acting on the statements of Husiak and Dydyk and, above all, at the search for and capture, alive, of Shukhevych's courier, Roksoliana.

In carrying out the indicated operational measures, on 13 March of this year the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast identified and secretly brought in the

caretaker of the house at no. 8 Shchors Street, who said during interrogation that among the other individuals arriving from villages, his apartment was visited by women named Anelia, Zonia, and Stefa. After being shown photographs, the caretaker recognized Roksoliana in one of them, and Darka in another; he also indicated that Roksoliana was at his apartment on 7 March and promised to visit again on 13 or 14 March 1950.

After the caretaker was recruited under the pseudonym of "Stry," two operatives were installed in his apartment, under the guise of people who had arrived on a business trip, and round-the-clock surveillance of the apartment was initiated.

On 14 March 1950, at 15:00 hours, the surveillance team noticed an unidentified woman observing precautionary measures entering the apartment of Stry, who instantly signalled to the operatives about Roksoliana's arrival.

Upon seeing strangers in the apartment, Roksoliana waited a minute and left the building, looked around; she entered the front door of a neighbouring house, where intelligence agents approached her at once, grabbed her surreptitiously, and delivered her to the MGB Directorate.

During the body search of Roksoliana fictitious documents made out in the name of Yatsiakh, Sofia Andriivna, two vials of poison, and a variety of OUN correspondence were seized.

Ilkiv, Olha Faustivna, born 1920, a native of the city of Stryi, Drohobych oblast, a Ukrainian, with an incomplete higher education, OUN codename "Roksoliana."

As Ikiv testified, in 1946–47 she and her mother provided cover for a safe house in the village of Kniahynychi, Bukachivtsi raion, Stanyslaviv oblast, where Shukhevych was hiding out, and as Shukhevych's personal courier, she carried out his assignments with regard to liaison with the heads of the OUN underground.

In connection with Ilkiv's attempt to limit her activities in the underground to 1947, she was taken into active processing through the in-cell agent Liuba.

The same kind of scheme, through Liuba, having been carried out with Husiak, a note to her mother, who was hiding in the village of Chorny Ostriv, Novi Strilyshcha raion, Drohobych oblast, was obtained from Ilkiv. In her note Ilkiv warned her mother to destroy OUN documents that could compromise her and informed Shukhevych's fighter, codenamed "Yurko," about the failures in the city of Lviv and about her arrest.

On the basis of these facts, a Chekist-military operation was carried out in the village of Chorny Ostriv, as a result of which Ilkiv's mother was found and captured, and OUN documents were seized, including a personal letter written by Shukhevych, dated February 1950, in which he advised Ilkiv to leave for an eastern oblast of Ukraine for nationalistic activities.

While being interrogated, Ilkiv confirmed her contact with Shukhevych before his liquidation and provided detailed statements about this.

During her interrogation Ilkiv named twenty-four safe houses of the central OUN leadership, a number of members of the OUN underground, and their active accomplices.

Husiak's and Dydyk's statements being acted on further, Khmilovsky, Mykola Ivanovych, born 1876, a native of the village of Prokipivna [Pokropyvna], Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast, a Ukrainian, with a higher education, OUN codename "Aksios" and "100" was identified in the village of Mshany, Ivano-Frankivsk raion, Lviv oblast, and arrested on 31 March 1950.

During the search of Khmilovsky's home various letters revealing his connection with the OUN underground were discovered and seized. In particular, leaflets entitled *To People of Good Will* and *The Voice of People from Circles, Living Legally*, the author of which hid under the pseudonym of "Aksios," were confiscated.

Examination of the notebook seized from Shukhevych revealed his personal notes about the fact that he had assigned Aksios/100 the task of writing the leaflet *To People of Good Will*, and this same Aksios/100 had been co-opted as a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the UHVR. In addition, in a letter to Bandera captured earlier, Shukhevych indicated that the members of the central OUN leadership, Lemish and Sever and a representative of the Greek-Catholic Church, whose surname was not named in the letter, had been co-opted as members of the presidium of the UHVR .

During the course of the investigation Khmilovsky was exposed, and he admitted that he was a member of the presidium of the UHVR under the codename "Aksios," of which he had been made a member in June 1948 by the central OUN leadership as the head of the illegal Greek-Catholic Church.

Continuing to act on the statements provided by Dydyk, Halyna – "Anna" – the MGB Directorate of Lviv oblast identified the keeper of Shukhevych's safe house, Uhryn, Maria, who was living in the city of Lviv on Mariiupilska Street, where Shukhevych and a member of the "Podillia" krai OUN leadership, codenamed "Bei," had been in hiding in 1947–48.

On 27 April 1950 a special operations – Chekist group of the MGB Directorate carried out a thorough search of the apartment and the basement of the building [and] in fact discovered a thoroughly equipped bunker.

After the discovery of the bunker, inside it was discovered the entrance to a second bunker, in which the bandit Bei was hiding. During an armed confrontation the bandit was wounded, and he then tried to commit suicide by shooting himself, but, thanks to the Chekists' able actions, he was captured and, once he was in our hands, he asked for help to save his life.

The captured individual turned out to be a member of the "Podillia" krai "leadership" of the OUN – Goliash, Hryhorii Ivanovych, codenamed "Bei," born 1910, a native of the village of Byshky, Kozova raion, Ternopil oblast, a Ukrainian, with a high school education, an illegal since 1944.

The investigation ascertained that Goliash, a member of the OUN since 1932, was sent by Shukhevych to the city of Lviv to carry out important tasks of the central OUN leadership.

On 6 May 1950 a fighter agent of one of the Chekist groups in the city of Lviv identified and captured a courier of the central OUN leadership, codenamed "Marta," who was instantly seized and delivered to the Directorate.

During the search of Marta's residence a large number of important documents from Sever, a member of the central OUN leadership, addressed to Shukhevych, Roman, were seized, which prove that until May 1950 Sever did not know about Shukhevych's liquidation.

Thus, as a result of the creation of the special operations-Chekist group and the organization of an investigative group of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR in the city of Lviv, within a short period of time the leader of the vestiges of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine's western oblasts, Shukhevych, Roman, was found and liquidated, and the following were captured and arrested: Khmilovsky, a member of the presidium of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the head of the illegal Greek Catholic Church; Goliash, the leader of the OUN underground in the city of Lviv, and the couriers of the central OUN leadership, Dydyk, Husiak, Ilkiv, and Holoiad.

In addition, during the course of the investigation, based on the statements of the arrested, approximately one hundred secret addresses and safe houses of the central OUN leadership, including more than forty apartments in the city of Lviv, were exposed.

Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant General N. Kovalchuk

True copy:           signature:

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 65, fols. 294–315.

DOCUMENT 153: MGB GUIDELINES FOR THE  
PREPARATION/USE OF FAKE PHOTOGRAPHS OF UKRAINIAN  
UNDERGROUND MEMBERS

[Russian-language document]

*March 1950*

1/NK

*Top Secret*

“OK” Series, copy no. 1

*To the Heads of the UMGB of the Western Oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

To com[rade] \_\_\_\_\_  
City of \_\_\_\_\_

In the work practice of secret intelligence-fighting groups there are cases where a subject with whom agent-fighters have occasion to work, being instructed by the underground and observing the rules of secrecy, requires a password or a meeting with bandits who are familiar to him.

As a result of the fact that the secret service-fighting group cannot meet this requirement, the work with such a subject usually ends without result.

Taking this circumstance into consideration, Department 2-N of the UMGB of Volyn oblast developed and utilized the following method in the work of secret service-fighting groups, which gave positive results.

Utilizing the existence in Department 2-N of snapshots of many bandits, special photo montages were prepared, that is, on snapshots depicting a group or single bandit were mounted photographs of the individual agent-fighters taking part in a given scheme.

Next, the created photo reproduction, upon presentation to its subject to whom the bandits photographed in the snapshot are known, produces the required effect.

Orienting ourselves with regard to the above, we recommend using this method in the work of secret service-fighting groups. For the purposes of preventing the exposure of this method, it must be used only in those cases where access to leading OUN links can be expected from the success of the implemented scheme.

Report the results of the application of such schemes in summarizing memoranda on the work of secret service-fighting groups.

Deputy Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Major General

[signature] Drozdov

7/1/1067

28 March 1950

City of Lviv

HDA SBU, 372-83-2.

DOCUMENT 154: MINUTES OF MGB MEETING ON  
"FIGHTING GROUPS" IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST  
THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND

[Russian-language document]

24–25 April 1950

AA-2 HIGHLY CLASSIFIED

*Minutes*

*of a meeting of the Chiefs of four departments and the operational heads of secret service Fighting Groups of the 2-N Departments of the UMGB of the Western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR held at the 2-N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR in the city of Lviv on 24 and 25 April 1950*

The meeting was attended by twenty-one people (a list is attached).

The meeting was opened by the deputy director of the 2-N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Pastelniak.

In his speech Comrade Pastelniak said that the goal of the present meeting was the exchange of work experience of secret service fighting groups in order to organize their work even more effectively in the future.

Using the examples of the work of secret service fighting groups in Stanyslaviv and other oblasts, Comrade Pastelniak demonstrated the immense role that they play in the general measures on the processing and liquidation of the OUN gang underground.

Along with the positive results of the work of secret service fighting groups, a number of serious shortcomings take place in the work of secret service fighting groups. Using the example of the secret service fighting group of the UMGB of Rivne oblast, Comrade Pastelniak pointed out its utterly feeble work.

The introductory word was followed by the speeches of the meeting participants.

The floor is given to the head of the 4th Department of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast, Senior Lieutenant Radul.

Comrade Radul recounted those great results of the work that was carried out by the secret service fighting groups for the last period of this year.

Then several positive examples of schemes carried out by secret service fighting groups of the oblast are cited.

[Written in pencil here:] Comrade Radul says:

From directive no. 22 of the minister of state security of the Ukrainian SSR dated 25 April 1949, it follows that the main direction of the work of secret service fighting groups should be purposefully [*sic*] according to the processing of leading links of the OUN underground. In this direction we carried out

a number of successful schemes, as a result of which materials on the exact hiding places of the bandit leaders were obtained.

Thus, by carrying out a hush-hush measure with regard to one of the close relatives of a bandit, the exact hiding place of the head of the SB Section of the Tlumach OUN nadraion "leadership," led by the notorious bandit Sirko, was exposed.

By means of a Chekist-military operation in the village of Dilova, Tlumach raion, carried out on 8 January this year, the bandit Sirko and two of his bodyguards were liquidated in a specially outfitted bunker. Six long-barrelled weapons and OUN documents of operational interest were seized from the killed men.

The second distinctive scheme that produced positive results is the secret service scheme to expose the contacts of the courier of the OUN okruha "leadership," Kharandiuk, Sofia, with the leaders of the OUN underground. On the basis of the statements provided by this courier during the interrogation of the fighting group, an operation was carried out on 24 March 1950, as a result of which the responsible propaganda leader of the Stanyslaviv raion "leadership" of the OUN, the bandit Hrushka and his typist were liquidated in the vicinity of the village of Hutyska.

To the number of characteristic secret service schemes one may add the scheme to expose Balatsko, Varvara, the courier of the head of the SB Section of the Stanyslaviv okruha "leadership" of the OUN, Zhar, during the course of work with whom the hiding place of the bandits was established.

As a result of the completed operation, the leader of the Bohorodchany raion "leadership" of the OUN, Strila and two of his bodyguards were liquidated as well, the bunker of Zhar himself was discovered, from which OUN documents of an operational interest were seized.

Significant work was also carried out on uncovering bandit manifestations by secret service fighting groups. Also uncovered were such serious terrorist groups as in the village of Dobrovliany, Kalush raion, [where] a terrorist group numbering six people was exposed and liquidated and from whom three long-barrelled weapons were seized; the indicated terrorist group, headed by Cherpak, a student of the Lviv Forestry Technical Institute, and Fedoriv, a schoolteacher, carried out six bandit manifestations connected with the killing of leading Soviet-party workers and individuals loyally attuned to the Soviet power.

A terrorist group numbering four people, which at various times had carried out the murder of a Soviet army officer, a sergeant of MGB troops, and a leading Soviet-party worker, was exposed in Lysets raion, in the village of Tysmenychany.

In April 1950 a terrorist group numbering two members, who had carried out the murder of two leading Soviet party-communist workers, was exposed

in Halych raion, in the village of Viktoriv. During a search two long-barrelled weapons were seized from the terrorists.

A terrorist group was also uncovered in Bilshivtsi raion, in the village of Kinashiv, whose leader Perehinets, Andrii Petrovych, on the instructions of the OUN underground, was preparing a terrorist act against the deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Hohol, the chairman of the Bilshivtsi raion executive committee and the secretary of the raion Komsomol committee. The terrorists were arrested and the weapons that they had with them were seized.<sup>22</sup>

The secret service fighting groups worked not only on processing the leading links of the OUN underground, exposing gang manifestations, but also on uncovering the bases of the gangs' accomplices in villages especially affected by banditry.

Thus, in December 1949 and January 1950 the secret service fighting group, For Soviet Ukraine, carried out a whole number of secret service schemes in the village of Yamnytsia, Stanyslaviv raion; as a result, the acquired materials were used to draw up registration files. As a result of the group's work, fifty families of active gang accomplices and bandits were deported from the village of Yamnytsia. At the present time a collective farm has been organized in this village.

The same kind of work by secret service groups was also carried out in Tysmenytsia, Lysets, Voinyliv, Kalush, and other raions in the oblast, where a palpable blow was inflicted on the bases of the gangs' accomplices in these raions.

One could recount much more about the results of completed schemes, but the goal of our meeting is different, namely, that here we should exchange practical experience about those methods that we are using in carrying out covert measures to expose active OUNites and uncovering their hiding places.

*On the question of proposals:*

Throughout 1948 we carried out secret service schemes by staging the firing of submachine guns and the capture of an installation by fighter agents, but to a certain degree this method became known to the OUN underground and it is not producing the appropriate results; therefore, in the course of carrying out secret service schemes, we began to practise the method of planting fighter agents under the guise of passengers travelling in an automobile; the subject of processing was accompanied by an escort of two soldiers. En route the fighter agents started a quarrel with the convoy, stopped the car, staged the killing of a soldier and the operative with blank shots, grabbed the subject, brought him

22 Soviet reports frequently pejoratively described members of the OUN and UPA as "terrorists," "bandits," or members of criminal "gangs."



to a forest, and there, in a specially outfitted bunker, interrogated him in the name of the SB.

Prior to the meeting we held a number of talks with fighter agents and the leaders of secret service fighting groups. As a result of these talks, we developed a number of new methods that as a result can be used for exposing members of the OUN gang underground.

*First method of carrying out a secret service scheme:*

At a designated time the detained subject is to be informed of the decision about deportation, he is placed in a car, where on board there will already be the supposedly deported family of the fighter agent, his wife, and brother – another fighter.

The family of fighters being deported is to be furnished with Hutsul clothing.

For accompanying and supplying guards for the deportees to [a] transit point in Kolomyia or Broshniv, two operatives dressed in a soldier's uniform and armed with a submachine gun and a carbine are to be selected.

Before sending the deportees to the assembly point the “soldiers” are to be assigned the task of sitting in the body [of the vehicle] and maintaining a reliable watch over these deportees; the senior member of the convoy is to be given a package addressed to the head of one municipal raion office of the MGB or another. Into the package place an accompanying document about who the deportees are, so that this document will be the basis for the fighting group concerning what kind questions are to be posed to the subject.

Throughout the journey one of the operatives, appearing to be the senior member of the convoy, with the rank of officer, moves without permission from the body of the vehicle into the cabin. The fighters who are being deported, taking advantage of the circumstance that the “soldier” left in the body is not guarding them vigilantly, give each other to understand that they should pounce on him, disarm him, and escape. They carry out the explanation among themselves through mimicry in such a fashion so that not only the fighter's wife, who has been prepared for this, but also the subject will get their bearings.

On a designated sector of the road the fighters pounce on the soldier and “liquidate him by means of silent death,” then one of the fighters, after seizing the carbine of the killed soldier, knocks on the cabin and as soon as the vehicle stops and the officer comes out in order to find out what the matter is, firing a blank bullet he kills him point-blank; the driver manages to escape.

After jumping out of the car and grabbing the submachine gun of the second killed soldier, the fighters take away the wife and the subject travelling with them, drop their things, depart hurriedly to a forest, and then they head in the direction of settled points, where the subject does not know the area.

The itinerary in this area continues in such a way that within two to three hours of walking in a designated spot in the forest the fugitives should accidentally come across a secret service fighting group dropped earlier by us, outfitted in bandits' clothing. During the accidental encounter the fighters detain the strangers, disarm [them], and, accusing them of belonging to a public order protection group, subject them to insults and carry out a thorough search of each one. Upon the discovery of the package among the fugitives, which they had seized from the killed soldier, the "bandits," having learned who they are and after hearing their explanations, decide to deliver the detainees to the "leader."

After delivering the detainees to the place of the bandits' fake billets, one of the fighters reports to the leader who, supposedly for the purpose of verification, interrogates them one by one in the name of the SB. At first he questions the brothers of our fighters and then the subject and the fighter's wife.

In order to obtain information about the course of the subject's interrogation, the senior member of the group, as the leader, sends, in the presence of the subject, one fighter to a village for the supposed purpose of rechecking their statements about the murder of the two soldiers, who [the fighter], taking advantage of this circumstance, goes to meet our operative with a report and in order to receive further instructions.

The deportees, finding themselves under the protection of bandits, talk among themselves. In a cautious way they involve the subject in the conversation, work on him in a corresponding fashion, and steadily inform our operative about his conduct through the senior member of the special group.

Thus, the two-sided processing of the subject (the interrogation of the LSP [LSB, i.e., the pseudo SB] and essentially intelligence interpretation) will give us a clear idea and once again will be a reverification of the soundness of its statements on the fighting group.

The capture of the subject is to be organized by seizing him together with the fighter's wife [after which] they will be sent [sic] by the "bandits," after the conclusion of the interrogation, to one of the houses in the settled area to spend the night, and they will be there, supposedly accidentally detained as people without documents and who are offering confusing explanations during their interrogation.

*Second method of carrying out a secret service scheme:*

The subject of the processing is not officially detained, but in a corresponding way a business trip to the oblast centre or raions in the oblast is arranged for him. Upon leaving the apartment, the subject is to be taken under external surveillance that is to be conducted until the departure from the settled area. Taking into account that the subject should follow in an accompanying

automobile along the corresponding route, the secret service fighting group is to be dropped in the vicinity of a settled area to organize the place of the bandits' fake billets.

Two fighter agents selected from the group stop at a control point for loading passengers into a car. An operative carries out the transfer to the fighter agents located at the control point.

At the control point indicated above, set up a guard post consisting of an UMGB operative and a militia vehicle inspector.

The latter stop the car in the event that the subject will be travelling in it, under the pretense of its technical malfunction. In this way the subject will be forced to switch to our car outfitted as a passenger vehicle that is supposedly heading to the destination of the subject's business trip. Fighter agents also get into the car together with the subject.

At a specified spot during the journey the fighter agents stage the arrest of the subject, whom they bring with them to the place of the bandits' fake billets.

After the fighter agents' arrival at the billets with the subject, the senior member of the group conducts an interrogation of the subject in the name of the SB, accusing him of contacts with the MGB organs.

*Third method of carrying out a secret service scheme:*

The subject of processing is placed in a cell in which a fighter agent, briefed beforehand, is planted under the guise of an arrested bandit. Establishing himself in the cell, the fighter agent determines, in a cautious way, the reason behind the subject's arrest and recounts his own practical activities in the OUN.

With the goal of gaining the subject's trust, during the interrogation of the fighter agent as an arrestee, stage his beating in the investigator's office; at the moment of the staging, bring the subject past the office in the expectation that he will hear the screams of the fighter being beaten.

After the interrogation inflict fake blows on the fighter agent and install him once again in the cell with the subject, where the fighter obtains the subject's agreement for an escape in the event that they are ever convoyed. In a spot prepared beforehand, drop a secret service fighting group to set up fake bandits' quarters.

At a designated time, a fighter agent and the subject, with his hands tied, accompanied by two operatives outfitted like soldiers, are to be sent by car to the city of Stanyslaviv or Lviv for further investigation.

Prior to dispatching to the city of Stanyslaviv the "convoy" is entrusted by the operative with the task of picking up another arrestee in the neighbouring RO MGB, whom they are also to deliver to the MGB Directorate.

The convoy takes a correspondingly briefed fighter agent, under the guise of an arrestee, to the RO MGB.

During the journey, at a section of the route specified beforehand, the fighter agents, profiting from the fact that their hands will be tied loosely, free themselves, pounce on the escort, disarm him, and stage his murder with blank shots from a weapon seized from a soldier. After seizing the killed soldier's weapon, the fighters knock on the cabin, and as soon as the car stops and the second escort comes out to find out the reason for the shooting, the fighters also kill him with a shot from a blank bullet.

After untying the subject's hands and seizing the weapon of the second killed soldier, the fighters take away the subject travelling with them [and] they depart to a forest, where they meet up with a group of fighter agents, who deliver all three for the establishment of their identity to the leader, who interrogates them one by one in the name of the SB.

*Fourth method of carrying out a secret service scheme:*

A secret service fighting group splits in two, the first of which sets up camp in the forest under the guise of bandits, and the second, smaller, group heads to a settled area for the subject.

It is essential to take into consideration that the distance between the first group and the subject's place of residence should be approximately thirty to forty kilometres. During the group's movement covering the territory of two to three raions, organize encounters supposedly with bandits; at the same time stipulate prearranged signals for encounters, conversations with "local residents," the delivery of food products by them.

It is essential for the second group to move only at night and to reckon on the path of movement with a deadline of two to three days. The group that is accompanying the subject should not engage in any conversations with the subject.

Upon approaching the first group's position, two fighter agents meet the senior member of the second group with a specially arranged password, and in the subject's presence they blindfold him and then they blindfold the subject, after which they are delivered to the leader's quarters. After reaching the senior member of the first group, the senior member of the second group reports to him about the completion of the assignment, after which he begins the interrogation of the subject in the name of the SB.

After the completion of the interrogation, the withdrawal of the subject by the military group is to be carried out in the usual order.

There were serious *shortcomings* in the course of the work of intelligence-fighting groups, which were revealed in the following:

There were cases where secret service schemes were carried out by groups according to a plan with subsequent authorization of the UMGB leadership, and also where secret service schemes were carried out without a plan.

Work dossiers on each separate secret service fighting group were not set up. Materials were located in one general folder.

Desecretization before the personnel of MGB troops, inadequate and weak political-educational work among the personnel of groups.

There were cases of failure of schemes in connection with previously exposed actions. This concerns the Rohatyn group of raions.

In the course of the work of secret service fighting groups there were cases of the suicide and suicide attempt of the subject [the word "subject" written by hand].

The quality of the organization of the work of the intelligence-fighting works was adversely affected by the lack of leadership by the department, since I was redirected to work along a second line that was not connected with the management of the groups.

Political-educational work among fighter agents is being carried out inadequately.

In the nearest future we will rectify all the shortcomings that have been brought to light by Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Marshalenko in the process of verifying our department's work, and we will make every effort to make exhaustive use of the secretive measures assigned to us in order to smash the remnants of the OUN gang underground.

Then Comrade Radul indicates the next proposals for improving the work of secret service fighting groups:

- a) To use fighter agents more purposefully in the processing of leading links of the OUN underground.
- b) Not tolerate *rote work* in carrying out secret service schemes.
- c) To conduct meetings with fighter agents on the basis of materials seized from bandits and which are of operational interest to the work of fighter agents.

Senior Lieutenant Shymanko:

Secret service schemes, according to which subjects would be taken from apartments in Stanyslaviv oblast, were not used, since they (the subjects) were not taken for bandits-fighters. In view of this, all the schemes add up to the subject being convoyed by car. During the journey he is seized from the latter [i.e., the car] by fighters in the guise of bandits to be followed by further processing in the guise of the SB.

If the subject does not provide information about his bandit-OUN activities during the investigative processing, a second secret service fighting group is added, which continues the processing of the subject under the guise of representatives of the higher OUN leadership.

Then Comrade Shymanko proposes using former fighter agents in the search for bandit quarters in forests and mountain ranges.

The mass use of secret service fighting groups that are [*sic*] common practice in Stanyslaviv oblast, says Comrade Shymanko, also leads to the circumstance that the subjects of deep processing are not exposed for lack of time.

The mass use of secret service fighting groups leads to the decoding of our work methods.

Then Comrade Shymanko says that operatives do not seek to develop bandit-OUN "leaderships" by the secret agent route, but are trying to develop them through secret service fighting groups, since the latter is easier.

Captain Reznik:

In his speech Comrade Reznik recounted the case of a subject's suicide that took place during his intelligence processing. This incident was the result of inadequate watch over the subject by fighter agents and the poor organization of the scheme.

Lieutenant Nesterikhin:

Secret service fighting groups in Stanyslaviv oblast are not assigned to constant subjects (leading links) but are used in the processing of various subjects and detecting of gang manifestations.

Schemes for exposing gang manifestations are carried out by the removal and subsequent investigative processing, under the guise of the SB, of genuine participants in gang manifestations or persons who know who committed these actions.

Educational work with fighter agents is conducted inadequately. A group discussion with fighter agents was held only one time in March of this year. The discussion was led by Major Formanchuk.

Then Comrade Nesterikhin says that fighters are armed with old weaponry that is not reliable on-stream, and therefore it is necessary to change it for new.

Captain Aksenov:

In Department 2-N of the UMGB of Drohobych oblast are four secret service fighting groups numbering thirty-three fighter agents.

We are constructing our work thus: operations departments write a report about the completion of covert measures concerning subjects. To the received material about the completion of a hush-hush measure, data on the subject's personal traits are additionally demanded from the operatives in order to use [them] later to carry out schemes.

The groups are armed with AVT [Tokarev automatic] rifles, one German-made rifle, Hungarian pistols, and others.

In 1950 secret service fighting groups personally killed twelve OUN bandits and captured eleven. In addition, as a result of the groups work, there are three killed, one of which was a bandit known as Zalizny from an SB fighting group, Yurko, the former head of the SB Section of the Stryi raion "leadership" of the

OUN, and his accomplice Bir and Shram, a propagandist from the Stryi raion leadership of the OUN, was captured.

Among those captured or killed this month, the ABG [secret service fighting groups] personally killed six bandits and captured three on the territory of Khyriv raion among those killed were the raion "leader," his bodyguards, and stanytsia leaders.

A hiding place where bandits were taking shelter was uncovered.

We applied such methods and schemes in the work. We used the corpses of killed bandits, capture with blood [during which blood is shed in order to convince the subject of the veracity of the events taking place], and the like.

How do we carry out a scheme with the use of a corpse? Unlike the Lviv scheme, we carried out the scheme thus: on the outskirts of a settled area, where the subject lives in the vicinity of the site of the scheme, a [illegible handwritten word, probably "scheme"] was carried out with an individual killed in Stanyslaviv oblast, Rohatyn raion, who was connected with Vovk. A secret service fighting group showed the subject the corpse of the killed bandit dressed the way he was supposed to look, with a proposal to bury him. After this, the second group went to the house of a homeowner and said that he had buried this bandit. He agrees with this and shows where he buried the bandit; the subject tells us that he took a personal part in burying this bandit.

(omission)

This scheme of ours turned out successfully and produced a contact with Rohatyn raion.

We do the capture with blood, unlike the Stanyslaviv scheme, this way: (omission)

I suggest carrying out a scheme involving subjects with the participation of the ABG and then send the arrested subjects directly to the eastern oblasts for them to be investigated. There is no problem now.

*About political educational work:* The political mood of the fighters is excellent, they themselves engage in battle and they themselves shoot the bandits.

Comrade Pastelniak: Are the ABG fully meeting the demands of raion departments?

Comrade Aksenov: Of course, they are not fully meeting [them], since this is very difficult with four groups.

*Question:* How many cases of marauding on the part of the ABG were there?

Comrade Aksenov: Since I became the head of the ABG, there was not a single one. Last year there was one case, one person hanged himself.

And why did he hang himself?

Comrade Aksenov: It is difficult to say why he hanged himself. In addition, he provided information and then for some reason hanged himself.

Captain Slavgorodsky:

In general, Comrade Alekseev has said everything, I cannot say anything more. True, I carried out a scheme in 1949 with the use of chloroform, from which the subject fell asleep, and afterwards we drove him to a forested tract.

This subject, who was a UMGB agent, was double-dealing. The following scheme was carried out to expose him.

Comrade Stekhov arranged a secret address for him, where he spoke with him; there was time before the train departure. When the agent went to the train from the secret address, en route he was met by fighters at 4:00 in the morning, and they ask him who he is and where he is going. They ask for documents, but there are no documents, then they take him by the arms and drag him in a direction away from the train station, to a basement room in a ruined house; they lay him on the ground; he began to shout; we had a piece of cheesecloth ready when he began shouting, we shut his mouth, dragged him behind the building, and began to sprinkle chloroform on the cheesecloth in order to put him to sleep. After this, one of the fighters summoned a cart prepared beforehand; we laid him on the cart, and drove twelve kilometres to the forest, to a hut; one fighter had been seated next to the driver, and all of us entered the hut he came to, looked around, figured out where he was, and became convinced that he had found himself with his own people, and he says that at first he took us for armed robbers, finally becoming certain that he had found himself with his own people, that he had been captured by bandits for the purpose of verifying who he is, and the like; he provided comprehensive statements, admitted that he was double-dealing with the MGB organs; then he said that he can betray Stekhov's group, and at the next secret rendezvous he would commit a terrorist act against them.

Comrade Pastelniak: And why did they use chloroform?

Comrade Slavgorodsky: We took the subject in the city and drove out of the city; he might have raised an outcry, and when we put him to sleep with the chloroform, placed him on a wagon, no one saw what and who are on the cart; there was no noise whatsoever. Even passersby were encountered and they did not pay any attention.

Otherwise it would have been impossible to take [him].

Comrade Abyshv, Ternopil oblast:

There are only 3 secret service fighting groups in the UMGB of Ternopil oblast; 2 of them number 6 fighter agents [each] and one – 7 fighter agents. Altogether 19 people.

For the most part, the groups are used for processing leading agents of the OUN underground and for processing the contacts of members of the central "leadership," the participants of the krai "leadership," and three okruha "leaderships." And they are very rarely used for exposing gang manifestations.

In their work practice the ABG are used for carrying out covert measures, an interrogation under the guise of the SB in a bunker.



All the completed measures produced positive results.

In 1950 we liquidated seven bandits based on the data of the ABG among them, the head of the communication station of the OUN krai leadership, the holder of a krai leadership station, the Chortkiv okruha "leader" of the OUN , and one raion "leader."

How did we carry out the measures? For the most part, the same capture of a subject, only much more simply; what we do is that the subject is secretly photographed as a preliminary; if it is an officer who is going for the photographing of the subject, which is carried out by a UMGB employee, the group studies the plan of measures developed on the krai leadership, on the okruha leadership, and it is very easy for us, since we already know what individuals there should be and how they should be processed further; after this we draft a plan of measures that is sanctioned by the UMGB leadership about the fact that so and so is a member of the OUN krai leadership. After that the deputy head of the UMGB issues a cipher communication that such an individual is subject to the hush-hush measure, etc., they write down all his traits. Afterwards, once permission has been received, we carry out the covert measure.

After the subject is photographed, the operative group singles out two people who conduct the subject's interrogation. The interrogation lasts about one to two days. In the event that the subject does not provide positive results, he is handed over to the ABG. After completing this measure, we send [the subject] to the raion where the subject has his operational machine and one fighter agent, who functions under the guise of a soldier of the MGB troops. The latter arrives in the raion to make contact with the operational leaders, comes to an understanding with them about how to conduct himself. The operative is informed of where this subject is being sent. After this they send a car on the road to Ternopil.

During the journey the car has an accident and stops, a wheel has supposedly fallen off or some other reasons.

The car stops, the agent is told that we will wait until morning. The fighter agent suggests telephoning for help to come with assistance and take us away, but the driver refuses, he does not agree; then the subject says, "Let's go."

Moving away from the car about two to three kilometres, our group, consisting of three fighter agents, arrives at the specified place pretending to cross along the line of communication, it runs across the highway and bumps into these people, they say [in Russian]: "Halt, who goes there?" They reply that they are soldiers from the garrison going to Ternopil. When we drew [*sic*] near, we carry out an attack on the subject in earnest. After this two events usually take place: the point-blank killing of a fighter agent with blank shots, and we bring the subject about half a kilometre farther into the forest and question him there.

This method is used very often, and it should be said that carrying out a scheme in such a way produces results. Next, we deliver the subject to the hiding place, where we also interrogate the subject over two to three days, at the very least. After that we release the subject and during the journey troops are standing one kilometre away, which follow his movement, carry out an ambush, arrest him, and deliver him to the MGB organs.

Regarding the hush-hush measure, we have to take only such people on whom there are materials for arrest or material for deportation; to be sure, it happens sometimes that we draw up and confirm cases for deportation.

All those who have been passed through a hush-hush measure head either to a prison or a transit point. These measures become known inside the cell [i.e., the prisoners talk about the Chekist operations]. This method is also known among the population.

*Question:* Does the investigative department of the UMGB assist you?

*Reply:* It does; at first, subjects go to the UMGB and then to an internal prison; the investigative department issues an order to put them in cells for carrying out a hush-hush measure.

Our secret service fighting groups operate under the guise of bandits from the above-mentioned "leaderships" who have arrived in a raion after receipt of information on the death of those or other bandits (for carrying out an investigation).

After the liquidation of gang groups or individual bandits from one leadership or another, an ABG is dropped into the area of activities, which conducts itself under the guise of bandits of the OUN underground; after arriving at the site of the gang group's liquidation, it establishes contact with informants who remain there and through them establish contact with the bandits who were subordinated to the liquidated gang group.

These schemes of ours come off very well.

Right now one raion leadership of the OUN is in the process of being developed.

All the completed measures to liquidate the raion leadership of the OUN and the nadraion leadership have given positive results.

Reconnaissance of a kushch gang group was carried out only periodically by visiting these informants.

The UMGB leadership objects to carrying out such hush-hush measures; this is considered an unpromising measure.

In 1949 our group operated under the guise of bandits, it captured a bandit. Over a period of three months it worked on capturing the bandit Lystok and arrested [him] in the raion centre of bandits, residing legally.

[Sentence crossed out here]

I consider it crucial to create another special group out of former fighter agents, which will carry out the arrests of subjects following hush-hush

measures. It will be necessary to do this because by doing this we lose nothing, if we do everything fully with all our forces in order to capture [bandits]. We can carry out all measures without the participation of soldiers.

Our secret service fighting groups are encoded under the guise of army garrisons.

In connection with the fact that the situation with apartments is very, very bad, all the soldiers are living in the garrison.

*Question:* And what about families?

Families live with us on the territory of Ternopil. Families do not know where their husbands work; if some of them do know, they do not know where they go, and periodically, once a week they visit their family in order to provide some assistance to the family. If some fighters explain to their families that they are working as suppliers in some kind of office in Ternopil oblast and therefore they are often travelling around [*sic*].

In Ternopil oblast we have four hiding places, we can carry out covert measures completely; we have a moveable hiding place that can be fully dug out and moved anywhere.

Our educational work is not badly organized. Training was conducted according to the system of political schools; we carried out the training ourselves. The conspectuses comprise everything. To keep abreast of current events, we issue four to five copies of newspapers and journals to each group.

During the work, equipping is only bandit-style, exclusively. Tunics and peaked caps are changed, weapons are trophy ones. The hiding place is also fully equipped; there is even a radio receiver.

*Question:* How is control implemented over the work of the group's senior member during an investigation?

During the processing of a subject in a bunker the operative is not present. There is no separation in the bunker, therefore we cannot control the course of a subject's processing in a bunker; true, one can only eavesdrop, but even that creates great inconveniences. It is necessary for hiding places to be divided into two halves, and in the second half it will be possible to sit and listen to the conversation.

*Question:* The size of the movable hiding place?

The size is very good, three by two metres.

*Question:* What can be done in such a hiding place?

These hiding places are designed only for the summer period.

*Question:* How do you utilize materials from a "leader" to an investigator?

When we receive material, the operational leader of a group writes a report and immediately sends one fighter to deliver [it] and he writes a note – he transmits the data in a day. We submit these data to the head of the UMGB,

the latter makes a decision to acquire data about hiding places, about the necessity to carry out an operation; at this point he issues instructions to the operative group.

The subject is still with us in the hiding place, and measures are already being carried out there.

Once the subject has recounted well, he is led out again and released. I translate the obtained material as intelligence dispatches, and one copy of this intelligence dispatch is sent to the investigation department and used as intelligence material.

In general, the material is not used in the investigation but is used fully as intelligence material.

Comrade Karasev: I reckon that Comrade Aбышев has said everything in full, I cannot add anything.

Comrade Zakharov, Uzhhorod:

Department 2-N of the UMGB has one ABG numbering six people. It must be said that the group did not work in the winter because our people are special, and one cannot work them so as not to unmask the ABG.

The people sat around until April of this year did not do anything. Fighter agents were used for processing subjects along the line of Department 2 of the UMGB.

The fighters are an important, major weapon. I have been working with fighters since 1944; we had results, but now we have a situation in Zakarpattia oblast in which they were inactive the whole winter.

A group arrived last year. It must be said that Colonel Pogrebnoi behaves in such a way that he cannot be pleased; if you do not appear with the group, he curses, why are you dawdling, not showing up, and the like; you begin to show up, he curses that you show up and do not know how to comport yourself. Then Colonel Pogrebnoi left, and I began to carry out assignments.

We let through one "V," a local resident connected with the bandits; he was on the border of Stanyslaviv oblast, on an alpine meadow, where he took cheese and milk for bandits. We began following him, then he broke off contact with the gang and worked in the militia; this circumstance was utilized, we took him and began working with him. The results were good, he provided statements that we later used well; then work on bandit "D" was carried out with results; then the winter came and everything stopped.

*Question:* Whose idea was it that work must not be done in the winter?

I will speak about this separately; we were afraid that the people here are Galician, and those methods with which they work here cannot be applied to them.

It turns out that a Zakarpattia okruha "leadership" exists; an Uzhhorod nadraion "leadership" is being set up on the border of Stanyslaviv oblast.

What other shortcomings do we have? I reckon that the fighters are a major weapon in this matter, but they are utilized very little, hence the results; once everything is organized well, then the work will be evident.

*Question:* What is the staff of the department?

Four people.

This is for six fighters?

Yes.

Do you have gang manifestations in the winter?

No, there were none.

How many schemes were carried out during the spring period?

We have not done anything yet we are just beginning to work now.

Captain Enkov, Rivne oblast:

In Rivne oblast there is one secret service fighting group numbering six people.

From the moment of its creation until the present day the group was intended for developing contacts for the liquidation of leading OUN links and the oblast "leader," Ulian.

The ABG's work methods. The group worked according to the method used by the bandits operating on the territory of the oblast. A subject is taken from an apartment and brought to a bunker and interrogated there.

The shortcomings in the work of the ABG lie in the fact that subjects give the group an inadequate amount of materials, hence the weak results. In individual cases, subjects are utterly inferior.

I will cite a number of facts: some leading links are not developed by a secret service fighting group, and when the department's leadership now announces the need for this, only then does this department present a subject's candidacy. However, these candidacies are also unsuitable. Thus, a former UPA company commander surrendered back in 1946; there were no data on his links with the OUN, but the 1st department offers him for processing.

No results were obtained from such a scheme.

A second candidacy was also processed according to the data of the 1st department. From an active source data were obtained about someone who was supposedly captured by the bandits. They began by bringing him to a fully equipped bunker, where they interrogated [him], after which the subject returned home and told his relatives about this. An agent found out about this. In addition, the ABG was a subject of the 1st department on the Ulian [case]. An opportunity for the group to work on Demian and Hrach opened up.

Based on the group's data, ten people were arrested.

With regard to one subject, there was correspondence that he was connected with Hrach and Demian; he named a whole number of individuals, about ten. There was an approximate time of Demian and Hrach's visit to him, after

which we made the decision to free him, having become convinced that he is an honest man to the OUNites, the SB has no cause to suspect him; at the very same time an ambush was organized, but Hrach, who did not wait for this deadline, was liquidated.

After Hrach's liquidation the subject was taken and he provided complete statements, and based on his statements, seven more people were arrested.

Recruitments "in the dark" [i.e., unbeknownst to the recruited individual] took place. A candidacy was assigned by senior lieutenant of the MGB Matveev: Cherniavskaia, who went through based on the statements of Horoshko, former secretary of a village soviet. After being processed, she did not provide anything she promised to tell Horoshko with regard to Lemish; she did not name the fighting group with which she had carried out communication in recent times and maintained it; at the same time she named a number of fighting groups, raion leaderships in Shumske raion, Ternopil oblast, and the Kremenets raion "leadership," with which she carried out communications until their liquidation. She named around twenty OUN members.

After her processing we made the decision to free her. We decided to liquidate this fighting group by organizing an ambush.

During the course of the interrogation she gave an account of this fighting group, with respect to individual OUNites who are conducting themselves non-conspiratorially, and in connection with this she was tasked with observation.

This work is being carried out to the present day: she is reporting information of [*sic*] the fighting group, its members, and other individuals; in addition, she named contacts, communication with her is being carried out from the 25th to the 30th, and an ambush has now been set up in Verba raion for the group's liquidation of Maksym's gang. After this, the question of her arrest will be raised.

In the matter of our communication, we warned her to inform us about what she is writing to Maksym; he is an MGB agent.

*Question:* Maksym knows that she is connected with the leadership?

No, Maksym does not know about this. She also did not inform him about our connection.

*The ABG's shortcomings:* Here the comrades gave speeches, and this meeting is instructive for Rivne oblast as the most lagging one in this unit, but I should say who is to blame here. The leadership of the UMGB is to blame.

We have a bunker in which this group processed ten people, but in the raions they do not even know about the existence of the secret service fighting group.

*Question:* How was the scheme concluded in relation to the contact under the guise of OUNites, which was carried out over a two-month period?

*Answer:* I reported to you that an ambush has now been set up; we should approach it for information from Maksym.

*Question:* Let him, as the department head, talk about his work and what he deals with.

*Answer:* I deal with the confirmation of registered cases for deportation. Everyone knows this. This question remains unresolved to the present day.

It also turns out with us that the group's work is not known, but everyone knows that there is a group.

Comrade Marshalenko: That's very bad. Who needs such secrecy if the OUNites know that such a group exists?

Tell me: how does one explain the situation that the group is inactive and there are no results?

*Answer:* Subjects for work are not being provided, since the head of the UMGB is not occupied with this matter. The first department is not giving subjects; it is not permitted to take a candidacy for processing from the raions.

Comrade Pastelniak: Why is there such a situation in the UMGB?

Comrade Golubev made the arrangements this way, having declared that this is not our affair.

Comrade Pastelniak: You tell him about this and we will try to write.

Comrade Lieutenant Colonel, here is a question: a number of people who have surrendered are not supposed to be interrogated, but they say that some comrades talked on site, but they did not recount anything about their activities in the OUN gang underground. We have data that they were connected with the underground and came out on Andrii's instructions.

It was established by the secret service fighting group that these persons, on the instructions of the OUN organization, are maintaining contact with the bandits, and once they are convinced of this, then measures are to be carried out and only then will we have results.

Some persons having surrendered to us on the underground's instructions for the purpose of subversive activity, the perpetration of a terrorist act, and afterwards to go underground again.

Persons who have surrendered, especially bandits and underground members, must be placed at once under secret service observation and according to which we should carry out secret observation with the ABG's participation; this is in case it is proved that a person who has surrendered came to us with a hostile aim.

Captain Yezhov, Lviv oblast:

I have four groups in the department. In January–April the groups carried out a total of eighteen secret service schemes. The groups work is producing a result.

Then Yezhov recounts how the ABG is conducting the processing of subjects in the city of Lviv and about schemes to plant a corpse at the home of a subject of forthcoming processing.

In order to better organize the work of secret-fighting groups, it is necessary:

1. For the leading operative to draw up a plan of schemes for the processing of a subject together with the group's operational leader.
2. To draw attention to the fighter agents equipment, so that it will be the same as the bandits.

The deputy head of the UMGB department of Ternopil oblast, Senior Lieutenant Abyshev, says that it is vital to grant a furlough to agent fighters periodically as an incentive measure and so that they will see our Soviet reality. This has significance for the issue of training fighter agents.

Senior Lieutenant Glushkov, Lviv oblast:

Our secret service fighting group has been operating for a long time. We applied the method of firing on a car in which an arrested person is being driven. This method has been desecretized. The *podsadka* method [planting a subject in the necessary vehicle] is the same thing, and Colonel Danilov, deputy head of the UMGB, has banned this method.

This year I completed eighteen schemes; of them, we carried out firing on a car two times. Two soldiers in militia uniforms are transporting a subject to the city of Lviv. The car stops. One of the militiamen runs down the road as though going to his house to eat; he runs into a house and he hides there or lies down in some bushes and carries out observation. Meanwhile, our group comes along under the guise of bandits; it asks the driver to give them a lift; he refuses, they offer him three hundred rubles; he refuses, explaining that he is transporting an arrestee. After that the fighters attack the driver and strangle him in a ditch, and they themselves drive the subject; he jumps out and escapes; they took only the weapons, since this is our goal; they took the documents and departed quickly. They crossed the river, transported the subject, they drove to the other side, and at a hiding place prepared beforehand they carried out further investigative processing.

There were two unsuccessful operations. During the winter period we also carried out schemes in a car. We were driving a subject, the car breaks down without reaching the spot where our bunker is located; one of the escorts stays with the car, and the second one goes to the raion to get a wagon, which is provided. The wagon-driver and two escorts drive this subject on a sled. The wagon arrive[s and] approaches the specified place, the soldier in the rear unscrews a bolt and the wagon stops. One escort goes to the village for a sled or a bolt. After this fighters in the guise of bandits move down the road, they approach a wagon, begin a conversation, and after the establishment of identity they attack the convoy, kill, and after seizing the weapons and the subject, they depart to the hiding place, where the further processing of the subject is conducted under the guise of verifying him.

*Capture in a city:* A subject is recruited, we enter a safe house. He was brought to me at the apartment. Behind my apartment fighters in the guise of



militia employees are watching, who, upon the subject's departure, take him under the pretense of verifying his documents; they bring him to a dark alley, get into a car, and drive outside the city. They blindfold [him], drive into a dark alley and, with his eyes blindfolded, they bring [him] to a house in which they interrogate [him] for up to two days, and if there are no results with blindfolded eyes, they put [him] in the car and we deliver [him] to a forest, to the bunker, where we interrogate again.

We did a capture in a village. True, the last capture was unsuccessful, and everything happens because according to the plan drawn up by the head of the department or an operative or a comrade at the command without the participation of the operational leader of the intelligence-fighting group [*sic*].

We ourselves drew up a plan so that a bandit visits subject "K," and he brings him literature. As a result of the scheme, we learned where the bandits and bunker are located.

The ABG should work on the okruha leadership, but in reality we took any raion, worked in it, and there were successes, but now we are sitting around. Two subjects and we cannot [do] more; we are in no position [to do so]. Not so long ago we drew up a plan to carry out a scheme. For this scheme two bottles of blood were required urgently; we appealed to Lviv, the slaughterhouse is not working, so we could not obtain anything. We decided that if blood is necessary, on the way we will kill a couple of chickens and there will be blood, and we carried out an attack on a car with the blood.

There also take place such facts, where the plan for carrying out a scheme has not been thought out properly, it is drawn up hastily, the executors of this plan are not consulted.

I am visited at one o'clock in the morning. Here is the plan: immediately carry out a scheme including the dumping of a bandit's corpse and an imitation of a battle at the subject's farmstead. But the corpse was no longer suitable for this matter since it had already cooled down; it stank, its face mutilated beyond recognition.

The corpse is undressed and there is absolutely no face on it; he blew himself up with a grenade in Zhovkva raion; I tell him that this corpse is not suitable, that it is impossible to carry out the scheme with such a corpse, there will be a failure, and he says to me, you do not want to work, it doesn't matter, we will do it without you; he summoned Comrade Shevchenko and suggests that he carry out the scheme with this corpse.

They drove off, they played out the scheme with the dumping of the corpse, summoned a fellow: "Come here, you see he's been killed." He says "No, I do not know who he is." They prodded it with a foot, but it is like rubber, it is obvious that the corpse was killed long ago. He did not say anything.

A couple of days later they took this fellow again for processing, they assigned a militiaman, two fighters, and me; we drive thirty kilometres. We stopped two times, talked with him, then we had a conversation in the hiding place; he talked about this corpse, he said that the Bolsheviks had shown him a rubber corpse, and so on.

This suggests that, without seeking advice, the man undertook this matter; it was necessary to consult with the chiefs, as a rule it was necessary to show what and how and to use a completely different corpse, and then afterwards to play out a battle, and the scheme would not have failed.

I want to say [something] with regard to these plans. Last year and this year, Danilov prohibited firing and demanded that a plan be drawn up in such a way that it was easier for the captured individual to be stung. As soon as a bandit was brought in after a scheme, it was this way instantly: here is your signature, now tell [us] what you gave to the bandits. I do not agree with him because sometimes the RO MGB is still inadequately prepared for this matter, and speedy desecretization ensues.

I would like to dwell first of all on the exposing of these groups. Everyone knows our group. I personally interrogated a bandit. He said that the fighters desecretized themselves, that is why it is necessary to vary the fighters.

Secondly, in relation to soldiers, when we capture and unneeded soldiers lead the subject to the hiding place, it is entirely possible to do without soldiers.

Thirdly, have a permanent group or soldiers, and not take them from every raion.

To have a group of five people – two escorts and three who will provide cover – so that at the moment of the interrogation no one can approach the hiding place.

It is possible to work only under such conditions.

Senior Security Officer Chernenko (Volyn oblast):

The ABG in Volyn oblast is also used the same way as in other oblasts. In addition, the removal of a subject from an apartment is practised, as well as work with him in the dark under the guise of bandits.

The work of fighter agents with a subject ends for the most part with the recruitment of the subject by an operative.

The use of photomontages produces a great effect in the work of fighter agents during the establishment of links with gang accomplices so that it is better to gain the trust of this underground.

It is difficult for us operational leaders of the ABG to work, since there is no head of a department who would direct us, he is occupied with other matters.

Kuznetsov, Volyn oblast:

In our oblast, groups take a subject for processing under the pretense of an “accidental” encounter with him in the guise of bandits. For this the subject, under one pretext or another, is sent somewhere or is summoned to the raion military registration and enlistment office and other organizations, and is intercepted en route.

If the subject takes the fighter agents for a gang group, he is given the task to make contact with groups that are in the underground. However, this use of fighter agents does not produce the proper result, and the scheme ends at best with his official recruitment by an operative.

Captain Tretiak:

Along with the positive results of the work of secret service fighting groups, serious shortcomings also took place.

Not all groups of fighter agents are being enlisted in the active struggle against OUN banditry, for example: the group of fighter agents of the UMGB of Rivne oblast was practically not enlisted in the work, and it does not have results; the situation is no better with the fighter agents in the UMGB of Zakarpattia oblast, where the group did not work for a lengthy period of time, supposedly because snow had fallen in the mountains.

In the UMGB of Volyn oblast, instead of carrying out secret service schemes for the processing of leading OUN links, they were enlisted for combing through forested tracts; they were used in *sekrety* [secret listening or observation posts], ambushes, and other types of official duties.

Failures of schemes and the exposure of fighter agents frequently result from the fact that subjects of processing are not studied in depth, measures on bringing in and withdrawing a subject from a scheme are not thought out properly.

For example:

In a village in Velyki Birky raion of Ternopil oblast, an UMGB secret service fighting group, under the guise of bandits, took V, a member of the OUN, for questioning; he was arrested after confessions were obtained from him.

The next morning, after the detainment of V by the agent fighters, his mother appeared at the raion office of the MGB with the question, “Where is my son?” and when they answered that they do [*sic*] not know anything about him, she went to the UMGB to complain.

It turned out that she had seen Petrykiv, a senior security officer of the Velyki Birky RO MGB, walking on the street that night with a group of armed people, and he pointed to her house, after which these armed persons, fighter agents, burst into the house and led her son away. Subsequently, the secret service fighting group was desecretized before her.

Here is a second example, where intended subjects were not thoroughly studied.

Under the guise of the SB, a secret service fighting group of the UMGB of Lviv oblast interrogated subject K, who did not give any statements. It turned out that, during the period of 1945–46 a special MVD group had stayed at his house, and he was perfectly knowledgeable about this method of our work.

Or this case: subject P, being interrogated by a secret service fighting group, did not give any statements.

As ascertained later, after being detained by the raion office of the MGB, he was in the same cell as another subject, against whom a scheme with a secret service fighting group had already been used, about which the latter recounted to P.

During the preparation for carrying out schemes by secret service fighting groups, all “so-called trifles” are not taken into consideration; individual details of schemes are not thought out, which in future are reflected negatively in work results.

Thus, in a raion office of the MGB of Ternopil oblast, a lamp was standing on the operative's table during the interrogation of an arrestee. Afterwards, when a scheme with a secret service fighting group was used in relation to him, he saw that same lamp in a bunker, about which he told the interrogating fighter agent, and he did not give any statements. Consequently, this kind of “trifle,” like a lamp, decided the outcome of the scheme.

Or, for example:

A secret service fighting group of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast, under the guise of the SB, was working on subject K; the latter took the fighter agents for bandits at first. He recounted that he was connected with the underground, but afterwards he refused to give further statements and demanded a password or a meeting with bandits known to him. It turned out that the group of bandits had not been in the house of the forester, where it was working, for a long period of time; the MGB organs had frequently set up ambushes here, which was known to the subject and the bandits.

Thus, as a result of the insufficiently considered preparation of the place of work, the measure that was being carried out did not produce positive results.

As we can see, during the preparation of schemes it is necessary to study subjects thoroughly and to think through all the details of schemes.

Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Marshalenko:

Secret service fighting groups have done important work on the measures implemented by the MGB organs for the liquidation of the bandit-OUN underground.

Along with this, there are serious shortcomings in the work of secret service fighting groups.

In Stanyslaviv, Drohobych, and other oblasts, secret service fighting groups are used in the processing of gang groups and uncovering of gang manifestations.

To a lesser degree the groups are used in the processing of leading links of the OUN underground. In a number of cases, subjects of processing were not studied thoroughly, the plans of secret service schemes were drawn up hastily, as a result of which they passed unsuccessfully.

There are a number of cases where secrecy is not observed in the work with fighter agents. In Stanyslaviv and partly in Ternopil oblast the local population knows fighter agents as individuals who are working with the MGB.

Our group's work methods are widely known to the soldiers of MGB armies.

Then Comrade Marshalenko talks about the weak organization of political-educational work with fighter agents and the need to strengthen it.

Lieutenant Colonel Comrade Kaganovich:

The work of secret service fighting groups is to be carried out in a purposeful manner, directing it towards the processing of leading links of the OUN gang underground. Rubber-stamping is not to be tolerated in the work of the groups.

Then Comrade Kaganovich talks about the need to maintain strict secrecy in the work with fighter agents and the schemes carried out by them.

It is crucial to strengthen educational work with fighter agents, directing it at the better completion of worthwhile assignments.

Show greater care for fighter agents and their families. Do not allow procrastination in the drafting of documents for the receipt of pensions for families of killed fighter agents.

Then Comrade Kaganovich talks about adopting measures to eradicate the mentioned shortcomings in the work of secret service fighting groups. The positive experience in the use of secret service fighting groups gained at this meeting is to be used in practical work.

Major General Comrade Drozdov spoke at the end of the meeting; he assigned the task of intensifying even more the work of secret service fighting groups on the search for and liquidation of the bandit-OUN underground. In the work, the secrecy of our work methods is to be strictly observed.

At the end of his speech Comrade Drozdov issued an instruction that such meetings be held every two to three months.

[handwritten text: True copy]

#### *List*

*of those present at the meeting of the chiefs of the secret service fighting groups  
of the UMGB of the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

1. Pastelniak
2. Kaganovich
3. Tretiak
4. Marshalenko

5. Radul
6. Shymanko
7. Reznik Stanyslaviv oblast
8. Nesterikhin
9. Yezhov
10. Beliansky Lviv oblast
11. Glushkov
12. Enkov
13. Prudko Rivne oblast
14. Zakharov Uzhhorod oblast
15. Chernenko Volyn oblast
16. Kuznetsov
17. Abyshev
18. Karasev Ternopil oblast
19. Aksenov
20. Slavgorodsky
21. Levashev Drohobych oblast

HDA SBU, 372-83-protokol-1.

DOCUMENT 155: MGB INFORMATION ON THE UKRAINIAN  
UNDERGROUND'S CHANGE OF TACTICS, 1950

[Russian-language document]

*Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR*

*Top Secret*  
Copy no. 3

*Report*

*on several changes in the tactics of the bandit-OUN underground in  
connection with continuous collectivization and the intensification of measures  
carried out by the MGB organs in Ukraine's western oblasts*

By means of agentura-investigative data and analysis of captured OUN documents, it has been ascertained that the surviving leaders of the OUN, in connection with immense losses of Organizational cadres, are making desperate attempts to preserve the vestiges of the routed nationalist underground and bandit groups in Ukraine's western oblasts.

The loss of hope for the speedy onset of the imperialist countries war against the Soviet Union, the successful conclusion of the compact collectivization of agriculture, the intensification of operational pressure on the bandit-OUN underground by the MGB organs, and completed measures to deport the families of bandits, their accomplices, and kulaks, have brought confusion and demoralization not only to the rank and file but also the leading members of the bandit-OUN underground.

The huge demoralizing impact on the bandit-OUN underground is attested by the mass surrender of members of the bandit-OUN underground after the promulgation of the order of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, dated 30 December 1949.

During the period from 1 January to 15 September 1950, 14,076 bandits, their accomplices, kulaks, and other illegals surrendered to the MGB organs.

Taking into account that the former tactics of open struggle against the Soviet Union failed and should inevitably lead to the complete liquidation of the OUN underground, its bandit groups, and base of accomplices, the leaders of the OUN are seeking to change the tactics of the struggle to a new setup, to strengthen secrecy even more by banking on the diminishment of vigilance on the part of the MGB organs [and] the weakening, in connection with this, of their pressure on the underground, and to take advantage of this circumstance to strengthen the existing underground organizations, replenish them with cadres, and create new OUN organizations, mainly through young people.

Discernible in all the directives and instructions issued by the leading OUN centres is unconcealed anxiety about the fate of the Organization, and maximum attention is being paid to the question of preserving the Organization's cadres.

In the summer of 1949 the leader of the OUN, Bandera, wrote from Munich to Shukhevych, the leader of the OUN underground in Ukraine's western oblasts:

The most important and sole valuable [concern] is the preservation and construction of a network that is even smaller in number but territorially all-encompassing ...

The most important areas that it is crucial to penetrate organizationally are the army, the collective farm system, the main work centres, youth, and schools. To inspire, organize, and materially secure the emergence and creation of nationalist moods in these circles, very carefully avoiding the formation of these processes in organizational forms ...

The decisive stake is on young people, and socially productive ones at that: agronomists, engineers, tractor drivers, mechanics, qualified workers, rank-and-file collective farm workers, young officers.

In accordance with these directives of Bandera's, already in the summer of 1949 the OUN heads on the territory of Ukraine's western oblasts began a restructuring of the methods of the underground's hostile activities, designed to preserve the vestiges of the underground, the spread of nationalistic influence on youth and the population of Ukraine's eastern oblasts.

In this respect, the assessment of the state of the OUN underground made by Shukhevych in one of his directives to low-level OUN links is characteristic: "At the present time it is crucial for us to focus attention on two problems: youth and the east. All the rest is of secondary importance. Otherwise, a catastrophe may occur."

At a meeting of the members of the OUN's central "leadership," which took place in the summer of 1948 in the Ilovsky woods in Mykolaiv raion, Drohobych oblast, the following tasks were assigned to the heads of low-level OUN links:

No matter what, preserve the surviving OUN cadres, scale back combat operations to a minimum, strengthen secrecy [and] nationalistic training, and switch the OUN cadres mainly to organizational and propaganda work. Strengthen the work of creating new and consolidating existing legal OUN links among young people and, above all, students.



This assembly adopted a decision to create a ramified and profoundly secret OUN network among young people living legally, with the calculation that young OUN links numbering two to three people be created in every village, in every nine out of ten grades of high school, in each course of a higher educational institution and technical college.

The MGB of the Ukrainian SSR has at its disposal OUN documents and statements of captured OUN heads who have testified that the underground is seeking to adopt measures for the implementation of their leading centres.

In July of this year the MGB organs seized a document entitled *The Main Tactical Tasks* from a captured head of a bandit group protecting Sever, a member of the OUN central leadership, codenamed "Pavliuk."

In order to weaken the enemy's pressure on the underground, we must reduce to a minimum all those operations that might intensify this pressure. In general, in the nearest future we should not demonstrate our forces anywhere, so as to demobilize the enemy with our passivity.

At the present time the underground is paying special attention to raising leading OUN cadres from among young people and to efforts to envelop with its influence young people from the eastern oblasts who are living in Ukraine's western oblasts (teachers, students, and others).

Orlan, the leader of the OUN underground on the territory of Rivne and Volyn oblasts, wrote in a directive to middle-level leaders of OUN links:

The enemy wants to destroy the OUN, but we have no right to perish pointlessly ...

Today, the most important area for us is the work of raising young people, the replenishment of the underground.

This will decide the question of the OUN's life and future struggle.

If there are no candidates now for the underground, it is necessary to work with legals. Let them live legally and carry out specific assignments ...

Right now we also need people who are both in the underground and have legal status.

Above all, work on candidates who have prospects of becoming leaders. Right now we need leaders above all.

For the purposes of preparing leaders of links of the nationalist underground from among young people, Orlan proposes:

In the nearest future it is crucial for all leaders, from the raion and up, to take one young person each for training from among those who offer the hopes of becoming leaders ...

For us the issue of raising young leading cadres in the nearest future is a question of the life of the Organization.

During the period from 1 January to 1 September 1950 alone, the MGB organs in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR detected and liquidated 335 nationalist youth organizations and groups with 2,488 members, from whom 340 weapons and ammunition were seized.

The MGB organs has at its disposal a whole array of facts showing how members of OUN youth organizations, on the underground's instructions, are penetrating the Komsomol and using their stay there in order to carry out aggressive anti-Soviet activities.

In August of this year the MGB Directorate of Stanyslaviv oblast exposed an OUN youth organization numbering ten people at a pedagogical college in Rohatyn.

During interrogation, the arrested member of the organization, Maslii, Dmytro, testified that the organization was created by a fourth-year student Nyz, Volodymyr, with the goal of impeding the Komsomol's communist influence on students and carrying out nationalistic work among students.

In order to conceal their anti-Soviet nationalistic activities, all the members of the organization joined the Komsomol and carried out subversive work there, aimed at the demoralization of the Komsomol organization.

The arrestee Maslii, Dmytro, is the brother of Maslii, Bohdan (arrested), who committed a terrorist act on 31 July of this year against Third Secretary of the Burshtyn RK [raion committee] of the CP(B)U, Comrade Voitkiv.

A notebook with the inscription was confiscated from the propaganda leader of the OUN krai leadership in the so-called PZUZ (northwestern Ukrainian lands), codenamed "Pavlo-Mykola," who was liquidated by the MGB organs on 24 November 1949:

Set up Oleh. Prepare members for OLEH and direct them to the army, the fleet, for studies in VUZs [higher educational institutions], etc.

Follow the individual principle during the creation of OLEH.

Here, the OLEH cipher is understood as an organization of legals.

At the present time the OUN underground is paying special attention to the envelopment of the population of cities by nationalistic influence.

For this purpose, the leaders are recommending to members of the OUN underground to accelerate nationalist activity among scholarly workers, teachers in VUZs, the intelligentsia in raion centres, and urban youth.

In carrying out its leaders' demands, the OUN underground is seeking by all means and measures to spread its influence among the population of Ukraine's eastern oblasts.

For these purposes, the underground is making use of OUN members who have been called up to the Red Army, FZO schools, settlers from the western oblasts, workers, students at VUZs, individuals moving to the eastern oblasts, and also maintaining links with individuals who were deported from the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to outlying districts of the Soviet Union.

The great importance that the OUN leaders attach to the dispatching of vetted cadres to the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR is clear from the following instructions of Orlan:

The loss of communications with our people who have departed and to whom we do not have access would be a great blow for us. If they are sent to Ukraine's eastern oblasts, then it will be possible to regulate work among the easterners through them. ... If we have passwords and addresses, then we will make contact with our man even in Siberia and will give him work there.

This is very important both now and in the event of a war.

Therefore, under no circumstances should our people leave and be lost to the OUN.

In order to prevent the OUN's premature failures in the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR before the beginning of the war expected by the OUN leaders, the following tasks are placed before them: to operate covertly in a thorough manner, study the surroundings, refrain from conducting nationalistic agitation and other activities, but in good time to select good people who can be relied upon in case of need.

With respect to this question, in their instructions the leaders of the OUN underground write:

Let them go and consolidate their positions in the SUZ (eastern Ukrainian lands). They cannot be allowed to create an underground there. Let them study the milieu and inform us about everything, and then we will give them instructions.

In order to carry out these assignments, the central OUN leadership prepared the departure to the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, in the guise

of a resettler, of Ilkiv, Olha, codenamed "Roksoliana," the former personal, especially trusted, courier of Shukhevych.

After Ilkiv's arrest by the MGB organs, the following instruction on the tasks of work in the east of the Ukrainian SSR, written personally by Shukhevych, was confiscated from her:

1. Hang on until the war, and right now do not join in any explanatory or other kind of political work. [...]

2. If the collapse of the Soviet power happens, then it will be necessary to organize the Ukrainians and try to persuade them [to support] the proclamation of an independent Ukraine. [...]

Special attention must be paid to the Ukrainian-speaking rural and urban intelligentsia. They can be drawn unconditionally into the movement.

3. The third task is secondary: be interested in everything, but cautiously, so that it will be possible to inform us about life, way of thinking, the economy, the cultural and social situation. [...]

Believe me, if you succeed in doing what I have outlined, your work will be worth possibly more than the work and death of our insurgents.

In the new methods of the OUN underground's subversive activities in the western oblasts and in its steady efforts to penetrate Ukraine's eastern oblasts, the hand of American intelligence agencies pointing the OUN members to intensifying espionage on behalf of America is unconditionally felt.

The SB OUN is creating a so-called IS ("information service").

In keeping with the instruction about this service, every SB leader of the OUN's raion and nadraion "leaderships" should have his own informants in all populated areas, in raions, and actions: in all enterprises, in institutions, educational institutions, etc. The informants' task includes the gathering of data of a military, economic, and political nature, as well as data on the work of the MGB organs.

On 8 January of this year the SB leader of the OUN's nadraion leadership, codenamed "Ocheret," was liquidated in Kamianka-Buzka raion, Lviv oblast.

Among the OUN documents that were seized from Ocheret was a so-called "logbook of a military report," the contents of which confirm the fact that the OUN underground is engaged in active espionage work to collect information of a military character, especially in the border zone.

In carrying out their master's missions, the OUN leaders have assigned the following task to the underground: to organize broadly and carry out economic and political sabotage, especially sabotage of the construction of the collective farm order, in Ukraine's western oblasts.

In their attempts to hinder the construction of the collective farm order, they are compelling the population to sabotage all forms of work on collective

farms, preventing collective farms from carrying out their duties to the state and the measures adopted by the party and the government, which are aimed at educating the population in a socialist spirit. The OUN members are seeking by all means to push their protégés into leading positions in village soviets and collective farms.

The underground is thus seeking to create indispensable conditions for undermining collective farms from within, secure a material base for itself at the expense of collective farm resources, and opportunities for gathering intelligence data of an economic nature.

In recent times the MGB organs exposed and repressed a number of OUN members who, on the underground's instructions, made their way into leading positions in rural soviets and collective farms. Using their positions as a screen, these OUN members were simultaneously leaders or active members of rural OUN organizations.

Thus, the Koropets RO [raion office] of the MGB in Ternopil oblast exposed an OUN organization in the village of Bobrivnyky.

The people arrested in this case:

Krasuliak, Mykhailo, born 1905, worked as the chairman of the village soviet.

Torkoniak, Havryil, born 1905, in recent times worked as the chairman of the collective farm in the village of Komarivka and others, a total of twelve people.

During the investigation it was established that the organization was created by the leader of the Koropets raion "leadership" of the OUN, codenamed "Zhar," on whose instructions its members were carrying out active, subversive anti-collective farm activities.

The Organization's member Krauliak, M.V., having crept into the position of chairman of the rural soviet in the village of Bobrivnyky, together with the other members, organized the sabotage of measures being carried out by the Soviet power in the village.

As a result of their subversive work and the resistance demonstrated by the kulaks, for a lengthy period of time a collective farm could not be organized in the village of Bobrivnyky.

During the investigation, the arrested member of the Organization, Torkoniak, H., testified that after making his way into the position of chairman of the collective farm in the village of Komarivka, in accordance with the instructions received from Zhar, he sabotaged the collection of seeds for the sowing fund, did not carry out repairs on the collective farm inventory, brought the collective farm horses to a state of exhaustion in order to disrupt the spring sowing on the collective farm from the very outset and then, with the help of kulaks, to disrupt the collective farm completely.

On 18 July 1950 the MGB organs captured alive the commandant of the bodyguard fighting group belonging to Sever, a member of the central OUN leadership, codenamed "Pavliuk."

Among the OUN documents that were seized from the captured leader was a document entitled *The Main Tactical Task of the Bodyguard Fighting Group of the Member of the Central OUN "Leadership"*

This document contains instructions to lower-level OUN links concerning actions in the current situation, which is difficult for the underground.

A special place in this document is allotted to the problem Kh-U.

Judging by the contents of the document, Kh represents the cadres of the armed underground, while U means the OUN organization, whose members are living legally.

Inform the cadres about the importance of the "Kh" problem:

- a) From the general national standpoint.
- b) From the organizational standpoint (experience, tradition) ...

The complexity of the given problem lies in this:

- a) The conditions of our life are extraordinarily difficult.
- b) Kh's impracticality for this life.

The document offers the following arrangements in relation to the training of terrorist cadres from the milieu of the armed OUN underground:

Kh should complete a test of fighting efficiency, moral steadfastness, and stamina (prepare terrorist acts without binding it with deadlines).

- a) Familiarize itself practically with weapons and shooting practice.
- b) At whom it is going against.
- c) Analyze the circumstances where it will be carrying out [an action].
- d) Moral preparation (fear, blood, how to remove traces) [...]

Instruct itself on how to behave. Convince [it] that a terrorist act is a test of its fighting efficiency and the salvation of other people's lives.

In connection with [its] high losses, the OUN underground is switching from a broad to a narrower and secret [tactic]:

Explain to the cadres the sense of the switch to clandestine forms of work as the application of maximum secrecy in everyday life and activities.

Wage a struggle against losses in the Organization through constant study and educational work in the sphere of secrecy, especially where it is

weakened, put a strict stop to all kinds of breaches of secrecy in relation to Kh-U, all the way to prosecuting guilty parties in the Organization's court.

It is suggested to the members of the OUN underground to liquidate definitively those forms of conspiratorial work with the population that are leading to the obvious exposure of the gang accomplices by the MGB organs.

Taking into consideration that the collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine's western oblasts is nearly complete, despite all the underground's attempts to undermine the construction of the collective farm order, the OUN leaders are proposing to adopt the earlier tactic of public statements against collective farms only in non-collectivized villages or in newly organized collective farms that are still not consolidated.

It is proposed to adopt a new tactic in well organized, strong collective farms – undermining collective farms from within by involving in this the nationalistically attuned segment of collective farm workers:

Explain to the cadres the significance and forms of our anti-collective farm struggle.

Show that our anti-collective farm struggle, in the form in which it has been waged to the present time, is being waged only in villages that have not been encompassed by collectivization, as well as on newly organized, weak collective farms.

At strong collective farms we are struggling against exploitation and for bread:

- a) We are with the people.
- b) Disrupt the implementation of the Bolsheviks' plans.
- c) Urge the masses to liquidate underlings (masses and cadres).

It is necessary to be careful during the liquidation of initiators and chairmen of collective farms.

Liquidate active underlings, observe whether the people need this, how the people perceive this.

Do not expend all energies on the anti-collective farm struggle; teach and teach the people how they should fight.

On 18 July of this year a [female] agent of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast reported that in June of this year the SB leader of the OUN's Kolomyia raion "leadership," Klym, issued instructions to low-level OUN links about setting fire to the grain in collective farm ricks, for which legal accomplices and teenagers are to be used.

In order to hinder the search and capture of the arsonists, Klym suggested using slow-burning items during arson attacks: tinder, wadding, packing yarn, which can be thrown onto the grain ricks.

With respect to the SB's work, the underground leaders are demanding the intensification of the struggle against the penetration of the underground by our secret agents.

Disband dubious links, and carry out vetting of people causing suspicion under the supervision of the nadraion SB.

And further:

Ban the mass liquidation of networks of the MGB organs secret informers, applying in such cases the exposure of less dangerous secret agents. [...]

Carry out the liquidation of eastern agents depending on the special activity of their agentura work. In all other situations, put a stop to their work through propagandistic-educational measures.

In offering instructions concerning the OUN's propaganda work amidst the population, the author of the document proposes:

Struggle for a rapprochement between western and eastern Ukrainians, in part with young people.

Seek both in print and verbal propaganda the elimination of the alienation that exists between both parts of the nation.

In villages not yet collectivized, urge the peasants to further decisive resistance to collectivization.

On newly organized collective farms, [urge them] to an active struggle of solidarity against them (sabotage).

On strong collective farms, [urge them] to an active struggle of solidarity for bread, against economic and physical exploitation.

This document contains instructions about intensifying the struggle against district militia officers.

In a document entitled *Basic Facts, New Topics, Resolutions*, which was seized during the liquidation of the bandit Pavliuk, the OUN leadership also issues instructions to lower-level links concerning the change of tactics in connection with the new political and operational situation in Ukraine's western oblasts.

In calling on underground members to scale back the number of gang manifestations to a minimum so as not to bring forth inevitable intensification of pressure from the MGB organs, the author of the document writes:

For a certain period of time discontinue mass actions (in part, the dissemination of literature and leaflets) in those territories where the enemy is operating strongly; however, this does not apply to cities.



The enemy knows that we are not there, and he will not be looking for us there.

In seeking to tear urban youth away from the Komsomol, the OUN leaders are proposing that underground members change their tactics in the following way:

It is crucial to change our tactics in relation to Komsomol members. [...]

This pertains especially to cities. All urban Komsomol members should not be called traitors because all the young people from the indicated milieu will rise up against us. [...]

It is necessary to urge [them] to sabotage work in the Komsomol, not pay membership dues, not attend meetings, etc.

This pertains to rural youth, where there are fewer Komsomol members. Here there is still a possibility for such forms of work that we are using at the present time.

They should be practised in future.

In this document the suggestion is made to take notes of the plan of discussions with OUN members concerning the situation and prospects of the underground.

In this respect, the following theses are put forward:

The enemy's final onslaught on the underground:

a) The strengthening of the political apparatus, the increase in the number of operative groups, leading MGB personnel and authorized representatives of an oblast, large-scale Chekist operations (broad-scale, intimidating operations throughout villages and forests), massive round-ups.

b) Order: the final onslaught, break the weak element in the underground, on which the enemy is reckoning:

1. The difficult conditions of the struggle.
2. The absence of immediate prospects for war.
- 3) Several weak individuals will be found among thousands.

Further:

Our underground has not disappeared; it is only switching from wider to narrow.

We will still have an Organization even if there will be five to seven people in a raion, but under the conditions:

- a) That these people will know how to conduct work among the masses.
- b) They will be linked with each other.

In the document the [following] task is assigned to the members of the OUN underground:

Fighters of civil defence groups must be disarmed, but try to do this through the force of propaganda, and carry out these propaganda operations in secret.

Do not permit members of civil defence groups to enter the Organization.

After the disarming of such individuals, have them swear an oath on the cross and the trident that they will never again raise arms against us.

In accordance with the 4 October 1948 resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and the 20 October 1948 order issued by the MGB of the USSR concerning the deportation of the families of OUN illegals, members of bandit groups, and gang accomplices in response to the terrorist and subversive acts carried out by the OUN underground in Ukraine's western oblasts, during the period from 1 October 1948 to 1 September 1950, 18,185 families, a total of 64,271 people, were deported to far-flung districts of the Soviet Union.

The MGB of the Ukrainian SSR has data proving that the measures to deport the families of the bandits, their accomplices, and kulaks, which were carried out in response to gang manifestations, are having a strong demoralizing impact both on the rank and file and leading personnel of the OUN underground.

During the investigation the leader of a bandit group, codenamed "Dovbush," who was captured in Turka raion, Drohobych oblast, testified:

At the present time the mood among the members of the OUN underground is panicky. The population is supporting the bandits less and less, and is refusing to supply them with food products because it is afraid of deportation. Many bandits believe that the end of their activities is approaching.

In connection with the deportation measures underway, the MGB organs have struck a serious blow at the material and human resource base of the bandit-OUN underground.

In many cases, the remaining families of bandits, kulaks, and gang accomplices, fearing deportation to far-flung districts of the Soviet Union, are refusing to hide the bandits in their homes and provide them with material assistance.

In this respect, the statements of a member of a bandit group guarding the head of the OUN's Turka nadraion "leadership," codenamed "Soloveiko," who was captured during a Chekist-military operation on the territory of Slavske raion, Drohobych oblast, are characteristic. He testified:

After the completed deportation of the families of members of the bandit-OUN underground and kulaks, the local population is refusing to welcome the bandits, in connection with which it is becoming increasingly necessary to acquire food by means of robbery.

When several members of the bandit-OUN underground and I demanded food products from a resident of the village of Kozhanka Nyzhnia, Slavske raion, I received the reply that he would not give food because he does not want to be deported to Siberia.

In his informational report for the first quarter of 1950, Roman, the leader of the OUN's Berezhany nadraion "leadership" in Ternopil oblast, writes:

In Zboriv, Berezhany, and Kozova raions there are often cases where people are refusing to let us into their homes and give us food, declaring that they do not wish to go to Siberia for this. Sometimes it is necessary to obtain food at gunpoint and to hide on a peasant's farm without his knowledge.

From the moment the resolution of the Council of Ministers of the USSR was issued and the deportation of the families of bandits was launched in response to gang manifestations, the subversive-terrorist activities of the bandit-OUN underground in Ukraine's western oblasts decreased significantly.

To a significant degree, the measures to deport the families of members of the bandit-OUN underground, kulaks, and gang accomplices, which are being carried out by the organs of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, are fostering an escalation in the activities of the broad masses of the population in Ukraine's western oblasts, which earlier was under severe pressure and terror from the OUN underground.

Despite all the measures being adopted by the OUN leaders for the purposes of preserving the vestiges of the underground, it remains in a state of constantly growing demoralization.

From a document confiscated by the MGB Directorate of Stanyslaviv oblast from Kosar, the liquidated leader of the OUN's Kolomyia raion leadership, it is obvious that in recent times the composition of the OUN underground has significantly changed owing to great losses.

Whereas earlier, harsh demands were placed on members of the OUN underground, for the most part in relation to physical development and stamina, now these demands have been sharply scaled down, which is explained by the lack of necessary replenishment.

The document states: "Deaf, sick, abnormal [individuals], cowards, prominent, and very young people are not to be accepted into the underground."

It is obvious that this instruction was issued in connection with the fact that in the capacity of replenishing the underground, more and more frequently people with the above-mentioned shortcomings were being accepted.

This document includes a point attesting to the atmosphere of mutual distrust among underground members and the constant fear that our secret agents are penetrating the OUN underground: "Ninety percent of married individuals and girls who all by themselves express the desire to join the underground are to be considered secret informants or penetration agents."

One of the members of the group guarding Dubovy, the leader of the OUN's krai leadership, codenamed "Nesyty," who was captured by the MGB Directorate of Volyn oblast, stated during interrogation on 24 August of this year:

Dubovy and Verkhovynets are applying efforts to intensify work among young people in order to obtain reinforcements.

They have been issued the instruction: to refrain from carrying out terrorist and subversive acts in the hope that they will thereby be able to weaken the MGB organs' pressure on the underground and to preserve its cadres.

I must say, however, that the work to gain mastery over youth is proceeding with great difficulty. In individual cases with regard to bringing young people into the underground, it becomes necessary to apply threats and deception because proposals to join the underground are met negatively everywhere.

The MGB organs are continuing to implement Chekist measures to liquidate the vestiges of the bandit-OUN underground with an allowance for all the changes in the tactics of its anti-Soviet activities.

Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR  
N. Kovalchuk<sup>23</sup>

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 27, fols. 270–94.

23 Several amnesties were proclaimed by the Soviets as they attempted to diminish the ranks of the insurgency. On 30 December 1949 the minister for state security for the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant General N. Kovalchuk [Nikolay Kovalchuk], offered a general amnesty to any members of the resistance who turned in their weapons and returned peacefully to their normal occupations.

DOCUMENT 156: MGB INFORMATION ON OUN ATTEMPTS TO  
EXPAND ACTIVITIES BEYOND WESTERN UKRAINE

[Russian-language document]

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*Information*

*about the OUN underground's focus on the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR*

It is known to the MGB organs that the OUN leaders have assigned “mastery of the east” as one of the underground’s top-priority tasks in the subversive work against the USSR, that is, the implanting of spying and subversive-terrorist organizations in Ukraine’s eastern oblasts, especially at major industrial and defence facilities.

Through agentura materials, statements of captured bandits, and captured OUN documents it is being established that in 1949–50 OUN members stepped up the advance of their cadres to the east, where they have succeeded in creating nationalistic organizations in a number of oblasts, and not just in rural areas but also at large factories (Azovstal, city of Zhdanov André Marti Plant, city of Mykolaiv).<sup>24</sup>

The former organizer and leader of the OUN underground in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, Shukhevych, Roman, in assessing the situation of the underground, wrote in one of his instructions to low-level links [*zvena*]: “As of today, it is crucial for us to focus attention on two problems: youth, the east. All the rest is of secondary importance otherwise, a catastrophe may happen ...”

Dispatching a [female] cadre OUN member, his especially trustworthy courier Ilkiv, Olha, codenamed “Roksoliana,” for anti-Soviet work in one of the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, Shukhevych instructed her: “Pay special attention to the Ukrainian-speaking rural and urban intelligentsia. Organize Ukrainians and agitate among them for the proclamation of an independent Ukraine.”

Further in his letter to Roksoliana, Shukhevych states: “Believe me, if you manage to do what I have outlined, your work will stand possibly higher than the work and the deaths of thousands of our insurgents.”

24 The Azovstal iron and steel works was established in 1930 in the city of Mariupol, located in Donetsk oblast of southeastern Ukraine, on the north coast of the Sea of Azov, at the mouth of the Kalmius River. The city was known as Zhdanov from 1948 to 1989. One of the shipyards in Mykolaiv, on the Black Sea coast, was the “André Marti Yards,” named after the French communist of that name. Marti served as a political commissar with the International Brigades during the Spanish Civil War of 1936–38 and later with the Comintern.

The great importance that the OUN leaders attach to the dispatching of their experienced cadres to the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR is evident from the instruction of Orlan, one of the underground leaders:

The loss of contact with our people who have left for the east would be a great blow for us. If our people are brought to Ukraine's eastern oblasts, then through them it will be possible to set up work among the easterners ... This is very important both now and in the event of war. ... Let them go and consolidate their positions in the eastern Ukrainian lands.

Carrying out Orlan's instructions, the krai "leadership" of the OUN, codenamed "Moskva," issued an instruction to the members of the bandit-OUN underground, which states: "Send our sympathizers to worker centres of our sympathizers; they should inform us about life in the Donbas and study the workers milieu."

In June 1949, on assignment from the Lviv krai leadership of the OUN, the well known OUN illegal Marta – Holoiad, Halyna (arrested), the courier and wife of Sever, member of the central OUN leadership, left for Chernihiv and Kyiv oblasts.

Marta's trip lasted sixteen days. During this period she created an OUN organization in Horodnia raion, Chernihiv oblast, gathered intelligence data on collective farms in the district, the moods of collective farm workers, took a trip from Kyiv to the city of Kaniv along the Dnipro River, and disseminated nationalistic leaflets in Kyiv [*sic*].

After her return Marta wrote a report about the possibilities of the OUN members' work in the East. On the instruction of one of the leaders of the Lviv krai OUN leadership, this report was discussed in all so-called organizational OUN links of "Lviv krai."

In connection with this, during [his] investigation Heller, the captured SB leader of the Mykolaiv nadraion "leadership" of the OUN, testified: "During the discussion of Marta's report, many bandits agreed with the conclusions that it is possible to conduct work in the East."

In April 1950 Horlis, the leader of the Mykolaiv nadraion leadership of the OUN, informed me about the instruction of the krai leadership of the OUN to the effect that the bandit underground should prepare itself for a mass switch to work in Ukraine's eastern oblasts: "After familiarizing themselves with Marta's report, many bandits declared a desire to conduct nationalistic activities in the eastern oblasts and were intending to move there."

One of the documents captured from Borys, the leader of the Kolomyia okruha leadership of the OUN, contains the following notation:

There are real possibilities for the successful execution of work in the SUZ. The task of establishing the OUN throughout Ukraine requires that the Organization reject today all kinds of irrelevant work.

Worthy of attention are the documents that were seized during the liquidation of Yefrem, the head of the krai leadership of OUN West-Karpaty, from which it is clear that connected to each okruha leadership of the OUN in the western oblasts are two to three eastern oblasts, where they should conduct work on implanting nationalistic organizations, in part:

Dnipropetrovsk and Zaporizhia oblasts are “anchored” to the Kolomyia okruha leadership of the OUN.

Mykolaiv, Kherson, Kirovohrad – to the Kalush [okruha leadership of the OUN].

Odesa and Izmail – to the Drohobych, etc.

At the present time, the territory of Ukraine’s eastern oblasts is home to the people who were resettled from Poland, 4,900 families people resettled from Ukraine’s western oblasts – 27,000 families, those who arrived on organized recruitment for work in industry and studies in FZO schools – 125,000 people and, in addition, a large number of people studying in middle and higher educational institutions.

Among the indicated contingent there are quite a few individuals who were active participants and accomplices of the OUN bandit underground and came to the eastern oblasts on assignment.

However, as a result of the lack of due contact on the part of the municipal raion organs and the UMGB in the western oblasts with the MGB organs of the eastern oblasts, existing compromising materials on individuals who have departed to the eastern oblasts are not being forwarded in good time, and occasionally their inquiries are not answered in good time, which allows the members of the OUN underground a lengthy period of time to remain unexposed.

Thus, in June 1950 the member of the OUN underground Druzhynets, Oleksii Yosyfovych, arrived in the city of Kyiv for book-keeping courses at “Ukrpromsovet” with fictitious documents under the name of Voitovych, Konstantyn Mykolaiovych, from the town of Dolyna, Stanyslaviv oblast.

In connection with the fact that earlier Druzhynets lived in Skole raion, Drohobych oblast, his development was carried out by Department 2-N of the UMGB in Drohobych oblast.

In September 1950 the UMGB of Drohobych oblast ascertained through PK [Postal Control] that Druzhynets is hiding in Kyiv under the surname of Voitovych, and instead of immediately familiarizing Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR of this and to take him under development, it was only on 4 November 1950 that the UMGB, with a note sent by VCh

[high-frequency communication], requested the 5th Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR to place Druzhynets-Voitovych under external surveillance.

On 17 November 1950 Druzhynets was arrested by the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

During the course of the investigation it was ascertained that Druzhynets was a member of a bodyguard fighting group attached to Lytsar, a member of the central OUN leadership, and, after his liquidation, he was the courier for Shukhevych and Sever, members of the central OUN leadership.

In the summer of 1950 the leaders of the OUN underground assigned him the task of settling in Kyiv or Vinnytsia oblasts for the development of nationalistic work.

The investigative section of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR requested the UMGB of Drohobych oblast to forward all materials on his case; instead of doing this, however, the UMGB requested the indictment on the Druzhynets case for delivery to the archive of the materials existing on it.

In 1949–50 the UMGB of Chernihiv oblast exposed and liquidated an OUN youth organization on the territory of Berezna raion, which had been created on the instructions of the Yabluniv raion “leadership” of the OUN in Stanyslaviv oblast.

During the course of the development it was determined that two residents of Berezna raion are members of the Yabluniv raion leadership of the OUN, codenamed “Papasha” and “Ihor,” which was known to the Yabluniv RO MGB.

Instead of jointly implementing measures to develop the OUN organization in Borzna raion and embedding secret agents in the Yabluniv raion leadership, which the UMGB of Chernihiv oblast had demanded insistently, Department 2-N of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast and the Yabluniv raion office of the MGB ignored this suggestion and did not respond in good time to all the requests of the UMGB of Chernihiv oblast and instructions of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

As a result, the development of the youth organization was delayed, and the opportunity for our agentura to penetrate the raion leadership slipped by.

In July 1950, during the execution of a Chekist-military operation, the SB leader of the Mykolaiv raion leadership of the OUN, Kalchenko, Oleksander Mykolaiovych, codenamed “Lysytsia,” was captured alive.

During the course of the investigation it was ascertained that in 1946 Lysytsia, with the permission of the leaders of the OUN underground, had established written communication with his wife Kalchenko, Yelyzaveta Oleksandrivna, a resident of the village of Ozeriany, Varva raion, Chernihiv oblast, whom he summoned to a meeting in Mykolaiv raion.

After establishing contact with Lysytsia during 1946–48, Kalchenko, Yelyzaveta arrived several times for meetings with him.



In April 1947 Kalchenko, Yelyzaveta visited Lysytsia together with her two children, and for a year and a half lived in the villages of Velyn, Rozvadiiv, and Rudnyky, Mykolaiv raion. In October 1948, accompanied by Petryshyn, Mykhailo, a resident of the village of Rozvadiiv, who was Lysytsia's authorized representative, she returned to Varva raion, Chernihiv oblast.

This fact attests to the careless attitude on the part of the personnel of the RO MGB to the implementation of instructions from the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR concerning agentura elucidation and verification of individuals arriving from the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR for residence in western ones.

At the same time it must be noted that the MGB organs of the western oblasts are not adopting measures to ascertain the locations of their secret agents who have made their way to the eastern oblasts among resettled people, those mobilized to industry and FZO schools, and sometimes they restrict themselves to delivering the dossiers on them to the archive.

True copy (signature)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 29, fols. 300-6.

DOCUMENT 157: EXTRACT FROM A SPECIAL MGB REPORT  
ON THE LIQUIDATION OF OSYB, A COURIER (1951)

[Russian-language document]

September 1951

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To Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR  
Lieutenant General  
Comrade N.K. Kovalchuk  
City of Kyiv

To the Head of 2-N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR  
Comrade Saraev  
City of Lviv

*Extract from a special report  
on the liquidation of the parachutist Osyp*

In July 1951 information was received from the intelligence service that unknown bandits had appeared in Perehinske raion outfitted in the clothing of American parachutists, who are located together with Storozh, the SB leader of the OUN's Kalush okruha "leadership."<sup>25</sup>

Information about the appearance of American parachutists in the Perehinske area was also confirmed by the fact that shell casings from an American submachine gun were found in one of the woodlands in this raion, during an accidental encounter between some hunters and the bandits at the time of an exchange of fire in the bandits' location.

In addition, with regard to the parachutist codenamed "Zalizniak," the bandit Vasyi, captured with the aid of sleep-inducing substances, who had seen this parachutist together with Sever in the woods near the village of Beleiv, Dolyna raion, gave evidence.

On the basis of these data provided by the MGB Directorate, a plan of secret intelligence-operational measures was developed, whose main objective was to capture any of the members of the OUN underground who are close to Storozh and the American parachutists who are hiding with him.

<sup>25</sup> Perehinske is a settlement found in Rozhniativ raion of Ivano-Frankivsk oblast. Rozhniativ is about twenty kilometres southwest of Kalush.

During the course of implementing these measures, through the bandit Soroka, who was captured earlier in Vyhoda raion, on 23 August 1951, a bandit codenamed "Hroza," one of Storozh's personal bodyguards, was summoned to and captured at a meeting place with the help of secret agents-fighters.

During the interrogation Hroza testified that at the agreed-upon meeting with Soroka he appeared with Storozh and another bandit; however, Storozh, maintaining precautionary measures, decided not to show up at the meeting place with the entire group, but sent only Hroza to double-check, and he himself remained at a considerable distance from the meeting place.

The fighters of our group, unfamiliar with this circumstance and believing that Hroza had come by himself, after a brief conversation grabbed him in order to disarm him, but at the moment of his capture he managed to give a shout, and Storozh together with the other fighters hid themselves.

Thus, there was no opportunity to use Hroza in the implementation of further measures directly against Storozh.

Hroza, who was a member of Storozh's personal bodyguard unit for an extended period of time, frequently went with him throughout the territory of activities of the OUN's Kalush okruha "leadership," and he knew about Storozh's wide-ranging contacts both among the bandits and among the active accomplices of the bandits.

In addition, through the intelligence service it was determined that Hroza's capture has not yet become known to the underground and his accomplice base in certain raions; therefore, it was decided to use him to establish contact with Storozh's trusted people in order, through them, to capture any of the bandits secretly and thereby obtain new outlets to Storozh.

With this goal, on 5 September 1951, Hroza, as part of a secret agent fighting group, was dispatched to the villages of Kamin and Topilske, Perehinske raion, where through legal contacts he summoned to a meeting the leader of the OUN kushch, Komar, who was one of Storozh's trusted people.

That evening Komar appeared at the agreed-upon meeting place with Hroza, near the village of Topilske, but upon seeing other people with him whom he did not know, he decided not to approach the group. In connection with the fact that there was no opportunity to seize Komar, he was killed by the fighters.

A German submachine gun, a pistol, a grenade, and eighty-seven cartridges, as well as nationalistic literature, were seized from the killed Komar.

Proceeding with further measures, the group was sent from the meeting place to Hroza's contacts in the village of Rivnia, Perehinske raion.

Calling on a local resident of this village, Kulychko, Magda, who was used by Storozh in the capacity of a courier, upon seeing Hroza, she took our fighters who were with him for "bandits," and, in a conversation, she said that a member of Storozh's personal bodyguard unit, a bandit codenamed "Koloz,"

has [*sic*] been hiding for the third day in a row in the attic of her house, and with him is [*sic*] an unknown man codenamed "Denys." As Kulychko said, these bandits are awaiting Storozh's arrival.

Since Kulychko did not arouse mistrust towards Hroza, on the contrary, she even recounted that Kolos and another bandit with him are [*sic*] hiding in her attic, an operative heading the group of the 2-N Directorate of the MGB Directorate, Senior Lieutenant Nesterikhin, made the decision to set up a meeting with these fighters for the evening of 6 September 1951 and to capture them alive in order, through them, to get to Storozh.

It was also decided not to allow for the exposure of the group before the local population and Kulychko since the capture of Kolos and the bandit that was with him in the village could lead to failure and disrupt the implementation of further measures against Storozh and the parachutists.

Weighing all these circumstances, our secret agent fighters, on the operative's instruction, having alluded to the lack of time in connection with the forthcoming, allegedly pressing, meeting with other bandits, through Kulychko, set up Kolos's meeting for 6 September 1951 between the villages of Rivnia and Svarychiv, Rozhniativ raion.

After waiting out the day in the woods, in the evening the agent-fighters appeared at the meeting place with Kolos at the designated time. Kolos arrived for the meeting exactly at 22:30, as had been agreed, and an unknown bandit was with him.

Recognizing Hroza's voice, Kolos asked who was with him. After receiving the reply that these people from a different territory are [*sic*] heading for a meeting with Storozh, Kolos decided not to approach the group; he acted vigilantly, and there was no opportunity to grab these bandits.

After assessing the situation, the operative gave a prearranged signal, and the fighters opened fire on the bandits, as a result of which both bandits were killed, who turned out to be:

Kolos, a member of the personal bodyguard unit of the SB leader of the OUN's Kalush okruha leadership, and the other one was an American parachutist codenamed "Zalizniak"; he was Osyp.

Confiscated during the examination of the corpses were a Russian carbine, a Nagant revolver, one grenade, and three pieces of mail: one addressed to "352/2" signed by Iu or "70," a second addressed to "4/5" from "70," and the third addressed to O from "82." "82" is known to us as the leader of the OUN's Kalush okruha leadership codenamed "Zhar."

From the killed parachutist were seized an American submachine gun, a foreign-made pistol, a grenade, ninety cartridges, a map-case with two topographical maps of foreign manufacture, an ampoule of poison, and other medications.

Also confiscated were two notebooks, in which he kept a journal, and three pieces of Sever's mail: one addressed to the former leader of a bandit bodyguard group, head of the OUN's krai leadership Yefrem-Taras; the second addressed to "o9o," acting leader of the OUN's krai leadership, and the third to the Organizational leaders of Kalush okruha (territory 23/1).

*Head of the MGB Directorate of Stanyslaviv Oblast*  
Colonel of the Guards  
V. Shevchenko

Reference: The original of the special report is stored in the archived secret agent file Razgrom, which is held in the UAO UKGB [Archival-Registration Department, KGB Directorate] of Stanyslaviv oblast.

TRUE: Senior Operative of the 4th Department of the KGB Directorate  
Captain Porubai [handwritten signature]

26 March 1960

HDA SBU, 372-64.

DOCUMENT 158: MGB INFORMATION ON THE PROPAGANDA  
ACTIVITIES OF THE NATIONALIST UNDERGROUND

[Russian-language document]

January 1952

Ministry of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR

*Top Secret*

*Information*

*on the anti-Soviet activities on the ideological front of the vestiges of the  
bandit-OUN underground in Ukraine's western oblasts*

One of the OUN's main tools in the struggle against the Soviet power is anti-Soviet nationalistic agitation and propaganda among the population.

In OUN centres, from the nadraion "leadership" and up, which have escaped destruction, are so-called technical links [*zvena*], whose task is to issue nationalistic brochures and leaflets.

In 1951 the MGB organs in Ukraine's western oblasts discovered and seized fifteen underground OUN print shops, from which printing machines, rotators, glassographs, typewriters, a large quantity of paper, and printed nationalistic leaflets, brochures, and journals were removed.

At the present time, the main content of OUN verbal and print propaganda is aimed at:

- a) The popularization of the OUN and its goals.
- b) A critique of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.
- c) Slander against our Party's policies, especially with respect to the national question.
- d) The dissemination of slanderous fabrications to the effect that the Russian people and their state are the eternal foes of the Ukrainian people and their state independence.
- e) Attempts to prove that the Russian people are "occupiers" of Ukraine and are pursuing a policy of forcible Russification of the Ukrainian population.
- f) Attempts to prove the inevitability of a Third World War and the defeat of the USSR in this war.
- g) The dissemination of slanderous fabrications about major events (the elections, the currency reform, collectivization, voluntary resettlement, etc.).

According to existing data, in 1950 the leading centres of the OUN underground issued fourteen titles of nationalistic brochures and fourteen different types of leaflets.

In 1951, ten leaflet titles were issued.

Despite the fact that the OUN members are preparing quite a significant number of nationalistic brochures and leaflets, they are managing to distribute comparatively few among the population.

In 1951, twenty-five occurrences of the dissemination of leaflets were noted in Ukraine's western oblasts, the contents of which were mostly aimed against the elections, collective farms, the Komsomol, and government bonds, etc.).

The reinforcement of the underground by OUN leaders, albeit to an extremely insignificant degree, with young people processed in a nationalistic spirit, dictates the necessity to adopt the most decisive measures for the strengthening of Bolshevik agitation and propaganda among the population of Ukraine's western oblasts, especially among the youth.

However, in a number of raions in the western oblasts this sector of work is far from being on the appropriately high level, of which the OUN members are taking advantage in their criminal anti-Soviet propaganda.

The population of Ukraine's western oblasts, which, during the period of the German occupation and the first years after the expulsion of the fascist aggressors, was under the strong influence of the OUNites, needs a serious and daily mass of political-educational work.

This pertains especially to young collective farmers and students, who, prior to the liberation from the German occupiers, perceived Soviet reality only according to the slanderous propaganda of the OUNites.

In order to make the OUN's agitation and propaganda completely pointless, in each raion of Ukraine's western oblasts, in every village it is crucial to introduce Bolshevik order, strengthen the collective farms, place mass political work on the proper level, put a complete stop to all manner of violations of Soviet legality and the system of agricultural cooperatives.

However, at the present time little has been done in this respect.

Books in the Ukrainian language on topics directly pertaining to Ukraine's oblasts, which reveal all the advantages of the Soviet system, the collective farm order, the unprecedented growth of collective farm activists, [and] the socialist transformation of the western Ukrainian countryside are still being issued inadequately.

For the most part, the portable film projectors that exist in every raion in Ukraine's western oblasts are working without a plan, although they are screening good Soviet films, the majority of them are in the Russian language.

Many good plays awarded the Stalin Prize have still not entered the repertoires of oblast and raion theatres.<sup>26</sup>

26 The international Stalin Prize for Strengthening Peace among Peoples, initiated on 21 December 1949, was renamed the Lenin Prize following the 1956 de-Stalinization campaign launched by Nikita Khrushchev. James G. Endicott (1952), Paul Robeson (1952), and Bertolt Brecht (1954) were recipients of the Stalin Prize, while W.E.B. DuBois (1959), Nikita Khrushchev

In many villages, popular lectures on current themes are given irregularly and only during the course of political and economic campaigns.

All these insufficiencies in our mass political work are undoubtedly not facilitating the rapid liquidation of the vestiges of the OUN underground and their "ideology."

Consequently, in order to put a quick and complete end to the OUN, to deprive it of its base of reinforcements once and for all, and to raise the level of political consciousness of the toilers of Ukraine's western oblasts to the level of the toilers in the rest of the oblasts in the Soviet Union, it is indispensable to strengthen in all possible ways mass political and cultural-educational work among the population of Ukraine's western oblasts.

In connection with this, it would be appropriate to dispatch to Ukraine's western oblasts responsible workers to provide local party and Soviet organs with practical assistance in the organization and implementation of crucial measures to strengthen all the ideological-political and educational work among workers, collective farm workers, and the intelligentsia in the western oblasts.

At the same time, the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Cinematography, Committee for the Arts, Directorate for the Affairs of Cultural-Educational Institutions under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine, and other central institutions and departments are to develop a plan of measures in this direction.

Deputy Head of the 2-N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR  
Lieutenant (Shorubalka)

— January 1952

City of Lviv

True: (*signature*)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 50, fols. 167–72.

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(1959), Pablo Picasso (1959), Leonid Brezhnev (1973), and Angela Davis (1980) were among those who received the Lenin Prize.



DOCUMENT 159: INFORMATION ON THE CAPTURE OF COURIER PETRO STYRANKA (“MAKSYM”) – 1951

[Russian-language document]

January 1951

Copy  
Top secret

*Information*

*on radiogram no. 224 of 2 January 1952 sent to the Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Lieutenant General Comrade Kovalchuk, N.K., signed by the Deputy Head of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast, Colonel Comrade Nechaev and Comrade Lukianenko*

The radiogram reports that, according to the scheme developed by the intelligence service for the search and capture alive of the agent-radio operator codenamed “Maksym,” who was dropped in May 1951 by the American intelligence service on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR with other parachutists.

On 2 January of this year Maksym – Styranka, Petro Mykhailovych, born in 1924, a native of the village of Wola Piotrowa, Bukowsko district (Poland), in the underground since 1945 in Khrin’s company. In 1947 he crossed over into the territory of Drohobych oblast with Khrin’s company. In late 1948, together with a bandit group consisting of nine men headed by Khrin, he crossed the border into the American Zone of Occupation of Germany, completed a radio operator school later, then in May 1951 was dropped from an airplane [in a group] numbering four American agents.

Through his past OUN connections he was found by the agent-fighters Yurko and Vasyly, brought to an apartment prepared by us beforehand in the village of Rostochky, Bolekhiv raion, Stanyslaviv oblast, secretly captured with the application of special medication [underlined with a pencil].<sup>27</sup>

Confiscated from Maksym, a submachine gun and a pistol of foreign make, two ampoules of poison, and a watch from an American company.

Maksym’s capture was carried out by the agent-fighters Yurko, Vasyly, Mykola, Bily, and Marko.

The measures regarding Maksym’s capture were directed by senior operative of Directorate 2-N of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, Captain Comrade Ruban.

<sup>27</sup> The Sukil and Svicha rivers run through the city of Bolekhiv, a small city in Ivano-Frankivsk oblast about forty-eight kilometres west of Kalush.

That very day the contents of radiogram 224 were forwarded by VCh [high-frequency communication] to the Head of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast, Colonel Comrade Kostenko.

The report was drawn up by:

*Member of the Operational Group of the UMGB of Stanyslaviv oblast,  
Senior Lieutenant Kuznetsov*

2 January 1952

City of Bolekhiv

*Report:* The original report is stored in the archived intelligence file Zapadnia [Trap], vol. 1, arch. no. 29337, stored in the registration group of the UKGB of Stanyslaviv oblast.

True: Senior Operative of the UKGB for Stanyslaviv oblast, Captain  
[signature] Sinita

HDA SBU, 372-64-1.

DOCUMENT 160: REPORT ON THE CAPTURE OF THE LAST  
LEADER OF THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND, VASYL KUK  
("LEMISH/KOVAL") – (1954)

[Russian-language document]

*Report  
on the measures implemented by the Chekist organs of Ukraine  
in the search and capture of Kuk, Vasył<sup>28</sup>*

After the expulsion of the German occupiers from the western oblasts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in 1944, the Chekist organs ascertained that one of the heads of the bandit-OUN underground active in Ukraine is the so-called organizational leader of the central OUN "leadership," the cadre Ukrainian nationalist, Kuk, Vasył Stepanovych, born 1913, a native of the town of Krasne, Lviv oblast, with an incomplete higher law education, known in the underground under the codenames "Lemish," "Yurko," "Medvid," et al.

During the period of his studies at the Zolochiv gymnasium, in 1929 Kuk joined the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and since then has always engaged in nationalistic activities.

As a student at the University of Lublin and with ties to the prominent Ukrainian nationalists Stetsko, Yaroslav, and Starukh, Yaroslav, in 1932–33 he was engaged in creating an OUN organization among the student body.

In 1934–39 Kuk headed the communications between the Ukrainian nationalists of Galicia and Volyn, led OUN work among the workers in the city of Lviv, was the head of the Zolochiv and, later, the Pidhaisi County (district) organizations of the OUN.

After the annexation of the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR to Soviet Ukraine, Kuk illegally fled to the city of Cracow, where, together with Bandera, Shukhevych, Lebed, Stetsko, Lenkavsky and other OUN leaders, [he] was engaged in leading the subversive activities of the Ukrainian nationalists against the Soviet Union.

He headed the illegal liaison between the OUN centre in Cracow and nationalist undergrounds active in Western Ukraine.

28 Vasył Stepanovych Kuk was the last leader of the UPA. Born in Krasne, Zolochiv County (now Busk raion in Lviv oblast), on 11 January 1913, he studied law at the Catholic University of Lublin and joined the OUN, going underground in 1937 to escape the Polish police. From 1942 to 1943 he headed the OUN underground in Dnipropetrovsk before returning to western Ukraine. Upon the death of Roman Shukhevych, Kuk became the UPA leader until he was captured on 23 May 1954.

With the split in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists into Banderites and Melnykites in 1941, Kuk was brought into the OUN leadership headed by Bandera with the status of responsible organizational leader, and from that moment he has been a member of the central OUN leadership.

In the summer of 1941 Kuk and other leading OUN members arrived in the city of Lviv together with the troops of fascist Germany, took part in the convocation of the so-called Grand Assembly of the OUN, the proclamation of the declaration on the creation of so-called "Independent Ukraine" and the "leadership" headed by Stetsko, Yaroslav.

Then, on assignment from the OUN leadership, Kuk and the expeditionary groups of Ukrainian nationalists departed in order to develop OUN work in the eastern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, and until 1943 he was the leader of the so-called south krai leadership of the OUN, heading nationalistic work on the territory of Ukraine's eastern oblasts.

At a meeting attended by the leaders of the central OUN leadership in 1944 Kuk was elected a second time as the responsible organizational leader of this leadership, and he carried out his functions until 1948 and was then appointed the deputy of the leader of the entire OUN, Shukhevych, Roman, responsible for organizational questions and leadership of the UPA.

In connection with this, Kuk became well known in Ukrainian nationalist émigré circles abroad, and he also carried considerable weight among OUN centres abroad, the ZP UHVR [External Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council] and the ZCh OUN [External Units of the OUN], which served the American and English intelligence services.<sup>29</sup>

29 Kim Philby, the chief British intelligence representative in Washington from September 1949 until his departure in 1951, was responsible for liaising with the CIA and furthering anti-Soviet Anglo-American intelligence operations. After training, small teams of Ukrainian nationalists were infiltrated into western Ukraine for intelligence-gathering purposes, primarily by air, from May 1949 until 1954. Most of these missions failed because Philby had become a Soviet agent in 1934. After he defected to Moscow in 1963, where he was rewarded with an Order of Lenin, Philby would write a memoir, *My Silent War*, in which he observed: "The British and Americans exchanged precise information about the timing and geographical coordinates of their operations. I do not know what happened to the parties concerned. But I can make an informed guess." See also Jeffrey Burds, "Agentura: Soviet Informants' Networks and the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48," *East European Politics and Societies* 11, no. 1 (1996): 89-130; Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, The Carl Beck Papers, No. 1505, January 2001); and Jeffrey Burds, "Gender and Policing in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 42, nos. 2-4 (2001): 279-320. For a particular study of gender issues in the Underground, see Marta Havryshko, "Illegitimate Sexual Practices in the OUN Underground and UPA in Western Ukraine in the 1940s and 1950s," *Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies* 17 (2016). A large cache of (sometimes heavily redacted) and not always factually accurate reports

After the liquidation of Shukhevych in March 1950 by the Chekist organs, it was established that in July of that same year a meeting of the members of the central OUN leadership active in Ukraine was held, during which in place of Shukhevych, Kuk was elected chairman of the so-called General Secretariat of the UHVR, and he was confirmed as commander in chief of the UPA. At this point Kuk was promoted to the rank of colonel in the UPA.

In connection with these plenary powers, from 1950 Kuk became the de facto leader of the entire OUN both in Ukraine and abroad, as a result of which the nationalist centres existing there were recognized and validated.

From that time Kuk headed the entire subversive activity of the bandit-OUN underground in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR and established illegal communication with OUN centres abroad.

With a dangerous enemy of our state and experienced underground member in the person of Kuk, the Chekist organs of Ukraine, for the purpose of searching and capturing him, adopted measures first and foremost in order to identify his hiding places, expose the bandit groups on which he is based, and the channels of his communications with abroad.

In 1950 it was successfully ascertained that for his concealment Kuk is using districts located at the junction of the borders of Lviv, Ternopil, and Stanyslaviv oblasts, and he was supported by the bandit groups of the so-called Podillia and Rohatyn okruha leaderships of the OUN, the heads of which also secured his stay in the indicated territory.

Concealing himself on the basis of these OUN-bandit links and with the help of specially created communications lines secured by many bandit groups, Kuk maintained constant contact with the members of the central OUN leadership in Stanyslaviv oblast and with Halasa, who was operating in Rivne and Volyn oblasts.

With the help of these lines, Kuk also had direct contact with the heads of the Podillia, Carpathian, Lviv, and Volyn krai leaderships of the OUN and the bandit links subordinated to them.

The main [line of communications], the so-called KV, whose leader was the most trusted gang leader, Baida, was exposed in the ramified network of Kuk's organizational lines of communication.

For the purpose of implementing active measures to search for and liquidate the gang formations on which he was based, the KGB under the SM USSR [Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR] and the KGB Directorate of Lviv, Ternopil, Stanyslaviv, and Rivne oblasts for work in the indicated districts created special operations-Chekist groups, and each of them was attached

to every bandit group with the task of capturing bandits close to Kuk and universally liquidating his gang base.

As a result of the execution of a whole number of complex measures, in 1950 we seized the liaison between Kuk and Bandera, and agent Promin, who was implanted in the capacity of a courier to the ZCh OUN, was sent abroad that very year with the goal of making a return trip with Bandera's emissaries and their delivery into our hands.

In connection with the fact that, through secret agents and according to the statements provided by captured bandits, Kuk's whereabouts were established in the summer of 1950 in the forested areas on the border of Lviv, Ternopil, and Stanyslaviv oblasts, agentura-military measures were organized for his search, and in May–June 1950 Orest, the SB leader of the Podilla krai leadership of the OUN, was liquidated in Berezhany raion along with a group of bandits with whom Kuk was hiding; also killed at this time was Kuk's bodyguard, the bandit Mukha.

In developing the line of communications between Kuk and KV, in August and November 1950 the KGB Directorate of Lviv and Ternopil oblasts in Pomoriany and Zolochiv districts liquidated the heads of the courier bandit groups, Bohdan, Ivas, and Hirsky, as well as other bandits, who were active on this line and were linked to Kuk.

In February 1951 Ulas, the former head of the Podillia krai leadership of the OUN, and Luhovy, the okruha leader, were captured in the city of Vinnytsia.

During the investigation Ulas confirmed that Kuk had appointed him as the leader of the OUN in eastern Ukraine, and he had been assigned by Kuk to transfer more than forty armed OUN bandits from Ukraine's western oblasts to carry out nationalistic work in Khmelnytsky, Vinnytsia, and Kyiv oblasts.

Ulas also confirmed that Kuk was hiding on the border of Ternopil and Lviv oblasts, and recounted that Burlan, the head of the Podilla krai leadership of the OUN, who was appointed in place of Ulas and Shelest, the head of the Ternopil okruha "leadership" of the OUN, are Kuk's particularly trusted associates, and they provided security for his stay in the indicated territory.

Taking this into account, the Chekist organs working on the search for Kuk, turned their main attention to developing Burlan, Oles, and the bandits around them, and for this purpose Ulas was recruited as an agent and restored to the bandit-OUN underground; as it turned out, by the end of 1951, after his encounter with Kuk, he betrayed the security organs.

After receiving Ulas's information about his arrest and recruitment by the Chekist organs, Kuk left him in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, and, instead of him, he dispatched Burlan to lead the bandit underground, who was liquidated while crossing from Ternopil oblast to Khmelnytsky [oblast] with

five other bandits, and the bandits operating in Ukraine's east were thus cut off and without communications with Kuk.

In 1951 the state security organs also succeeded in almost entirely liquidating the bandit groups of the Chortkiv and Kamianets-Podilsky okruha leaderships of the OUN in the Podillia krai and capturing their leaders Kryha and Skoba alive.

As a result of the implementation of a whole number of complex agentura-special operations measures, in 1951 the KGB Directorate of Stanyslaviv oblast smashed the bandit underground of the so-called Kalush okruha leadership of the OUN, and on its basis that same year the members of the central OUN leadership, Kravchuk and Fedun, were liquidated, and also captured were radio operators of the ZP UHVR who had been dropped [parachuted] by the Americans and operationally important documents; Kuk's correspondence with these OUN heads [was also captured].

From the data obtained as a result of carrying out these measures it was clear that in 1951 the OUN centres abroad, the ZCh OUN and ZP UHVR, had adopted various measures in order to establish contact with Kuk and through him to use the vestiges of the bandit-OUN underground in Ukraine to conduct espionage on behalf of the Anglo-American intelligence agencies.

Thus, with this goal in mind, in May 1951 a group of radio operators on board an airplane was dropped into Ternopil oblast by the English intelligence service, along with one of the heads of the ZCh OUN, Matviieiko, Myron, who was captured then and there with the help of agent, Promin, who had been restored to this group.

During the investigation Matviieiko gave a detailed account of the goal of his being air-dropped into Ukraine and recounted that the English intelligence service was actively using Bandera and the ZCh OUN, of which he was the head, for espionage work against the USSR, and in this connection the top-priority task was to put a stop to the permanent link between the ZCh OUN and Kuk.

According to the statements of the American spies-radio operators captured in Stanyslaviv oblast and letters seized from Kravchuk and Fedun, it was learned that the ZP UHVR had also set itself the goal of establishing contact with Kuk, and for this reason one of the heads of the ZP UHVR, Okhrymovych, Vasył, was air-dropped together with a group of radio operators by the American intelligence service.

From the intercepted notes from Kuk to Kravchuk and Fedun and other captured bandit documents it was learned that in November 1951 Okhrymovych came to Kuk and spent the winter with him at the base of the Zolochiv and Ternopil okruha leaderships. For this reason, during the winter period of 1951–52, the state security organs organized active agentura and military measures in the search for Kuk and Okhrymovych in the indicated territory, and above

all on the development and liquidation of the OUN bandit groups that were being used by them.

In January 1952 eight bandits from the courier bandit groups of Lypa and Okh, who were protecting two points on the line of communications between Kuk and Okhrymovych, were liquidated in Berezhany raion, Ternopil oblast.

In February–March of that same year two of Kuk's proximate courier bandit groups consisting of seven bandits, who were carrying out courier functions on the line of his communications with the members of Halasa's central OUN leadership, were liquidated in Zabolotiv raion, Lviv oblast.

Also killed with the indicated bandit groups were the so-called head of Kuk's office, the bandit leader Borys and his bodyguard, Chaban.

In the process of implementing measures to develop the line of communications between Kuk and KV, in early May 1952 Ivan's bandit group, which was also subordinated to Baida's central OUN leadership and which maintained one of the points on the line of communications between Kuk and Okhrymovych, was liquidated in Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast.

In the process of implementing measures aimed at the search for Kuk in the places of his probable concealment in Ternopil oblast, through the agentura information was successfully obtained in May about the location of our turncoat agent Ulas, the head of the Ternopil okruha leadership of the OUN, Shelest, and other bandits.

On 23 May 1952 an operation to capture them was carried out in the Chernykhiv woods of Velyky Hlybichok raion, as a result of which Ulas, Shelest, Chaly, and six other bandits were liquidated.

Analysis of the captured bandit documents showed that on 17–18 May, Kuk and Okhrymovych were also with these bandits; however, the search that was organized for them in the given territory did not produce any positive results.

As it became clear subsequently, at the very moment of the indicated operation Kuk and Okhrymovych were hiding in a bunker in the so-called Yaroslav woods near the village of Nytsa [*sic*], Zaliztsi raion, Ternopil oblast.

Notes confiscated from Ulas proved that after his report to Kuk about his arrest and recruitment by the Chekist organs, the latter rehabilitated Ulas and assigned him the task of going to Ukraine's eastern oblasts in order to establish contact with the bandits of the so-called Kamianets-Podilsky okruha leadership of the OUN, whose liquidation by the Chekist organs in 1951 was not known to the OUN heads in the west.

As a result of the heavy blows struck at the bandit formations on which Kuk and Okhrymovych relied, by the spring of 1952 they were limited in their contacts with other bandit links, thereby creating an advantageous situation for implementing measures for our secret agents to establish relations with



Kuk in the name of the OUN leaderships and bandit groups that had been left without contact with him.

Taking advantage of these circumstances, the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR drafted two-pronged measures: on the one hand, the dispatching of our agents in the name of the Kamianets-Podilsky okruha OUN leadership to Halasa and Kuk through Khmelnytsky, Ternopil, and Rivne oblasts and, on the other, in the name of the Kalush okruha OUN leadership to Okhrymovych and Kuk through Stanyslaviv and Ternopil oblasts.

The possibility of establishing links between the agentura and Halasa came in \_\_\_\_\_ 1952, when, as a result of combined measures in Kremenets raion, Ternopil oblast, the OUN bandits Stepan and Yarema, who had direct contact with Bury's courier bandit group, one of the points on the line of communications between Halasa and Kuk, were led to turn themselves in and were recruited.

Exploiting this channel. in July 1952 contact was successfully established between special agent "N-26" (the recruited head of the OUN's Kamianets-Podilsky okruha leadership, Skob – Kachanovsky, Mykola) and Halasa, and to interest him and Kuk in the fabricated existence of a bandit group in eastern Ukraine, headed by N-26.

From this point until the end of 1952 Halasa maintained contact with our agentura; at Kuk's behest [Halasa] sent money and much nationalist literature, and also helped bring about a meeting for N-26 in 1953.

Then, in June 1952 in Halych raion, Stanyslaviv oblast, a note from Okhrymovych to Zhar, the head of the Kalush okruha leadership of the OUN, was seized from the liquidated raion leader Surmach, which was used to implement a number of measures to help special agents Hai, Havrylo, and Mykhailo establish contact with Okhrymovych, and a meeting with him was arranged for the month of October.

Appearing for this meeting in the company of three bandits, Okhrymovych was captured by the indicated special agents, and the fighters Demian and Dovbush were liquidated.

According to Okhrymovych's statements, three of Kuk's bunkers were discovered in Olesko raion, Lviv oblast, and Zbarazh raion, Ternopil oblast, [and] seven bandits comprising a personal bodyguard unit, with whom Okhrymovych and Kuk had hid out in the winter and spring of 1952, were liquidated.

From the information obtained from Okhrymovych it was also learned that, in connection with these losses, during the winter period of 1952–53 Kuk was able to use for his concealment only the remaining bandit groups: Baida's, operating in Kozova and Berezhany raions of Ternopil oblasts, and Dub's, who was hiding in the so-called Penky woods of Olesko raion, Lviv oblast.

Taking this into account, the main attention in the search for Kuk in the given period was directed against these bandit groups, and the work on the search for bandits operating on the border of Lviv and Ternopil oblasts was also intensified.

In December 1952, in Kozova raion, a special operations-military group killed the bandits Zenko and Orach, who, as it turned out later, were hiding in the same bunker with Kuk and Baida until the day they were liquidated.

In March 1953, in Zolochiv raion, Lviv oblast, the head of the Zolochiv okruha leadership of the OUN, Oles, who had direct contact with Kuk, was killed, and in April of that same year the bandit group led by Zalizniak, with which Kuk hid periodically, was liquidated in Zboriv raion, Ternopil oblast.

Thus, after these losses Kuk was left only with Baida, and this situation compelled him to adopt extreme measures to establish contact, on the one hand, with Okhrymovych, whom we had covertly captured in Stanyslaviv oblast, and, on the other, with Halasa in Rivne oblast.

Taking advantage of this circumstance, a secret agent game was undertaken in the name of Okhrymovych, as a result of which we succeeded in establishing that, in the spring of 1953, Kuk began hiding in Stanyslaviv oblast, at the base of the so-called Rohatyn nadraion leadership of the OUN, which was comprised of the bandit groups Shuvar, Sirko, Danylo, and Bily. However, as a result of the fact that Kuk figured out the game, it was not possible to conclude it successfully and capture him through these opportunities.

The scheme against Kuk through Halasa was continued, and in June 1953 contact between special agent N-26 and Halasa was resumed, and the latter summoned the agent to a meeting with him.

Having persuaded Halasa to leave for the east of Ukraine, in mid-July N-26 delivered him for a meeting to our agentura group, where Halasa, together with his wife and the bandit Chumak, were captured, covertly.

During the investigation Halasa recounted in detail about his connections with Kuk and related that in the last while contact with him was carried out through the courier bandit groups of Bury and Yurko, operating at the junction of Rivne, Ternopil, and Lviv oblasts.

Analysis of Halasa's statements and the operational situation that had come about by this time indicated that in future it will be possible to exploit his resources for developing and capturing Kuk.

First and foremost, this was attested by the discovery in Halasa's possession of Kuk's letters, in which he indicated the possibility of transferring his hiding place in future to the places where Halasa was based.

With the goal of finding Kuk as quickly as possible and obtaining more accurate data about his location, a decision was adopted, exploiting operational technical means with the aid of agent Liuba, recruited from the close contacts of Baida, to capture the latter.

On 23 July 1953, after the application of these means by Liuba, the bandits Baida and Dub managed to shoot themselves, and thus the last two of Kuk's especially trusted bandits who were present with him were liquidated.

Despite the fact that Kuk was aware that the Chekist organs had uncovered his location at Shuvar's base, after Baida's liquidation he did not manage to find a second hiding place, and during the winter of 1953–54 he was forced to remain hiding in the territory that had been exposed.

Taking into account the situation that had emerged, the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR adopted a decision to plan further work with regard to Kuk and, secondly, in the direction of obtaining a direct approach to him through the captured Halasa.

During the implementation of these measures Bury's bandit group, which maintained contact between Halasa's and Kuk's couriers Yurko and Stary, was liquidated, and as a result in October 1953 our special agents Karpo (a recruited bandit), Chumak, and Zharov got the opportunity to meet directly with the indicated couriers.

In connection with the fact that Yurko and Stary did not appear at the subsequent meetings, the possible reason being Kuk's arrival to their place in the late fall, in November 1953 [there was] an operation to uncover the bunkers of these couriers in the so-called Ivatsevychi woods of Olesko raion, Lviv oblast.

In executing this operation, the goal was to discover Kuk in the indicated bunker or to capture any of the couriers and obtain a direct approach to Kuk with the purpose of capturing or liquidating him.

During the course of the operation the head of the courier bandit group, Yurko, was captured with the help of operational technology, and the bandit Stary, a relative of Kuk's, shot himself.

From Yurko's statements it was learned that his contact with Kuk was severed in the summer of 1953, after Baida's liquidation, and despite Yurko's numerous attempts to restore it, this was not possible.

Yurko gave a detailed account of all the posts and conditions associated with his contact with Kuk.

Yurko's statements having been acted on, the archives of the central OUN leadership, which belonged to Kuk, and seventy-five thousand rubles were seized. Keeping in mind the exploitation of Yurko for finding and capturing Kuk, with the approaching spring Yurko was taken into active agentura-investigative processing.

The data obtained from Yurko also confirmed that Kuk was hiding at Shuvar's base, that is, at the junction of the northern raions of Stanyslaviv and Ternopil oblasts.

The search for Kuk having been organized in the indicated territory, one of the main foci of attention of the created special operations groups was the

contraction of Kuk's bandit links and the creation ipso facto of an intolerable situation for him, keeping in mind that, after this, with the approaching spring, he would be forced to restore contact with Halasa through the resources that were intercepted by our hands.

In September–December 1953, of the bandit groups subordinated to Shuvar, with which Kuk was hiding during the summer period, the gangs of Danylo, Sirko, and partly Bily were liquidated; however, we did not manage to find Kuk and Shuvar.

After analyzing the implemented measures, as a result of which a direct approach to Kuk was obtained through Yurko, the captured head of the liaison post, and the difficult situation that was created for Kuk during the winter at Shuvar's base, the assumption was made that, with the coming spring, he will seek to establish contact with Yurko and will undertake the following:

a) He will appear directly at the liaison post stipulated earlier between Yurko and Baida.

b) He will arrive in person at the bunker known to Kuk, in which we captured Yurko.

c) He will dispatch the bandits Lyman or Lesyk, who also know the location of the indicated bunker, to establish contact with Yurko.

The KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR drafted a detailed plan of measures stipulating the recruitment of Yurko in the capacity of an agent, the creation of an agentura group composed of the special agents Karpo, Zharov, and Bohun (Yurko), dispatching them to the meeting points where Kuk might appear, and the expectation of his arrival at the bunker Pochekalnia.

For successful actions, the special agents developed a detailed cover story about the line of conduct in every concrete case, and the task was assigned to capture Kuk alive no matter what.

Constant contact was organized for the special agents with the assistance of radio, and cooperation was developed with the special operations group of the KGB under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, created to support regular contact with the agents and for the provision of crucial assistance at the required moment.

At dawn on 23 May of this year Kuk and his wife, [Uliana] Kriuchenko, accompanied by the bandits Dovbush and Nazar, came to the bunker and made contact with the special agents.

Acting in accordance with the designated mission, Bohun, Karpo, and Zharov captured Kuk, Kriuchenko, and the bandits who had arrived with them covertly.

During interrogations Kuk, recounting his many years of clandestine activities, confirmed the data on him obtained by us in recent years, and he

stated that his arrival to [meet with] the special agents and his subsequent capture alive were made possible by the intolerable situation that had been created everywhere for him by the Chekist organs and by the utter rout, above all, of the leading links of the bandit underground in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR.

True: Lieutenant Colonel signature (Makhov)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 88, fols. 319–37.

DOCUMENT 161: EXTRACT FROM A KGB REPORT  
ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN  
UNDERGROUND, 1944–55

[Russian-language document]

*Extract from generalized information for 1944–55*

*1. The Liquidation of Gangs*

It does not appear to be possible to ascertain the exact number of OUN “leaderships,” UPA bandit formations, and bandit groups liquidated in 1944–45.

According to the materials of the former 2–N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR, it has been established that during the years 1946–55 the following were utterly liquidated:

The central “leadership” of the OUN  
7 krai “leaderships” codenamed “Odesa,” “Moskva,” “Buh,” “Podillia,” “Karpaty,” “Volyn,” and “Lviv.”

4 oblast and 28 okruha “leaderships” of the OUN, including: Lutsk (2 structures), Kovel, Drohobych, Zolochiv (2 structures), Lviv, Rivne, Kalush, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, Bukovyna, et al.

84 nadraion and 436 raion “leaderships” of the OUN.

Some of these leaderships, like, for example, Stanyslaviv, Holoby, Stepan, Kolo-myia, Halych, were liquidated two or three times each.

During this period 1,888 subraion “leaderships” of the OUN, kushch and courier bandit groups of the SB, and other bandit groups were liquidated.

*II. The Liquidation of Bandits*

The record-keeping on the liquidation of OUN gangs, OUN members, and armed bandits in 1944–45 was not exact; it was carried out by both the NKVD and NKGB organs. At the same time, there were cases where one and the same routed bandits were included in the NKVD and NKGB’s reporting. There are no complete data in the materials of the former Directorate for the Struggle against Banditry of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR on OUN gangs liquidated by advancing units of the Soviet Army.

After the transfer of the departments of the BB NKVD [Struggle against Banditry of the NKVD] to the MGB system, in April 1947 the former 2–N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR reviewed all existing materials of the NKVD, NKGB, etc., on the liquidation of OUN leaderships, UPA subunits, bandit groups, and their members, [then] carried out an assessment of them and clarification, after which unified, summarized information was compiled. However, it was not possible to achieve the required accuracy, in as much as

the NKBD and NKGB's reports were carried out in terms of quantification; setup data and the codenames of many killed bandits were missing, which could not help leading to duplication of data and a certain inflation of the factual number of liquidated bandits in the totals for 1944–45.

Data for 1946 and subsequent years are more accurate.

These data include bandits killed during the course of Chekist-military operations, those who committed suicide, as well as bandits killed by the SB on suspicion of having contacts with the NKVD–NKGB organs. (Each category was not included separately.)

The number of liquidated bandits by year and oblast is provided in the tables on the next two pages.

Information on the number of people arrested in the western oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR in the struggle against the OUN bandit underground during the period from 1944 to 1 April 1947 was taken by the former 2–N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR from the statistical reporting of the 1st Special Department of the MVD of the Ukrainian SSR and Department “A” of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

In connection with the discrepancies in the forms of reporting by these departments, during the creation of the summarized information the number of people arrested in 1944–47 was taken as the sum total of the data reported by the 1st Special Department of the MVD of the Ukrainian SSR under the heading “Arrested by BB units” and in the reports of Department “A,” according to the heading “Arrested Ukrainian nationalists” (line 52).

Since 1 April 1947 the number of people arrested as “Ukrainian nationalists” was taken from the reporting by Department “A” of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR.

These data diverge somewhat from the data on arrests in the monthly reports of the former 2–N Directorate of the MGB of the Ukrainian SSR because the reports did not take into account the number of those who were released from arrest, the requalification of the structure of the crime during the investigation process, as well as for the reason that, generally, in its reports the OBB UNKVD of Rivne oblast, for the period from June 1944 to June 1946, did not indicate the number of those arrested for insurgency but included them in the tally of those arrested for aiding and abetting the German occupiers.

The total number of people arrested throughout Ukraine during the period from 1943 to 1 January 1956 comprises approximately:

Arrested:

For insurgency and political banditry – 85,544 people

For membership in anti-Soviet organizations and groups – 10,514

For terror and terrorist intentions – 3,073

For subversive activity – 443

For anti-Soviet agitation and dissemination of leaflets – 15,644

Year	Total	Including									
		Volyn	Drohobych	Lviv	Rivne	Stanyslaviv	Ternopil	Chernivtsi	Transcarpathia	Eastern oblasts	
1944	18,732	2,574	2,719	2,796	5,403	1,868	2,384	988	-		
1945	25,618	1,977	4,264	5,056	4,260	5,087	3,840	1,098	36		
1946	18,649	1,970	2,113	2,529	2,422	4,536	4,343	514	222		
1947	10,374	1,150	2,046	2,260	1,094	2,052	1,421	225	126		
1948	9,936	1,696	1,510	1,644	1,349	1,386	1,657	586	108		
1949	6,461	528	1,334	1,081	1,051	911	1,187	311	59		
1950	9,009	538	2,023	1,493	1,424	1,920	1,444	152	15		
1951	3,154	383	696	342	366	725	547	57	38		
1952	1,070	123	79	187	198	331	123	11	18		
1953	697	101	33	140	93	170	144	16	-		
1954	60	7	9	12	6	21	5	-	-		
1955	68	24	4	8	15	12	4	1	-		
Total	103,828	11,071	16,830	17,548	17,680	19,019	17,099	3,959	622		



	Volyn	Drohobych	Lviv	Rivne	Stanyslaviv	Ternopil	Chernivtsi	Transcarpathia	Eastern oblasts
Incl. those sentenced	87,671	8,943	13,871	12,721	15,451	16,051	15,577	3,571	486
Those sentenced to the highest degree of punishment (shooting)	2,755	488	128	184	719	448	620	141	27
Deprivation of freedom	83,775	9,286	13,469	12,374	14,616	15,300	14,819	3,353	559
Exile and deportation	953	48	260	145	94	278	73	54	-
Other measures	188	21	14	18	22	25	65	23	-

In addition, in 1944–46 departments of the BB UNKVD [Struggle against Banditry of the UNKVD] of Ukraine's western oblasts alone arrested 2,239 people for treachery and aiding and abetting the OUN bandits, and 13,732 people for treason and aiding and abetting the German occupiers.

#### V. Trophies

During the period from 1944 to 1 January 1956, 131,200 weapons were seized from liquidated bandits and in discovered bunkers, including:

Aircraft	1
Armoured vehicles	1
Armoured Personnel Carriers	1
Cannon	61
Mortars	595
PTRs (anti-tank guns)	358
Heavy machine guns	844
Hand-held machine guns	8,327
Submachine guns	25,984
Rifles	72,583
Pistols	22,454
Shells	31,075
Grenades	101,378
Mines	49,176
Cartridges	over 12 million
Flame-throwers	77
Print shops	88
Typewriters	1,014
Rotators	88
Type	over 3 tons
Radio transmitters	307
Radio receivers	450
Motor vehicles	18
Motorcycles	28
Horses	over 1,200
Various caches	1,232

True: Lieutenant Colonel (*signature*)

HDA SBU, file 372, vol. 74, fols. 167–74.



## Glossary

- ABG – NKVD Secret Service Fighting Groups / Специальные группы НКВД по борьбе с националистами
- ABN – Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
- agentura – informants' network
- AK – Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
- a-v – penetration agent
- BB – UNKVD (Directorate for the Struggle against Banditry)
- CC CP(B)U – Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine
- Chehist – member of the All-Russian Extraordinary Committee to Combat Counter-Revolution and Sabotage
- CPSU – Communist Party of the Soviet Union
- Dazhboh – strategic OUN plan decreasing military encounters while surreptitiously attempting to increase influence of the underground in civil society
- DPs – displaced persons
- FZO – factory schools
- GPU – State Political Directorate / Государственное политическое управление (ГПУ) при / Народном комиссариате внутренних дел (НКВД) РСФСР
- Holodomor – the famine-genocide of 1932–33 in Soviet Ukraine
- HQ – headquarters
- HVSh – Supreme Military Command of the UPA
- karbovantsi – former Ukrainian unit of currency
- KGB – Committee for State Security / Комитет государственной безопасности
- Komsomol – All-Union Leninist Young Communist League
- krai – territory; several oblasts or even nadraions

- kushch – small and local self-defence unit/several stanytsias combined  
 KVSh – Krai Military Headquarters  
 MGB – Ministry of State Security / Министер́ство государственной безопасности СССР  
 MO – Polish Citizens' Militia / Milicja Obywatelska  
 MTS – Machine Tractor Station  
 MVD – Ministry of Internal Affairs / Министерство внутренних дел СССР  
 nadraion – several raiony  
 NKGB – People's Commissariat for State Security / Народный комиссариат государственной безопасности  
 NKVD – People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs / Наро́дный комиссариат вну́тренних дел  
 NVZ OUN – Extraordinary Grand Assembly of the OUN  
 OBB – Department for the Struggle against Banditry  
 oblast – region or province/several raions or sometimes nadraions  
 okruha – area or district  
 Operation Vistula – forced resettlement (April 1947) of Ukrainians to “Recovered Territories” in northeast Poland  
 Operation Zapad (West) – Soviet deportations (October 1947) of supporters of nationalist movement  
 Orlyk – strategic plan to establish an OUN underground in eastern Ukraine  
 OSB – Separate Infantry Battalion  
 OSUZ – central Ukrainian lands  
 OUN – Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists / Організація Українських Націоналістів  
 OUNb – Banderivtsi (followers of Stepan Bandera)  
 OUNm – Melnykivtsi (followers of Andrii Melnyk)  
 PO/PV – Border Detachment Troops  
 POUN – leadership of the OUN  
 PZUZ – northwestern Ukrainian lands  
 raion – district (comprised of several kushch units)  
 RKKA – Workers and Peasants Red Army  
 RO – Raion Division  
 RSFSR – Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic  
 SB – Security Service / Sluzhba Bezpeky (OUN)  
 SKV – Kushch Self-Defence Detachments / Самооборонні кущові відділи  
 SM USSR – Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR  
 SMERSH – Death to Spies / Смерть шпионам  
 stanytsia – rural locality (village)  
 s/o – secret informant(s)

s/s – village soviet  
strybky (sing. strybok) – members of destruction units organized by MVD  
SUZ – eastern Ukrainian lands  
UBP – Polish Directorate of Public Security / Urząd Bezpieczeństwa  
Publicznego  
UChKh – Ukrainian Red Cross  
UHVR – Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council / Українська головна  
визвольна рада  
UKGB – Directorate of the Committee for State Security  
Ukr SSR – Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic  
UMGB – Directorate of the Ministry of State Security  
UNKA – Ukrainian National Communist Army  
UNR – Ukrainian National Republic  
UNS – Ukrainian People's Self-Defence  
UPA – Ukrainian Insurgent Army / Українська повстанська армія  
USSD – Ukrainian Independent United State  
USSR – Union of Soviet Socialist Republics  
UVO – Ukrainian Military Organization  
VCh – high frequency radio communication  
v/o – acting (officer)  
VO – Military Okruha  
VPZh – UPA Military Field Gendarmerie  
VUZs – higher educational institutes  
WiN – Polish Freedom and Independence movement / Wolność i  
Niezawisłość  
WP – Polish Army / Wojsko Polskie  
ZCh OUN – External Units of the OUN  
ZP-UHVR – Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation  
Council  
ZUZ – western Ukrainian lands  
ZUZ-OSUZ – western and central Ukrainian lands  
zveno – small insurgent unit/link



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