





# UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE

*The Story of the Ukrainian National Liberation  
Movement in Modern Times*

Published by  
UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA  
NEW YORK, 1949

**PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**  
**JERSEY PRINTING CO., INC., BAYONNE, N. J.**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

---

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION .....	v
Chapter I	
UKRAINE .....	1 —
Chapter II	
THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM .....	6 —
Chapter III	
THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT .....	12 —
Chapter IV	
BETWEEN THE TWO WARS .....	17 —
Chapter V	
UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM .....	24 —
Chapter VI	
THE UKRAINIANS FIRST TO WAGE WAR AGAINST THE NAZIS .....	27
Chapter VII	
ON THE RUINS OF POLAND .....	30
Chapter VIII	
INTERNAL CHANGES .....	35 —
Chapter IX	
NEW HOPES UNDER NEW CONDITIONS .....	39 —
Chapter X	
NEW PHASE OF THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM .....	43 —
Chapter XI	
NAZI POLICIES IN UKRAINE .....	50 —
Chapter XII	
PREPARATION FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE .....	60
Chapter XIII	
THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY .....	67
Chapter XIV	
BEGINNING OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE UPA .....	76



Chapter XV	
ANTI-GERMAN STRUGGLE IN FULL SWING .....	82
Chapter XVI	
THE "GALICIA" DIVISION .....	98
Chapter XVII	
POLITICAL FORMS OF THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE .....	104
Chapter XVIII	
BEFORE THE GERMAN DEBACLE IN THE EAST .....	109
Chapter XIX	
UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II .....	118
Chapter XX	
UKRAINE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN .....	126
Chapter XXI	
THE WAR'S END—THE STRUGGLE GOES ON .....	131
Chapter XXII	
UKRAINIAN POLITICAL EXILES .....	138
Chapter XXIII	
THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL .....	141

## INTRODUCTION

THIS IS AN important book, not only for students of Ukrainian and East European affairs but also for all those who are hoping for the triumph of the democratic ideals which have been sought by the United States in the course of two World Wars. For the first time it gives in English a connected study of the course of events in Ukraine during the occupation of that area by the Soviet Union and the forces of Nazi Germany since 1939, and it traces the rise and history of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which fought bravely and desperately against both totalitarian imperialisms.

When the first news of this force began to trickle out through the Nazi and Soviet censorships, it was received with misgivings and obtained little publicity. At that time the United States was still hoping that the wartime friendship between it and the Soviet Union would be maintained and it seemed as if these reports were intended to create a breach in the unity of the anti-Nazi forces.

We were solemnly assured in the world without a Nazi fifth column, and many people, not only Communists and fellow-travelers, wished to believe that this was true.

A little later, when the war in Europe had come to an end with the surrender of Germany, the world was amazed at the discovery that several Soviet republics had been liquidated for their opposition to the Red Army. More than that, there came reports of banditry on an unparalleled scale behind the Red lines, and these only added to the general confusion of thought.

Then came the problem of the displaced persons. At the Yalta meeting of the Big Three, it was agreed that the governments should assist persons moved from their homes by the Germans to return to them. The citizens of the occupied countries of Western Europe were almost to a man happy to return to their homes. This was not true of those people who had been

taken to Germany from the occupied land of the East. They preferred to suffer any hardship or even to commit suicide rather than return within the iron curtain of the Soviet paradise. As that iron curtain clamped down upon one government after another and the United Nations in all its actions has been paralyzed by Soviet opposition, we came to realize that all was not well within that area.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has been admitted to the United Nations and it is represented there by men who played admittedly a large part in the destruction of the Ukrainian National Republic which was set up by the Ukrainian people upon the collapse of the Russian Empire. We have had both before and after World War II an almost uninterrupted series of announcements from the Soviet Union of the purging and liquidation of leader after leader because of his corruption by Ukrainian nationalism, which was hostile to the Soviet system.

This volume details so far as it can be told the efforts of the Ukrainian people to turn the World War to their own advantage and to recover their political and economic independence. They tried to set up their own government, to construct their own army and to live their lives in their own way but they were thwarted by the two imperialisms, each of which had destined the wealth of Ukraine for its own.

Their efforts make a startling and heroic story. It has striking parallels with the history of the Zaporozhian Kozaks who in the seventeenth century were known throughout Europe for their courage, their love of liberty and their willingness to die for the cause in which they believed. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fighting a desperate struggle for their homes and their country, performed wonders in the way of organizing themselves under great difficulties and in seizing every opportunity to advance their own cause.

Fundamentally their problems were those of the American colonies at the beginning of the American Revolution. Their military position was more unfavorable; their equipment more inadequate, for they were obliged to meet the two great military powers of Europe. Their spirit was perhaps closer to that



of the men who won the West with George Rogers Clark and who broke a path through the Appalachian Mountains into the Western plains, and into the Northwest.

It is a sad story of noble human endeavor, for the Western democracies did not awake to the significance of what they were attempting to do. Just as in 1917 and 1918, they were unwilling to believe that the flame of liberty was blazing in the hearts of the Ukrainians and they viewed them through hostile or indifferent eyes. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was left alone and it was not until some of its detachments succeeded in reaching the American Zone in Germany that the Western world was even remotely able to evaluate what was happening.

With every day it becomes more clear that a truly, independent, democratic Ukraine is necessary for the solution of the problems of Eastern Europe, which has been far too often considered as a whole either in the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. Twice in twenty-five years, despite all possible obstacles, the Ukrainians have struck hard for the liberty and independence of their country. Those who survive World War III will undoubtedly achieve it. Let us hope that the conscience and common sense of the democratic world will find a way of granting it to them without the devastation of another struggle, so that they may be represented in the United Nations by democratic representatives of their own choosing and may do their part in spreading the ideals of civilization and of law and democratic order throughout the great Eurasian continent.

—*Clarence A. Manning*



# I. UKRAINE

**The Geographical Position of the Country. Territory and the People. Economic Resources, Historical Development and Aspirations. Cultural Achievements.**

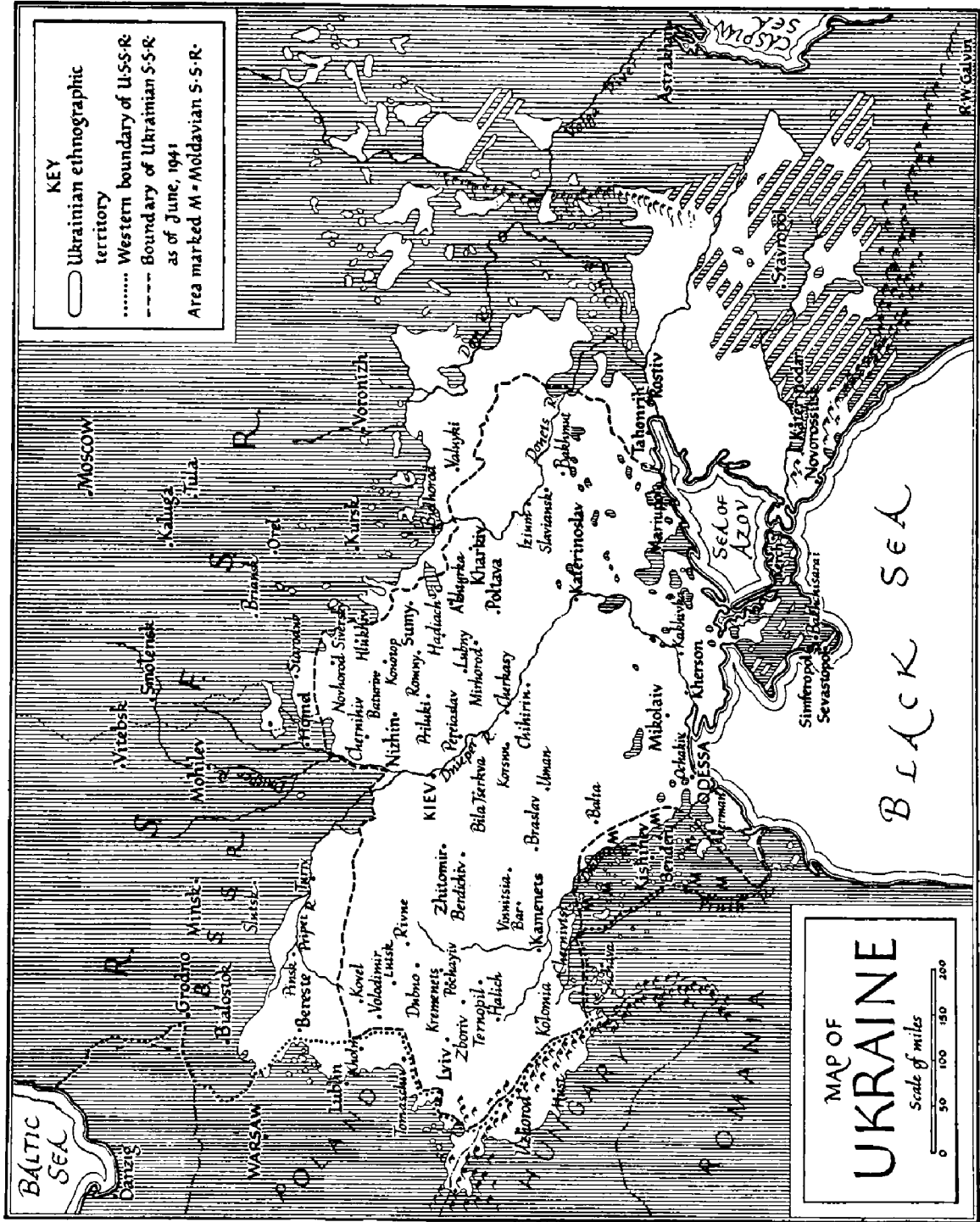
WITH THE DISINTEGRATION of the Russian Empire at the close of World War I, the Ukrainian people declared their independence and founded the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918. They were joined of their own accord in 1919 by the Western Ukrainians who had taken advantage of the fall of Austria-Hungary to set up the Republic of Western Ukraine. Fate was unkind to the new state. The government was overthrown by the Communists and in its place there was established the Ukrainian Soviet Republic which has now been granted membership in the United Nations. The Western Ukrainians were divided between Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Rumania and remained under these alien rules until 1939, when by agreement between Hitler and Stalin it became possible for the Soviets to seize the entire area. Since then the land is included within the iron curtain, while the Soviet depredations continue unchecked, and the Ukrainians continue to struggle for their independence.

It may be well therefore as a preface to this story of the Ukrainian resistance to say a few words of background.

The Ukraine of history and the land of the Ukrainian people runs from the Carpathian Mountains in the West to the Don River in the east along the north shore of the Black Sea and it includes the valleys of the great rivers flowing into the Black Sea from the north. The Dnieper valley particularly is the very heart of the country. Its area is about 938,000 square kilometers. It is only on the north that there are no distinct natural boundaries.

In addition to this, the Ukrainian people have crossed the Don and have settled large areas between that river and the Caucasus Mountains (the area of the Kuban) and many mil-





lions have been established voluntarily or by the administrative orders of the Russian government in parts of southern Siberia and the neighborhood of the Amur River. Besides there are one million more who have emigrated to the United States and Canada in addition to large colonies in South America. In all, the Ukrainians number about 45,000,000 people and this makes them the most numerous minority of the Soviet Union and one of the numerically important peoples of Europe.

Their land lies largely in the black earth belt of Europe and is exceedingly fertile. The grain fields of Ukraine have been the granary of Europe since classical times and up to World War I furnished Western Europe with a large part of its food supply. In addition to this, the land grows many other crops such as sugar beets, fruits, and vegetables. It is this agricultural wealth that has made Ukraine the envy of its neighbors and has determined Moscow to hold it at all costs, while the Germans have always cast longing eyes upon it and have included it in all their plans for eastward expansion.

But Ukraine possesses also enormous mineral and metal resources in the valley of the Donets River and in the neighborhood of Kriviy Rih. Here are some of the richest coal and iron mines in Europe and this section of the country was developed for many years by the Russian tsars as a source of Russian strength. In addition to this the Dnieper River can furnish great amounts of water power and the great dam below the rapids of the River, the Dnieprostroy, was one of the show constructions of the Soviet Union.

Yet these resources have always been developed not for the benefit of the people who are still largely agricultural but for their masters of the moment. First the Russian empire and now the Soviet Union is encouraging the immigration into the country of Great Russians and of other Soviet nationalities to change the spirit and temper of the population. The collectivization of agriculture carried out under orders of Moscow was used to promote a tremendous famine in 1932-33 in which several million people died of starvation. It was a deliberately prepared catastrophe for the benefit of the Communists and in

its man-made character is almost unique in human history.

It was at Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, that Christianity in its Byzantine form was first established in 988 during the reign of St. Volodymyr (better known abroad under the Church Slavic form Vladimir). The Kiev state of the day, the state of Rus, was one of the great countries of Europe. Its princes and princesses married into all the royal families of the day long before there was any such government as Moscow. The princes of Suzdal-Moscow sacked Kiev in 1169 and the ruin that they wrought was still more increased with the devastation wrought by the generals of the Mongolian Empire. Kiev itself was brought within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and later into the union of that state with Poland. For a while the Western part of the country, Galicia and Volhynia, maintained their independence under a series of able rulers but soon this too was swallowed up by Poland.

In the sixteenth century to escape Polish exactions and tyranny, many of the Ukrainians drifted down the Dnieper River and established there the Zaporozhian *Sich*, the home of the Zaporozhian Kozaks, a formidable military republic, from which expeditions sallied forth by land and sea and raided even the city of Constantinople. Then in 1648 there came a great revolt against Polish rule under the leadership of the Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, who established an almost independent state. Later in an evil hour he made an alliance with the Tsar of Moscow and the Muscovite autocrats used this as an excuse for extending their control over the entire country.

It was in vain that the Ukrainians under the Hetman Ivan Mazepa sought independence by making an alliance with Charles XII of Sweden. At the battle of Poltava in 1709, Charles and Mazepa were defeated by Peter the Great and Russian rule was firmly fastened upon the country. Bit by bit every vestige of the autonomy and liberty promised to Khmelnytsky was annihilated and to the Russians the land became Little Russia and merely a part of the great empire.

In 1798 the Ukrainian revival started with the publication



in the vernacular language of a burlesque of the *Aeneid* by Ivan Kotlyarevsky. The literary movement found strong support in the poems of Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) who paid for his love of liberty with years in a Russian prison battalion in Central Asia. His arrest and imprisonment only added fuel to the Ukrainian desire for freedom. The literature flourished and soon took root also in Western Ukraine which had passed under Austro-Hungarian rule.

The literary and cultural revival of the Ukrainian people closely parallels that of the other Slavic races in Europe. It rapidly became political and social and despite the incessant persecutions and oppressions by the Russians on the one hand and the Poles as the ruling class in Galicia on the other, the Ukrainian movement gained headway. Economically and politically, socially and financially, the Ukrainians worked steadily for the improvement of their own conditions and for the coming of the time when they could play their own role in world affairs.

With a country possessing such natural wealth and a healthy and industrious population, it was not too much to expect that they might receive their own government in accordance with Wilson's doctrine of self-determination. Fate was unkind to them but even after the struggle of the last thousand years they did not lose heart. It is their reaction to World War II and later events that forms the theme of this book.

## II. THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM

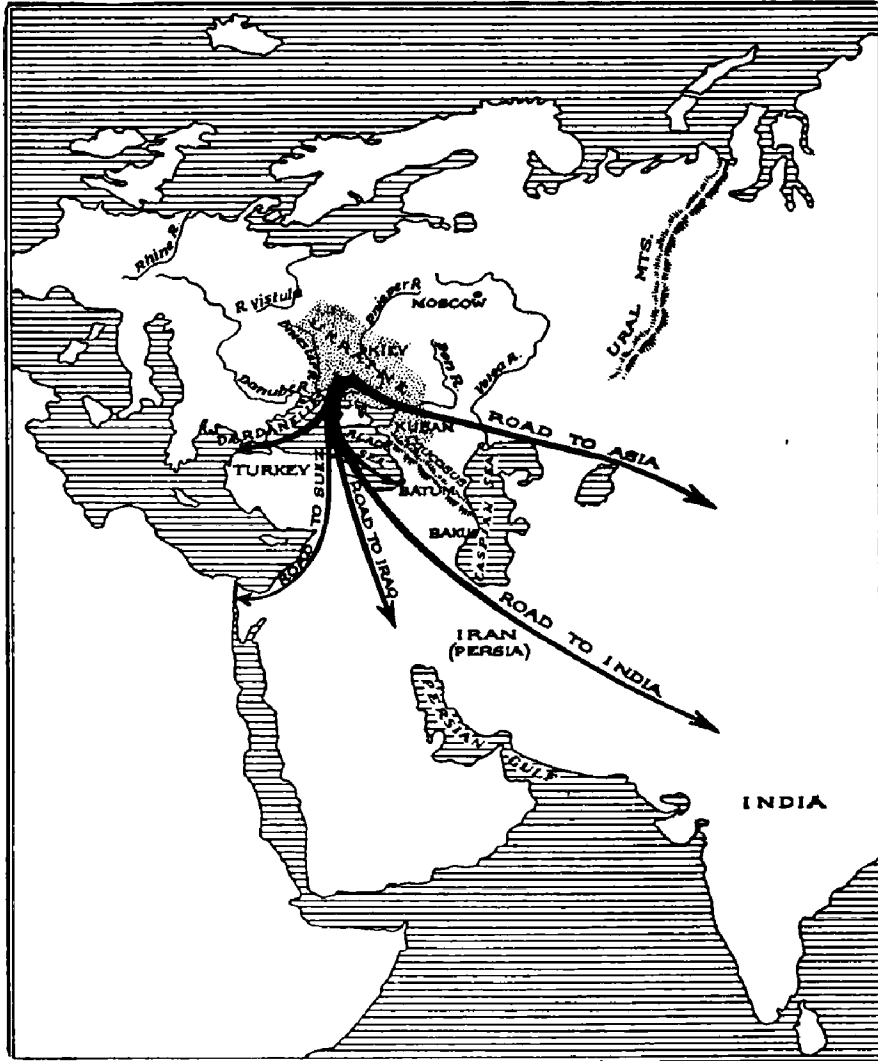
**The Problems of Ukraine, its Territory and the People as a Factor of International Peace. Importance of the Geo-political Position of the Ukrainian Territory and the Potential Strength of the Ukrainian People. Ukraine an Object of Two World Wars. The Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom an International Problem. Ukraine—a Key to Either Permanent Peace or Continuous Wars in Europe.**

A LASTING PEACE must of necessity be a just peace. It can never be firmly established until it is based upon an international sense of justice. This is expressed in many famous statements, such as President Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Atlantic Charter.

In reality, however, the political horizon of today is clouded by unsolved international problems, in which lurk the potentialities of another war. Chief among these problems is that of Ukraine.

It is an undeniable fact that since its short-lived national sovereignty at the close of World War I, Ukraine has played an important role in international thinking, actions and relationships. This is because of the positive qualities of the Ukrainian people themselves, and also because of the geopolitical position of their land. Because of its geopolitical position, its natural resources and its potentialities for further exploitation, Ukraine is a magnet for those powers which are driven by imperialistic desires to expand their boundaries and enrich themselves at the expense of their neighbors.

A glance at the map and a brief survey of Ukrainian history and the development and aspirations of the Ukrainian people will convince anyone that in Ukraine and in the Ukrainian people lies the key either to lasting peace in Eastern Europe, or to constant war started by those who covet it. For Ukraine is truly the "cockpit of two worlds," the western and the eastern. In the global sense of the word, Ukraine is a veritable Gibraltar. The attitude of Russia and Germany toward Ukraine



The Ukraine in its Strategic Setting.

when they acquired imperialistic ambitions, and the fact that Ukraine has been a major objective and the terrain of the two great wars between Germany and Russia, brings clearly into light the vital significance of the geographical position and resources of the country. On the other hand Ukraine has never carried on an imperialistic war. Although its history records many bloody conflicts, they have been aimed at the stopping of the wild hordes from the East which have constantly invaded and plundered it, or they have had as their objective the repelling of the imperialistic aggressions of the neighboring countries. The entire history of Ukraine can readily be summed up in the words of one of its leaders: "I covet nought from anyone, but I will never surrender what is mine!" Swords have been beaten out of plowshares not for purposes of aggression but only for the self defense of Ukraine.

The vital territorial and political importance of Ukraine has imposed upon its people special obligations. Just as on the one hand the Ukrainian people have to strain to their utmost to provide a means for defense against the imperialistic drives of their enemies, so on the other hand they must demonstrate in no uncertain terms that they will not permit themselves to be used as a pawn by them. This two-fold obligation the Ukrainians have fulfilled completely. Thus during the recent war they turned the edge of their powerful, swift sword against the German as well as against the Soviet Russian imperialists. It would be only natural to expect that for their gallant fight in defense of their native land and because of the fact that the very interests of the democracies demand it, the Ukrainians should be receiving moral and material aid of the necessary proportions from the latter and especially from those whom destiny has made responsible for the future fate of the world. In reality, the Ukrainian people not only have not been given any such assistance, but too often they have found little understanding of their national aspirations, or sympathy for their plight. That, it is worth noting, is one of the main reasons for the constant threat of another world con-

flict which is hanging over us, a threat that is daily increasing instead of diminishing.

The present Ukrainian situation, both internal as well as external, is patently no product of the desires of the Ukrainians. On the contrary it is against their will and wishes. Proof of this is found in the desperate struggle that they have been waging against all the injustices and oppressions which they have endured, and which are at present entirely inflicted upon them by the Soviet Russians.

The roar of cannon and the explosions of bombs during the recent war rather deadened for a while the sounds of the many-sided Ukrainian liberation fight for national freedom. When finally the sounds of war died away on the world front, they were to be heard louder than ever before on the Ukrainian front. The heroic struggle of the Ukrainians against the Russian attacks upon the Western Ukrainian Catholic Church, for example, attracted world-wide attention. When finally Russia did manage to gain control of it and make it subject to Moscow, it was only after all the Ukrainian bishops and hundreds of the clergy and the faithful had been either killed, imprisoned or sent to Siberia. Through the Iron Curtain, behind which Soviet Russia is enchaining its victims more firmly every day, reports filter through which conclusively indicate that there a mighty Ukrainian fight for liberation is still continuing on all fronts and in all fields of life.

While the war was still in progress, the world press began to feature reports of the rise throughout Ukraine of Ukrainian guerrilla detachments which constantly harrassed and fought pitched battles with the German occupants. These are not to be confused with the Russian partisans. This underground fight in Ukraine was usually regarded as merely part of the resistance of all the Soviet peoples to the Nazi aggressor. In reality, however, this valiant fight had as its ultimate objective the freeing of Ukraine not only from the totalitarian rule of the Germans but eventually also from the even more totalitarian rule of the Russians.

It was not until after the war that this fact received any

general recognition in the outside world. It then began to assume international importance, and in some instances to become the subject of international controversy.

On March 27, 1947 the press agencies reported the killing in a skirmish between Polish troops and a detachment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA, i.e., *Ukrainska Povstancha Armiya*) of the pro-Red Polish Vice-Minister of War, General Swierczewski. Several weeks later the military accord between the Soviets, the Poles and the Czechs was tightened for the purpose of carrying on coordinated operations against the guerilla incursions of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This effort clearly demonstrated the power and the extent of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Because of all the factors involved and, particularly because this movement is directed against one of the "Big Five," the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian liberation struggle has not yet been placed formally on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council, as one which might endanger world peace, although appeals urging the Security Council to take this step have been made from time to time by responsible bodies.

Late in the summer of 1947 the UPA raids into Czechoslovakia brought about several governmental crises in that country. Shortly afterward a force of about 400 members of the UPA fought their way from the Soviet Union and crossed over fully armed into the American zone of occupation in Germany and there they laid down their arms and freely surrendered themselves to the American military authorities. At the same time they volunteered to serve in any military action desired by the Americans. These facts were widely reported in Europe and in America, and showed how backward competent international bodies are in facing the reality of the Ukrainian situation.

As previously mentioned, the struggle for Ukrainian national freedom is being conducted on every possible field and by all possible means and methods; but always with only one objective in mind: the political independence and the national sovereignty of the Ukrainian people. Daily this struggle is be-

coming stronger and more extreme. The wheel of history can never be turned back. Sooner or later Ukraine will assume that rightful station in the family of nations, which historical destiny has allotted her. When that takes place, Ukraine will no longer be a bone of contention between foreign imperialistic powers and the cause of wars. On the contrary, Ukraine will then be the most powerful obstacle to their aggressions and thereby will automatically become a guarantee of that lasting peace which can never be brought about if international justice does not prevail. This historic mission can be accomplished only by a free, sovereign and democratic Ukrainian republic. This truism is the key to the Ukrainian problem.



### III.

## THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT

**Genesis of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. International Consequences Resulting from the Enslavement of Ukraine by Russia and the Lack of Understanding of the Ukrainian Independence Movement. The Establishment of the Independent Democratic Ukrainian Republic after World War I and its Fall. The Beginning of World War II Tied with the Fall of the Ukrainian State.**

MODERN UKRAINIAN HISTORY is the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Since the Battle of Poltava in 1709 where the Hetman of Ukraine, Ivan Mazepa, together with his ally, Charles XII, of Sweden, lost the war with Russia, the history of Ukraine has been marked on the one hand by the most brutal repression of the Ukrainians as well as by the very denial of their national identity, especially by Russia, and on the other by a systematic destruction of their national and cultural achievements through centuries of effort, as well as by an attempt to bring about the physical extermination of the Ukrainians, in modern terminology called—genocide. That is one side of Ukrainian history. The other side is the positive one. It is the heroic and unceasing struggle of the Ukrainians to rid themselves of the yoke forced upon them by their brutal foreign misrulers and to regain their national rights, liberties and freedom.

This struggle has assumed various forms, has been carried on everywhere, and the Ukrainians have paid an exorbitant price in terms of human lives, suffering and destruction. The inherent vitality of the Ukrainian nation, however, has survived. Despite all its losses and the unprecedented oppression and denationalization at the hands of their misrulers, the Ukrainian people are emerging today from their travail stronger, more nationally conscious, more embattled in the cause of their national freedom, and more confident of their national destiny than ever before.

It is significant that some of their greatest achievements,

as in culture, have been made under conditions so hard that we must wonder how they were possible. Thus some of the finest poetry and other literary works of Ukraine have been written by poets and authors when they were being hounded and persecuted, in prison or in exile. Such was the case with Taras Shevchenko, the great Bard and Prophet of Ukraine. Among these cultural achievements are the folk songs and their choral arrangements, which today excite the admiration of the musical world. They too were composed during the social and national enslavement of Ukraine by Russia and Poland. During the period known in history as the Great Ruin the modern conception of statehood for Ukraine came into being, and just laws were drafted which could serve as models for even the best of today, many of which, one must admit, are not always animated by the democratic spirit.

The history of the Ukrainian liberation movement is actually the prologue to the present conflict between the East and the West. The Russian-Asiatic imperialism coupled with the Russian conception of a state ruled by a despot or by a despotic clique can become a world threat only upon the downfall of Ukraine as an outpost of Western civilization and the Western democratic way of life. Here we do not even have to mention that without Ukraine, its strategic position, and its vast resources, Russia would be deprived of much of its war potential and thereby be curbed in its aggressive designs.

In their present "cold war" with Russia the Western powers are really suffering the consequences of their indifference to the Ukrainian liberation movement, their ignoring of the basic historic and compelling causes behind the Ukrainian-Russian conflict and finally their miscalculations of the balance of power of nations. Today's conflict between the East and the West is an exact replica of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict for the past three hundred years, the result of which is the shocking fate of the Ukrainian people under Russian occupation and also the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

Upon the fall of the Tsarist Russian Empire at the close of World War I the Ukrainian National Republic came into

being. In 1918 (January 22) by their "will, strength and word," in the words of their Fourth *Universal*, the Ukrainian people proclaimed themselves a free, independent and sovereign nation. Exactly a year later to the day by the "will, strength and word" of the Ukrainian people all of the Ukrainian ethnographic lands—from the Carpathian Mountains and the San River in the west, east to the Caucasus Mountains, and from the Pripet River in the north to the shores of the Black Sea in the south—were united in an inspiring ceremony in Kiev into one free, independent sovereign state of Ukraine. This was in accordance with the Wilsonian principle of national self-determination. It represented the realization of the centuries-old aspirations of the people.

For a better comprehension of these two historic events, the following excerpts from the Fourth *Universal* can be cited:

"People of Ukraine! By your will, strength and word there has arisen on the Ukrainian lands a Free National Republic. It is the realization of the ardent dream of your forefathers—fighters for the liberties and rights of the workers.

"The birth of Ukrainian freedom, however, has come at a difficult hour; our land and our people have had to undergo four years of a terrible war; the factories cannot produce, the business firms are closing down, the railways are shattered, the money is dropping in value, bread is becoming scarce, famine is in sight . . .

"Meanwhile the Petrograd government of 'people's commissars,' desiring to control the Ukrainian National Republic, has declared war upon Ukraine and has sent its Red Guards into our territories. They are seizing the bread of our peasants and sending it to Russia without leaving a single grain for planting, they are killing innocent people, and are everywhere sowing disorder, robbery and inaction.

"We, the Ukrainian Central *Rada*, have done everything to halt this fratricidal war between two neighboring peoples, but the Russian government has rejected our overtures and continues its war against our people and the Republic. Moreover this very same Petrograd government of 'people's commissars' has begun to disturb the peace and is calling for a new war, and even naming it a 'holy one.'

"We, the Ukrainian Central *Rada*,—elected to office by conventions of the peasants, workers and soldiers of Ukraine, cannot agree with this and will not support any wars, for the Ukrainian people want peace and a democratic peace should be established as soon as possible. In order, however, that nought else can hinder Ukraine from establishing this

most desirable peace, in order to lead the country to order, creative work and the securing of our freedom, we, the Ukrainian Central *Rada*, do hereby proclaim to all the inhabitants of Ukraine that: *From today on the Ukrainian National Republic is the Independent, Non-subject, Free and Sovereign State of the Ukrainian People.*

"We desire to live in amity and friendship with all our neighboring countries: Russia, Poland, Austria, Rumania, Turkey and others, but we will not tolerate any interference in the life of the Independent Ukrainian Republic.

"All of the democratic liberties, proclaimed in the Third *Universal*,—the Ukrainian National Republic affirms and proclaims them to be in existence: all nationalities in the independent Ukrainian National Republic will enjoy the benefits of the rights of national-personal autonomy, as provided for by the law of January 9 . . .

"In regard to those so-called Bolsheviki and other attackers who are ruining and despoiling our country, we direct the government of the Ukrainian National Republic resolutely and with all the force at its command to commence war upon them, and we call upon all the citizens of our republic to be prepared to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, for the welfare and the freedom of our nation . . .

A year later, January 22, 1919, before a vast assemblage in the St. Sophia Square in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic proclaimed that:

"As of today there is a Union of all the native lands of Ukraine, for centuries rent apart, namely: the Western Ukrainian Republic (Galicia, Bukovina and Carpatho-Ukraine) and Dnieper Ukraine. As of today there is but one independent Ukrainian National Republic . . . "

In this manner the sovereign and democratic Ukrainian state was established. It comprised about 718,000 square kilometers, inhabited by about 35,000,000 people.

The young republic, created by the "power, will and word" of the Ukrainian people, was immediately attacked by its enemies. From the north came the masses of the Red Guard Bolshevik armies; from the south and southwest advanced the remains of the Tsarist armies, reorganized into the Volunteer Army under General Denikin; from the west the republic was attacked by Polish forces, which had been especially trained and equipped by the Allies to fight the Bolsheviki and which now were doing their share in destroying the democratic Ukrainian republic.

Suffering from the ravages of the World War, sadly lacking in arms, equipment and supplies, their ranks decimated by hunger and typhus, their rear insecure because of the propaganda and depredations of a Bolshevik "fifth column," cut off from the outside world, the Ukrainian forces were able to continue their gallant struggle for about three years against the overwhelming might of their enemies before their resistance collapsed. With that the Ukrainian National Republic collapsed also.

The partition of Ukraine followed: Soviet Russia occupied the eastern and central areas; Poland took over Western Ukraine; Rumania seized Bukovina and Bessarabia; and Czechoslovakia absorbed Carpatho-Ukraine.

Thus the basic principles of international justice were flouted by the neighboring states and the foundation was laid for the second World War a quarter of a century later.

#### IV. BETWEEN THE TWO WARS

**The Ukrainian Underground after the Fall of the Ukrainian Independent State after World War I. The Beginnings, Organization, Crystallization and the Various Phases of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Great Sacrifices in the Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom. Ukrainian Revolutionary Organizations and Centers of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Planning and Integration of the Ukrainian Independence Movement.**

THE FALL of the Ukrainian National Republic, which formally took place following the Armistice of 1920 and the Riga Treaty of 1921, did not mean the end of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which had brought it into being. In fact that movement, inspired by the heroic days of the Republic, grew steadily stronger. Of necessity it took on different forms, but it maintained the selfsame objective before it.

Regular warfare now assumed a partisan or guerrilla character, which swept the entire country and lasted until 1923. The liberation movement in the broad sense of the word was extended to include in its front ranks former military men as well as growing youths. Conceived at first as a secret military organization, the movement gradually came to include various other classes of society, which together with the military and the youth greatly strengthened it.

Between the two wars there are several chapters in its development. The partisan war was concentrated mainly in Soviet-occupied Ukraine, largely to the east of the Dnieper. When the government of the Ukrainian National Republic headed by Simon Petlura was refused the required assistance from the democracies and, before the Soviet advance, had to leave the country and continue its work as a government-in-exile, with its seat in Paris, there began to appear in Ukraine new resistance centers which took upon themselves the conduct of the partisan operations and then the leadership of the underground revolutionary fight against the occupants.

In this manner there came into being the All-Ukrainian

Revolutionary Center, which was active up to 1923, then the Brotherhood for Ukrainian Statehood (BUD), the Ukrainian National Center, which was active in 1932-33, and most important, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), headed by Sergius Yefremiv, which found its end in the well known Soviet political trial in Kharkiv (1930) of Ukrainian intellectuals. During its existence it collaborated closely with the Society of Ukrainian Youth. The latter ended most tragically, when the Reds shot about 20,000 Ukrainian youths, mostly students.

On the other hand, because of the unprecedented terroristic Soviet rule and its adoption of collective responsibility, which for one single revolutionary act of some patriot provided for the merciless execution of entire communities or masses of people, the liberation movement in Soviet-occupied Ukraine was not well knit together, and the uprisings against the authorities were either of a spontaneous character, as the uprisings of the peasantry against the forced collectivization, or they were mutinies in the Red Army, or they took the form of resistance to the Red attempts in the cultural field to destroy the Ukrainian cultural heritage. As a matter of fact it was this fight to preserve and cultivate the cultural and national traditions of Ukraine, and at the same time make the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic truly national in spirit, that took the heaviest toll among the leaders and intellectuals, and thereby deprived Ukraine of the very flower of them. There was no let-up in the forced "suicides" of even some of the highest Soviet Ukrainian government officials, such as Shumsky, Skrypnyk, Zatonsky, Volobuyev, Lubchenko and others. There was no pause to the growing executions and "suicides" of intellectuals and writers, including Khvylovy, Vlysko, Kosinka, Khmara, and Zerov. Yet if the Reds hoped that by such methods they could stamp out the movement, they were doomed to disappointment. It grew by leaps and bounds and embraced all strata of society. Stalin himself became perturbed by it, and remarked that the Ukrainian writers were passing from a fight with art to a fight with guns. (He played upon the words *obraz*—art and literature; and *obriz*—a sawed-off shotgun, a favorite weapon in



revolutionary underground warfare).

In an all-out effort to stamp out the liberation movement, the Soviets resorted to the most Draconian methods of mass destruction of a people. Officially instigated and fostered famine was a favorite weapon especially during 1922-23 and 1932-33, the second of which took a toll in Ukraine of well over four million lives. Mass executions or mass resettlement from Ukraine to Siberia were standard methods used by the Soviets to subdue the Ukrainians.

A few simple figures will suffice to show the results of this policy. According to the official Soviet census of 1926 the population of Soviet-occupied Ukraine was 31,194,976, while the 1939 census showed that it had dropped to 28,070,404. The same Soviet source (Central Census Committee of USSR, and the Administrative-Territorial Department of the USSR) reveals that the normal birth rate in Ukraine in 1929 was 1.77% (in 1924 it was 2.45%). That means that between 1929 and 1938 Ukraine lost about ten million of her population. A great many of the lost were later found in mass graves, and the bones of many who were compelled to make the long trek to Siberia are undoubtedly bleaching on the Asiatic tundras.

Following the first World War the Ukrainian liberation movement took on a more tightly organized form in the Polish-occupied Western Ukraine, especially in Galicia. From here it gradually spread throughout all of Ukraine, and won much support in foreign countries.

As already mentioned, upon the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic and the dispersal of the Ukrainian armies, many of the soldiers and officers organized themselves into the Ukrainian Military Organization (UWO), the head of which was Colonel Eugene Konovalets, the former commander of one of the crack units of the Ukrainian forces, the *Sichovi Striltsi* (*Sich* Riflemen). Upon the assassination of Petlura on May 25, 1926 in Paris at the hands of a Bolshevik agent, Schwartzbart, Konovalets became the leader and the symbol of the entire Ukrainian liberation movement.

In its initial stages, the Ukrainian Military Organization

was purely military in character and its operations were limited to individual revolutionary acts against the alien occupants. But as the fight for liberation rapidly expanded in strength, scope and tempo, and as more and more people joined it, especially former soldiers and the younger generation, there rose the obvious necessity of giving it a definite ideological basis and an organizational program.

Accordingly the UWO summoned in 1929 the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists, at which the Ukrainian Military Organization was transformed into the political-revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed again by Col. Eugene Konovalts. In thus accepting a regular plan of action based on firm ideological foundations, the liberation movement now was enabled to weld all the elements composing it into a well-integrated and disciplined revolutionary force fighting for the political, spiritual and social liberation of the Ukrainian people from foreign misrule. The spearhead of this force was directed primarily against the Bolsheviks.

In contrast to the sporadic acts and announcements of the former UWO, which were usually connected with individual deeds of revolutionary activity, the OUN took a broader view of the tasks before it, for it realized that if it were to live up to the expectations of the people, it had to work on a large scale and utilize those methods which had been tried out successfully in the great revolutionary movements of the past. Thus besides devoting itself to purely revolutionary action, the OUN began to penetrate into all strata of organized society for the purpose of enlisting its active assistance, and at the same time of providing guidance to them in matters pertaining to the liberation movement.

Between the two wars the liberation movement assumed two main forms: revolutionary-underground action against the occupying powers, ranging from sabotage to the assassination of leading governmental figures; and, secondly, legal action, especially in the cultural and economic fields, with an approach dependent upon circumstances. The cultural action has been

unusually effective in separating Ukrainian culture from the enervating Russian influences, in which, as has been mentioned, Khvylovy and others like him did their share at an earlier period. As a result today the traditional western trends in Ukrainian culture are more evident than ever before, and this is another setback to the Soviet attempts to "socialize" the Ukrainian spirit. Despite the ever-recurring purges of their ranks and the terrorization of the Ukrainian writers as well as the scholars associated with the Academy of Sciences in Kiev, the Ukrainian intellectuals constantly found fresh opportunities of serving the Ukrainian cause. Through their works, both fiction and non-fiction, they managed to convey their ideas to their fellow patriots in a manner sufficiently camouflaged to escape the attention of the censors. Often, it was not until years later that the Soviets "unmasked" these books, banned them and condemned their authors. But by then it was too late, for the deed had already been accomplished.

The role of the Ukrainian liberation movement was of a somewhat different character in Polish-occupied Western Ukraine. There in addition to militant action against the rulers, and work in the field of culture, considerable attention was devoted to economics. Among the achievements here was the establishment of a network of Ukrainian cooperatives, Ukrainian commerce took an upward swing, an independent system of Ukrainian schools and of a Ukrainian press was set up, while legal Ukrainian parties made the Ukrainian problem one of the thorniest issues facing the Polish government. No form of Polish repression and oppression was able to dam up this river of progress, not even the notorious barbaric "pacification" of the Ukrainian villagers by Polish troops and police in 1930, which destroyed for awhile most of the Ukrainian cultural and economic gains made up to that time. Ukrainian villagers were beaten during this "pacification" in a manner which caused a wave of revulsion to sweep over Europe and America. However, undismayed by this catastrophe the Ukrainians plunged back into work and restored their commercial and cultural institutions. In place of those persons

whom the Poles had hung or executed, fresh cadres of fighters for Ukrainian freedom appeared. The revolutionary action continued unabated although it had to go more underground. But it maintained a positive tone.

It is interesting to note here that in their attempts to destroy the Ukrainian liberation movement both the Russians and the Poles devoted special attention to the Ukrainian church, the Orthodox as well as the Catholic, and persecuted it at every step. In Soviet-occupied Ukraine the persecution of the Church was begun immediately and with typical Red brutality. The churches were demolished, or converted into storehouses for grain, stables, barns, town halls in the villages and anti-God museums in the cities. The entire Ukrainian Orthodox hierarchy and clergy was wiped out, either by execution or banishment to Siberia. The faithful were terrorized to such a degree that very few of them dared to practice religion openly. By 1934 the Church in Soviet Ukraine had ceased to exist.

The Polish approach to the Ukrainian Church was more wary, for the authorities had to consider world opinion. At first the Poles adopted the method of harassing the Ukrainian Church administration as well as rite. The Eastern Byzantine rite of the Ukrainian Catholics was placed almost beyond the pale of the law. A government measure was promulgated which ordered that all documents had to state the faith of the person in whose name they were made out. In this manner a careful check was kept on the identity of the Ukrainian Catholics, and they were discriminated against most vehemently in all connections. They could get no trade concessions, they were not accepted by the public schools, they were denied civil or military careers, and as a climax they found hindrances placed in their way when they tried to make their way in life purely on their own.

At the same time the Polish authorities found means of persecuting the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the center and parishes of which were to be found mainly in Volhynia, Polisia, and Kholmschyna. An act was passed creating the shameful "Revindication Commission" which proceeded to forcibly confiscate

the Orthodox churches and transform them into Polish churches, or have them burned or ruined. Since the Ukrainian Church has always been closely associated with the Ukrainian liberation movement, it too has suffered from both the Russian and Polish regimes.

## V. UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

**Political and Ideological Character of Ukrainian Nationalism.  
Ukrainian Nationalism—Expression of the Ukrainian Libera-  
tion Movement but not of the Political and Social System.**

IN THE INTERIM between the two world wars, nationalism was the distinguishing characteristic of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Its leadership was provided by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

From the very outset Ukrainian nationalism was attacked and besmirched by those who denied the right of the Ukrainian people to live their own free and independent life. Soviet Russian propaganda not only made every effort to compromise the nationalists in the eyes of their fellow Ukrainians, but attempted to draw a parallel between their ideology and practices with those of the Nazis. That it was not entirely unsuccessful along this line is evidenced by the fact that certain sections of an otherwise objective world press swallowed this propaganda, hook, line and sinker. Actually, Ukrainian nationalism had never anything in common in the least with totalitarian-dictatorial imperialistic Nazism, but fought it tooth and nail, and suffered heavy losses as a result, in the same manner as it has been fighting against the Red brand of Nazism. Ukrainian nationalism, it should be borne in mind, has constituted the Ukrainian liberation movement for the past three centuries, and its ultimate objective is the national, political, cultural and social freedom of the Ukrainian people, and the establishment of a sovereign Ukrainian state, the form and government of which will be decided upon by the Ukrainian people themselves, provided, of course, they be given the opportunity to freely and openly do so. From this it is clearly evident that the Ukrainian liberation movement is founded on sound democratic principles and that its final victory will bring these principles into play among the Ukrainian people with the consequent fruitful results for all concerned.

Naturally enough, as has been the case with other national liberation movements, including the American one which led to the establishment of the United States, the Ukrainian liberation movement tries to seize and exploit to its advantage any given set of favorable political circumstances. And yet, it has never in its history allowed itself to be the tool of any foreign power and interests, least of all of Germany. Russian and Communist propagandists would have the world believe otherwise when they allege that the Ukrainian liberation movement—which consists of a whole complex of political groupings, ranging from socialists to monarchists—is Hitlerian, an allegation as damnably false as it is absurd.

By way of example, below is reproduced a portion of a memorandum forwarded by the militant Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists to Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, delegated by President Roosevelt to serve as a roving ambassador to gain a clear insight into European conditions in 1940. Text follows:

“The initiative exercised by the President of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to ascertain the nature of the true foundation for lasting peace in Europe, and the delegation by him of you to do so, are met by the sincere desire of the Ukrainian people that in these grave times your country, in consonance with its national traditions, lend itself in a constructive manner to the bringing about of more healthy conditions in international relations on our continent. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists extends to you in the name of the Ukrainian people best wishes for the successful conclusion of your mission of trying to solve some of the as yet unsolved European problems, among which the Ukrainian problem occupies an important place. The Ukrainian people are aware of their right to expect of the world to regard their struggle for national freedom as being a wholly independent and self-inspired endeavor to win statehood for a 45-million Ukrainian nation, which at present is mostly under the domination of Moscow. The struggle is being waged in accordance with the legal right of the Ukrainian people to national sovereignty within the boundaries of their ethnographic territories. Consequently the Ukrainians will never agree to any national dependence upon anyone and will oppose with all possible force at their disposal anyone who would deny them their national independence. We are convinced that you will agree with us that the current European crisis is a result of an entire series of moral and material factors indissolubly bound



with the entire European continent. Therefore we venture to call your attention to the important stabilizing role that could be played in Europe by a sovereign Ukrainian state, founded on the principles of national freedom, culture and self-government."

This Ukrainian appeal to a leading American government official was made precisely at the time when Hitler in partnership with Stalin had begun World War II.

It is an uncontrovertible fact that similar appeals for help had been made by the Ukrainians prior to that time to the Western democracies, especially during the rise and fall (1917-1922) of the Ukrainian National Republic. Unfortunately, such appeals were rebuffed; worse yet, in many cases they were not even met with understanding, the evil effects of which are felt to this very day.

VI.  
**THE UKRAINIANS FIRST TO FIGHT  
HITLER'S AGGRESSION**

**Events in Czechoslovakia in 1938-1939 and the Fate of the  
Ukrainian Territory within It. The Ukrainians the Only People  
to Fight the German-Hungarian Invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine  
in Czechoslovakia.**

JUST AS IN 1917 the Ukrainians were the first to war against the imperialism of totalitarian Russian Bolshevism, so they were the first to fire the opening shots and shed their blood before the outbreak of the second war against the imperialism of Hitler's totalitarian Germany. At a time when the western democracies still clung to the hope that they could stop Hitler and were appeasing him at Munich, when negotiations were already in progress to lay the foundations for the forthcoming Hitler-Stalin pact, when Poland alarmed by the danger threatening her from both sides was the first to help enslave Czechoslovakia, and when the Czechs meekly surrendered their independence without even firing a shot, at that time the Ukrainians were the first who dared to stand up against Hitler, the first to lay down their lives in their fight against his imperialism. This took place in the crucial years of 1938 and 1939 in Carpatho-Ukraine.

When in 1938 Hitler's mailed fist hovered over Czechoslovakia, the Ukrainians of this small and most neglected corner of their native land, which upon the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic had been absorbed by Czechoslovakia, began intensive preparations to attain their statehood at the opportune time. The first step was the creation of the parliamentary Ukrainian Central National *Rada*. Besides Nationalists its membership included Social Democrats and National Christians. Combined, they represented the entire albeit small Carpatho-Ukrainian population.

In the meanwhile similar intensive preparations were being made throughout Ukraine, especially in Western Ukraine. Plans were being drawn for one mighty uprising of the Ukrain-

ian people everywhere in an effort to win their national independence. Everyone was electrified at what was transpiring in Carpatho-Ukraine. Seeing this, Poland immediately began to assist Hungary in its efforts to seize Carpatho-Ukraine. As one practical step toward this, armed Magyar and Polish bands began to filter across the border and terrorize outlying Carpatho-Ukrainian settlements.

As part of their preparations, the Carpatho-Ukrainians organized a small army, called the Carpathian *Sich*, which to gain arms for itself broke into Czech armories and forcibly helped itself to them. In preparation for what might aptly be called D-Day, the nuclei of various necessary governmental agencies were set up, including culture and agriculture. Large numbers of people, many of whom had entered secretly from other sections of Ukraine, volunteered for whatever service was required of them.

About the middle of March, 1939, when Hitler's war machine began to occupy Czechoslovakia, troops of his satellite, Hungary, (with his approval) started their invasion of Carpatho-Ukraine. The Nazi minister in Khust, the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, arrogantly demanded its capitulation to the Hungarians. The Ukrainians replied that there was no such word as capitulation in their dictionary. So, where the well armed and strong Czech armies allowed the Nazis to occupy Czechoslovakia without firing a shot, the Carpatho-Ukrainians, undeterred by the vast superiority of their enemy, proceeded to give battle.

"Why does this *Sich* prolong this hopeless struggle? Why does the Hungarian Army encounter so much opposition in trying to capture a territory which is being defended by Ukrainians who as soldiers are as yet amateurs?" the *New York Times* asked in wonderment. On the same subject, a Polish-American newspaper, the *Slovo Narodowe*, remarked that, "In Poland it has been common talk that the Czechs would not surrender their independence without a fight, but that Carpatho-Ukraine would surrender to the Hungarians without putting up any struggle at all. And yet the *Sichoviki* are fighting, while in

Czechia not a shot has been heard.”

This fighting spirit of the Ukrainians which so amazed many foreigners has been a tradition with the Ukrainians, dating back to the earliest days, and was especially evident during Kozak times. This same spirit was soon thereafter to manifest itself even more vividly in the Ukrainian fight against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia, both enemies of humanity.

## VII. ON THE RUINS OF POLAND

**Ukraine a Bargaining Point in the Pact between Stalin and Hitler. The German-Soviet Invasion of Poland, and the Beginning of World War II. Political Shortsightedness of Poles—a Cause of Their Downfall. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement under New Circumstances. The Initial Nazi-Soviet Collaboration in Combatting the Ukrainian Independence Movement. Pernicious Indecision on the Part of the Western Democracies in Regard to the Ukrainians and Their Struggle for Freedom.**

THE MOMENTOUS EVENTS which took place in Carpatho-Ukraine during 1938-39, which so electrified all the Ukrainian people when they learned that in the smallest part of the Ukrainian territories a Ukrainian republic had been set up, together with the fearless attitude of the Carpatho-Ukrainians when they were attacked by Hungary and threatened by Germany, are a clear demonstration of the dynamic qualities of the Ukrainian liberation movement and its uncompromising stand against any and all invaders of Ukraine.

At that moment Poland was so preoccupied in combatting the Ukrainian movement that she failed to perceive the great danger threatening her national existence from her two great neighbors: Germany and Soviet Russia. The latter was vastly concerned over the activities of the "remnants of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists," and was willing to go to any lengths to exterminate them. It is obvious to anyone at all acquainted with Eastern European affairs, that this Soviet worry over Ukrainian nationalism was one of the principal causes of the Hitler-Stalin pact. Stalin was most anxious to lay his hands on Eastern Poland, so that he could destroy this hotbed of Ukrainian revolutionary activity which for the past quarter of a century, since their ascendancy to power, had given the Reds many a sleepless night. Hitler, too, was interested in throttling to death the Ukrainian liberationists, for in his plans to conquer Ukraine he knew very well that even if he succeeded his most implacable foes would be these same Ukrainian fighters for

freedom. This common interest between the two dictators played an important part in their calculations on the possibility of their joining forces. This became all the more evident later when both the Germans and the Russians acted together to destroy the movement.

The coalition of Stalin and Hitler was undoubtedly the primary cause of the Nazi invasion of Poland, which started World War II. Poland was shattered in two weeks, and with it perished the illusion of the Western Powers who in recreating her after the first World War thought that she would be a bulwark for them against both German and Russian imperialism. In an attempt to strengthen her for this purpose they had even granted her great stretches of Ukrainian territory, even though this was clearly against Wilson's Fourteen Points. That was their tragic mistake, for instead of strengthening Poland, the grant weakened her, since she always had to expend a great deal of energy in combatting the Ukrainian movement.

A Poland within her own ethnographic boundaries, with common interests dictating the closest neighborly relations with an independent Ukraine, would have been a strong power. Ukraine and Poland would have constituted a real bulwark against the over-expansion of Germany and Russia. But as it was, Poland with her militant Ukrainian minority, and with her own traditional arrogance and ineptitude, turned out to be one of the real trouble spots in Europe and in her weakness tempted aggression. This became clear with the first shots of the war. The Polish army melted away while her governmental machinery ceased immediately to function. Any real resistance that was offered was local in nature, as in the case of Warsaw. The fate of Poland, which could not have expected any real support from the seven million Ukrainians whom she had been persecuting for over a quarter of a century, was decided even before the war started.

The downright stupidity of Poland in her treatment of the minorities, which constituted over one-third of her population, was rarely more clearly demonstrated than at the last

moment when the Polish government was practically on the run, but yet it paused long enough to issue a final directive ordering mass arrests of Ukrainians. All of them were imprisoned in the notorious Bereza Kartuska concentration camp.

It is indeed ironic that at a time when both were in mortal peril, both the Poles and Ukrainians instead of conducting a common defense against the joint Nazi-Soviet attack found themselves estranged from one another, and mainly because of the arrogant Polish mistreatment of the Ukrainians and the latter's natural resentment.

The fall of Poland and the Soviet occupation of Western Ukraine created new conditions for the Ukrainian liberation fighters. From Polish prisons shattered by German bombs thousands of Ukrainian revolutionaries poured out. Some of them remained on Ukrainian territory, regrouping their kinsmen and preparing them for new tasks to come. Others went abroad to set up political centers and conduct suitable operations from them, in preparation for a final and decisive struggle for the freedom of Ukraine, and to defend her against the new danger from Germany.

The Soviet invasion of Poland was carried under the pretext of "Liberation for Western Ukraine," a catch-phrase which did not fool the Ukrainians in the least. They fought against the Red invaders as desperately as they had earlier fought against the Poles, and subsequently were to fight against the Germans.

Once the Soviets (with Hitler's aid) had Western Ukraine in their grip and had come to an agreement with the Nazis as to the line of demarcation between them, they immediately started a merciless drive to exterminate everything which characterized Ukrainian life. After confiscating all private and public property, killing and imprisoning thousands of leading Ukrainians, and removing whole villages and their populations to Siberia, the Reds began to transform Western Ukraine into a Russian strategical and political base to serve their imperialistic purposes. They did the same in southwestern Ukraine, in Bukovina and Bessarabia, which they had seized with Hitler's

consent from Rumania.

In conducting their merciless drive against the entire Western Ukrainian population, the Reds concentrated their attention upon the revolutionary underground organization, OUN. Here again the Reds and the Nazis worked hand in glove with one another. The demarcation line between them, roughly following the old Curzon Line, left the Germans besides the Government General a slice of Ukrainian territory containing about one million Ukrainians. When this line was being drawn the "allies" had agreed to a policy of repatriation, whereby the Reds would allow old German settlers, especially in Volhynia, Bukovina and Bessarabia, to enter Germany, in return for which the Germans were to permit the "free" repatriation by the Reds of Ukrainians who found themselves on the west side of the line of demarcation. Actually this agreement was not implemented because the war interfered, but it was revived at the close of the war and the defeat of Germany, in the form of a similar agreement between the Soviets and Poland.

During the short-lived Soviet-Nazi honeymoon amidst the total ruins of Poland, which lasted from 1939 until their violent separation in June, 1941, quite a number of Ukrainian Nationalists gathered on both sides of the Curzon Line, kept in contact with one another, and together prepared cooperative action. They had to be on constant watch, especially since both the Nazis and the Reds exchanged intelligence concerning them. Then the Nazis were already planning the invasion of the Soviet Union, and realizing that in the Ukrainian Nationalists they would find redoubtable foes of their colonial occupation of Ukraine, they readily cooperated with the Reds in seeking to destroy the Ukrainian liberation movement. Both of them followed the well known tactic of trying to discredit the movement abroad and to spread dissension within it. There is no gain-saying the fact that they did quite a bit of damage to the liberation organization, and it suffered some serious losses during this time. This was unfortunate because in the near future the Ukrainian liberation forces were to engage themselves in a deadly struggle with the two greatest military powers in Europe,



Germany and Russia.

Here one cannot ignore the fact that throughout the entire conflict of the Ukrainian freedom-fighters with both the Nazis and the Reds, they were seriously handicapped by the lack of some definite policy on the part of the western democracies. Consciously or unconsciously these fell under the influence of Soviet or Polish propaganda, which naturally delighted to twist and distort facts and issue false statements about Ukraine and its aspirations to national independence, so that willy-nilly the western democracies either ignored, underestimated or quite often condemned this powerful force which alone could keep the political scales in balance in Eastern Europe, i.e., Ukraine and its fight for liberation. Consequently, just as in the first World War, so in the second the Ukrainians were left to fight a single-handed battle against both German and Russian imperialism. It was of no avail to try to convince the democracies that this fight was not only for the liberation of Ukraine from their enemies but that it also was for the preservation of those ideals for which the democracies, led by America and Britain, were fighting the war.

## VIII. INTERNAL CHANGES

**Split within the Ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The *Banderivtsi* and *Melnykivtsi*. Misunderstanding among the People but Unity on Ideals. Attitude toward Coming Events.**

BEFORE THE OUTBREAK of the German-Soviet war, the main battlefield of which was Ukraine and in the course of which the Ukrainian people were put to what was perhaps the greatest test in their turbulent history, certain changes occurred in the Ukrainian liberation movement, headed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which had a well nigh fatal effect upon the movement.

After the murder of Col. Eugene Konovalts, the head of the OUN, by the Red agent Valyukh in Rotterdam in 1938, he was succeeded by one of his closest collaborators and his Chief of Staff during World War I, Col. Andrew Melnyk.

As already mentioned, the collapse of Poland released from prison many Ukrainian political prisoners, whom the Polish courts had confined because of their revolutionary activities. Among them was Stepan Bandera, the regional head of the OUN in Western Ukraine, who had been sentenced to death, although this was later commuted to life imprisonment. A number of these liberated political prisoners returned to Ukraine, then entirely occupied by the Soviets, and there they continued their revolutionary work. Some, who had good reason to believe that if they returned to Ukraine their presence there would be quickly revealed by informers and others, for various reasons made their way to the Western European countries. Among these were Stepan Bandera and the other leading executive members of the OUN in Western Ukraine.

In time certain differences appeared between them and the top leaders of the OUN. Bandera and his followers demanded the removal of several of the top leaders. Such was the start of the cleavage of the OUN into two organizations.

Col. Melnyk remained at the head of one. Bandera took over the reins of the other. Gradually one group became known as the *Melnykiivtsi*, and the other as the *Banderiivtsi*. It is generally assumed that this cleavage was due, in not too small a measure, to German intrigue. In preparing their invasion and occupation of Ukraine, the Nazis were loathe to see there a single, disciplined and powerful Ukrainian revolutionary organization, which naturally would be rigidly opposed to Ukrainian subservience to any foreign power. This conjecture was strengthened by a similar German policy in the other countries which the Nazis occupied.

The cleavage within the OUN gradually widened until it reached the point of open antagonism between the two factions. Finally both were at dagger's point with one another, and neither was particularly scrupulous in its methods of fighting the other. This internal struggle within the organization sapped it of much of its strength, and for awhile robbed the liberation movement of some of its effectiveness in its fight against the enemies of Ukraine.

By the end of the war, however, the party wounds resulting from the cleavage had been healed almost completely, especially when at the head of the Ukrainian liberation movement there appeared a new, powerful and non-partisan military force, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

To be sure, party differences and collisions between the *Melnykiivtsi* and *Banderiivtsi* outside the borders of Ukraine still continue, but by now they are of a minor sort. In fact, within recent times concrete steps have been taken by both factions and other groups which presage the creation of one Ukrainian democratic liberation front.

Despite all these internal political differences and party conflicts among the Ukrainians, the irrefutable fact remains that all the parties have but one goal before them: the liberation of Ukraine and the establishment of a free and independent and democratic Ukrainian state. And contrary to enemy propaganda, especially that of the Reds, that the Ukrainian

movement is an invention of the Germans and is supported by them, an equally irrefutable fact is that the movement has never been and never will be dependent upon any foreign power, least of all Germany, and, moreover, it has never served the interests of any foreign power. On the contrary, the Ukrainian liberation movement has always conducted its affairs in its own way. It is only natural and understandable, that at times it has sought to take advantage, with varying success, of certain international situations or conditions. This fact cannot be emphasized too much here, particularly in respect to Germany, for Soviet Russian agents, just as their Tsarist predecessors, are unceasing in their insidious attempts to throw mud upon the Ukrainian movement by linking it up with the Germans. A few illustrations in this connection will be in point. They are drawn from pre-war times, and do not include the war period when the Ukrainians fought the Germans and which will be discussed here at length later.

In the resolutions of the Second Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, which took place late in August, 1939, that is before the war started, the following declaration appears:

"The Ukrainian liberation efforts are completely and basically sincere and independent of any given combination of powers on the international scene. Under no circumstances will Ukrainian nationalism enter upon any compromise with the occupants of Ukrainian territories. It does see, however, possibilities of cooperation but only with those nations which respect the ideal of Ukrainian statehood and sovereignty."

This credo has remained the same for both groups which comprised the original OUN. In a declaration of the group of Stepan Bandera made public in March, 1941, there is stated:

"The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists is fighting for a sovereign, independent Ukrainian State, for the freedom of the Moscow-enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, for a new and just order on the ruins of the Muscovite empire, the USSR. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is continuing with all the power at its command the revolutionary fight for the liberation of Ukraine, regardless of any territorial and political changes which may occur in Eastern Europe . . .

"The only road to the attainment of our aims is a Ukrainian revolution in the Muscovite empire, the USSR, together with a fight for their

liberation by the other Moscow-enslaved peoples, under the war-cry: Freedom for the People, Freedom for the Individual.”

The other group of the OUN, headed by Col. Andrew Melnyk, in its secret instructions circulated to its members, stressed that:

“The Germans are advancing upon Ukraine as ordinary plunderers. That should be borne in mind and it is not allowable to permit any of the Ukrainian population to be drawn into the German action or the German system . . . ”

A similar stand was taken from the very outset by the other liberal political groups, such as the followers of the exiled government of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1918, the Ukrainian Monarchists of the Hetman Association, the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, and the several other factions of Ukrainian Socialists. All of them took and adhered to this position with the expected exception of the small Communist group, which, as is true in other countries, are but fifth columnists and slavishly obey the dictates of their Moscow potentate and as such are traitors to their native lands.

It is clear that all these groups which are taking an active part in the Ukrainian liberation movement, and are seeking every opportunity possible of aiding it have made some larger or some smaller mistakes, for this is only human and is to be expected in revolutionary movements. But it does not at all detract from the strength and value of the Ukrainian liberation movement, which is being carried on not only by political groups but by the entire Ukrainian people.

## IX.

### NEW HOPES UNDER NEW CONDITIONS

**The Outbreak of World War II Increases Ukrainian Hopes for Liberation. Enslavement Breeds Desire for War. The People Are Convinced "It Could Not Be Any Worse." Promises Made by the Nazis and Bolsheviks. Tactical Relaxation of Soviet Slavery. Ukrainians Rely only upon Themselves.**

THE DENIAL to the Ukrainian people of their elementary right to national self-determination following World War I, combined with the shocking terrorism, persecution and enslavement to which they were subjected thereafter by their foreign misrulers, fully justified their hopes upon the outbreak of World War II that at long last their fortunes had turned for the better and that this time they would surely gain their national independence. The experience gained in the liberation movement in the period between the two wars made it quite clear that the Ukrainians could realize their ideal of a free and independent Ukraine provided that the international situation was sufficiently favorable. For what other chances had they, let us say, under Soviet misrule, where the slightest manifestation of the true liberty-loving instincts of the people was literally sabred and burned out of existence, even when such manifestation was in many cases of a most innocuous character, as in certain fields of culture, the arts, and literature. Every revolutionary upheaval was immediately crushed by the bullet or the rope. Collective responsibility, of which Lidice in all its horror was but a tame example, was and is today a favorable weapon of the Reds. Of course, mass murder has been favored too by those men in the Kremlin who rule the vast Russian empire. Nevertheless, the people kept on resisting and fighting, despite the terrific losses in human lives, not to mention material damage. Yet they never deluded themselves into believing that solely by themselves, without a favorable international situation, without the aid of friendly nations respecting their desire for national freedom could they ever emerge from

the morass of servitude into which they had been thrust by their oppressors.

The beginning of the war raised the hopes that at last the golden opportunity had arrived, for it is only natural that as long as enslavement lasts, so long will the wish for war prevail among the enslaved. After a quarter of a century of terroristic rule, banishment, the shocking repression of every manifestation



*Soviet "people's democracy" in Ukraine. Following the Soviet retreat, mass graves containing some 10,000 Ukrainian villagers, workers, and intellectuals were unearthed in the town of Vinnitsia. The victims had been murdered by the NKVD during 1934-36. People flocked from all sections and attempted to identify their dear ones, at least by the clothing on their decomposing bodies.*

of their national life, and mass murders by the Reds, and persecution, discrimination, oppression, and "pacification" under Polish rule, it is no wonder that the Ukrainians felt that nothing worse could befall them, even war. In any event they longed for a "change." That "change" finally came with the outbreak of the Nazi German-Soviet Russian war, preceded by the German-Polish war, a prologue to that change.

In the very first days of the gigantic Nazi-Soviet conflict

radio stations from both sides poured out impassioned appeals to the Ukrainians to hold firm the front of one or the other side. The same appeals and declarations were showered upon the Ukrainian people by German and Russian planes. If anything this barrage of propaganda directed toward the Ukrainians showed that Ukraine was actually the principal objective of both Russian and German imperialism.

In their first appeals both sides promised the Ukrainians heaven and earth, for each was trying to win their favor. The Germans promised the establishment of "your own state forms," to be decided upon by the people following the Soviet defeat. Naturally they never seriously entertained such ideas, and the Ukrainian leaders knew this from the very start, as is shown by the documents cited in the preceding pages. Yet such slogans and announcements at first deluded the masses, who having lived through hell under the Soviets, and not knowing the true character of the Germans, never even thought that there could be anyone as bad, cruel and vicious in the outside world as the Reds. Later, of course, they learned better. However, it would be entirely wrong to suppose that the early neutrality of the masses towards the Germans meant that they were friendly to them. Actually their feeling was that of apathy, at best curiosity. However, their whole beings surged with hatred of their Soviet oppressors. In that state of mind they were ready and willing to welcome the devil himself, and as it turned out they eventually discovered the Nazis to be exactly that.

The Soviets, meanwhile, did not limit themselves to phraseology and mere promises, but began to grant various concessions to the Ukrainians and soften their rule somewhat as if to prove to them that once victory were won, things would change for the better and that by then the Ukrainian people would have their freedom. This more liberal attitude included some toleration of the church, some lessening of economic restrictions and some general concessions to their national consciousness and culture. To make their propaganda more effective, the Reds released from concentration camps in Siberia a number of priests, who had been languishing there for some



twenty years. They were told to bless the regiments and regimental colors before battle. Of course, this was quite effective for the naive, but what irony! Ukrainian poets and writers were also released from prison, and permitted to write anything they wished, provided it called upon the Ukrainians to stand as one man in defense of their motherland against the Nazi invaders. The Moscow party line lost some of its rigidity, so as to help reawaken among the various Soviet-ruled peoples their own particular national feelings and slogans in place of the hitherto international slogans. The phrase "world revolution" disappeared as soon as the war had begun. The Comintern slithered back into the shadows. The war itself was officially declared to be a "war for the Fatherland." All this to the accompaniment of radioed, printed and roared promises to the Ukrainians of improved conditions to come after victory.

Few as there were who believed the Germans, there were still fewer who believed the Russians. They had gone through the Soviet mill, to put it most euphemistically, and they knew.

The only thing the Ukrainians believed in was themselves, and the only real hope they had was that the war would put arms into their hands, so that they could prove themselves and in the act regain their ancient liberties and independence.

## X.

### **NEW PHASE OF THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM**

**Soviet Retreat and Mass Murders of Ukrainians by the Russians. Ukrainians Refuse to Fight for Soviet Tyranny. Indifferent Attitude of Ukrainians toward Nazi "Liberators." Hostile Attitude of the Population toward Bolshevism and Ignorance of the German Methods Contribute to the First German Victories in Ukraine. The German Army Pays Little Attention to the Civilian Population. Spontaneous Rebirth and Organization of Ukrainian Life in the First Months of the Nazi Occupation of Ukraine. The "German Master Race" Begins to Reveal its Hand. The Ukrainians between the Soviet Scylla and the Nazi Charybdis.**

THE OUTBREAK of the German-Soviet war on June 22, 1941, not only initiated a new phase in the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence, but also led to a new tragedy and, perhaps, the greatest in the Ukrainian martyrdom. The Soviet troops were repeatedly hammered back by the Nazi war machine, and left behind them a completely devastated Ukrainian land. Entire towns and villages were purposely burned in pursuance of Stalin's "scorched earth" policy. But the Russian policy toward the Ukrainians did not end with the destruction and burning of entire cities and villages; thousands upon thousands of the Ukrainian people—simple workers and peasants, intellectuals, men and women, old and young—were put to death, coldly and deliberately, by the retreating Bolsheviks. The first to fall victim to Russian bestiality were those Ukrainians whom the NKVD troops had succeeded in arresting after the "liberation" of Western Ukraine in the fall of 1939. The city prisons of Pere-myshl, Lviv, Zolochiv, Stryj, Zbarazh, Ternopil, Lutsk and Rivne were literally filled with the corpses of murdered Ukrainians. These unfortunates were systematically machine-gunned in the prison yards without any judicial trial or procedure for the sole reason that they were Ukrainian patriots and as such deemed dangerous to the Soviet regime. The same scenes were

repeated in the cities and towns of Eastern Ukraine (Soviet), namely in Zhitomir, Berdychiv, Vinnitsia, Dniepropetrovsk, Kiev, Poltava and Kharkiv. Arrests were made by the Soviet security police on the basis of secretly-collected information on Ukrainians, citizens of the Soviet state, who could not be removed to the slave labor camps in the interior of Soviet Russia.

Significantly, in the first weeks of the German-Soviet war entire Soviet regiments surrendered to the German armies with-



*Retreating before the German advance, the Russians slew Ukrainian civilians en masse. Pictured above bereaved relatives of the murdered seek their own among the numberless victims of the Soviet "liberation" of Western Ukraine in 1941.*

out even a pretense of opposition. Among them were mostly Ukrainian soldiers. These men, not knowing what awaited them in the Nazi prisoner-of-war camps, seemed to care very little about their future so long as they could escape from the Soviet dictatorship. For the same reason the civilian population of Ukraine seemed to be not unfriendly to the invading German troops. This could be explained only by the strong anti-communist and anti-Russian sentiment prevailing during the entire period of the Russian occupation of Ukraine.

The behavior of the German troops in the first weeks of

their occupation also accounts for this rather friendly, almost benevolent, attitude of the Ukrainians. The same attitude, for that matter, was displayed toward the Germans by the White Ruthenians and by the Russian people themselves. All these people, it goes without saying, were neither pro-German nor had they any affinity for Nazism or Fascism. They simply could not believe that any other regime could be as cruel and inhuman as that of Stalin. The advancing German armies behaved rather indifferently toward the native population; they were usually more interested in pursuing the enemy than in the disposition of the native populations.

Before the Germans reached the Dnieper River they had already captured entire divisions and corps of the Soviet armies. It would be a mistake to think that this unprecedented success was solely due to the strategy and tactics of the German High Command. It was the Soviet soldiers themselves, the oft persecuted and undernourished Soviet citizens, who surrendered voluntarily to the Germans or escaped home. What is more, thousands upon thousands of them, because of their deep-seated hatred for the communist dictatorship, offered their services to the German armies in order to fight Stalin and his Bolshevik regime.

But the Germans, religiously following their own plans for the total destruction of the "inferior" Slavic peoples and blissfully confident of a speedy victory over Soviet Russia, blandly rejected all volunteers and bombastically proclaimed that the task of finishing Bolshevism was reserved for the "honor of the superior German race."

As the German army paid no heed to the Ukrainians, the latter found themselves left alone and unmolested. Consequently the impression was given that the loudly propagandized "new order" of Europe by Hitler was not entirely devoid of some attractive features. Since, moreover, the German armies occupied only the main arteries and cities, most of Ukraine was actually left under native supervision. Quite naturally, the Ukrainians thought that the time had come for them to act, especially in those regions from which the Bol-

sheviks had retreated and the Germans had not yet taken over. So the Ukrainian population proceeded with its task of organizing its own administration as a logical step toward the establishment of complete independence. In all the towns and villages the Ukrainian national colors, yellow and blue, were hoisted as soon as the Bolsheviks retreated, and the populace enthusiastically elected its own administrative officials for the first time without the influence or pressure of the despised Communist Party. At the same time much needed land was taken back by the peasants themselves, while the workers began to work for themselves instead of for the hated totalitarian state.

Religion was revived with the departure of the Bolsheviks. From nowhere icons and religious books, which had been hidden from the Soviet police and militia, appeared. Churches, which during the 25-year Bolshevik domination had been turned into anti-religious museums and communist propaganda centers, were rapidly restored to their former status. Very soon they were crowded with thousands of Ukrainians who had never given in to the incessant atheistic propaganda of the Kremlin.

The Ukrainian population, unaware of the plans Hitler had in store for the conquered peoples of Eastern Europe, began to develop the organization of what they thought would be their own independent life. The local administrations were first organized in a burst of spontaneity. Every community, no matter how small or depleted of men, held its own popular elections. Almost immediately the Ukrainian schools began to function along with the social and cultural organizations. In the larger cities of Ukraine newspapers and magazines appeared in the Ukrainian language, despite the fact that the retreating Russians had seen to it that no printing establishment was left intact. For a moment the Ukrainians breathed freely.

It is of great significance that this resurgence of Ukrainian national life was not stimulated by the Germans, as some enemies of the Ukrainian people would have the world believe. In many localities, even before the arrival of the German

armies, the Ukrainians not infrequently attacked smaller forces of the Soviet armies themselves, and dispersed them after liquidating the communist commissars. Ukrainian detachments of the Soviet armies did the same when they had the opportunity. Generally speaking, the Ukrainian people as a whole, despite the terrific losses inflicted upon them by the Bolsheviks, struck hard for freedom. This revolutionary spirit owed its scope and depth to one dream, already partially realized: Communist Russia, the symbol of social and political slavery and tyranny, would be no more.

Politically thinking Ukrainians soon realized that another decisive struggle was in the making: that against the Nazi occupants. There were, indeed, those Ukrainians who had not forgotten what the Germans had done to their country during their occupation in 1918. Ukraine then had been despoiled. Still whatever thoughts the Ukrainians might have had, the Nazis seemed, so to speak, a lesser evil.

It rapidly became apparent to everyone in Ukraine that the hopes of the people were far from realized. The liberty which the Ukrainians had greeted with such fervor withered and disappeared when the Ukrainians finally came face to face with the Nazi civil administration. Where the German army ignored the population, the Nazi administration was quick to put into effect its ideas of a "master race" (*ubermensch*) and the "inferior" Slavic peoples. Today the Ukrainians believe that this early revelation of the German hand in the occupied territories saved not only the Ukrainians, but all the other peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Russians, from complete annihilation. Had the Germans acted as liberators instead of totalitarian conquerors, they would have destroyed the Soviet colossus within a comparatively short time. They could have done this with the joint aid of millions of non-Russian peoples who were striving for their national liberation. In turning against Stalin, however, the people of the Soviet Union would have been doomed with the total victory of Hitler over Soviet Russia. The Kremlin, furthermore, would have been deprived of the powerful propaganda weapon which

it used during the war against Germany, namely, the promise that all the peoples of the Soviet Union would have freedom and independence.

Today the world has slowly come to the realization that the boast of the Russians that they destroyed German imperialism in the East is nothing but a pretty legend. Both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia were cast from the same mold. When the Nazis showed their real intentions to the non-Russian population of the Soviet Union, these oppressed peoples realized that the difference between German Nazism and Russian Bolshevism was nil. Consequently, they declared the same stubborn and implacable war against the Nazis as they had waged against the Bolsheviks. Today Soviet propaganda trumpets throughout the world that Eastern European peoples fought Nazism in defense of the "new democracy," which means Russian communism. It is indeed indisputable that these people fought Nazism with the purpose of destroying it. But the facts are not lacking today that had Russia been attacked not by a totalitarian Nazi Germany, but by a democratic nation or an alliance of democratic nations, which, besides military force, would have confronted Russia with the ideal of democratic liberties, Bolshevism would not have survived. The common peoples would not have had their strength divided.

It is no secret today that not only the Ukrainians, White Ruthenians and the Caucasian peoples, but the Russians themselves, did not want to fight the invading German armies in the first half year of the German-Soviet war. This is why the Germans were able to capture from three to five million Soviet prisoners.

The non-Russian peoples were too numerous to be discounted as a military factor, despite the massacres committed by the Bolsheviks upon them before retreating to the East. Yet with their policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, the Germans played into Stalin's hands. These oppressed peoples, the Ukrainians foremost, had experienced too much to believe even for a moment that Moscow would keep its promises of freedom, issued in the name of "Slavic solidarity." At the same time they were

dismayed and made desperate by the stupidity and wanton cruelty of the Nazi warlords.

The Ukrainians thus found themselves between Scylla and Charybdis: they could not stop fighting the Russian Bolsheviks, their most dreaded enemy and oppressors, nor could they risk submitting to the Nazi "master race" conquerors with their plans of turning them into inferior slaves and taking Ukraine as a colony for the victorious Nazi Third *Reich*.

So the war against both Bolsheviks and Nazis by the Ukrainians was not a matter of their own choosing, but an inevitable, if ruinous, development.



## XI. NAZI POLICIES IN UKRAINE

**Ukraine in the German Plans and Machinations, and the Attitude of the Ukrainians. The Nazi "Civil Administration." Partition of Ukrainian Territory. The "Twelve Instructions for the Germans in the East." The Nazis Use Soviet Methods; Total Pillage and Destruction of Material Wealth and Cultural Achievements of the Ukrainian People. Persecution of Religion and the Church in Ukraine. Forced Conscription of Slave Laborers to Germany. Unparalleled Persecution, Terror and Mass Assassinations.**

THE STRUGGLE of the Ukrainian people for their national independence against both the Russian Bolsheviks and the Nazis cannot adequately be described without an examination of the chief principles and methods applied by the Germans in Ukraine.

There is no question that the Eastern European problem, which included Ukraine, was one of the greatest headaches of the Nazis in World War II. Their utter inability to cope with it was largely responsible for the total debacle which they met in the East. Theoretically, the Nazis, it is recalled, had a ready "solution" for Eastern Europe from the very inception of the National-Socialist state. Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the veritable bible of the resurgent German imperialism, had clearly outlined the main aims of German foreign policy in Eastern Europe. It was postulated that all of Eastern Europe, and especially Ukraine, was the natural terrain for German expansion, rich in natural resources, so as to be the inexhaustible source of Germany's economic strength, and thus in turn insure her domination over the rest of Europe.

In practice, however, these plans were sabotaged by the astonishing resistance of the Ukrainian people as a whole. The irresponsible German policy provoked a hatred that was amazing in its intensity for an "inferior" people in the very first months of the German occupation of Ukraine. The German policy of terror proved a bottomless folly. The Nazis only con-

tributed to the chaos of Eastern Europe. Speedily alienating the Ukrainians, among others, Hitler duplicated the ill-fated course of Napoleon, who in his fight against Russia failed to take into consideration the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for freedom and sovereignty.

The methods of the Nazis, furthermore, were inept. They did devise slogans to entice support and to justify the German policy as well as to create some sort of ideological basis for its implementation. However, these slogans were intended to weaken the resistance of the conquered peoples, especially that of the Ukrainians; but the open policy of terror almost immediately negated their propaganda.

Nevertheless, the Germans advanced the idea of an anti-Bolshevik crusade which would save European culture and the European peoples themselves from the dark forces of Bolshevism. Obviously this "crusade" was designed to mobilize all the European nations for the anti-Russian campaign under the leadership of Nazi Germany for her own purposes.

Of all peoples, the Ukrainians did not have to be told what Bolshevism was nor what fate awaited the whole of Europe, once Soviet Russia emerged as a victorious power. As a matter of fact, the Ukrainians were the first of all the European peoples to fight against Bolshevism in 1917-1920, without any assistance from the Western democratic states. When the Germans came with their anti-Bolshevik slogans, the Ukrainians dismissed them. Experienced in oppression, they readily saw that the Nazis fought Bolshevism not as a menace to civilization but as an obstacle to their own brand of totalitarianism, Nazism.

Among the slogans used by the Nazis in the anti-Bolshevik "crusade" was the one of fighting against the atheistic, communist Russians in defense of the Christian faith. Even here the real attitude of the Nazi government toward religion was disclosed in Germany itself, even before the outbreak of World War II. At every turn the Nazis showed themselves utterly hostile to both the Catholic and Protestant churches in Germany. Moreover, the Nazis inaugurated anti-religious programs in

every country that fell under their domination.

To illustrate the Nazi methods employed in Ukraine, it is enough to glance at a sample of the instructions issued by the *Reich* government to its *gauleiters* in the East. These were issued by the so-called "Ministry of the East" to the political leaders, i.e., *Junkers*, candidates for the SS schools who were to serve as officials in Ukraine. The contents of these "master-race" instructions in substance were as follows:

"The road toward the domination over all of Europe by the Germans leads through the conquest of Eastern Europe. There lie great and fertile areas, containing immense riches in raw materials and bread. There is Ukraine, the fatherland of the Germanic peoples, formerly a state of the Goths and the Varangians. It is in the East, in the fertile and boundless Ukraine that lies the future of Germany. Ukraine is *das heilige Zukunftland des Deutschen Volkes* (Ukraine is the holy land of the future for the German people). There the Germans will be able to live in ease and security and will quickly multiply . . . Now there are 100,000,000 German people. When they conquer Ukraine and will be able to exploit its rich lands, in another hundred years the Germans will increase to 500,000,000 and will have all of Europe for themselves. The danger to this plan comes from the swiftly growing Slavic race, but after the war the Slavs as well as the other non-Germanic peoples will be deported from Europe . . . Europe will become the fatherland of the Germans only . . ."

These instructions were known down to the minutest details to every Ukrainian man and woman; early they were surreptitiously distributed by the Ukrainian underground as one of the most effective anti-Nazi measures.

Even in the first weeks of the German-Russian war the Nazis began to lay the foundations for the enslavement of the Ukrainian people. On August 1, 1941, the Germans detached Western Ukraine (Galicia) from the Ukrainian motherland and assigned it to the Polish Government General despite the fact that neither normal political nor economic reasons necessitated such a move. This was done for one, and only one, pur-

pose: to weaken the Ukrainian national organism which derived most of its strength from that part of Ukraine. The Germans foolishly believed that by dismembering Ukraine easy absorption of the Ukrainian people would follow. Other parts of Ukraine were transformed into the *Reichskommissariat* under the direction of the most fanatical Nazi leaders. In order to satisfy his Rumanian stooges, Hitler graciously donated Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Odessa District, as "Nadniestria Province," to Rumania in the same manner as he had donated Carpatho-Ukraine to the Hungarian nationalists in 1939. In a short time, the Nazi conqueror disposed of the Ukrainian territories and had drawn his own political boundaries. But while he was able to do this on paper, he failed utterly to divide the Ukrainians in their spirit and determination. On the contrary, he cemented the Ukrainian nation together.

From the first arrival of the German administration in Ukraine, the Nazis asserted themselves as masters, and treated the Ukrainians as slaves. The arrogance of the Nazis is almost incredible. In the so-called "12 Instructions" (*12 Gebote fuer das Verhalten der Deutschen im Osten und die Behandlung der Ukrainer*) the Germans gave definite proof of their mixture of inferiority, narrow-mindedness and barbarism. Here are a few samples:— Instruction No. 4: Make quick decisions; it is better to make a wrong decision than not to make any decision at all. Don't explain and don't argue. The Ukrainians must see us as their leaders . . . The slightest mistakes committed by the Germans must be defended before the Ukrainians. Instruction No. 6: In view of the fact that the newly-conquered territories must be German, our attitude must be dominant. Only with the greatest determination on our part, with the most severe and stubborn methods, we must execute our decisions. Instruction No. 7: Don't ask whether it would be beneficial for the peasants, but whether it would bring benefits for Germany. Be sure of yourselves, and hard and implacable toward those who are under you. Instruction No. 8: Don't be soft and sentimental . . . Only your will must be decisive. Keep at a distance from those around you—they are Slavs and

not Germans. Instruction No. 9: Be immune against Communism (*Kommunistenricherei*) . . . We do not intend to convert the Ukrainians to National-Socialism, but we want to make them our instrument. You have to conquer the youth by giving it assignments and mercilessly punishing it if the given assignment is not executed or is sabotaged. Any investigation of past deeds or examination of pleas takes much of your time, badly needed for your German tasks. You are neither investigating judges nor "mourning walls" (*Klagenmauer*). Instruction No. 11: The Ukrainian has suffered privation, hunger and other difficulties for centuries. His stomach is elastic; therefore, have no unnecessary compassion.

With such and similar "instructions" the Germans came to Ukraine to "liberate" the Ukrainian people from Soviet slavery, and characteristically the German officials took their instructions as gospel and tried to execute them as good Nazis.

The German policy inevitably degenerated into outright robbery and confiscation of anything and everything that had some value for the Nazis. Moreover, it led to destruction for the sake of destruction itself. The exploitation of the Ukrainian peasant assumed inhuman forms. The Nazis, to be sure, retained some of the Bolshevik methods for exploiting the peasantry, but they introduced others of their own. For instance, the Nazis adopted the collective farm system, and merely changed the name from *kolkhozes* and *kolhosps* to "community homesteads."

Still worse was the exploitation of the Ukrainian workers by the Nazis. First of all, the Nazis were quick to prevent the Ukrainians from restoring any factories left intact by the retreating Russians. If industry was permitted at all, it was done for the purposes of the German war machine or the German economy in general and the needs of the Ukrainian population were completely ignored. All key positions were occupied by Nazis, who had an unlimited authority over the Ukrainian workers. Cruel beatings and tortures of the Ukrainian workers in factories and mines, and not infrequent "exemplary executions" to warn the recalcitrant, were the chief features of Nazi

rule over the Ukrainian workingmen. Inhuman treatment was equally accorded by the Germans to the children in Ukraine; the Nazis used them for heavy labor in the fields and factories without any scruples. Here lies, perhaps, a partial explanation of the fact that at the beginning of the Nazi occupation many Ukrainians went to work in Germany in order to escape the torture and persecution of the Nazi overlords in their homeland. But that, too, was quickly stopped when the news came to Ukraine that the Ukrainians who went to Germany as farm or factory workers were under the same cruel system of supervision as in Ukraine.

In the field of Ukrainian education Nazi ruthlessness was unique. In the first weeks of the German occupation the Ukrainians hastened to open as many schools as was possible under the circumstances. Most of these were soon closed by the Nazis. Others were left open under Nazi leadership. As a result several thousand Ukrainian teachers found themselves unemployed. With other professional people who were thrown out of posts, the Ukrainian intelligentsia became *declassé*.

This over-all Nazi policy in Ukraine was rounded off by other despicable features. For instance, in secret circulars to the German police in Ukraine, the Nazi government prohibited the fight against typhus and other contagious diseases. Hospitals were ordered closed with the result that the Ukrainian population had no medical care whatsoever. The judicial system was taken over lock, stock and barrel by the Germans. Especially worth mentioning is Hitler's instruction to the Gestapo in Ukraine to encourage and support the spread of immorality among the Ukrainian people.

Special activity by the Nazi conquerors was devoted to the persecution of Ukrainian culture and to the destruction of Ukrainian cultural monuments and institutions. It is not unexpected in war to see the national treasures of art, literature and architectural monuments go down in ruin. But the Ukrainians were enraged at the sight of the destruction of all of their historical works and treasures for the love of destruction itself.

Again, as soon as a single German family arrived in Ukraine, a German school was immediately established. The library of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev served as fuel for heating the quarters of the German *Kulturtraeger* during the winter of 1942-1943. All the Ukrainian cultural and economic organizations that had sprung up in the first weeks after the flight of the Russians, were closed, and their officers were either executed or deported as slave laborers to Germany. Following the infamous example of the Russian Tsars, the Nazis forbade reference either in speech or writing to the history and political aspirations of the Ukrainian people. In short, the Nazis stopped at nothing to destroy the cultural elite of the Ukrainian population so that the latter could be more expeditiously turned into an amorphous body of slaves.

By devious methods the Germans persecuted and destroyed religious life in Ukraine, while at the same time they imported and encouraged anti-Ukrainian sects of different denominations. In the Orthodox churches the Germans supported the Russian elements which openly combatted the Ukrainian liberation movement. The Orthodox Church organization in Ukraine was entirely under the aegis of the Nazi occupation authorities and served the purpose of the Germans. To characterize the religious situation in Ukraine it is sufficient to read the letter sent to all bishops of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine by their Governor-Generals. The contents of this letter were as follows: "You are hereby appointed bishop in my Governor-Generalship. I suspend your dependency upon your Church superiors. You are dependent solely upon my authority. The transfer or the assignment of priests will be reported to the Episcopate in due time." With the exception of the practices of the Bolsheviks, this document issued by the Nazi government is probably unique of its kind throughout the two milleniums of the Church's existence.

Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, gained great prestige among both Catholic and Orthodox Ukrainians by his resolute stand against the German invader. In 1942 he issued a notable pastoral letter in which he

denounced the inhuman treatment of the Jews by the Nazis. The Gestapo raided his palace and the St. George Cathedral in Lviv, and it was rumored that only the intervention of the General Governor of the District of Galicia saved the Metropolitan from arrest by the Gestapo.

A second pastoral letter by Metropolitan Sheptytsky was issued in 1943, in which the venerable Ukrainian Catholic prelate condemned the wholesale conscription of Ukrainians for slave labor in Germany.

It is true that during the German occupation in Ukraine there appeared several dozens of Ukrainian newspapers, but these were published by the Nazi administration and not by freedom-thinking Ukrainians. The aim was to make the Ukrainians accustomed to their role as slaves in Hitler's "new Europe." As an indication of the shallow thinking of the Nazis, it suffices to note that the press was not allowed to print anything pertaining to the freedom of other peoples, India's struggle against Great Britain, the enemy of Germany, included. Occasionally some intrepid Ukrainians would succeed in smuggling something into print that made the Nazis look ridiculous or inhuman, but such people, upon discovery, met instant death.

The darkest side of the German domination in Ukraine, however, was the man-hunt for all able-bodied Ukrainian men and women for slave labor in Germany or the German-occupied countries of Western Europe. Here the Germans probably surpassed their totalitarian counterpart, Soviet Russia. The forcible deportation of the population from Ukraine was two-fold in purpose: a) to fill the gaps in the German war machine as well as in industry and agriculture; b) to destroy as much as possible of the non-German peoples. At the beginning, as has been already mentioned, many Ukrainians did actually volunteer to go to Germany. They were motivated by a variety of reasons, such as the ever-present fear of the return of the Bolsheviks, an attempt to escape Nazi persecution in Ukraine or even the good living and substantial wages promised by the Nazi recruiting machine that offered a stark contrast to the



Soviet way of life. But news of the unbelievable cruelties perpetrated by the Germans upon the Ukrainian workers in Germany traveled quickly. The Germans had to resort to the barbarous and inhuman practice of man-hunting. Periodical raids were organized in every community, large or small, and men and women were arrested at random and sent to Germany. Public squares, markets, city thoroughfares, churches, schools, factories and private homes—all were arenas for the raiding parties of the German police. Daily, long trains transported thousands of Ukrainians to German slave labor centers. A comprehensive account of the German occupation appeared in 1943. A pamphlet by I. M. Kovalenko, entitled *The Aims and Methods of German Imperialistic Policy in the Occupied Territories*, gives a vivid recital of the German deeds. It was published by the Ukrainian underground and widely circulated among the Ukrainian people. One chapter, "The Teutonic Terror," reads in part:

Ancient Rome trembled when it was confronted with the terror of the barbarous Teutons, the ancestors of the present invaders of the Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainians also have experienced all sorts of invasions by barbarous hordes which not infrequently have transformed the fertile lands of Ukraine into deserts, and before which the populace had to hide in forests in order to survive. Today the Ukrainian people, upon whom the Muscovite Bolsheviks have perpetrated crimes of great magnitude, are again subjected to the terror of the German invader. The latter, by arrests and executions, attempts to destroy the Ukrainian people with the same eagerness as does Bolshevik Russia. *Both German and Russian imperialists have acted, as if in accord, to completely eradicate the Ukrainian people from the earth.* The despised Red star for twenty years has bathed in a bloody sea the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual. Now the German swastika tears apart with its teeth the body of the Ukrainian people. Words to inscribe on the newly-dug graves of the best sons of Ukraine, which the German invader sows every day on the Ukrainian land, come hard. *Only by declaring an implacable war against the blood-thirsty German invader will we be able to revenge the death of our brothers.*

Further, the author refers to several incidents of this "latest period of the Ukrainian struggle against the German invader." In the city of Dniepropetrovsk, for instance, the Germans issued an order on February 23, 1943 that all arms and ammu-

dition should be surrendered to the Nazi authorities. Without giving any date during which arms were to be surrendered, the Germans immediately began searching from house to house. The same day the Germans rounded up 50 Ukrainian hostages and hanged them on the streets and market places of Dniepropetrovsk, because no arms were found as expected. The macabre ceremony was witnessed by many German officials with their wives and children. Significantly, both the Bolsheviks and the Nazis were always after the same kind of Ukrainian: the patriot.

After citing several other examples of Nazi barbarities in Ukraine, the author of the pamphlet concludes as follows:

The only salvation is a common front of all freedom-loving peoples against both Russian and German imperialisms and on their ruins the establishment of independent states in Eastern Europe.

The Ukrainians were the first to realize that the only road open was fighting both brands of totalitarianism that were clashing on their territory. Neither compromise with the Bolsheviks nor submission to the Nazis was in their hearts. They chose a hard road, fully realizing that freedom cannot be conquered without great sacrifice and suffering.

## XII. PREPARATION FOR THE ARMED STRUGGLE

**The Ukrainians Come to Know the German "Liberators." Spontaneous and Organized Stages of the Ukrainian Struggle against the Germans. Birth of the Ukrainian Underground. "The Forest Children." Ukrainian Sabotage of the German War Machine. Ukrainians in the Service of the Germans Are Secret Agents of the Ukrainian Resistance. Political Forms of the Ukrainian Struggle. Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence in Lviv in 1941 and its Consequences. Soviet Agents Help Nazis in Suppressing Ukrainian Patriots. Political, Organizational and Material Preparation for the Struggle against the Nazis.**

THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE for independence during World War II was marked by two characteristics: spontaneity and organization. At the moment when the Nazis revealed their real intentions in Ukraine, the Ukrainian people gave up a spontaneous passive resistance. This they demonstrated in every way, and finally with armed raids upon the German troop trains.

Spontaneity crystallized into organization. The organized resistance against the German invaders was directed by the various political groups and parties, especially by the nationalist forces under the leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The supreme body, however, that coordinated all the underground activities of the Ukrainian people against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, was the legendary UPA, or the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The spontaneous struggle of the Ukrainians against the German and Russian invaders was an instinctive reaction against the sheer mad desire of both the totalitarian powers for the physical destruction of the Ukrainian people as a distinct ethnic entity.

This anti-German feeling and hatred was expressed in all ways open to the population. A most effective weapon in this silent phase of the struggle was the sabotage by the Ukrainians of all administrative directives and ordinances with only one purpose: to weaken not only the Germans as much as possible, but their erstwhile allies, the Bolsheviks, as well. The thinking

Ukrainians, from the very beginning of the Soviet-German war, had hoped for Germany's collapse, but with the provision that it occur in Siberia. The reasoning of the Ukrainians was developed logically. Once the German armies were in Siberia, they thought, it would have meant the almost complete annihilation of the Soviet troops and of the Soviet government. Further, if the German collapse occurred outside Ukrainian territory, it would mean that the Ukrainians, in the meantime, would have been able to speedily organize their own armed forces to such an extent that they could resist not only the remnants of the Nazi troops, but those of the returning Russians as well. Then, with Germany and Soviet Russia exhausted, no force on earth, the Western Allies included, would dare to restore the godless, despotic and totalitarian government of the Russian commissars to Ukraine and other Eastern European peoples against the popular will. It is beside the point here how far the Ukrainians erred in their calculations. The fact remains that in their desire to achieve national liberation, they entertained strong feelings of hate for both Russia and Germany.

What is more interesting is the early belief held by the Ukrainians that even if in the first stage of the German-Russian war the Western Allies should help Stalin, they, the Ukrainians, were positive that the Western democratic powers would not leave Russia the sole great power in Eastern Europe.

This thinking, however unfounded it was, motivated the over-all policy of the Ukrainians in their two-front struggle to the very last day of the war in Europe. Thus, the Ukrainian insurgents not infrequently halted both the German and Soviet supply trains. They appropriated all arms and ammunition and released, as a rule, all the German or Soviet soldiers, but mercilessly exterminated the representatives of the German or Soviet governments in Ukraine or the emissaries of the Nazi and Communist Parties.

When the Germans introduced the principle of the superiority of the German race (*nur fuer Deutsche*), the Ukrainians were already fully prepared psychologically for the fight against

the Nazi invaders. Whoever felt unsafe took to the forest; very soon the Ukrainian forests were full of young people who had escaped from or eluded slave labor contingents scheduled to be sent to Germany, and people who were marked by the Gestapo for execution for their participation in the anti-German Ukrainian underground. Finally to the forests went the political leaders, the former members of various Ukrainian political parties, cooperative societies and other social groups. Of necessity these people, for their own defense, had to organize some semi-military organization on a local scale at the beginning, with one purpose: to wipe out the German occupation and Hitler's war effort.

Significantly, in this mass anti-German movement not only the people who were politically compromised and as such proscribed by the Nazi's drastic laws took part, but those people who, from any viewpoint, were law-abiding and had no fear of German reprisals. This anti-German sentiment was so great that every Ukrainian felt obligated to join the anti-Nazi resistance. As a result, large-scale sabotage was introduced as one method of weakening the German war machine.

Once the Ukrainian worker grasped the full meaning of the Nazi "master race plan" with regard to the Ukrainian people, he went to his factory, scheming to harm the Nazi war effort. The more courageous resorted to outright sabotage in industry, and often paid for it with their lives.

The Ukrainian peasant, in his own way, tried to give the Nazis as little as possible. Whether in the planning of his economy, during the harvesting or during the compulsory surrendering of food contingents, he was always lax and indefinite. In several Ukrainian localities the peasants not only would not yield their food, but would attack German transports carrying foodstuffs and cattle from Ukrainian villages.

Such conditions could not but further strengthen the resistance on a larger scale, planned and executed by the many Ukrainian political groups, especially those under the leadership of Ukrainian nationalists. To exploit the situation properly, the Ukrainian political elements penetrated the Nazi war

machine and its administration in Ukraine. The Ukrainian insurgents placed many of their agents in the German armies, the police and civil administration. As a result, the Ukrainian underground developed an excellent intelligence system. Not infrequently entire Ukrainian villages were forewarned of raids by the Gestapo troops. Here a great service to the cause of Ukrainian liberation was rendered by the Ukrainian interpreters, forcibly or otherwise assigned to the German armies. As a rule almost all were agents of the Ukrainian underground resistance. In such a capacity they were an indispensable link in expanding underground machinery.

The guards of the German supply stores, when they happened to be Ukrainian, were quick to notify their local underground leaders what they were guarding and of the best way to acquire it from the Nazis. Similarly, the Ukrainian drivers in the German transportation corps reported the contents of their trucks.

The organized Ukrainian resistance against the German invaders actually began on the very day the Germans crossed the borders of the Soviet Union. One of the outstanding demonstrations took place on June 30, 1941 in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, when a group of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, called a National Assembly and proclaimed the independence of Ukraine. At the same time a Provisional Ukrainian Government was created with Yaroslav Stetsko as its premier.

In the country at large a mass patriotic movement got under way as soon as the Bolsheviks retreated. Ukrainian manifestations were held in every locality and the people elected their own officers as the representatives of the Ukrainian authority. A few days later after the proclamation of the Ukrainian state, a Ukrainian National *Rada* was organized in Lviv under the elected leader, Dr. Kost Levitsky, a prominent Ukrainian patriot and leader for half a century. Thus the Ukrainian independence movement began to take shape legally.

This state of affairs did not last long. A few days after the Ukrainian Provisional Government was established several de-

tachments of the SD (*Sicherheitsdienst*) and the Gestapo arrived in Lviv. Their first step was the arrest of several members of the Ukrainian government, including Premier Stetsko and the OUN leader Stepan Bandera, who was deported to a notorious Nazi concentration camp in Germany. (There he spent almost four years, and was finally released when the Allied armies broke into Germany in the spring of 1945.) Other nationalist leaders, including Colonel Andrew Melnyk, were arrested afterwards and incarcerated in various Nazi concentration camps. These first acts of oppression by the Nazi invaders against the Ukrainian people initiated the bloody German occupation of Ukraine from 1941 to 1944.

The proclamation had the overwhelming support of the Ukrainian masses. The step at once compelled the Germans to drop their mask of "liberators" and to take a clear stand in regard to the Ukrainian people. On the other hand, the Ukrainians were immediately able to ascertain once and for all what the Nazis were after. These events laid the basis for the German-Ukrainian war which continued to the very last days of the German occupation of Ukraine.

At the beginning of this war it was impossible for the Ukrainians to wage open warfare against the most powerful war machine of the time, the German *Wehrmacht*. It would have been *a priori* condemned to failure and would have cost the Ukrainians an immense toll in strength. Therefore, the leaders of the Ukrainian underground followed evasive tactics:

1. The Ukrainian territory was to be cleared of Soviet secret agents and thus existence of a "second front" in Ukraine under the Nazi occupation would be liquidated;

2. The Ukrainian masses which waited for the war as a certain and definite liberation from the yoke of Russian Bolsheviks were as yet not ready to wage another war against those who fought the same hated Bolsheviks. They had to be quickly re-oriented and conditioned to face a new and equally cruel totalitarian invader;

3. The Germans were to be deceived, at least temporarily, as to the ultimate goal of the Ukrainian underground resistance; at the same time the Ukrainians were to gather their strength by organizing militarily and politically.

Following these principles the Ukrainian underground

during almost two years of preparation for an all-out war against the Germans, was guided by the following directives:

1. To take advantage of the chaotic conditions created by the continuously moving German-Soviet front, to organize its own network of revolutionary forces, and to lay the groundwork for the Ukrainian state;

2. To send as many Ukrainian leaders from Western Ukraine as possible and those from the political emigration in Central and Western Europe into Eastern (Soviet) Ukraine so that they could engage in organizational work among the Ukrainian masses. Their main task was to prepare the Ukrainians for the decisive struggle and to direct their passive resistance against Nazi occupation. They were not only political organizers, but also instructors in the art of anti-German sabotage, in disobeying German directives, and in preparing the Ukrainians for self-defense against the brutalities of the Gestapo. Also these instructors were to teach the population how to hide foodstuffs, clothing and other articles of prime necessity from German raiding parties;

3. To organize a nation-wide campaign against the recruiting of slave laborers by the German authorities for work in German industry and agriculture. They were also to teach the people how to organize their escape from Germany;

4. To conduct an organized action against the sending of contingents of Ukrainian wheat to Germany;

5. To strengthen propaganda and information work among the Ukrainian people as to the ultimate aim of the Nazis and the Bolsheviks in Ukraine, i.e., the perpetual enslavement of the Ukrainian people by these two totalitarian powers;

6. To collect and store arms, ammunition and other military equipment for the use of future Ukrainian armed forces;

7. To organize training schools for military and political leaders who would be entrusted with the practical direction of the Ukrainian armed struggle for national liberation.

These, in short, were the main lines along which the Ukrainian people were preparing during the first phases of the German-Ukrainian war. Naturally, the Germans, too, were quick to realize what methods and tactics were being used by the Ukrainians and accordingly conducted a counter-action, by instituting a white terror in the whole of Ukraine. Significantly, in this anti-Ukrainian campaign the Nazis relied largely upon the help and collaboration of the Soviet NKVD agents, who under various aliases were able to penetrate the German auxiliary and even the Gestapo itself.



This spontaneous resistance of the Ukrainians to the German occupation authorities in Ukraine developed parallel to the political organization aiming at the complete liberation of the country.

### XIII.

## THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

**Character of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Beginning of the UPA: the *Polisia Sich*, and *Banderivtsi* and "The Defense of Ukraine." The Armed Strength of the Ukrainian People. The Oath of the UPA Soldier. Organizational Forms and Divisions of the UPA. Strength of the UPA, its Aims and Potentialities for the West.**

THE SPONTANEOUS STRUGGLE and resistance of the Ukrainian population against both the Russian and German imperialisms quickly began to take shape in a powerful organized resistance and found its political expression in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which was the nucleus of armed resistance during the war and is today still waging an implacable war against the Soviet invaders of Ukraine. To understand fully the task and mission of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the following characteristics are to be mentioned:

1. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was the continuation of the struggle for independence waged by the Ukrainian people in the years 1917-1920. This struggle continued to develop under various forms between the two World Wars on all the Ukrainian territories;

2. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army had and still has an all-Ukrainian character and is without any party affiliations. Its main task is to fight the invaders of the Ukrainian lands, be they German or Bolshevik. Although during the creation of the UPA various individuals and political groups fought for its leadership, soon the supreme interest of the Ukrainian people became a decisive factor in the leadership of the UPA. Eventually, the UPA became a national army of all Ukrainians regardless of their political beliefs or the territories which they inhabited;

3. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army never was and is not now a "foreign intrigue," as it is depicted by anti-Ukrainian propaganda. On the contrary, it is the armed force of the Ukrainian people for the purpose of self-defense as well as a national army fighting for the liberation of the Ukrainian people.

The beginning of the UPA dates back to the first years of the German occupation of Ukraine. By the early part of 1942 there appeared the first Ukrainian nationalist partisan groups, fighting not only the Germans but the Russians as well.

In a short time special recognition was gained by the insurgent groups of Taras Bulba-Borovets in the provinces of Polisia and Volhynia, the partisan detachments of *Banderivtsi* (with a name derived from that of Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), as well as by many other "local" partisan groups in various parts of German-held Ukraine.

At the end of 1942 the situation was such that vast areas of Ukraine, including the capital of the country, Kiev, were no longer under German authority, but under that of the Ukrainian nationalist insurgents. The population as a whole was entirely with the Ukrainian underground and considered them its defenders not only against the Nazi super-master but against the Bolshevik troops as well.

There is no question that the struggle of the Ukrainian insurgents against the Germans in Ukraine was one of the main reasons for the German defeat in the East. The Nazi debacle at Stalingrad is largely ascribed to the lack of supplies, for all the communication centers had been blown up by the partisans. While the Soviet government took the lion's share of the credit for this feat, the plain truth is that the German communication system in Ukraine was disrupted completely by the Ukrainian nationalist underground. This is especially true in the case of the Lublin-Sarny-Kiev or the Zdolbuniv-Koziatyn-Kiev railroad lines, the main arteries connecting the German rear with the front. The troop or supply transports on those lines were constantly harassed by the UPA. Hundreds of freight cars and passenger trains were derailed as a result of sabotage by the Ukrainian nationalist insurgents. The Germans adopted such measures as continuous guarding along the railroads, cutting down woods along the tracks and finally the application of inhuman reprisals against the Ukrainian population for any act of sabotage in a given locality. Yet these measures were of no avail, since the Ukrainians were determined in their zeal and were not disheartened even by the most drastic and barbarous penalties.

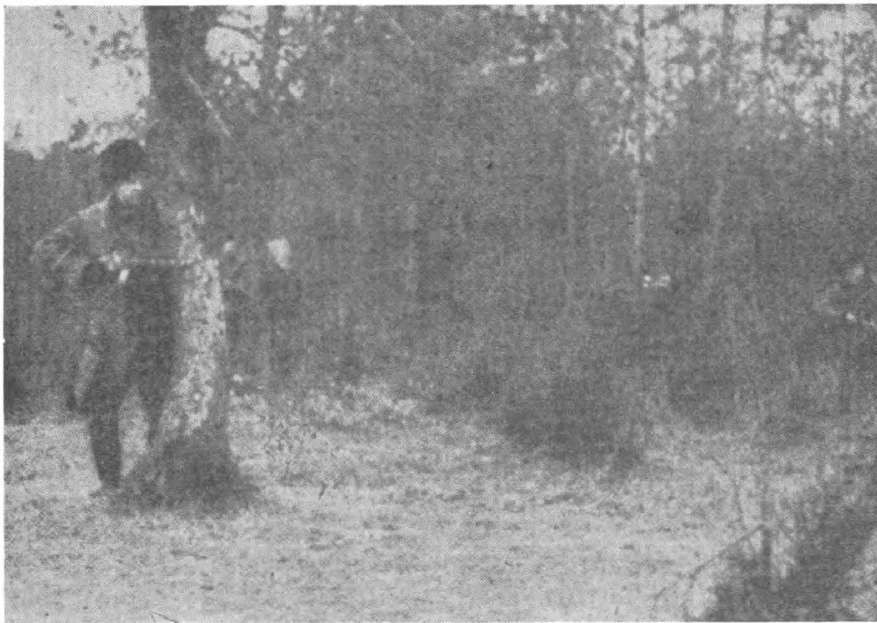
In the second half of 1943 the underground movement in

Ukraine, now identified as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was in full swing.

There have appeared many accounts and press reports concerning the Ukrainian Insurgent Army as well as many personal accounts of UPA members themselves who succeeded in escaping to the West. However, because of its underground character as well as the fact that the UPA is even now waging a war against the Soviet Union, the full details of its origin and operations cannot yet be told. Among the Ukrainian political groups bitter rivalries continue even today as to the sponsorship of the UPA. Though all admit that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is the national army of the Ukrainian people, still at the same time they attempt to capitalize on it and to subordinate it to their own political purposes.

On the basis of available documents, official proclamations and communiques, an impartial analysis of the UPA and its objectives can be presented.

The first armed detachments of the Ukrainian insurgents



*UPA—Northern Group. UPA-ites battling Bolshevik Partisans, who instead of fighting the Germans terrorized the Ukrainian populace to subdue their aspirations for national liberty.*

appeared in the fall of 1941 under the command of Taras Bulba-Borovets. It was named "The Polisia *Sich*" because its headquarters were located in the swamp area of Polisia in northwest Ukraine. The "Polisia *Sich*" at the beginning had some 10,000 armed men and was designed to defend the Ukrainian population against the raids of the Soviet irregulars as well as the Red Partisans. The Germans arrived in the region later, as they did not bother to occupy the marshy lands with their motorized army. The *Sich* had a large segment of the Ukrainian territory under its own administration, which even furnished postal service. When the Nazis began their policy of persecution in Ukraine, the *Sich* turned its operations against the German armies and especially the Gestapo and the auxiliary police. It was only then that the name "Polisia *Sich*" was changed to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and subsequently to the "Ukrainian National-Revolutionary Army." An officer of the "Polisia *Sich*," one Omelko, writes in his memoirs:

In this eventful year of 1942, for us who were in the underground struggle or in the insurgent ranks there existed no party differences . . . We knew that days of momentous decision were approaching . . . After inhuman executions of Ukrainian patriots by the Germans in Zhitomir, Poltava, Mykolaiv, Chernihiv and Kremenchug, there came the bloody February of 1942 in Kiev. Mass arrests of the Ukrainians in Volhynia and Galicia followed . . . Despite this, all were preparing for the final settlement with the Germans, although not all according to the same plan . . . The Ukrainian insurgents in Polisia were approached at the beginning by the Germans and the Bolsheviks, but to no avail. In 1942 the Ukrainian people were only preparing their self-defense against the German invaders and against the Bolshevik bands; at the beginning of 1943 the whole of Ukraine was inflamed by the revolutionary struggle against both the German and Russian occupants. All her territory was covered with fire and blood. There was not a single spot where people could peacefully sleep one night, or work normally one day, where children could grow up in the certainty that they would see the morrow. The Ukrainian people found themselves in an all-out struggle against the invaders of their country. Amid this chaos which descended upon the country there arose the Ukrainian Insurgent Army as the revolutionary force of the entire Ukrainian nation!

This all-Ukrainian national army came into existence after the merger of several Ukrainian insurgent groups among which

three were especially important:

1. The insurgent groups of the OUN, known as the *Banderivtsi*, which at the end of 1943 began an open struggle against the Germans, and which rapidly spread throughout all Ukraine. These armed groups were backed by the widely-organized network of the OUN with its cells throughout the whole of Ukraine;

2. The insurgent groups of the OUN, known as the *Melnykiivtsi*, which collaborated closely with the other underground groups, and also conducted independent action, for instance the organization of "The Defense of Ukraine" group in Western Ukraine. The latter had many men and officers from the Ukrainian armies of World War I;

3. The "Polisia *Sich*" under the command of Taras Bulba-Borovets, which was organized as one of the first Ukrainian armed groups and fought the Bolsheviks and later the Germans.

The party difference in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army completely disappeared even before the end of the war, as almost all the Ukrainian revolutionary armies and insurgent groups united into this one force under the command of General Taras Chuprynka.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is organized on the same pattern as any army of a free people with a few unique features dictated by the local conditions in Ukraine. Taking into consideration the extremely difficult conditions under which the UPA operates and the numerical superiority of the enemy, the significance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is now more political than military. The organizers and commanders of this army from the very beginning realized that they would not be able to crush the enemies of Ukraine by themselves, but they knew that the struggle they had begun would one day yield the much desired result, even if this struggle should last for many years to come. Therefore, they instilled in every soldier the ideal of an uncompromising struggle for the independence and freedom of the country, with the result that every soldier-member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army knows that his prime objective is the achievement of the independent Ukrainian state and for that ideal the UPA fights today.

The organization of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army is based upon volunteer service. No one orders any mobilization of soldiers, but everyone who wants to fight for the freedom of

his country, offers his services voluntarily. Before becoming a full-fledged soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, a prospective candidate takes the following oath:

"I, a soldier of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, having arms in my hands, swear solemnly upon my honor and conscience before the great Ukrainian people and before the holy Ukrainian land, before the memory of those Ukrainian sons who died fighting and before the supreme leadership of the Ukrainian people:

"To fight for the full liberation of all Ukrainian lands and of the Ukrainian people from the yoke of the invaders and to achieve an independent Ukrainian state. In this struggle I will spare neither blood nor life, but will fight to the last breath for full victory over all enemies of Ukraine;

"I promise to be brave and intrepid in the fight, and will show no mercy to the enemies of the Ukrainian lands;

"I promise to be honest, disciplined and a revolutionary soldier. I will obey all orders of my superiors;

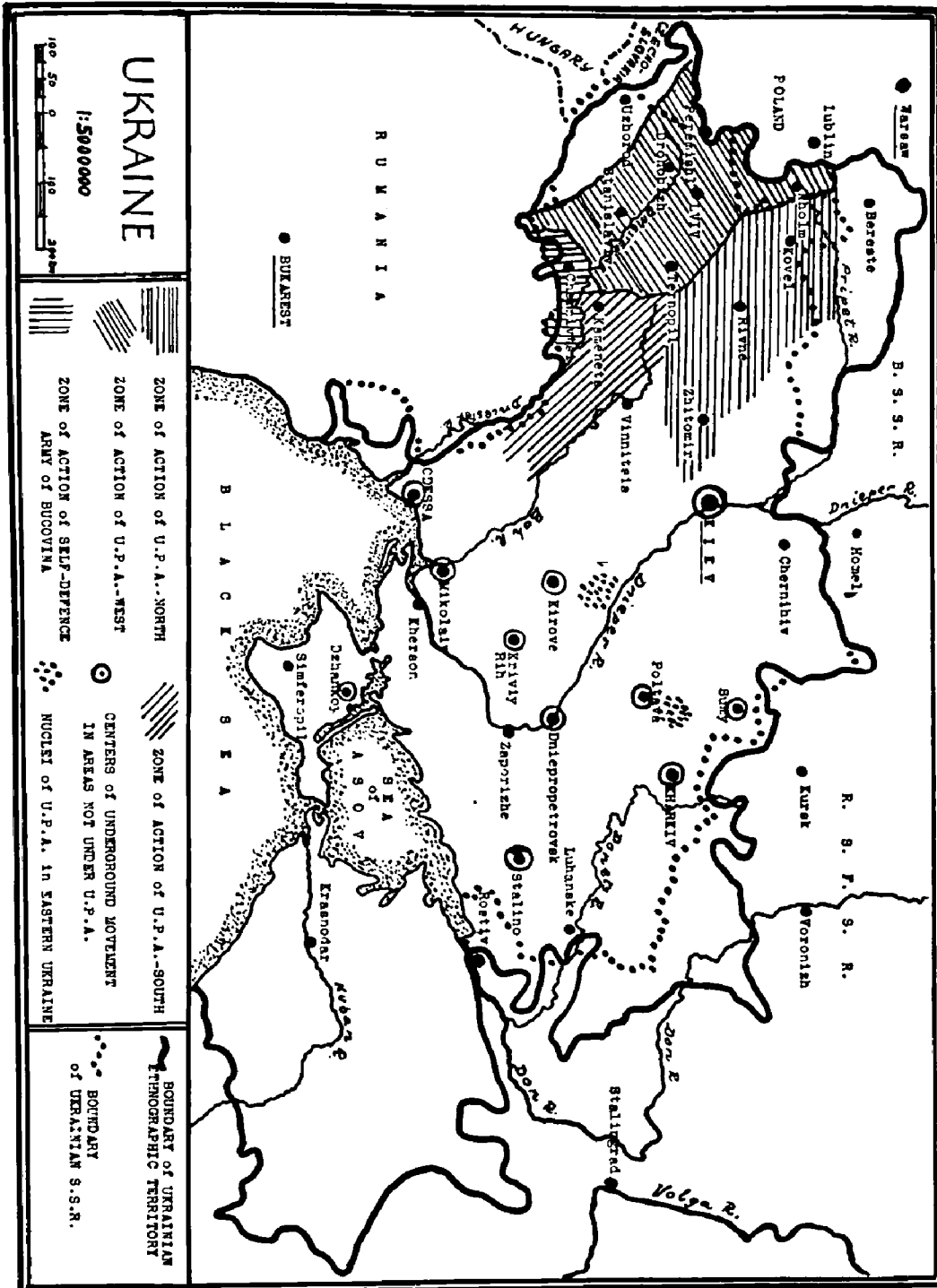
"I will safeguard all military and state secrets;

"I will be a faithful comrade-in-arms in the fight and in military life with all those who are fighting beside me;

"If I break or renounce this oath, I am to be punished by the severe laws of the Ukrainian National Revolution and by personal infamy!"

This oath is required from every member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army after his preliminary training and when the UPA Command considers him to be worthy of serving in the revolutionary ranks and of fighting for the liberation of his country.

The organization of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was dictated by the expediencies of the times and conditions. Although the UPA is supposed to be a strictly centralized army organization, its groups and detachments, because of the prevailing conditions, have a large autonomy and freedom of movement and action. The entire army is sub-divided into four main groups: 1) The UPA-West; 2) the UPA-East; 3) the UPA-North and 4) the UPA-South, corresponding to the territorial division of Ukraine. All groups and detachments of the UPA are sub-divided along the same lines. Each group or detachment is commanded by a regular army officer and his staff. The UPA has several technical departments such as organization, personnel, supply, training and administration which





carry on their specific tasks according to circumstances. Because the UPA operates under the most difficult conditions, i.e., on terrain occupied by the enemy, it maintains itself almost entirely on what it takes from the enemy. For instance, the uniforms of the UPA are an assortment of uniforms worn by soldiers of many armies. The UPA national emblem is the three-pronged trident, the traditional emblem of the Ukrainian state.

All UPA activities are planned by a General Staff which, as mentioned above, allows a rather large autonomy to its respective units. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army acts and collaborates with the political leadership of Ukraine, which, because of its underground character, must remain anonymous. In its activities the Ukrainian Insurgent Army takes full advantage of the overwhelming support given it by the entire population, and it cooperates very closely with the underground movements of other peoples enslaved by the Soviets.

As far as is known, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army operates on all Ukrainian territories, its methods and tactics largely depending upon the terrain (forest, mountains, etc.) Its organization and tactics were worked out and tested during its struggle against the Germans and the Russians during the war. Because of its underground character, it is impossible to attempt to give even an approximate estimate of its numerical strength. Some place this at a few dozen thousand men, others go much higher into the hundreds of thousands. Whatever it may be, the fact remains that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was in great measure responsible for the defeat of the German armies in the East, and today it is a real menace to the Soviet totalitarians within their own borders.

How great this threat is to the existence of Soviet Russia and her subservient satellites is indicated by the fact that on May 12, 1947, the Soviet Union compelled the puppet governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia to sign a three-state treaty directed against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which, at that time, was still active in Soviet Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet government, as well as its communist puppets in Eastern Europe, tried very hard to conceal the struggle

of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from the world by denying its existence. Finally the dramatic raid of the UPA members in the fall of 1947 through Poland and Czechoslovakia to the U. S. Zone in Germany proved without a doubt that the Ukrainian anti-Soviet underground is very active and that it is a constant embarrassment to the Soviet authorities in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, as the armed force of the Ukrainian nation of forty-five million people within the Soviet totalitarian empire, is a major factor to reckon with in Soviet domestic and foreign policies. It may turn out that this Ukrainian underground resistance could be of great assistance to the Allied cause, should the present Soviet-West relations take a turn for the worse.

Whether the Western world will successfully take full advantage of the Ukrainian and other anti-Soviet undergrounds behind the iron curtain, is as yet to be seen. So far the West has shown but little understanding of what lies behind the ever-increasing opposition of the non-Russian peoples against the Kremlin and its communist policies in Eastern Europe.

#### XIV.

### BEGINNING OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE UPA

**The Ukrainians Fight on Two Fronts. The First Successes and Victories in Volhynia. The Struggle Spreads Out. The Ukrainian-Polish Tragedy. Hitler's General and His Staff Fall under UPA Bullets. The First Open Attacks against the *Wehrmacht*.**

BY FEBRUARY, 1943 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA, was staging its first raids against the Germans, mainly in the Province of Polisia in northwestern Ukraine where the first organized armed resistance had started (See p. 68). As with all its subsequent operations, these raids had a threefold purpose. They aimed at the liquidation of the Nazi administration in the territory, and at the extermination of the Soviet partisan bands roaming the area. Behind both of these immediate goals was the underlying one of creating a base for the organization of Ukrainian statehood. In a month, after a series of major battles fought in the vicinities of Sarny, Stolyn and Volodymyr, the UPA was completely successful. The entire Nazi administration was destroyed, and the Soviet Partisans, who were given an enthusiastic press by a victory-conscious America, were driven beyond the Pripet River and the Kovel-Sarny line. The chained giant that is the Ukrainian nation had begun to stir.

The operations in the Province of Polisia only began the rebellion. In the ensuing months of March and April, 1943, fierce battles continued and the forces of the UPA widened their gains and victories over the Germans who were taken by surprise by this new fanatical enemy. In the course of these armed engagements between the UPA and the German *Wehrmacht* the following cities were taken by the Ukrainians: Volodymyrets, Stepan, Toporivtsi, Ludvipil, Derazhne, Olyka, Tsuman, Horokhiv and others. The German garrisons in these cities were slain or taken prisoners. In such larger cities as Kremianets, Dubno, Kovel, Lutsk, Rivne and Kivertsi the

UPA by direct attack, broke into the city prisons and liberated thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners, who immediately joined the ranks of the anti-German and anti-Soviet Ukrainian underground forces.

By April, 1943 the UPA assumed the proportions of a mass movement among the Ukrainian people. Thousands upon thousands of young Ukrainian men and women joined the UPA. At this time the entire districts of Mizoch, Ostriv, Shumsk, Kremianets and Verba were under the control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the German administration



*UPA—Northern Group. On patrol near the village of Volkovya in the Volhynia District.*

was replaced by a Ukrainian one. In order to combat the UPA, the German High Command was compelled to throw against the Ukrainians one of its best divisions to the detriment of the German-Soviet front in the East. This division, consisting of two Hungarian regiments along with German units, was completely destroyed after several days of fierce fighting. The growing strength of the UPA offset its great losses.

Parallel to these developments in the northwest of Ukraine, the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) joined the UPA. A truly nation-wide military and political struggle

against the Germans on all the territories of Ukraine began.

In a short time a state of chaos prevailed in Ukraine. By sabotage, by open and stealthy assaults on German military and administrative posts, by increasing anti-Nazi propaganda, the OUN and UPA steadily transformed Ukraine into an unbroken front against the Germans. In this early stage of the Ukrainian rebellion, the Soviets, hard-pressed on all fronts, welcomed with some misgivings what amounted to a great diversionary movement behind the German lines. The Germans, however, soon began to appeal to the "reason" of the Ukrainians—"cease fighting," they implored them, "and direct your effort against your worst enemy, the Bolsheviks." At the same time, the Germans intensified their reign of terror against the Ukrainians. Thousands were arrested and summarily executed. Whatever chance of success their propaganda might have had collapsed with this treacherous and short-sighted policy. The anti-German movement only gained momentum.

As one consequence, the Germans suffered the loss of their Ukrainian police corps. This, called the *Schutzmann*, had been organized by the Germans at the beginning of their occupation of Ukraine to maintain order among the Ukrainian population. As a result of the irrefutable Ukrainian counter-propaganda, the *Schutzmann* deserted en masse with all their arms and equipment to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was sorely in need of all kinds of matériel.

In desperation, the Nazis then created a new police force recruited chiefly from the Polish settlers brought by the previous Polish government to the Ukrainian lands. While the majority of them had refused outright to serve the Germans, a good number, however, blinded by their hatred for the Ukrainians, helped the Nazis combat the Ukrainian underground. In addition, the Germans succeeded in organizing regular Polish police detachments west of the Curzon Line, especially in the city of Rzeszow. These were to be later thrown against the UPA in the northwestern territories. Using them as special "punitive squads," the Nazis sent them into Ukrainian towns and villages. Mass murders, pillage and the plundering of the

Ukrainian country-people were the main functions of the German-sponsored Polish police. The result, as the Nazis cunningly planned, was an outbreak of open hostilities between the Poles and Ukrainians.

This, according to the Ukrainians themselves, was one of the most tragic periods of the whole German occupation of Ukraine. The Nazis, who had only indescribable contempt for both the Poles and Ukrainians, succeeded in having at least a part of the Polish people attack and murder the Ukrainians at a time when the German terror on the Polish territories themselves was at its zenith, and at the crucial hour when the Ukrainians had just opened their full-fledged war against both German and Soviet imperialisms. It is a pity that the insane hatred of the Poles for the Ukrainians prevented them from helping the Ukrainians in their quest for freedom.

The Poles supplied the Soviet Partisans with such information and data as they possessed on the Ukrainian nationalist forces. The Ukrainians, now literally engaged in a life-and-death struggle, were forced to retaliate. After unsuccessful attempts to get the Poles to join a united liberation front, the UPA finally proposed that the remaining Polish settlers on Ukrainian lands voluntarily evacuate them, and thus prevent further bloodshed between Poles and Ukrainians. This suggestion was rejected. The UPA was left no choice: it forcibly expelled these Poles to Poland proper. It meant a third front for the Ukrainians, but the fault lay entirely with the Poles, who, arrogant and stubborn, allowed themselves to be used as pawns by both the Germans and the Russians against an oppressed people like themselves and not for the first time.

This costly attitude of the Poles, meanwhile, did not check the Ukrainian struggle. In April, 1943 major battles between the UPA and the Germans took place near the town of Druzhopol, in Horokhiv District, at Pylych, in Volodymyr District and in other localities. In May, 1943 General Viktor Lutze, Chief of Hitler's SA (*Sturmabteilungen*), and his entire staff were slain by UPA gunfire on the road between Kovel and Brest-Litovsk. On an official inspection tour of Ukraine, he ran into

an ambush skillfully organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The German High Command quickly issued a communique stating that General Lutze had been killed in an automobile accident. About the same time, UPA detachments carried out several raids on German trains carrying thousands of Ukrainians who had been forcibly conscripted for work in German war industry and agriculture.

News of the sensational activities of the UPA had now spread by word of mouth over all of Ukraine, and added a tremendous impetus to the struggle against the Germans. The result was a phenomenon which had not been seen for some three hundred and fifty years. From all parts of Ukraine a great exodus started to Volhynia and Polisia, where the UPA was in full command. It was similar to three centuries before when their ancestors had fled in great numbers to join the Zaporozhian *Sich*.

By May, 1943 the UPA had extended its operations to those areas situated on the right bank of the Dnieper River, which comprised the provinces of Zhitomir, Vinnitsia, Kamianets-Podilsky and Kiev. The main activity of the UPA was directed toward the acquisition of weapons and equipment from the Germans, toward the expansion of its revolutionary network and toward the consolidation of the Ukrainian liberation movement in general. Here and there open warfare between the German *Wehrmacht* and the Ukrainian nationalist forces was carried on under adverse and difficult conditions. An UPA group destroyed a German police school near Zhitomir, and killed 260 German policemen taking advanced training in that school. In a battle near the village of Ustinivka, in Potyiv District, a large German Army group was attacked by the UPA on July 25, 1943, and some 100 Germans were killed, while the rest were either taken prisoner or dispersed. In the village of Kaminka, in Yarun District, the UPA destroyed a raiding group of Soviet Partisans, and killed 66 Communists.

Thus in the first half of 1943 the UPA became a well-organized and disciplined national army of the Ukrainians. Favored by the great extent of the war of attrition between the Nazis

and the Bolsheviks, it secured itself in northwestern Ukraine, inaugurated its own legal and legislative system, and aroused the Ukrainian nation to a pitch not equalled since the days of independence in 1919.



## XV.

### ANTI-GERMAN STRUGGLE IN FULL SWING

**The Progressive Strengthening of the UPA and the Expansion of Its Operations. The Organization of the Ukrainian Administration on Territory Cleared of the Enemy. Propaganda Success among Other Enslaved Peoples. The Jews in the UPA. Political Character of the Ukrainian Struggle. Conference of the Peoples Enslaved by Both Nazis and Bolsheviks. German Furor Continues. Ukrainians Decide to Fight unto Victory or Death. Further Successes of the UPA. The Propaganda War. The Struggle on Two Fronts. Decline of German Might in Ukraine. The Russians Come Back. The Poles—a Third Front for the Ukrainians.**

THE SECOND HALF of 1943 saw the UPA further expand its numbers and conduct its operations within an ever-increasing area. By the close of the year they ranged from east of the Dnieper River to the Black Sea and west to the Carpathian Mountains.

The UPA developed the organization of its reserves and technical branches. A school for officer candidates was established and soon hundreds of freshly-schooled Ukrainian officers took charge of the military training of the thousands of new recruits that swelled the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The Ukrainian Red Cross, organized into an efficient unit, took care of the UPA sick and wounded.

The economic organization of the areas under the UPA authority proceeded rapidly. The factories and mills were working at full speed for the benefit of the Ukrainian Army. At the same time, Ukrainian schools were re-opened and functioned under the supervision of the Ukrainian provisional government. A series of governmental departments were established which functioned regularly and smoothly in this "state within a state."

Such an efficient administration by the UPA could not but attract and give fresh hope to large masses of the millions of Ukrainian inhabitants. Yet it was not only the Ukrainians who were impressed by the success of the UPA. All the other non-

Russian peoples in Eastern Europe were quick to recognize that the UPA had become a symbol for all those oppressed by Hitler's "master race," or by Stalin's totalitarian commissars. On the other hand, the UPA well knew that in its struggle against nazism and communism it would have to appeal to those peoples, who, like the Ukrainians, sought freedom and national liberation. Therefore, the UPA campaigned vigorously for support among the peoples of the Soviet Union, such



*UPA—Western. Officers' school in the Carpathian Mountains, near the village of Rozhanka, September, 1944.*

as the Armenians, Tatars, Georgians, Azerbaijanians and others. In hundreds of thousands of pamphlets, underground newspapers and magazines, printed in the native languages of these peoples, the UPA explained the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national independence and sovereignty. It called upon them to follow the example of the Ukrainians and join the ranks of the UPA in the fight against Stalin and Hitler. The reaction to these appeals was electrifying. The ranks of the UPA were bolstered by those escaping from the Soviet armies and from the labor battalions of captured Soviet prisoners of war organized by the German armies. The Jews who were able to escape from Nazi concentration camps joined the

UPA as well. The official command of the UPA noted that Jewish doctors were among the most loyal and efficient members of the UPA, with no inclination toward betrayal or desertion to the Soviet side despite the fact that there was always ample opportunity for it.

The collaboration with and the influence among the partisan groups of other nationalities of the UPA soon necessitated a closer organization and coordination of all anti-Soviet and anti-German efforts on the part of the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe.

The major step toward this goal was the First Conference of the Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Europe, which took place in November 1943, with 39 delegates, representing 13 different nationalities, participating. In an official communique of November 25, 1943, the High Command of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army declared as follows:

After preparation by a special commission upon instruction of the High Command of the UPA, the first conference of the peoples oppressed by Hitlerism and Bolshevism took place on November 21 and 22, 1943. On the eve of the Conference, a German police battalion attacked the locality at which the meeting was scheduled and which was under the special guard of UPA detachments. The battalion was totally crushed with several delegates taking part in the engagement.

In the conference itself the representatives of the following peoples were present: Azerbaijanians, Armenians, Georgians, White Ruthenians, Kabardyntsi, Kazaks, Ossetyns, Tatars, Uzbeks, Ukrainians, Cherkesses and Chuvashes. In addition, ten delegates from other nationalities participated. The Conference voted several resolutions and issued a proclamation "To the Oppressed Peoples."

In the second half of 1943 the territory of Western Ukraine, i.e., Galicia, which had been until 1939 under Polish occupation, increased in prominence. Before this the political and economic status of Western Ukraine under German occupation, i.e., its annexation to the so-called Government General, had dictated entirely different tactics. Because Galicia had not been in open war with the Germans as were the provinces of Volhynia and Polisia, it became a base for supplies, foodstuffs, armament and recruiting for the UPA, fighting on other territories. Galicia, in short, had been quickly transformed into

a reservoir of human and material resources for the UPA. With boundless sacrifices, the Ukrainian peasants donated all that they could spare, disregarding the constant German pillage of their homes and severe penalties for delivering food to the UPA. But at the end of 1943 Galicia, by force of circumstances, committed itself to an open struggle against the German invaders as well as against the Soviet Partisans who raided this Ukrainian territory under General Kovpak and who were finally completely destroyed in the Carpathian Mountains by the UPA forces. It is significant that the German Command did not fight these Soviet Partisans, for they were apparently gratified that the major part of the activities of the Red Partisans was directed against the Ukrainian population.



*Nazis hang captured Ukrainian insurgents, in Drohobych, Western Ukraine, December, 1943.*

With the activities of the UPA in Western Ukraine in full swing, the Nazis resorted to their most brutal methods. On October 10, 1943 they proclaimed martial law in Galicia and a barbaric, wholesale massacre of the Ukrainians began. On the basis of incomplete official reports of the German military tribunals, the Nazis hanged or publicly executed 1,541 Ukrain-

ians in Galicia between October 1943 and June 1944. Not included in this number are thousands of Ukrainian men and women executed at random by the Gestapo or the German *Wehrmacht* without benefit of trial or jury. The reasons for this appalling wholesale murder of the Ukrainian population, according to the German official proclamations, were "assistance to the bandits," "the sheltering of persecuted Jews," "assassinations of the representatives of the German government and of the German army," "for adherence to the UPA," and, more broadly, for "participation in the resistance movement."

These persecutions, to be sure, did not break the spirit of the Ukrainian people. Instead of slackening, the UPA strengthened its anti-German activities and almost entirely occupied the districts of Kosmach, Stanislaviv, Brody, Radekhiv, Sambir, Zalischyky, Buchach and others. The woody terrain, forests and mountains fortunately were extremely well suited to the guerrilla warfare waged by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

For an adequate picture of the merciless struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army against the Nazis and the Bolsheviks in the northwestern and western territories of Ukraine in 1943, here are some excerpts of the communiques of the UPA High Command:

Between March 15 and October 4, 1943, all the police detachments in Volhynia and Polisia, composed of Ukrainians, upon order from the High Command of the UPA, went over with their weapons to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army;

By the first half of April 1943, the UPA had occupied entire Northeastern Volhynia, including the districts of Mizoch, Ostrih, Shumsk, Kremianets, Verba and others, where the German administration was completely destroyed.

On June 14, 1943, a detachment of the UPA destroyed a camp of Soviet Partisans between the villages of Karpylivka and Lenchyn in Polisia, with 60 Red Partisans killed and 29 wounded. Much arms, ammunition and loot were captured;

On June 15 and 16, 1943, an UPA group destroyed a detachment of the Bolsheviks in the village of Vysochka near Pinsk, where 78 Communists were killed and 47 taken prisoner;

On July 10, 1943, raiding parties of the UPA destroyed a group of 140 Red Partisans near the village of Huta, District of Volodymyr, in a

four-hour encounter. In the next engagement in the same district over 300 Bolsheviks were killed. Near the villages of Hay and Stavky, District of Verba, 50 Soviet Partisans were killed. Further advance of the Soviet forces to the north has come to an end;

Between the 16th and 18th of July, 1943 the Bolshevik nests in the Polish settlements in the District of Stephan near Kostopol were finally liquidated. At the same time a battalion of the German Army, which had attacked the UPA, was put out of action;

On July 24, 1943, the German police numbering 500 men, attacked the Ukrainian villages of Tulychi, Lityn and Radovychi, District of Kovel, killing several hundred Ukrainian villagers. In the ensuing battle between the German police force and the UPA raiding parties, the Germans were repelled, leaving 180 dead on the field of battle and abandoning 20 army trucks;

During the month of July 1943, the Soviet Partisans were thrown back behind the railroad line connecting Kovel and Sarny, and also from the line connecting Kamin and Koshyrska towards the direction of Lubeshiv—Morochna and behind the Pripet River. A great quantity of weapons, ammunition and other army supplies was captured, and over 700 Soviet Partisans were killed and wounded;

In the forests of Surazh, near the border between the Provinces of Rivne and Kamianets-Podilsky a force of 500 Soviet Partisans had been raiding and pillaging the Ukrainian towns and villages for a long time. The UPA elements began an operation against these Partisans and in the course of a three-day battle succeeded in totally destroying the Bolsheviks and their equipment. At the same time a company of the German gendarmerie, stationed in the same district, was dispersed;

Strong detachments of the UPA extended their military operations from the Chornobil Forests to the Provinces of Chernihiv and Kiev. During the months of June and July, 1943, they won 17 encounters with the Red Partisans and the German Army. The Bolsheviks were thrown back behind the Pripet River;

On July 29, 1943, an UPA group in an all-day battle against the Germans and the Polish terrorists in the service of the Nazis captured 2 heavy machine-guns, 7 automatic rifles and hundreds of thousands of rounds of ammunition. The Germans left 30 dead, 7 wounded, while all the Poles (numbering 19) were killed;

In the district of Trypilla on the Dnieper the UPA forces completely cleared the area of Germans and Bolsheviks in the months of June-July 1943 and introduced the Ukrainian administration;

In September 1943 a battalion of the German Army attacked an UPA training school near the city of Dolyna, Western Ukraine. The attack was repulsed. Returning to its bivouac area, the UPA detachment ambushed a German Army train and destroyed 200 Germans;

In October, 1943 on the road from Rafalivka to Volodymyrets UPA detachments encircled and totally annihilated a group of the German Army consisting of 300 men. An undamaged German tank was captured.

At the end of October and at the beginning of November 1943, the High Command of the UPA threw thousands of freshly-trained soldiers into Eastern Ukraine in order to intensify the fight against the Soviet armies in the re-occupied territories. The companies of the UPA in their raids crossed to the east bank of the Dnieper River;

At the beginning of October 1943 a large group of Soviet Partisans, numbering over 1,000 men and under the command of Fiodorov, attempted to penetrate southward from the Pripet River. After an all-day battle the UPA detachments were forced to retreat before the numerically superior enemy. More than 120 Russians were killed. The Bolsheviks burned three villages. After receiving reinforcements, the UPA elements succeeded in driving the Soviet Partisans to the North;

On October 19, 1943 in the village of Berestiany the Ukrainian armed forces met with the stronger forces of the Bolsheviks. The Reds suffered 150 men killed and wounded, while our losses were 17 UPA soldiers and 30 civilians killed; 54 UPA soldiers and 9 civilians wounded;

An UPA battalion under the command of Bystry which raided the Kamianets-Podilsky Province from December 5, 1943 to January 13, 1944, had several encounters with the Germans. On January 9, 1944 the battalion, in a battle near the village of Lysohirky, captured 3 automobiles, 7 machine-guns, two mine-throwers, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and other war matériel;

In October 1943 in the vicinity of the city of Dubno in Volhynia, 300 Red Partisans were annihilated by the UPA elements. These Red Partisans were the remnants of the Kovpak Group, which, defeated in Volhynia, had moved southward towards the Carpathian Mountains.

On November 27, 1943, an UPA camp was attacked by two battalions of the German Army in the woods between the villages of Posich and Patsyktiv near Stanislaviv. In a fierce struggle the German siege was broken. 60 Germans were killed or wounded; our losses were 3 dead and 11 wounded;

On November 30, 1943 two regiments of the German Army attacked an UPA training camp in the wood near the village of Nedilna, District of Sambir. Before nightfall the UPA detachments succeeded in breaking the circle and escaping. The Germans left 160 dead, while our own forces suffered 34 dead and 5 men missing.

The Command UPA-North reported: In the vicinity of Kremianets in the first days of February 1944, an UPA group encountered upon the road the staff of General Vatutin, Marshal of the Soviet Union and Commander-in-Chief of the so-called First Ukrainian Front. He was severely wounded, while several high Soviet officers of his entourage were killed.

Marshal Vatutin escaped, leaving behind him his briefcase which contained plans and important documents. (Later on, according to the official Soviet announcement, Marshal Vatutin died of wounds in Kiev.—Editor)

Realizing the severity of these encounters, the Germans and the Russians quickly became convinced that the UPA was too deeply enrooted among the Ukrainian people for any reprisals, no matter how severe, to be effective. The Ukrainians threatened to outlast their respective occupants. Both the Nazis



*UPA—Northern Group. A mounted patrol 1943.*

and the Soviets changed their methods, therefore, and began a powerful propaganda drive against the UPA, propaganda that only a totalitarian regime is able to produce. From both the Russian and German sides endless appeals were issued "To the Ukrainian People," in which the UPA was branded either as a German or a Bolshevik arm, depending upon who was issuing the proclamation. The UPA was accused of the most horrible crimes, while the population was warned that anyone assisting the UPA would be dealt with severely. Along with this propaganda barrage, the Germans and the Russians increased their efforts to infiltrate into the UPA and to disrupt it from within. All these efforts came to naught. The more the UPA was attacked by the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, the more



prestige and support it commanded among its own people. Its high moral character, born of the zeal inspired by the cause of Ukrainian liberation, made the UPA impregnable to all provocations and assaults by its enemies. On the other hand, the UPA counteracted with its own appeals, especially among the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe, including Poles and Russians, and gained recognition and sympathizers constantly.

To illustrate to what extent this "war of words" between the Nazis and the Bolsheviks on one hand, and the Ukrainian independence movement on the other, developed, here is a typical appeal, entitled "Listen, Ukrainian People," issued by the German Administration in Ukraine at the end of 1943:

**LISTEN UKRAINIAN PEOPLE!**

**MOSCOW GIVES ORDERS TO THE OUN.**

From secret orders and directives captured by us, it is clear that the Kremlin Jews are in close league with the OUN, which purportedly is fighting Bolshevism.

At the helm of the OUN are the agents of Moscow who are the executioners of the blood-thirsty Stalin and his Jewish stooges. In secret orders which soon will be made public, the OUN is uncovered as a nationally-disguised Bolshevik front group. Its chief duty is to instigate the Ukrainian people against the German administration and to create chaos behind the front lines.

**UKRAINIAN PEOPLE!**

Do you want to perish through the machinations of these Bolsheviks and nationally-disguised plotters? The OUN is the instrument of Jewish Bolshevism. We also know the hide-outs and the centers of these rebellious elements of the OUN. We know the leaders of these bands. They all are in the pay of Moscow. Do you want to become cannon fodder for your own enemy? Do you want to contribute to the destruction of your own people? Jewish Bolshevism, seeing its own end, tries once again to save itself by using your help and shedding your blood. Do you want to be their shield? Do you want your wives, your children, your young and old folks to fall victim to these animal-like people?

Think of the suffering and tortures which your people have been compelled to bear during these twenty long years. **THINK OF YOUR MURDERED FATHERS AND SONS. THINK OF THE MILLIONS OF YOUR MEN AND WOMEN FELLOW-CITIZENS DEPORTED TO THE SIBERIAN STEPPES. THINK OF THE HUMILIATED AND MURDERED PRIESTS. THINK OF YOUR DESTROYED CHURCHES AND CULTURAL TREASURES.** Disassociate yourself

from your enemies; the OUN could never represent the national interests of the Ukrainian people.

THE GERMAN ADMINISTRATION  
(Proclamation December 1943.)

Another proclamation appealed to the Ukrainians in the following manner:

No. 61

Away with the OUN!

Away with the hangman of the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainian men and women: Who in these last weeks and months has been hampering you in your peaceful toil on the fields and in your homes? The OUN! Who has threatenend you and who has sowed chaos? The OUN! Who has looted your possessions, burned your beautiful villages and homes? The OUN!

Who is causing the death of so many peaceful Ukrainian men and women? The OUN!

The OUN has dropped its mask and showed that it does not differ from the fanatical Jewish-Bolshevik bandits. The Germans warned you in time of these unscrupulous elements. Now, because many of you have been helping the rebels and bandits in their heinous acts, it is time for weapons to talk. You have no one to blame but yourselves. We warned you. To all areas menaced by chaos, Army detachments have been dispatched to maintain and secure order. The bandits have already tasted the strength of the German Air Force. Whoever will resist the German Army will meet with just punishment by its strong weapons. We exact justice for the murders of peace-loving Ukrainian men and women. We defend the lives of those who recognize us.

Plenipotentiary of the *Reichsfuehrer* in  
Combatting Bands.

Von dem Bach *SS Obergruppenfuehrer*  
and Police General

The Soviets, on the other hand, had their own style of calumniating and discrediting the UPA and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). In a proclamation, entitled "To the Population of the Temporarily Occupied Districts of Ukraine," issued in January 1944, we read as follows:

Dear comrades, peasants, workers and intelligentsia!

The German robbers are not your only enemy. Your enemy are the German-Ukrainian nationalists. All these *Bandervitsi* who sold themselves to Hitler, help him to enslave our people, our Ukraine. Their hands are covered with the blood of our children, mothers and sisters. The German-Ukrainian nationalists, traitors to the people and lackeys of Hit-

ler, are assisting the Germans in plundering the Ukrainian people. These hirelings make believe that they too are fighting against the Germans. After an understanding with Hitler, they too approach the people and tell them that they are fighting the Hitlerites. They are organizing armed Partisan groups, luring adherents to themselves by claiming that these partisans will fight the Germans. Don't believe them! Instead, ask them what they have done for the cause of the liberation of the Ukrainian people from the German yoke. Did they kill even one German; did they sabotage even one German train? Don't believe them. They have succeeded in recruiting to their detachments people who honestly wanted to fight against the most despicable enemy of the people—Hitlerism. By doing so, the German-Ukrainian nationalists endeavored to weaken our people in the struggle and incite brother against brother. The German-Ukrainian nationalists are, in fact, allies of Hitler. They want to disrupt the blood relations between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples, and to separate the Soviet Ukrainians from the family of the Soviet peoples.

Signed:

Chairman, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of  
the Ukrainian SSR, M. Hrechukha

President of the Council of the People's

Commissars, Ukrainian SSR, D. Korniyets

Secretary of the Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of Ukraine, M. Khrushchev

Kiev, January 1, 1944.

In the meantime, the UPA, while disseminating information propaganda against both the Germans and the Russians among the Ukrainian people, did not neglect to work among the German and Soviet armies in Ukraine. Here is a proclamation, addressed to "Brethren, Red Army Men," signed by "The Ukrainian Insurgents":

Death to Hitler's and Stalin's Robbers!

Brethren, Red Army Men!

The Ukrainian Insurgents greet you as their own brothers in arms. Together with you we are the sons of the same people and of the same land. Together with you we are facing the gallows and execution squads of Gestapo and Stalinist hangmen.

We have not fallen to our knees before the enemy, but have begun a bloody struggle. You in the frontline, and we here in the hinterland are both fighting the German would-be conquerors.

Fight the German snake—Hitler! After that, together with all of our people we will fight the Kremlin cannibal, Stalin, and his clique!

*Red Army Men!* Don't listen to Judases, political commissars; don't

listen to the agents of bloody Stalin who incited you against your own brother-insurgents.

The Ukrainian insurgents together with the entire Ukrainian people do not want German slavery or Bolshevik Siberia. Nor do they want Hitler's "New Europe" nor Stalin's prison which is the USSR. We want to live in free, friendly countries without the terroristic dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin.

*Brothers! Don't combat the independence movement of the Ukrainian people! Don't fire at the Ukrainian insurgents! Help them on every occasion in their sacred struggle! Give them the weapons!*

Spread the idea of National Liberation within the USSR!

Expand the network of revolutionary organizations in the army!

Desert by entire units to the National Insurgent Armies!

*Death to the hangmen of the people—Hitler and Stalin!*

*For independent states of all the peoples of Europe and Asia!*

*For the National Revolution and Liberation in the USSR!*

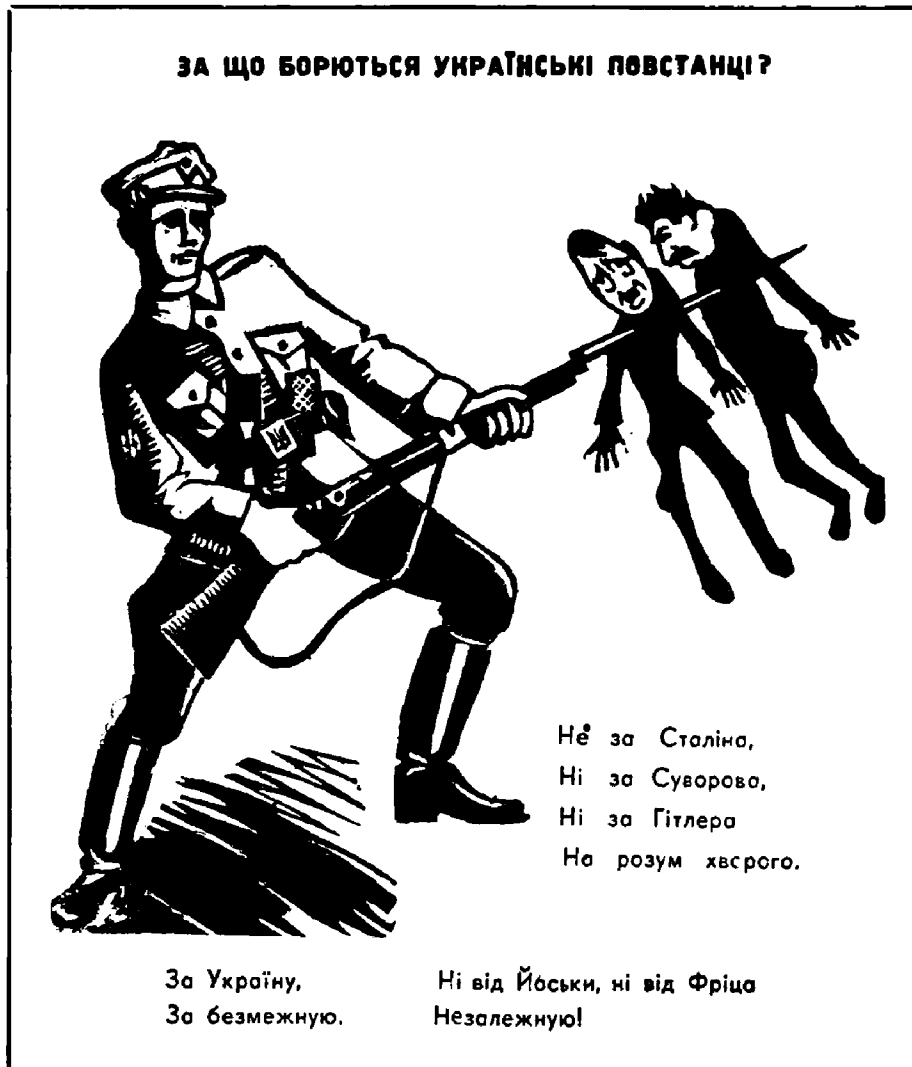
#### THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENTS

The propaganda of the Germans and the Soviets, although conducted with all the resources and media a totalitarian regime can afford, had actually no influence upon the Ukrainian people at that time. This propaganda was contradicted by the most monstrous crimes perpetrated by both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainians. More successful was the propaganda fight of the UPA which at the end of 1943 was supported by and controlled the public opinion of the Ukrainian people.

Yet this battle of words and ideas was not resolved on its own merits. The insurgents were successful because the German and Bolshevik propaganda time and again was flatly contradicted by their own acts. Confronted by the bestial and often inhuman treatment by the dictators, the Ukrainian people swung the more widely to the cause of the insurgents.

The Soviets, less stupid than their crazed "master race" counterparts, readily saw that they were rapidly losing ground. The UPA learned of the Bolshevik ideas after capturing some key Soviet agents. From the depositions of these, it was established that directives for disruptive work by Soviet agents had been issued from Moscow in August, 1943. The directives underscored the warning that the time was not remote when

the Germans would not be as dangerous to the Soviet Union as the Ukrainians! The Soviet agents were instructed to be extremely cautious and to bide their time. Also, they were advised to take advantage of German help upon all occasions,



*A cartoon widely distributed throughout Ukraine during 1943-44. It reads: For whom and for what are the Ukrainian Insurgents Fighting?, and continues—"Not for Stalin, or for Suvorov, or for Hitler the demented, but for Ukraine, free of both Joe (Stalin) and of Fritz (Hitler)."*

inasmuch as the Germans were making supreme efforts to destroy the Ukrainians. Specifically, their tasks were:

1. The preparation for the return of the Soviet government; 2. the organization and strengthening of those classes of the population which were favorable to the Soviets; 3. work among the UPA detachments so that they would go over to the Soviet lines; 4. the securing of complete intelligence as to the actual strength, armament and training of the UPA.

Among other tasks assigned to the Soviet agents was the investigation of the supply bases of the UPA and their locations, as well as all the UPA connections with the Ukrainian population and with the Western Allies. One Bolshevik agent was given the assignment of assassinating the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, for which deed he was promised the highest Soviet decoration, the Order of Lenin, and 11,000 *Reichsmarks* which he was to receive from the Germans through the headquarters of the Cossack units, conscripted into the German Army. On the issue of the Ukrainians, then, the Russians and Germans saw eye to eye. The assassination never took place, since the ambitious agent was captured and uncovered by the counter-intelligence service of the UPA. In his testimony this agent stated that he was unable to fulfill his task because he had become convinced that the UPA was fighting the Germans and the Soviets alike and that it stood for the liberation of the Ukrainian people from both Soviet and Nazi dictatorships. Be that as it may, other such agents were unmasked.

The situation of the UPA changed considerably at the beginning of 1944 with the moving of the Russian-German front westward. In feverish retreat, the Germans wreaked stark revenge upon the Ukrainian population. Even those remaining Ukrainians who abstained from any political activity were in danger of being either taken by the German Army or executed. It had finally become total war for all Ukrainians. As a result the UPA ranks were swelled by thousands upon thousands of new fighters.

The same malevolent attitude characterized the Soviet government after it re-occupied the Ukrainian territories. The Soviets were guided by only one principle: all those who remained during the German occupation, had become of necessity "potential enemies of the regime." They had been "exposed." Thus all Ukrainians became vermin to be extermi-

nated. Upon the re-occupation, the Russians immediately started nation-wide reprisals against the Ukrainians—all Ukrainians save the UPA. For the UPA still remained a force that could be made use of for the time. The Bolsheviks sought to establish an understanding with the UPA, but the UPA High Command issued strict orders to all its units not to negotiate with either Soviet or German emissaries. These orders were scrupulously observed.

With the Soviet offensive and the occupation by the Russians of a great part of Ukraine, the UPA was split and had to



*UPA—Western Group. Inspection of a detachment.*

fight on two fronts: against the retreating Germans and the advancing Soviets. Realizing that by fighting an open war against both the Nazis and the Soviets the UPA would be totally annihilated, it turned its main activities toward the political field for the time, aiming at the conservation of the strength of the Ukrainian people as well as its total mobilization in order to further the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine.

It must be noted here that with the approach of the Soviet armies, the Ukrainians were faced with yet a third

front: the Poles. While the Poles in Warsaw were fighting the Germans in the Polish underground, those Poles living in Galicia continued to serve the Germans by counseling and collaborating with the Nazis against the Ukrainians. The same could be said of the so-called Polish Lublin Committee, which, sponsored by the Kremlin, was always ready to cooperate with the Bolsheviks for the destruction of the Ukrainians.

All further efforts on the part of the Ukrainian political leaders to bring about a mutually-satisfactory Polish-Ukrainian understanding met with no success. Again the Poles demonstrated their traditional shortsightedness and chauvinism which has so often contributed to their own downfall. The Poles have always been ready to sacrifice their own country by defending their "right" to dominate over some Ukrainian ethnographical territory. They repeated this gross mistake even when the Soviet totalitarian avalanche was rolling westward, crushing both the Polish and Ukrainian peoples.



## XVI. THE "GALICIA" DIVISION

**Cause and Purpose of the Organization of a Ukrainian Division in the German Army. Ukrainians Want Arms in Their Hands. German Assurances and Ukrainian Plans. Role of the Ukrainian Underground. The Division in the Struggle against the Bolsheviks. The Division Goes over to the Western Allies. The Polish Minister on the Ukrainian Division.**

AMONG THE IMPORTANT events and developments which took place in Ukraine during World War II, especially during the German occupation of that country, was the widely-bruited affair of the "Galicia" Division, a Ukrainian unit in the German Army. It is both desirable and necessary here to record certain basic facts and information if only for the reason that the enemies of Ukrainian freedom still persist in their accusation that the Ukrainians collaborated with the Germans. The bald truth is that the creation of the Ukrainian Division was one of the many facets of the Ukrainian liberation movement directed against all the occupants of Ukraine, and primarily against Russia and Germany.

The formation of the Ukrainian Division, "Galicia," must be considered from the viewpoint of the centuries-long aspiration of the Ukrainian people for their national statehood and independence. Already during World War I the Ukrainians of the western parts of Ukraine had succeeded in creating their own liberation legion, the *Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi*, the Ukrainian Riflemen of the *Sich*, (USS), which fought the Russians and later on contributed to the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It became the nucleus of the Ukrainian Galician Army (UHA); it fought for and won, together with the military formations of Eastern Ukraine, the short-lived independent state of Ukrainian people, consisting of the vast ethnographic Ukrainian lands. In a fundamental sense, these *Ukrainski Sichovi Striltsi* were the predecessors of both the "Galicia" Division and the UPA itself.

The same hope of Ukrainian freedom that motivated the earlier division, prompted the Ukrainians to accept the German proposal in March 1943 to create a Ukrainian armed force which would not be larger than a division, and which would be used exclusively against the Bolsheviks.

By the end of 1942 and the beginning of 1943 it had become increasingly clear that the ultimate defeat of the German military and political might was only a matter of time. It was also just as clear to the Ukrainian leaders that the defeat of Germany would in no measure contribute to the liberation of Ukraine, for the German totalitarian rule would be supplanted by the equally despotic, anti-Ukrainian Soviet totalitarian rule. These two considerations, namely, the certainty of the imminent collapse of Germany and the impending occupation of Ukraine by the Bolsheviks were the decisive factors that influenced the Ukrainian decision. We repeat, the main and the only reason that the offer was accepted was the assurance that such a unit, equipped and armed, would have meant an important contribution to a Ukrainian armed force which would be fully capable of defending the Ukrainian people and fighting for their independence.

Yet the Ukrainians first ascertained from the German High Command that the Division would never be used on the German Western front against the Western Allies. The German High Command gave its solemn assurance that it would be engaged exclusively against the Bolsheviks. There was no reason to doubt this. With the German armies committed on many fronts, it was extremely plausible that a single division would be retained against the Soviet hordes. Indeed, it seemed as if the Germans would be defeated before effective use could be made of a division as yet untrained.

Moreover, at this time the UPA needed all the support that it could get, especially against the Soviet Partisans, who fought along the same lines as the UPA. Acting as if they had a tacit agreement with the Nazis, the Partisans concentrated upon the Ukrainian population. It became an urgent necessity to have some sort of a legal Ukrainian armed force which

would undertake the defense of the Ukrainian people themselves in all parts of Ukraine.

Again, the anti-German action of the Ukrainian underground resistance assumed such proportions that it enlisted the support of the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainian people at this time. Consequently, the German administration undertook a brutal and systematic destruction of the Ukrainians. It was argued, therefore, that with the creation of a legal Ukrainian armed force having the approval of the Germans, it would be possible to use it as a shield for the Ukrainians who were compelled to live passively.

Among other practical motives that bespoke the creation of such a Ukrainian armed force was the necessity of saving the Ukrainian youth from the man-hunt of all able-bodied young men and women by the Nazis for forced labor in Germany or for forced incorporation into the German Army formations. The existence of a separate Ukrainian military formation, at least in some measure, provided a legal loophole enabling them to avoid both compulsory service in the German Army and slave labor in German industry and agriculture. It was hoped, moreover, that the number of divisions would not stop at one.

All these practical considerations and calculations, however, were overridden by one guiding principle: to get arms into Ukrainian hands as soon as possible in order to begin in earnest the struggle for Ukrainian independence. This desire was apparent in every move, proclamation or act connected with the formation of the Ukrainian Division.

The Germans, on the other hand, were in no wise naïve or uninformed. Their attitude was dictated by what they thought was good for the German cause. As soon as they could, they went back on their assurance that the Ukrainian Division would have an exclusively Ukrainian character. After the Ukrainian Division was completely organized, they removed its Ukrainian command, and placed it under German officers. The highest rank that the Ukrainians could now attain was the post of company commander. At the same time, the Nazis began

to Germanize the Division itself. As a result, almost at the beginning several German-Ukrainian incidents took place, which caused some elements of the Division to desert to the UPA.

The Ukrainian recruits who enlisted in the Division were given to understand that they were going to serve in a Ukrainian armed force, and the Germans were asked to take this into consideration. The Ukrainian character of the unit was to be realized by a purely Ukrainian command, Ukrainian uniforms, the Ukrainian language and an oath swearing fidelity and loyalty to the Ukrainian people. When the Division had already been organized, the Germans voided these conditions and assigned the Division to the *Waffen SS* against the explicit will of the Ukrainians. Yet the Ukrainian Division, it is to be noted, was never actually a part of the SS organization. Only the Germans proper or units comprising the Germanic elements had the dubious honor of being part of the SS system. Certainly not the "lowly" Slavs, and the Ukrainians were Slavs. Yet for reasons best known to themselves, the Germans labelled the Ukrainian Division, *14 Waffen Grenadier Division der Waffen SS*. This despite the fact that unlike other SS formations, the Ukrainian Division had chaplains who cared for the spiritual and religious welfare of the Ukrainians. In the German SS units not only were chaplains prohibited, but religion itself was denied and combatted.

Once the Ukrainian Division was organized, the Germans seemed to have realized that they had made a mistake. After demoralizing the outfit as a fighting force by removing its Ukrainian command, the Germans were confronted with daily desertions to the UPA, and these amounted to some 600 soon after its formation. Those who stayed reminded one another that it was necessary for the Ukrainian cause to have expertly trained army personnel. And, as ever, there was the pressing need for war matériel.

After keeping the Division inactive for some time, the Germans threw it against the advancing Soviet troops near the city of Brody in Western Ukraine in July, 1944. There the officers and men of the Ukrainian Division promptly estab-

lished contact with the UPA and delivered huge stores of German weapons and supplies into its hands. The entire Ukrainian Division was preparing to join the UPA when, unfortunately, it was encircled by the swiftly advancing Soviet troops and decimated in the course of a three-day battle. The survivors managed to escape in most part to the UPA.

Still one more aspect of the discussion of the "Galicia" Division remains. As far back as 1943, the Ukrainian political leaders had endeavored to contact the Western Allies and to come into close political understanding regarding the anti-Nazi efforts of the Ukrainians. Yet the fact that the Ukrainians were engaged in an all-out struggle against the Bolsheviks as well as the Nazis proved to be the stumbling block. At the time the Soviets were precious to the cause; the Ukrainian-Western Allied understanding never materialized.

In February 1945, when the German might was rapidly deteriorating, the Ukrainians, profiting by the immense confusion in which Germany found herself, took the command of the restored Ukrainian Division in their own hands. At the head of the Division was the Ukrainian General Paul Shandruk, who in 1939 had commanded a division of the Polish Army against the Germans. He immediately introduced a new oath for the Division which swore anew fidelity and loyalty to the Ukrainian people and instantly began negotiations with the Allied High Command in the city of Fillach for surrender to the Western Allies. The British were quick to accept the offer and the Ukrainian Division went over to the British even before the final collapse of Germany and against the will of the German government.

The late Polish Minister Ignacy Matuszewski, in his pamphlet *Dishonor or Glory*, published in Jerusalem in 1945, pp. 11 and 12, writes on the subject of the Ukrainian Division as follows:

These are the arguments which the Ukrainians have been using in justifying their cooperation with the Germans. These arguments were given by the Ukrainians to the Polish underground which wanted to counteract the action. I am giving the gist of these reasons as truly as possible: The Ukrainians contended:

"We have no other choice. The death of slaughtered sheep awaits us. We prefer fighting. The foretaste of what is to be expected by the Ukrainians in Galicia is clearly demonstrated by Russia in the Soviet Ukraine. Even before the war the Russians destroyed all the intelligentsia—in a word, all who wanted only a cultural autonomy. Today the conduct of the Soviets gives an unmistakable impression that they are striving for the annihilation of the entire Ukrainian people . . . Executions number hundreds of thousands . . . Do not think for a moment that we cooperate with the Germans for the victory of Germany. Simply, we don't want the victory of England, America and Poland over Hitler to find us in our graves . . . Therefore, we will continue on, fighting."

**XVII.**  
**POLITICAL FORMS**  
**OF THE UKRAINIAN STRUGGLE**

**Not a Blind Rebellion but a well-planned Struggle. Political Activities during the German Occupation of Ukraine. Attempts to Organize Legal Ukrainian Self-government. The Political Underground. All-Ukrainian National *Rada* and the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation.**

IT MUST BE STRESSED that the struggle for the independence of the Ukrainian people during World War II, which was conducted amid untold sacrifice by the entire nation and which was best exemplified by the UPA, was not a mere reaction on the part of an oppressed people. The rebellion was the most recent in a long series of upheavals during the centuries.

Immediately after the Russians retreated from Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine, therefore, the Ukrainians gathered their strength and on June 30, 1941 proclaimed the re-establishment of the Ukrainian government under the premiership of Yaroslav Stetsko. It is true that this act, establishing the Ukrainian state at the beginning of the German-Soviet war and without adequate preparation, was more a spontaneous step on the part of the Ukrainian political groups than a well-calculated and coordinated political decision. Nonetheless, this act was approved by Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky, head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and at that time the greatest authority among the Ukrainian people. Furthermore, it is an incontestable fact that the Ukrainian population of Western Ukraine, immediately after the Soviet withdrawal, began to organize its political and state machinery, as well as to take the administration of the country in its own hands.

At the beginning, when German-Ukrainian relations had not yet reached a great degree of extremely hostile tension, there came the opinion from groups of the more conservative and politically mature Germans that the Nazi administration would only gain by letting the Ukrainians rule their country

themselves. But the Nazi government, the Nazi Party and the German Army itself not only checked the Ukrainian development but installed a regime of terror and persecution. The Ukrainian government created in Lviv under Premier Yaroslav Stetsko was soon dispersed; its members were arrested and deported to concentration camps, and the entire community was placed under the heavy terror that was characteristic of Nazi rule.

This German brutality and the withholding of the right of Ukrainians to organize their own country along the lines of their volition influenced the subsequent development of the Ukrainian political struggle. It became incontrovertible that no foreign invader of Ukraine would ever permit the free and unhampered development of the Ukrainian people and that the latter would have to rely upon and be guided by their own political strength for their very survival. With this realization the activities of the Ukrainian political groups and organizations went ahead.

The various Ukrainian political parties and organizations endeavored to increase their political influence upon the Ukrainian population and to organize their representative committees in all Ukrainian towns and villages under various disguises. Some groups did it legally; others, under the shield of cultural and economic or relief organizations, which were viewed with some tolerance by the Germans.

The struggle among the various Ukrainian political parties themselves as well as the extremely difficult conditions under which the Ukrainians found themselves, hampered political consolidation. But enthusiasm was never lacking among the Ukrainians. In addition to the proclamation of the Ukrainian state in Lviv, several political manifestations took place in the major cities of Ukraine, including Kiev, the capital of all of Ukraine. By this time, however, the Germans were quick to suppress all symptoms of Ukrainian organized life.

This was especially true of the ancient capital of the Ukrainian people, Kiev. Immediately after the Soviets retreated from Kiev, the Ukrainians began to form national, political, cultural



and economic organizations which soon branched out to other cities in Soviet Ukraine. As of old, Kiev became the center and veritable capital of the Ukrainian people. Besides the great number of Ukrainians who had survived the Bolshevik terror and remained in Kiev, other Ukrainians, by surreptitious ways, came by the thousands to the capital.

In the first days of the German occupation of Kiev, a Ukrainian city administration was created, staffed only by Ukrainians. Special inspectorates were organized under the jurisdiction of the city of Kiev which supervised various phases of the country's life. The Ukrainian University in Kiev was reopened; the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences resumed its work as well. The Ukrainian national press reappeared for the first time since 1919 in Kiev; printing establishments under Ukrainian direction were organized. Simultaneously a Ukrainian economic center came into existence, aiming at the liquidation of the Soviet slave system in agriculture and the restoration of the traditional Ukrainian individual private property system. Special attention was devoted to the organizing of the Ukrainian youth which for more than twenty years had been under the totalitarian communist domination of Soviet Russia. The climax of these activities was the creation of the Ukrainian National Council (*Rada*) in Kiev which was considered to be the nucleus of a future Ukrainian government, specifically, of a Ukrainian democratic parliament.

Among the most indomitable pioneers of Ukrainian national life in Kiev were the poet Dr. Oleh Kandyba-Olzhych, Dmytro Myron-Orlyk and their numerous associates. The former was later tortured to death in a German dungeon and the latter was killed on the streets of Kiev by a Gestapo agent.

The Germans, preoccupied with the situation on the Eastern front, at the beginning paid little attention to this speedy progress of the Ukrainian national movement, but very soon they realized the menace which the organized Ukrainians presented, and began a swift and brutal counter-action.

The Nazis were jolted by the huge Ukrainian manifestation that took place on November 21, 1941, in the little town

of Bazar north of Kiev. Several thousand Ukrainians had congregated there to commemorate the death of victims of the Bolshevik terror, massacred during the Ukrainian-Russian war in 1917-1920. These huge masses of Ukrainians astounded and then dismayed the Nazis. At once they organized a massacre of the Ukrainians in Kiev itself, and then similar pogroms of Ukrainian life were repeated in all the major cities of Ukraine under German occupation.

Despite the Nazi terror which compelled all Ukrainian political parties and organizations to go underground, further progress was made toward the political crystallization of the Ukrainian liberation movement, and culminated in the creation of two political centers: in September 1944 the All-Ukrainian National Council (*Rada*) and the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation (UHVR). The creation of the two organs was a result of the internal party struggle among the Ukrainian nationalists.

The All-Ukrainian National Council was formed after long and extensive negotiations between the representatives of the Ukrainian National Council of Kiev, of the Ukrainian National Council of Lviv and of the National Council of Carpatho-Ukraine. These three combined to create the All-Ukrainian National Council under the presidency of Prof. Mykola Velychivsky, Rector of the Kiev Polytechnic.

Parallel to the All-Ukrainian National Council which was under the influence of the *Melnykivtsi*, there was organized in March 1944 a temporary committee under the influence of the other group of Ukrainian nationalists, the *Banderivtsi*. This group called a general assembly in June 1944 and elected the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation (UHVR). It issued a proclamation or *Universal* to the Ukrainian people calling for the consolidation of all the efforts of the Ukrainian people for the establishment of the Ukrainian independent and sovereign state.

But the events that precipitated the collapse of the German front in the East and the advance of the Soviet troops toward Central Europe necessitated a change of tactics by the

Ukrainian underground and with it the strategy of the major Ukrainian political parties.

**XVIII.**  
**BEFORE THE**  
**GERMAN DEBACLE IN THE EAST**

**The Decisive Year of 1944. Retreat of the Germans and Arrival of the Bolsheviks. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement Faces New Tasks. The UPA Fights the New Invader. The German Capitulation. Proclamation of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.**

THE YEAR 1944 was decisive in the collapse of the German front in Ukraine and the final downfall of the German state itself. In the middle of July of that year the Soviet troops began an all-out offensive against the Nazis. This resulted in the almost complete occupation of all Ukrainian lands by the Russians, with the exception of a small segment along the Carpathian Mountains. The invaders of Ukraine changed faces, but the oppression and the political persecution of the Ukrainian people remained the same.

During the retreat of the German armies from Ukraine the UPA was frantically preparing for an all-out struggle against the Soviet totalitarians. Yet that did not mean the cessation of the fierce warfare against the Nazis. On the contrary, on the territory of Western Ukraine the retreating Germans had no rest, but were constantly harassed by the now well-equipped and strategically well-directed troops of the UPA. Great quantities of German arms, ammunition, medical and other supplies fell into the hands of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army which stored the matériel for use against the incoming Russians. Thousands upon thousands of Ukrainians were forcibly taken by the Germans to the West, ultimately to become displaced persons in the camps of Germany and Austria. Other thousands fled to the woods and joined the ranks of the UPA.

In August 1944 a new era in the struggle of the Ukrainian underground forces opened. Without a single day of respite, without an opportunity to reorganize its ranks, the UPA embarked upon the gigantic struggle with the Soviet Union and

its multi-million men armies.

To understand fully the surprising extent to which the UPA fulfilled its self-imposed task of repulsing the Soviet invaders of the Ukrainian lands, we need only look at the official reports of the UPA-South Headquarters listing the encounters of the Ukrainian underground army with the Soviet troops during the first two months of 1945.

**COMMUNIQUE OF THE HEADQUARTERS UPA—SOUTH**

On January 2, 1945 the Ukrainian insurgents destroyed an enemy truck, killed a Bolshevik leader, wounded a Soviet First Lieutenant of



***UPA — Northern Group. A battery moving to a new position, December, 1943.***

the NKVD troops and captured one *istrebitel* (member of a Soviet punitive squad) in the village of Ostrynia, Tovmach County, District of Stanislaviv;

On January 5, 1945 an UPA detachment raided the village of Rypianka, Kalush County, District of Stanislaviv and destroyed 30 members of the NKVD frontier guards. On the same day in the village of Sary Lysets, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA platoon under command of M. in an encounter with the Bolsheviks killed one and wounded more than a dozen;

On January 7, 1945 in the village of Zahvzd, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA platoon under the command of M. destroyed 4 members of the

NKVD troops. In the village of Rysno, in the same district, Battalion "C" of the UPA encountered Bolshevik troops. Two days later the same village was attacked by two battalions of the Soviet troops, but the UPA forces repelled them, killing about 80 NKVD men and destroying 2 tanks;

On January 13, 1945 in the village of Chorny Potik, Pechenizhyn County, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA Company under the command of D. fought off the Bolsheviks who attacked the village and killed 30 Stalinist man-hunters;

On January 15, 1945 an UPA platoon under the command of M. captured 6 NKVD non-commissioned officers in the village of Vyktoriv, Halych County, District of Stanislaviv;

On January 16, 1945 in the village of Luka Mala, Skalat County, District of Ternopil, a Soviet detachment attacked a house in which two UPA members, originally from Eastern Ukraine, were staying overnight. In an ensuing battle the Bolsheviks lost 12 killed and 16 wounded, at the cost of the two Ukrainian insurgents.

On January 20, 1945, 250 NKVD men from the city of Bolekhiv attacked an UPA company under the command of B. bivouacking between the villages of Tysiv and Tserkivna, Bolekhiv County, District of Stanislaviv. During the all-day battle the Soviets retreated, leaving 30 dead and several captured.

On January 21, 1945 in the village of Spas, Rozhnitiv County, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA Company under the command of Z. dispersed a Soviet army detachment, killing 10 and capturing 15 Bolsheviks. On the same day in the villages of Hluboke and Sadzava, Bohorodchany County, District of Stanislaviv, the UPA detachments under the command of R. and V. fought a group of 400 Soviet troops supported by two planes. In Hluboke the Bolsheviks left 132 dead, in Sadzava 15. Another detachment of the UPA attacked the village of Hlubichok Velyky, District of Ternopil and destroyed the headquarters of a Soviet "war committee," cut wire communications between the cities of Ternopil-Lviv and Ternopil-Brody and killed 8 NKVD men.

On January 22, 1945 three companies of Bolshevik troops attacked the villages of Sadzava and Hluboke, Bohorodchany County, District of Stanislaviv, and began a siege. These Companies, in turn, were attacked by the "M" and "S" Companies of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under the command of B. and Ch. respectively. The Soviets threw in two new companies and the UPA groups were greatly endangered. To relieve Soviet pressure the UPA Battalion Commander B. sent two more companies of the UPA. In heavy fighting the Soviet attack was broken and their troops began to retreat. To prevent a complete rout, the Soviet Command called in 6 planes which attacked the Ukrainian insurgents with bombs and machine-guns. Unable to stop their retreat, the Russians sent reinforcements numbering 600 men from such places as Porohy, Solot-

vyna and Nadvirna, which were also dispersed. In the battle the enemy lost 150 killed and the same number wounded, while our own losses were 12 dead and several wounded.

On January 23, 1945, Company "Z" of the UPA under the command of V. encountered two companies of Soviet troops in the village of Posich, Lysets County, District of Stanislaviv; 13 Stalinist apaches were killed.

On January 25, 1945 in the village of Ilavche, District of Ternopil, 22 NKVD men encircled a house in which a section of UPA men were stationed. Without losing a single man, the Ukrainian insurgents killed 6 NKVD men and wounded 4.

On January 26, 1945 in the village of Krasna, Lanchyn County, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA detachment under the command of Kh. killed 3 NKVD men.

On January 29, 1945 the Ukrainian insurgents liberated from the hands of the NKVD, 12 Ukrainian families from the village of Kozivka, Terebovla County, District of Ternopil.

On January 30, 1945 in the woods near the village of Maydan Horishny, Lanchyn County, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA detachment under the command of K. battled the Soviets, killing 60 of the enemy.

On January 31, 1945 in the village of Khodachkiv Maly, near Ternopil, some 150 Stalinists arrived to pillage the village. They were challenged by 14 Ukrainian insurgents stationed there. After a battle the Soviets left behind 14 dead and 7 wounded.

On February 3, 1945 detachments of the UPA conducted a cleaning-up action in the village of Kosmach, Yabloniv County, District of Stanislaviv, killing 30 NKVD men. On the same day, between the villages of Prokurava and Sheshory, Kosiv County, District of Stanislaviv, the UPA elements twice ambushed the Soviet troops. In a short encounter the enemy lost 140 dead and many wounded.

On February 4, 1945 in the village of Krekhivtski, near Stanislaviv, an UPA platoon under the command of M. fought the Stalinist bandits, killing a captain and two lieutenants of the NKVD troops.

On February 6, 1945 an UPA detachment under Commander O. ambushed a Soviet group which had raided the village of Konchaky of Halych County, District of Stanislaviv. The Bolsheviks retreated leaving 12 dead.

On February 7, 1945 in the wood between the villages of Krasna and Parysha, near Stanislaviv, the Stalinist bandits attempted to encircle Group "I" of the UPA. In the ensuing battle the enemy suffered 85 men killed and many more wounded. On the same day a large group of Soviet troops from Bukovina attacked the village of Perekhresne, Zhabie County, District of Stanislaviv. Near the village it was ambushed by the UPA; 9 Bolsheviks killed. Three days later over 300 Stalinist invaders crossed the Bily Cheremosh River again, seeking Ukrainian

insurgents. Near the village of Holovy an UPA detachment ambushed the group, killing 60 and wounding 90.

On February 8, 1945 the insurgents of an UPA group ambushed a large group of Soviet troops on the road between Terebovla-Budzaniv, District of Ternopil, killing 18 Stalinist plunderers.

On February 10, 1945 in the woods near the village of Parysha, Lanchyn County, District of Stanislaviv, the Stalinist invaders attacked an UPA group and lost 100 men.

On February 11, 1945 in the village of Loiv, Nadvirna County, District of Stanislaviv, the insurgents of an UPA detachment killed 38 NKVD men.

On February 12, 1945 on the road between Pomoriany-Zboriv, District



***UPA—Northern Group. A commander with his bodyguard. Dec., 1943.***

of Ternopil, 3 Ukrainian Insurgents killed 3 NKVD men and captured the same number.

On February 14, 1945 an UPA company under Commander O. attacked the Stalinist man-hunters in the village of Bratyshiv, Tovmach County, District of Stanislaviv. In the battle the Soviets lost 60 men, among them the Battalion Commander, Tovmatsky. On the same day near Stanislaviv the Insurgents killed 16 NKVD men from ambush. In the village of Stinka, Zoloty Potik County, District of Ternopil, the Insurgents fought the Stalinist police, the NKVD, killing 90 men.

On February 25, 1945 an UPA company under Commander Sh. attacked the Stalinist man-hunters in the village of Pshenychnyky, near Tysmenitsia, District of Stanislaviv, and killed 5 NKVD men.

On February 27, 1945 an UPA platoon attacked the Stalinist man-



hunters in the village of Zahvizd, near Stanislaviv. Among the slain were one first and two second lieutenants of the NKVD troops.

On February 28, 1945 in the village of Tiaziv, Voynyliv County, District of Stanislaviv, an UPA platoon destroyed 5 NKVD men near the railroad station.

This desperate military struggle had its counterparts in the social and political spheres of Ukrainian life. With the Ukrainian territories under the despotic dictatorship of Soviet Russia, the Ukrainians were compelled to invent new tactics constantly to make their struggle as telling as it had been against the Germans.

Meanwhile on May 7, 1945 the representatives of the Nazi government signed their unconditional surrender to the Allies in the French city of Rheims, and World War II, without doubt the greatest in history, came to an end. In all countries bells were rung and churches were jammed by multitudes seeking to express their gratitude to their Creator. Statesmen, military and political leaders issued festive declarations, announcements that with Nazi Germany completely destroyed, humanity could at last hope for a long-enduring peace and stability in the world. The United Nations met for the first time in San Francisco in an atmosphere of optimism and confidence in the future.

But for the Ukrainians there was only deep gloom and tremendous misery. Important as it was, the destruction of Nazism marked only one phase of their struggle for freedom. They had contributed all that they could. Now they were opposed by an enemy even more despotic and dangerous than the Nazis. And now they were virtually alone.

The British Tommy had put down his weapon; the American had thrown his away. The Ukrainian fighter had no recourse but to clean his gun and hope that it would last. For him it was a grim, inevitable fight to the death against an enemy that had glimpsed a Utopia with its reason and then had incredibly proceeded to prostitute its reason, morality and character to achieve it. The Ukrainian was pitted against this fantastic, robot-like enemy with its dream of world con-

quest. As in 1919, he was ignored by Western civilization. Thus, at the end of World War II, the Ukrainian soldier became the first warrior of World War III.

Probably the position of the Ukrainian people was never better put forth than it was in a penetrating and moving appeal, an order of the day issued to his men and officers by General Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In speaking to his men, he spoke for practically the entire Ukrainian nation and for the world:

Fighting Men and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!  
Hitler's Germany has found its final and irrevocable destruction.

The Ukrainian people will no longer fear death in gas chambers or liquidation of their entire villages by the Gestapo. No more will the German hit the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasant in the face, nor take his land in order to turn him into a slave for the German master. No longer will the Germans be able to drive thousands and tens of thousands of peasants and workers into modern slavery in Germany. Nor will the Ukrainian intellectual worker have to wait his turn to be liquidated because he always and ever has been a menace to the invader. The barbarian from the West no longer will dominate over the Ukrainian land.

A great contribution toward the victory over Germany was made by you, Ukrainian Insurgents. You prevented the German from freely exploiting the Ukrainian soil and using its fruits for his aggressive designs. You prohibited his pillaging of Ukrainian villages, you fought the forced deportations to Germany. Your retributive hand repaid the German for mass executions and burning of villages. In the struggle against Germany our Ukrainian Insurgent Army was first organized and received its fighting training.

But with the defeat and collapse of Germany an even worse invader has come back to Ukraine—Russia. For centuries enslaving Ukraine, Russia whether ruled by the Tsars or by the "most democratic regime in the world,"—that Russia has always had sinister and imperialistic designs upon our country. This so-called "socialistic republic" has finally decided to put an end to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. Having enchained all its people in a new social system of state capitalism, the ruling clique has created such unbearable economic conditions that under it the freedom-loving man has become a perpetually hungry beast with no problem on his mind but food. Having introduced a new culture, "national in form, but socialist in content," the Soviet government, with the help of such terrorized Ukrainian slaves as Tychyna, Bazhan, Vyshnia and Vozniak—forcibly injects Russian culture into Ukraine. To mislead still further the Ukrainian people, the So-

viet government has even created the Commissariat of Defense and that of Foreign Affairs, which have no other tasks or duties but to glorify Stalin. By the most inhuman terror mankind has ever known and by insidious provocations, it attempts to boil the Ukrainian people in a Russian pot, so that the Ukrainians should forget that they once were free and independent, and that without protest they should accept being eternal slaves of the "elder brother"—of the new and powerful Russia. For those who reject this Russian culture, "the most democratic republic" has the Siberian *taygas*, the Solovetski Islands, mass executions, the burning of villages, state-instigated famine and other "modern methods of education."

But the Ukrainian people have not and will not ever capitulate before the enemy. In 1943 they gave you, Ukrainian Insurgents, weapons into your hands with the explicit order to defend to the last the ideal of Ukrainian freedom and independence. With superb determination and heroism, with unheard of faith and devotion, you have been fighting for this ideal for more than two years. Neither hunger nor privation, nor terror applied to your families has shaken your intrepidity and your belief in the final victory. At all the deceitful approaches and addresses of the "Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic," you have strengthened your effort. You remember only too well that by such methods Russia tried to demoralize and weaken the brave soldiers of Mazepa; the same insidious propaganda was used in the years 1920-1943 by the Soviets in order to entice those from among us who were naïve enough to believe them. All those who trusted the Russians were "rewarded" by being sent to slave labor camps or executed as soon as their usefulness to Russia came to an end. When you embarked upon the struggle with the Stalinist regime, you knew that we could not capitulate because the enemy that menaces the very existence of the nation, must be fought until victory or death comes. I am certain that the weapons given you by your people will not be covered with dishonor, and you will leave your names covered with immortal glory for posterity.

Ukrainian Insurgents!

— The world has no peace as yet. The revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples as well as the antagonism between the Western democracies and the USSR will increase. The people the world over will become increasingly aware what the "dictatorship of the proletariat," formulated in and propagated by the Kremlin, means to humanity. In the struggle against the Kremlin you are by no means alone. The brave Serbs and Croats continue to fight Tito who is nothing but a tool of Moscow; the Bulgarians also are rebelling against the bloody terror brought to the country by the "allied" USSR. The mountains of Transylvania are overcrowded with those Rumanians who have refused to submit to Russia. Even little Slovakia has a regular guerrilla warfare against the invader. The Polish patriots by constant sabotage and armed struggle fight all the

attempts of Stalin to enslave them. The ranks of fighters against the Oriental satrap are increasing daily. All this, of course, creates favorable conditions for continuing our struggle and brings nearer the moment of downfall for the USSR.

To be able to survive to that moment with the weapons in your hands and to give leadership to all those fighting Stalin--this is your sacred duty. I have a firm belief that you will fulfill it with honor and determination as you have fulfilled all your previous tasks and duties. By using the new methods of struggle, adaptable to the new conditions, you will give a resolute answer to the challenging enemy.

Onward with unshakeable faith!

Long live the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Glory be to those who fall fighting the invader!

Glory to Ukraine!

TARAS CHUPRYNKA, General,  
Commander-in-Chief of the  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army

Headquarters, May 1945.

(The original text of General Chuprynka's Proclamation appeared in an UPA underground paper, *Povstanets* (*The Insurgent*), Nos. 5 & 6 for April-May 1945.)

## XIX.

### UKRAINE AFTER WORLD WAR II

**Conditions in the Soviet Union after World War II. Return to the "General Line of the Party." Soviet Attitude toward Ukraine after the War. The Fictitious Independence, its Significance. The Total Purge Goes on. The Ukrainian Struggle for Liberation Continues.**

DURING WORLD WAR II little was said or written of the incessant struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national liberation. If there was any mention at all, it originated with the Soviet propaganda mill, which had one purpose and only one: to hide the real conditions prevailing in Ukraine. Even so it seems strange that the Western world should know so little of the struggle of the Ukrainians against the Nazis during the last war. Yet this effort on the part of the Ukrainian people provides the material for an epic unequalled in world history.

Not only has anti-Ukrainian propaganda succeeded in convincing many of the Western democracies that the Ukrainians as a people have no right to their own political independence and national sovereignty, but what is more, these have blindly swallowed the canard emanating from Moscow that the Ukrainian independence movement is the adventurous invention of the Germans. Such ignorance of a situation in Eastern Europe, which bids fair to be of great moment for the future of our civilization, is appalling. It is a simple fact of history that the Ukrainians have become a symbol for oppression.

There are those statesmen and students who are finally realizing, however, that had the Western Allies not blundered in their policies after World War I, Eastern Europe would have been entirely different in its political organization today. The independent Ukraine, which the Allies scandalously abandoned in 1919, would have been an obstacle to both the German *Drang nach Osten* and the Soviet aggression in Eastern and Central Europe.

It goes without saying that the identical situation has been

re-created after World War II. Ukraine has again fallen under Russian totalitarian despotism, and as long as the world will not recognize that Russia can be stopped only when dismembered as an empire, with subsequent national states as Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia and the Baltic States, the world at large is in deadly peril. An independent Ukraine, flanked by the independent states of White Ruthenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Finland in the north, and by the independent states of the Caucasian peoples, such as the Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaijanians and Kazaks in the southeast—would once and for all block Soviet Russia's aggressive expansion in Central Europe and in the Middle East.

Toward that goal not only the Ukrainians but all other peoples now in Soviet slavery are striving. But it is the large Ukraine that is the main anti-Soviet and anti-Russian force behind the iron curtain.

With the end of World War II the Ukrainian people, struggling for their independence, had to adopt a new strategy, necessitated by the existing conditions. The present tactics used by the Ukrainians against the Soviets are not generally known, nor could they, for obvious reasons, be disclosed and propagandized. In good measure, it may be stated, despite the unbelievable terror, executions and deportations, the Ukrainians are still fighting.

For a generalized picture of the present struggle of the Ukrainians against the Soviet Union, it is necessary to depict the general background against which the Ukrainian struggle is being fought. For to understand properly the Ukrainian liberation movement, it is necessary to know the Soviet Union and the changes which have taken and are now taking place.

The Soviet Union, of which Ukraine is part, has emerged from the last war victorious thanks to the war effort of the Western Allies in the first place, to the stupidity of Nazi Germany in the second, and lastly to its own efforts. During the war, the iron curtain, which had separated Soviet Russia from the rest of the world, was partially raised. The "Soviet Sphinx" smiled engagingly. Many Allied diplomatic agents, emissaries and cor-

respondents, of necessity, were allowed to visit Soviet Russia during the war, and immediately afterwards. As a consequence there exists a comprehensive literature dealing with Soviet domestic and foreign policies; and on the basis of this an accurate analysis of Soviet Russia has become possible.

During the war the Soviet Union underwent many internal changes of sufficient scope to be able to influence its entire structure as a totalitarian empire. Many people in the Soviet Union itself thought—and this was known to the Communist Party and the Soviet leaders—that after the victorious war a liberal political course would be introduced. But the Soviet leadership had no desire for any changes. Therefore, immediately after the war a hysterical campaign for the “return to the general line of the Party” was initiated by the Soviet government itself and new purges started.

Bolshevism as a doctrine had undoubtedly gone through severe crises during the last war, and the Politburo has had a hard time of it. When Hitler marched into Poland in September 1939, the Soviet Union was in the process of internal consolidation. After the many purges that followed the assassination of Kirov in 1934, the Communist Party strove from the centralization and strengthening of organizational discipline. The Party itself became a dogma beyond reproach and criticism. Its “general line” was modified insofar as the problems of international revolution were concerned. This meant that the Russian Communist Party was abandoning the slogans of world revolution if the latter was not closely connected with the interests of the Russian-Soviet state itself. The Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist “doctrine” was “purified” of all social elements, if taken from a universal viewpoint, and a strong emphasis was put on the political elements in the Communist Party ideology. At the center of all the problems lay the Soviet state interests which received preference and priority before all else. Finally the Party itself was reduced to a state bureaucracy (on the basis of the resolutions voted by the XVIIIth Conference of the Party in March 1941) and was welded into the state apparatus to such a degree that the Party conferences had

all the characteristics of administrative and bureaucratic sessions. During the war the Communist Party not only infiltrated, but was "polluted" in turn by, non-party elements. While on one hand the Party penetrated the administration and the army by identifying itself with these elements, it watered down its original ideological "purity" and "deviated" from the "general party line." Thence came this hysterical alarm for the "return to the general line of the Party" that became a battle cry in the Soviet Union immediately following the end of the war.

It should be recalled for a better understanding of Soviet political reality, that in 1939 there was in the Soviet Union a kind of cooperation between the Party and the political administration. Between these two agencies debates and mutual criticism were not only allowed but encouraged in order to remove major differences in views in regard to the policies of the Soviet Union. After a series of bloody purges these ideological differences slowly degenerated to the level of personal feuds. This monolithic integration had a wholly positive influence upon the Soviet Army. Contrary to the belief circulated in the West before World War II, the Soviet Army was deeply penetrated by communist elements, which gave it a unitary strategic leadership and heightened its fighting capacity.

The liquidation of the opposition and warring factions, the elimination of all discussions and debates in the Party itself and within the administration, and the strict subordination of the administrative apparatus to the social and economic sectors, all this made for the integrity and might of the Soviet Union.

Such a monolithic structure of the Soviet state was not only in the interest of the Communist Party, but it was necessitated by the historical development of Russia. While this fusion of the Party with the state during the war was beneficial to the state, it was not true for the Communist Party. In the first place, the Party renounced for the benefit of the state that strength which was deriving from the universality of the communist idea. Furthermore, the Party, by abandoning its slogans of world revolution, lost the driving force which has been



the characteristic of the communist movement from its very inception. Finally, the Party, through force of circumstances (war) was compelled formally to get off the international path, to lose its original orientation toward world revolution and to devote its efforts now quite openly to the problems of the Soviet state. It was compensated to a certain degree by the expansion of the state apparatus as well as of the imperialistic ambitions which previously had been denied by the Party. The Communist Party was also allowed to participate in the formulation of a concept of "strengthening" the Russian state by the acquisition and conquest of the strategical frontier and by the retention by Russia of certain zones of influence.

Recapitulating the above, we may draw the following conclusions:

1. World War II, as far as policies in the Soviet Union are concerned, brought no changes at all. It helped, however, to show the Russian Communist Party as what it has always been—a Russian nationalist party—which for its own imperialistic designs and purposes made use of the international slogans of communism. After the war Russia was compelled to abandon the propaganda myth of world revolution. It was the more necessary to do this because at the outset of World War II, Moscow had ample evidence that, despite its constant pressure, no people or state would hasten to transform an "imperialistic war into a civil war," a beloved tune of the Russians. Nonetheless, Russia emerged from World War II more dangerous and aggressive than ever due to the fact that she became a monolithic giant, with nationalistic and imperialistic ambitions exclusively in view.

2. The last war has conclusively and definitely demonstrated that, despite all the cruel and inhuman measures taken in the past, the Communist Party has been unable to solve the so-called nationality problem within the Soviet Union. The policy of Lenin and Stalin, well-propagandized abroad, in dealing with the various non-Russian peoples, has met with total failure. The Russians have continued to be the oppressive "master race" over the non-Russian peoples within Stalin's empire. If anything, the war has most emphatically shown that the multi-national character of the Soviet Union is its weakest point. The non-Russian peoples not only have not been subdued and denationalized, but they are striving with all the means at their disposal for the achievement of their own sovereign and independent states. It is in this respect that Ukraine has become one of the most important problems of the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union.

Confronted by the powerful Ukrainian independence movement on one hand, and by the regular underground guerilla warfare of the Ukrainians on the other, Russia exerted supreme efforts to take the initiative out of Ukrainian hands, to break the impetus of the Ukrainian anti-Russian revolution and thus to retain the extremely rich territories of Ukraine.

During the whole course of World War II the Ukrainians amply demonstrated that their only desire and political ambition was directed toward one goal: the creation of an independent and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people. For that ideal they fought the most powerful armies the world has ever seen with superb bravery and determination. Russia has come to the painful realization that it would be physically impossible to destroy the menace that is Ukraine. To do so would mean killing 45 million Ukrainians. Then there are the other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union who would also have to be destroyed. So the Kremlin found a fantastic "solution" to the Ukrainian problem.

At the beginning of 1945, Russia, while continuing the policy of oppressing and persecuting the Ukrainians, formally proclaimed Ukraine an independent state. Her purported motive in doing so was to present a "fraternal reward" for the huge sacrifices in blood and material suffered by the Ukrainian people in the war against Nazi Germany. By this act Soviet Russia hoped not only to pacify the Ukrainians who would have their own "independent state" but to acquire one more vote in the United Nations and other international gatherings.

This second purpose, due to the appeasement policy of the Western Allies, Russia has almost brilliantly realized. Ukraine and White Ruthenia (Byelorussia) were admitted to membership in the United Nations, and thus considerably strengthened the international position of Soviet Russia.

As for the first objective set forth by the Kremlin—to undermine and weaken the struggle of the Ukrainian people by proclaiming a fictitious independence of Ukraine—Soviet Russia again has failed utterly.

While advancing the Ukrainian problem into the field of

international politics, Soviet Russia at the same time has instituted one of the greatest purges of all time in Ukraine. To cope with the ever-increasing opposition on the part of the Ukrainian people, Nikita Khrushchev, one of the Kremlin's most trusted men in Ukraine, has used all the dictatorial power at his disposal to rid Ukraine of "nationalist elements." In the spring of 1947 the Kremlin was forced to dispatch reputedly one of the toughest men in the Politburo, Lazar Kaganovich, nicknamed the "The Iron Commissar," to Ukraine to aid Khrushchev. Through the media of the press and radio, at all Party and other meetings, Russia has sounded the alarm against Ukrainian nationalism. Extensive purges have taken a huge toll among the intellectual workers of Ukraine. Even the Communist Party of Ukraine itself has been thoroughly purged of Ukrainian nationalism and some 60 per cent of its leading members expelled from the ranks. The noted Ukrainian poets Yuri Yanovsky and Ostap Vyshnia, who were released from a Siberian concentration camp during the war in order to exhort the Ukrainian people to fight the Nazis, now were again arrested and deported for falling under the influence of Ukrainian nationalist ideology. All the press organs in Ukraine, upon order of Moscow and without exception, blared out the one tune: the "thankfulness" of the Ukrainian people to Stalin and to the "great brotherly Russian people" for helping Ukraine to "throw off the German yoke," and for "uniting all the Ukrainian lands in one Ukrainian state" and for making this state "really independent."

Needless to say, neither the constant purges nor this barbarous and deceitful propaganda emanating from Moscow have had any successful results. As in the past, the Ukrainians do not want a paper state—the present Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic of Manuilsky, Khrushchev, Korotchenko and the other communist quislings now in power in Kiev—in fact, the Ukrainians simply want to be free and independent of any Russian or foreign tutelage and supervision.

Thus, despite all Russian tactics and approaches, including its brutal terror and coercion, the Ukrainian people continue

their deathless struggle.

Although the war ended four years ago, Ukraine is still engaged in full-scale warfare against the Soviet totalitarians. Even the supposedly impregnable "iron curtain," behind which the Soviet Union has closeted itself, cannot always continue to keep the world from knowing about the ever-mounting struggle of the Ukrainian people against their present invaders, the Russians.

## XX.

### UKRAINE BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

**Huge Losses of Ukraine Suffered by Her People in the Struggle against Nazism and Bolshevism. Soviet "Liberation" Replaces that of the German. Reason for the Soviet Iron Curtain over Ukraine. A Foreign Correspondent about the Situation in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Struggle and Soviet Reprisals.**

AS NO OTHER COUNTRY during World War II, Ukraine suffered untold hardships and privations. It was in Ukraine that for almost four years the most destructive war in history between two ruthless and despotic imperialisms was fought. For both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, Ukraine was a foreign country which they would see completely destroyed rather than independent of their control. All the material and spiritual as well as cultural achievements of the Ukrainian people were deliberately destroyed with equal ferocity by the Russians and Germans.

While retreating before the advancing German armies in 1941, the Soviet troops had explicit orders from Stalin to apply the policy of "scorched earth," to Ukraine, a crime of such magnitude that it benumbs the ordinary intelligence. The same policy of total destruction was applied by the equally barbarous Nazi super-masters during their retreat from the Eastern front. Entire cities and villages were burned to the ground; factories, plants and other centers of production were leveled; all life was thrown out of its normal course, and the country itself became a total ruin.

Millions of Ukrainians, moreover, perished in the ranks of the Soviet armies, where they were compelled to fight not for the freedom of their own country, Ukraine, but in defense of Stalinist despotism. Millions of others came home crippled and disabled, and found themselves without adequate medical assistance or relief from the Soviet government. Hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians were scattered throughout the world, refusing to return to their country, while it was dominated by

Russian tyranny. But the great majority, those who were able to survive the greatest war, have stayed behind the "iron curtain." A great number of the healthy and able-bodied today are carrying arms in the mountains and forests of Ukraine, fighting the Russian invaders.

In the first months following the official conclusion of hostilities in Europe reports were occasionally forthcoming from Ukraine through various channels. Sometimes it was a foreign correspondent who somehow was allowed to penetrate the Soviet wall; or a representative of an international relief agency; or, finally, the returning German, Italian or Hungarian prisoners of war, and the like. All were unanimous in their reports that the country is devastated, the population is living in dire misery and abject poverty, and that there is anti-Soviet Ukrainian resistance which the Russians are doing their utmost to suppress and to withhold from world notice.

Gradually the Soviet rulers have completely sealed Ukraine off from the rest of the world, believing that by doing so they will prevent the outside world from knowing what is going on in Ukraine. To a great extent they have succeeded. Of late, however, more and more attention is being given Ukraine, the No. 1 problem of the Soviet Union.

An actual picture of Ukraine as of February 1948 was presented by a Polish review, *Orzel Bialy (The White Eagle)*, published by Polish troops in exile, under date of February 21, 1948. In an extensive and penetrating article by Janusz Kowalewski, much information was given regarding the plight of the Ukrainian people under Soviet despotism. The information was based upon official Soviet pronouncements which had appeared in the communist-controlled press and radio and on the basis of reports provided by anti-Soviet refugees who had succeeded in escaping to Western Europe. The gist of the article follows:

In Kharkiv, Kiev, Kremenchug, Poltava, Zhitomir and other cities in the suburbs there exist whole camps of pitiful huts and dugouts in which skeleton-like people now live. This has come about as a result of the war destruction and the mass influx of the population which returned

from beyond the Urals and Siberia where it had been sent in past years. How did these people return? They took advantage of the confusion created by war conditions and along with the return of people legally evacuated during the war, they filtered back by the thousands, trying to find a place to live in the same towns and villages from which they had been deported by punitive squads of the Cheka and the NKVD. The MGB, or the Ministry of State Security, with its hands full with insurgents, war refugees, prisoners of war and other problems resulting from the unsettled conditions, was unable to cope with these new returnees.

Besides the hunger and cold which are unavoidable, these nomads suffer variously from all diseases. That is the life of the average person—there is no longer anything to lose. The great mass of the Ukrainian population which has just returned from Siberia and the North, has brought with it an unspeakable hatred for the Soviet regime. The connections between the various groups are maintained by the insurgent forces of Bandera, Melnyk, Stohul and other groups that roam the valleys of Podilia, the fields of Bukovina (not yet entirely dominated by the NKVD), and the woods and mountains of Carpatho-Ukraine, which teem with deserters and prisoners, who succeeded in escaping, and with the populations of those countries recently annexed to Stalin's empire territories.

A full-scale battle took place on January 6, 1948, in Kharkiv where the Ukrainian population attacked the city militia, the headquarters of the District Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Food stores and clothing warehouses were looted and demolished. After the arrival of NKVD troops, the insurgents dug in in the ruins of the destroyed parts of the city. The ensuing battle could not and did not last too long. The masses of insurgents cried: "Give us bread and homes!" Thereupon they were decimated. But the insurrections that took place in numerous *kolkhozes* were openly political and carried such slogans as "Away with the communist dictatorship! Long live the Ukrainian *Rada!*" and the like.

The NKVD began harsh reprisals immediately. Thousands have been deported to the same places from which they escaped. In the *kolkhozes* special punitive detachments, armed with sub-machine guns and hand grenades have made continuous raids on the insurgents. Not infrequently entire units of the Soviet Army are employed. Naturally, the Soviet press has strict orders not to print anything about what is going on in the country, especially about the existence of large groups of revolutionaries. Only behind closed doors do the people dare to speak of these events. Official blame for the unrest is laid upon the "German-Ukrainian nationalists."

#### *Ukrainian Nationalism*

There is no question that the Soviet regime is aware that the causes

of these desperate rebellions and constant upheavals in Ukraine go far deeper than living conditions. In short, their perpetual and inextinguishable source is the Ukrainian independence movement. This movement is ever-apparent in all forms of life: from the legal attempts to obtain autonomy, through the sabotage of the economic structure, to open insurrections.

The last war, during which the dictatorship of Muscovite centralism was forced to yield some cultural and religious concessions, has ended by adding fresh fuel to the ever-burning flame. Ukrainian literature was quick to take advantage of the concessions and again returned to Ukrainian historical and popular themes. Its constant refrain has become the old Kievan and Cossack periods of Ukrainian history. Moreover, here and there strong anti-Russian trends have been discovered in Ukrainian literature.

When Kaganovich reported in Ukraine to assist Khrushchev, he readily realized that a strong retrenchment was vital. He had already had ample experience in this respect, for in 1927 he had been in charge of "rectifying the line" of the Communist Party in Ukraine. He was reported as having berated Nikita Khrushchev for the latter's failure to prevent the "expansion of the Ukrainian nationalistic disease." Then he ordered the usual antidote: a thorough purge of the Party and state administration as well as Ukrainian literature itself.

The synopsis of this struggle against Ukrainian nationalism was printed in the Kiev *Literaturna Gazeta*, December 27, 1947. In an article, entitled "Criticism and Self-Criticism in Ukrainian Literature," the following was stressed: "Ukrainian nationalism in the course of current history has betrayed the interests of the Ukrainian people and has served the interests of foreign capitalists. After the defeat of the chief protector of the nationalists—Hitlerite Germany—the Ukrainian nationalist remnants have found other masters under the aegis of Anglo-Saxon reaction."

#### *Reprisals*

Upon the defenseless Ukrainian people blow after blow continues to fall, reminiscent of the years 1928 and 1932-34 when the GPU punitive detachments burned entire villages, killed their inhabitants or deported them by the thousands beyond the Urals and to the Koma regions. Some 15 million have fallen victim to the Bolshevik Moloch. How strong and indestructible the instinct of self-preservation of the Ukrainian people must be that even such gigantic cataclysms have been unable to extinguish the flame of liberty!

These observations have been totally substantiated by subsequent reports from the Ukrainian and other Eastern European anti-Soviet undergrounds as to the all-out struggle of the Ukrainian people for their liberation.



Immediately following the Soviet occupation of Ukraine, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians found themselves outside their country. Today there are some 300,000 Ukrainian political refugees in Western Europe. They have come from all the Ukrainian lands, extending from the Carpathians to the Caucasus and the Kuban River; they represent all shades of political opinion, social classes and religious denominations. All are opposed to the Soviet rule over Ukraine and all have pledged themselves to fight for the freedom and independence of Ukraine. Although organized into various parties and factions, which not infrequently feud among themselves, all strive for the establishment of a unified front outside the Ukrainian territory, and throw their support to the Ukrainian independence movement and its most active arm, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

## XXI.

### **THE WAR'S END— THE STRUGGLE GOES ON**

**The Ukrainian People Continue the Total War against the Soviet Invader. Spontaneous and Organized Character of the Struggle. Military and Political Goals of the Struggle. The UPA and its Political Underground. The Hopes of All the Peoples Enslaved by Russia Tied in with the Ukrainian Struggle. The Soviet Army under the Influence of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The UPA Pierces the "Iron Curtain." Ukraine a Front Line in the Struggle of the West against Soviet Totalitarianism and Imperialism.**

THE FORMAL CONCLUSION of World War II had no practical significance for the countries occupied by Soviet Russia, especially Ukraine. Although there is no front-line warfare, the struggle goes on relentlessly under various forms, depending upon circumstances and necessity. In Ukraine, as in time of war, the struggle is waged by the entire Ukrainian population; it is a total war with all its ensuing consequences. Its two most outstanding aspects are: 1) the spontaneous opposition to the Soviet Russian occupation by the whole of Ukraine and 2) the well organized armed resistance. Compared with the Ukrainian underground resistance against the Bolsheviks and Nazis during the last war when large-scale front battles were fought, the Ukrainian anti-Soviet resistance movement is today conducted mainly along political lines.

The structure of the Ukrainian independence movement may be approximately characterized as follows:

The organization that carries out military and guerrilla assignments continues to be the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which consists of detachments, groups and sections, scattered over the fields, mountains and hide-outs of Ukraine. The every-day occupation of the UPA consists of active struggle against the Soviet troops of occupations, the destroying of headquarters and posts of the MGB and MVD, the disorganizing of the entire Soviet administration, defending the Ukrain-

ian population against the Bolshevik terror and persecution, as well as the preparation of the population for an all-out anti-Russian and anti-communist uprising when the opportune time arrives. Until recently, the UPA has carried on guerrilla raids and skirmishes with the regular MVD and MGB troops against the Bolshevik pacifications of the Ukrainian villages and towns, and has executed far-flung raids, as for instance, into Czechoslovakia in the summer of 1947. In these engagements sometimes a few thousand men participated. Special significance with international repercussions was attached to the anti-Soviet and anti-Red-Polish action of the UPA, which aimed at the prevention of the forcible repatriation of the Ukrainians from west of the Curzon Line.

It is understandable that with some stabilization of conditions in the Soviet Union, major raids and engagements with the Soviet troops by the Ukrainian insurgents have become almost impossible. Therefore, the UPA has decided to avoid such encounters as would entail huge losses in men and matériel, which it can ill afford. Only on special occasions does the UPA go into direct action against the enemy troops. In the main, the insurgent ranks have become integrated and now constitute the chief base for the organized and political movement, with the main purpose of educating and preparing the Ukrainian people for the decisive struggle.

In addition to the UPA, the widely-dispersed and well-concealed network of the revolutionary and political underground which closely cooperates with the UPA, has continued to develop in Ukraine. Its main purpose, too, is to train all Ukrainians in anti-Soviet methods and to outline their part in the final struggle. Toward this end the underground distributes copies of the anti-Soviet illegal press, pamphlets, leaflets and broadcasts propaganda by clandestine radio and the like. By propaganda in the underground press and by word of mouth the Ukrainians are constantly reminded of the nature of Bolshevism and its aims towards Ukraine and toward the rest of the world.

The political credo of the Ukrainian people, their rallying

battle cry, remains the same as it was during the Nazi occupation: freedom of the people and freedom of the individual. Here are some of the slogans of the Ukrainian underground, printed in the illegal anti-Soviet press:

We are fighting for a free and democratic independent Ukrainian state!

We are for the destruction of the Bolshevik exploitation and slave labor system which the Soviets have introduced in every phase of our life. We are for the right of the people to elect such a government as they desire!

We are for the liberation of the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual from Soviet slavery!

We are fighting for full freedom of the press, of expression, of religion and of political belief!

We are for free cultural progress unhampered by dictatorship and for friendly relations with other peoples and states!

We are for the absolute equality of all citizens of Ukraine, regardless of their race, social status, religion or political beliefs.

Thus the Ukrainian independence movement, through its leaders and supporters, enlightens the Ukrainian people as to the ultimate goal of Soviet domination in Ukraine, and unmasks the so-called "government of peasants and workers," which in reality is one of the worst tyrannies humanity has ever known.

In the widely-circulated proclamations of the Ukrainian independence movement, the Ukrainians read:

From the peasant the Bolsheviks have taken away his land and freedom, from the worker his liberty to choose such work as he wants and his well-earned income. They have turned all citizens into a mass of terrorized slaves of the state, who have no rights of a man!

The Bolsheviks have destroyed all ideals of socialism and humanism, have introduced instead a totalitarian capitalism, subordinated to the state and party, and breeding exploitation, misery and hunger!

Before and during the revolution the Bolsheviks promised the people land and liberty, prosperity and happiness. What have they given you? Instead of your own land, you have despicable *kolkhozes*; instead of prosperity, you have unbelievable and unheard-of misery, hunger and ruin; instead of all the liberties promised you, you have the worst terror and oppression known in the history of mankind.

Thus, through its tireless counter-propaganda the Ukrainian independence movement explains to the peasants, workers and professional intelligentsia the unbridgeable chasm between the

ideals propagated by the Bolsheviks and their application under the existing conditions of Soviet terror and despotism. Whether in the program of social and economic justice or in the plan of equality and democratic rights for all nationalities comprising the Soviet Union, the Bolsheviks have never in reality come close to the slogans they have preached.

As before, the Ukrainian liberation movement tries to unite all the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe in a common front against Bolshevism and to date the Ukrainians have been more than successful on that score.

Since the Ukrainian insurgents, no matter how well trained and equipped, could not hope to break the might which is the Soviet Army, it was decided to concentrate upon propaganda in the Soviet Army. This contains a high percentage of non-Communists and people of all nationalities as well as many victims of Soviet concentration camps, prisons and labor camps. Many a Soviet soldier, whether he be Russian, White Ruthenian or Georgian, hates the Soviet regime and communist terror with as much intensity as does the UPA guerrilla. It was not long before the Soviets themselves stopped using troops to combat the Ukrainian armed resistance, and instead unleashed the pretorians of the regime, the MVD.

In the course of the last three years, millions of Soviet troops have traversed territories fully dominated by the Ukrainian liberation forces, especially in Western Ukraine. They have read anti-Soviet proclamations, pamphlets and leaflets, and have talked to the people themselves. A prodigious amount of literature has been put out by a special branch of the UPA.

The activities of the UPA among the Soviet troops were one good reason for the decision of the Soviet High Command to thoroughly "cleanse and disinfect" the Soviet troops returning from occupation duties in Germany, Austria, Hungary or Rumania, and because the MVD was always in charge of the Soviet Army "purification," many units of the Soviet Army found themselves in the Far East, Siberia or Turkestan. As a result, thousands of Red Army soldiers deserted to the UPA, which explains the far-flung dispersal of the UPA: in the Carpathian

Mountains, in Volhynia, in the Kuban region, in Siberia and even in the Far East. There are even accounts of Soviet Army planes dropping leaflets of the Ukrainian underground.

The MVD has counteracted by applying the notorious principle of collective responsibility, extensively used by the Nazis at the peak of their power. The Soviet authorities in Ukraine consider practically all Ukrainians either past, present or future members of the Ukrainian independence movement and deal with them accordingly.

This has made for a great antagonism between the Ukrainian and Russian people, the "inseparable friendship between the Russian and Ukrainian peoples" to the contrary. Since the terms "Bolshevik" and "Russian" are almost synonymous in Ukraine and other countries occupied by the Soviets, all Soviet attempts to impose the "friendship of the great, brotherly Russian people" upon the Ukrainians have long since boomeranged.

Rather than diminishing since the war, the Soviets have stepped up the destruction of Ukrainian towns and villages, the deportations to Asia and the executions of all leaders of prominence. On such acts the Ukrainian independence movement thrives.

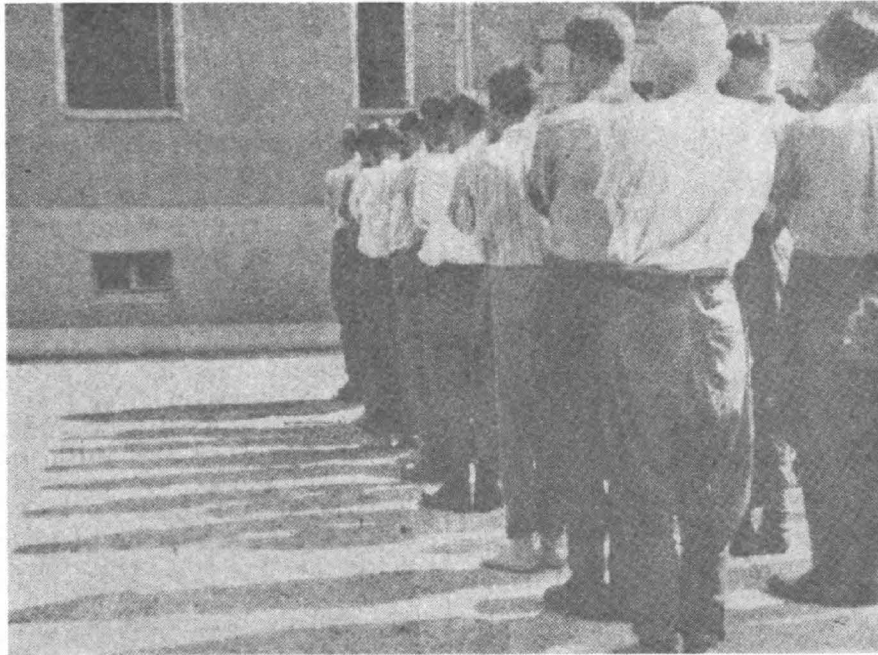
The inability of the Soviet government to cope with the Ukrainians is revealed by its appeal to the puppet governments of Warsaw and Prague to come to its assistance against the Ukrainian underground resistance. In the spring of 1947, upon orders from Moscow, the Czech and Polish governments, later followed by that of Rumania, signed a treaty by which they bound themselves jointly to combat the UPA in the Carpathian Mountains. Shortly afterwards, on March 27, 1947, General Karol Swierczewski ("General Walter" of the Spanish Civil War), Vice-Minister of Defense of the Warsaw puppet government and actual organizer and commander of the Polish communist army, was felled by UPA bullets.

Division after division of infantry and police troops, artillery and aviation has been thrown against the UPA by the Soviets, Czechs and Poles. After each communique that the UPA has been definitely "destroyed," the UPA stages another

raid.

The UPA gained worldwide notice in the fall of 1947 when an armed group of Ukrainian resisters succeeded in penetrating Poland and Czechoslovakia and reached the American zone of Germany. This daring feat of the Ukrainians was convincing proof for many who doubted that an armed resistance could exist within such a police state as Soviet Russia.

These armed Ukrainians, toward whom the Western world at the beginning was cool and distrustful, were strange figures.



*Escaping UPA soldiers who had fought their way from Ukraine battlefields through Soviet-dominated Poland and Czechoslovakia and entered the American Zone of Occupation, where they were interned. Shown during medical inspection, they are attempting to hide their identity.*

Dirty and hungry, yet burning with zeal, they presented a vivid contrast to the peace-time soldier. Here at last was the desperate liberation movement of Ukraine for the Western world to see. For the first time the myth of the internal solidarity of the Soviet regime was shaken. Even its military prow-

ess, unable to cope with insurgents, came under closer scrutiny. For their part the Soviets again let loose their propaganda, calling these UPA members "agents and tools of American imperialism," and averring that these were the last to escape from Ukraine.

But in the spring of 1948 the Czech Ministry of National Defense issued on May 29th a warning to the population of Czechoslovakia that the "UPA groups again are raiding Czech territory." The Czech communist press openly wrote about the "new danger for the republic from the UPA," in which Czech and Slovak anti-communist resisters had enlisted.

The Soviet propaganda used its utmost cunning to vilify the Ukrainian independence movement at home and abroad, labeling it "fascist," "banditry" and "espionage services for American imperialism," and the like.

But the world, for so long blinded by anti-Ukrainian propaganda, has begun to see the light. It is unfortunate that this painful realization by the West should come so late, at a time when the aggressive policies of Soviet Russia have become a deadly menace to the whole of Europe, and to the world.

Today Ukraine is the front-line in the war that is being waged between the forces of peace and progress and the forces of totalitarianism and destruction. The sooner the Western democracies realize that by supporting the Ukrainian independence movement they will actually be building their own defense, the better will prospects for international peace become.

While the entire world, in deadly fear of World War III, is deluding itself by compromising with Bolshevism, the Ukrainian people, together with millions of other peoples behind the iron curtain, are engaged in the only positive course—a struggle to the death with Soviet totalitarianism. Ukraine, more than any other country, has experienced what Bolshevism is. Thus is cannot but fight.



## XXII. UKRAINIAN POLITICAL EXILES

EVEN A SHORT OUTLINE of the Ukrainian liberation movement during the past decade would be incomplete were it not to contain a few facts about the role played in it by the Ukrainian political emigration.

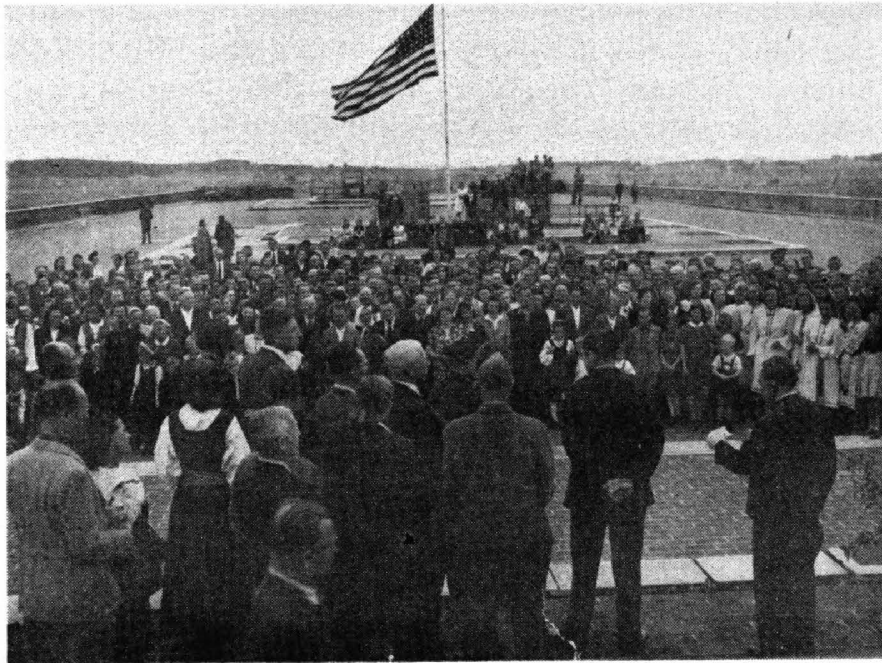
As a result of the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic in the aftermath of World War I, quite a large number of Ukrainian military and political figures fled their country, mainly to Czechoslovakia and France, and, to a lesser degree, to Austria, Germany and other adjoining countries. The exiled Ukrainian government with its head, Simon Petlura, went to France.

The lot of them all was extremely difficult. They kept their spirits buoyed, however, with the hope that the tide would soon turn and Ukraine would regain its freedom. One of their first steps was to set up in the Western capitals politically representative bodies to act and speak in behalf of the enslaved Ukrainian people. They established various types of organizations on the foreign strand, especially cultural ones, which devoted themselves to the task of cultivating Ukrainian culture which was being systematically suppressed in its native habitat by the occupying powers.

Thanks to the unceasing efforts of these emigres, the world came to know quite a bit about the Ukrainian people and their liberation movement. Their patriotism and selfless devotion to the Ukrainian cause can be gauged by the fact that during their occupation of the Ukraine during the war the Germans forbade them under penalty of death to return there.

Emigration of Ukrainians assumed mass proportions during and following the last war. It is estimated that there were about four million Ukrainian emigres in Central and Western Europe upon the day of the capitulation of Germany. The emigres consisted of those whom the Nazis had driven into slave labor, those whom they held in prisons and concentration camps as po-

litical prisoners, those whom they had evacuated from the battle areas, those who, to fight solely the Bolsheviks, allowed themselves to be enticed into entering the German armed forces, but who nonetheless never fought against the Western allies, those who were political refugees who on account of religious, political and social reasons fled before the Red advance, and,



*“Men without a country”—but free under the Star-Spangled Banner. Former inmates of the Nazi death camp Dachau, Ukrainian displaced persons are pictured here holding a mass meeting in the U. S. Zone of Germany.*

finally those who had been emigres from the period between the two wars.

Large numbers of the emigres were captured by the advancing Red troops in various parts of Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other countries. Many others were forcibly repatriated by the Soviets on the basis of the Yalta Agreement; the repatriation was attended by many incidents of suicide on the part of those who preferred death to a renewal of suffering under the Red regime. Only a comparatively small number of

the emigres returned voluntarily, victims of Soviet propaganda.

A gradually growing number of them, although not at all large, is emigrating to the New World. Today it is estimated that there are about three hundred thousand of them in Central and Western Europe. They are political emigres in the full sense of the word, drawn from all sections of Ukraine and representing the various strata of Ukrainian society and its political groupings. They were well described by U. S. Senator H. Alexander Smith who met them during his European trip. "The Ukrainian DPs would gladly return to Ukraine even on foot, if it were free," he said.

This Ukrainian political emigration is today playing a role in the Ukrainian national liberation movement no less important than that of its predecessors between the two world wars. In its nature, background, and all-around worth it has all necessary qualities to represent before the world the Ukrainian cause and to speak in the name of those who are behind the Iron Curtain.

## XXIII. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

AS IS ONLY natural everywhere, considerable rivalry existed among the Ukrainian emigré groups following the last war. It was countered, however, by determined efforts by the more sober-minded elements to effect a consolidation of these groups into one harmonious whole for the common good of all and especially to the advantage of the Ukrainian cause. It took over two years before such consolidation was finally achieved, in the form of the Ukrainian National Council (*Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada*), a broadly representative body into which entered the various Free Ukraine political parties.

On July 21, 1948 the Council issued the following communique:

By virtue of the Acts of Free Ukrainian National Statehood and of the noble traditions of the struggle for Ukrainian national liberation dating from the earliest times, and founded securely on the will and wishes of the active Ukrainian political organizations, the Ukrainian Council has come into being.

It is composed of representatives of the following active Ukrainian organizations: the Ukrainian National Democratic Union, the Ukrainian National-Statehood Union, the Ukrainian Social Democratic Union, the Ukrainian Socialist Revolutionary Party, the Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist Revolutionaries.

The first session of the Ukrainian National Council took place July 16-20 in one of the cities of Western Europe. It was formally opened by the head of the Directory of the former Ukrainian National Republic.

Following the swearing in of all its members, the Ukrainian National Council proceeded to elect its Presidium, consisting of the president, four vice-presidents, and a secretary.

The Ukrainian National Council took cognizance of the reformation of the Executive Organ and as its acknowledged supreme authority swore it in.

In the course of its sessions the Ukrainian National Council ratified its Declaration as well as important measures of a general national character, including the establishment of a National Fund, a census of the Ukrainians throughout the world, and turned these matters over to the Executive Organ for their realization.

With the creation of the Ukrainian National Council and of the Executive Organ in its new form, there has come into a being a common united Ukrainian national-political center, which has been the goal of Ukrainian political organizations for a long time.

At the same time the Ukrainian National Council issued a Declaration to the Ukrainian people announcing its formation, outlining its political aims and calling for a united front of Ukrainians and other Soviet Russian enslaved peoples in the fight for their national liberation and against Communism.

With the creation of a central Ukrainian representative body in exile and the intensification of the underground fight in Ukraine, the Ukrainian liberation movement has entered into a new phase of its development, which is bound to finally end in victory and the establishment of a free and democratic Ukrainian state. It can be expected that the world will be able to regain its political balance and gain some assurance of a lasting peace.

THE END.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES

- The Story of the Ukraine.* By Clarence A Manning. The Philosophical Library. P. 326. New York. 1947.
- UPA—The Ukrainian Insurgent Army.* By Mykola Lebid. Western Europe. 1946. (Ukrainian).
- Ukraine: An Atlas of Its History and Geography.* By G. W. Simpson. Oxford University Press. 1941.
- The Ukraine: A Submerged Nation.* By William Henry Chamberlin. The Mac-Millan Co., New York. P. 91. 1944.
- Ukraine During World War II.* By Roman Rakhmanny. Ukrainian Press Service. 1946. (Ukrainian).
- Aims and Methods of German Imperialistic Policies in the Occupied Territories.* By I. M. Kovalenko. (Underground Edition). Ukraine, 1943. (Ukrainian).
- Ukraine and Russia.* By M. V. Vyrovny. (Underground Edition). Ukraine, 1943. (Ukrainian).
- The Bloody Path of Stalinist Democracy.* (Underground Edition of the UPA), Ukraine. 1946. (Ukrainian).
- Vistnyk UHVR, Kiev-Lviv, 1945.* (Ukrainian).
- Ukraine Speaks.* (Underground Edition). Ukraine. 1945. (Ukrainian).
- Materials from the Archives of the UHVR.* (The Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation). (Ukrainian).
- Materials from the Archives of the OUN.* (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). (Ukrainian).
- The Ukrainian Press Service.* (Ukrainian).
- The Ukrainian Bureau of Information.* (Ukrainian).
- In the Name of Truth.* By O. Shulak. Rotterdam. 1947. (Ukrainian).
- Ukraine During World War II.* By Prof. S. Vich. In Exile. 1947. (Ukrainian).
- Martyrdom in Ukraine. Russia Denies Religious Freedom.* By Walter Dushnyck. The America Press. P.45. New York. 1946.
- Death and Devastation on the Curzon Line.* By Walter Dushnyck. Committee Against Mass Expulsion with cooperation of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. P.32. New York. 1948.
- The Ukrainian Quarterly.* Published by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. New York, N. Y.
- The Ukrainian Bulletin.* Published by the Pan-American Ukrainian Conference. New York, N. Y.
- Svoboda, Ukrainian Daily, Jersey City, N. J.*





