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TODAY'S WORLD

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U.P.A.

The Story of
THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY
and THE UKRAINIAN RED CROSS

Українська-Делегація
в ЦКАВН

INTRODUCTION

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Introduction

By JOHN F. STEWART

SOME day the world will wake up to the extraordinary campaign carried on during and since the Second World War by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, U.P.A. To those of us who have some little knowledge of what that wonderful force has done and is doing, the account of its operations in the pages which follow is far too unassuming and modest. It is apt to give a wrong idea of the fight which has been so successfully waged against what is described as the greatest military Power in the world, with the most powerful modern equipment, by a comparatively insignificant and ill-armed small body of men. The results show what determined men—and women and girls, for all are actively fighting—can do when they fight for a great ideal and are inspired by the devotion of an entire nation.

It should be particularly noted that the Army was formed, not when the Germans were in difficulties, but when they were at the peak of their successes. Defiance could surely go no further!

It is often thrown at the Ukrainians that they collaborated with the Germans against the Allies. The truth is that, like all other peoples under Russian subjection, they welcomed the Germans as liberators, but when they found that they came as conquerors they quickly reacted and at once started the campaign to drive the Germans out of Ukraine. There is no doubt that this action had much to do with Hitler's downfall. That the Germans recognised the danger to them of the Ukrainian resistance is proved by the attempts they made to induce the Ukrainians to sign a Treaty with them which would have made the former participants in the war against the West. Refusal by the Ukrainian leaders to comply with German wishes led to the wholesale shooting of many of them, while others were sent to German concentration camps—the most prominent leader, Bandera, and the Prime Minister, Stetzko, were sent to Sachsenhausen, where they spent four years in captivity.

On the other hand, to terrorise the Ukrainians, such dreadful atrocities were committed as the driving of 850 Ukrainian men, women and children into the wooden church at Malyn and setting fire to it, burning alive all of this number; this is only one example of many.

In spite of it all, nothing could change the spirit of the Ukrainians and their devoted army, and when the Germans were driven out of the country, they merely exchanged opponents. From that time until today the Ukrainian Insurgent Army has kept the Russians

continually in a state of uncertainty as to where the next blow will fall.

It is surely one of the most heroic episodes of any war that this force, with not a single helping hand from outside, has maintained itself and has been a thorn in the flesh of Moscow, when other countries, even with the backing of the Western Powers, signally failed to hold their own.

The Ukrainians are the most numerous people in Europe after the Germans—over 40 millions of them—and, from this circumstance alone they naturally lead in the effort to throw off the yoke of Moscow. Others of the non-Russian nations have also their Insurgent Forces, and their individual fighting was a great disadvantage to them and beneficial to the Russians. More recently, however, all have co-ordinated their effort, and work together as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and the separate U.P.A. has received a most valuable increase of strength. This does not, however, absolve the nations of the civilised world from their responsibility to see that these peoples, struggling and dying for the freedom to which our politicians pay what can only be described as hypocritical lip-service, are helped, and the world is freed from the most horrible Power which has ever been known to history.

U.P.A. has pointed the way ; it must be followed if civilisation is to survive, for U.P.A. is not only fighting for the restoration of their country to its rightful owners, but for the same rights to every country and people in the world.

Not the least remarkable work of U.P.A. is the wonderful Red Cross. Refused help by the International Red Cross, against all International Law and ordinary humanity, this great and devoted body has not only succoured their wounded, but has fought campaigns against the not less dangerous epidemics, some of them due to the natural conditions of warfare, but others deliberately induced by their enemies. All these things must have been known to the Governments of the West, but, apparently, humanity has departed from them all, and care is even taken that the common peoples are kept in ignorance of the atrocities which are being daily committed so near them. If any reference is ever made to this heroic band, it is usually to describe them as "bandits," or, after their great leader, "Banderists," and so on. But all this will never affect the struggle as long as a Ukrainian is left alive. I have the great honour of the friendship of the leaders of the Resistance, and men with a greater sense of what their struggle entails for themselves and all they hold dear, could not be imagined. All honour to them.

The pages which follow give a very inadequate idea of one of the most courageous fights for freedom in the world's history ; materials for something more fitting are at present scanty, but it is to be hoped that the time will come when the story of U.P.A. will be told in its entirety. It will be an epic.

U.P.A.

WHEN the Germans attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Ukrainian underground forces took advantage of the confusion and demoralization in the Soviet occupied regions of Ukraine, and seized control of many places.

The existence of a Ukrainian State was proclaimed in Lviv, the largest city of Eastern Galicia, which in the night of June 30, 1941, was seized by the Ukrainian underground forces. They took possession of the radio-station in Lviv, and proclaimed from there the re-establishment of the Ukrainian State, with Dr. Kost Levitsky, former Premier of the Republic of Western Ukraine, as President of the Ukrainian National Council, and Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, Editor of the pre-war illegal Ukrainian nationalist *Bulletin*, as Prime Minister. This proclamation was a clear challenge to the German Government to declare its policy.

Had the Germans been willing to co-operate with the Ukrainian nationalist leadership in order to set Ukraine free from Soviet rule, a good deal of Ukrainian-German co-operation might have been anticipated. But the Nazi leadership, drunk with power and success, chose to follow a policy of unilateral conquest, domination and enslavement. The Ukrainian Government was liquidated, and prominent Ukrainian nationalists were shot or imprisoned. During the opening weeks of the campaign in the East, Ukrainians deserted from the Soviet armies by hundreds of thousands. They expected to take part with Germany in the liberation of their country. But Hitler sent them to the camps where they died from hunger and misery ; he rejected all plans to draw the Ukrainian people and the peoples of the Soviet territories into the struggle against the Bolsheviks. There is no doubt today that the chief reason for Hitler's debacle in the East, was his blundering policy, especially in Ukraine.

Thus, from the first days of the German occupation of Ukraine a relentless struggle began between Nazis and the Ukrainian people. An extremely complicated struggle for freedom began under Ukrainian Nationalist leadership. Ukrainian insurgent forces fought simultaneously against German military rule, resisting food requisitions and deportations for labour service in Germany, and against Soviet armed unity. Separate guerilla units, formed by the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), in 1941, everywhere in Ukraine, and particularly in the northern forest regions of western and central Ukraine, were all united as early as December, 1942, under one SUPREME COMMAND. Thus the Ukrainian

Insurgent Army (U.P.A.-UKRAINSKA POVSTANCHA ARMIA) came into being.

It should be kept in mind that this war against the Germans was launched at the time when the German power was at its peak, and when Nazi Germany celebrated her greatest military victories. It flared up when other nations, getting aid for their governments in exile and support from Western Allies, were only *thinking* of organizing resistance movements. The Ukrainian people started its armed resistance against the Nazi invaders at the time when corresponding movements in Western Europe were not yet born (1941). It was perhaps one of the first underground armies which operated on a big scale against Nazi Germany, although it got no aid from anybody, and relied on the forces of the Ukrainian people alone.

This struggle against Nazi Germany cost Ukraine hundreds of thousands of casualties, and brought it unbelievable destruction. What was once a land of proud beauty has become one of the most desolate places in all Eastern Europe. But the Ukrainians definitely helped to destroy the German menace, and the history of that dynamic liberation movement of the Ukrainian masses repeatedly attests the will of the Ukrainian people: to be governed by themselves, with their own consent and not to endure oppressive rule against their consent.

It must be emphasized that the Ukrainian people took an active part in the war against Nazi Germany. The guerilla warfare initiated by the Ukrainian nationalist leadership was wholeheartedly approved by the Ukrainian people. They gave no rest to the German legions. The Ukrainian population, old men, women and children, organized in guerilla warfare, effectively disrupted German communications, wrecked their supplies, and gave full support to the U.P.A. Owing to this, the U.P.A. was able to accomplish that which was impossible for the underground forces in Western Europe, i.e. the clearing of large regions from enemy forces and administering them by their own government. In the second half of 1943, and in the first half of 1944 the situation in Western Europe was such, that Germans were only in possession of main roads and larger urban centres. The rest of the territory was controlled by the U.P.A., and administered by it. The U.P.A. was the only underground army in Eastern Europe, having under arms about 200,000 Ukrainians—men and women, older and younger people, workers and farmers, intellectuals and clergymen. It was equipped with arms seized from the Germans and the Russians, and had numerous supply centres at its disposal, as well as training camps and field hospitals, which were well camouflaged and guarded in the mountains, forests and marshlands. The soldiers of the U.P.A. were well fed and clothed, the wounded were nursed. Consequently Ukrainian and Jewish physicians, pharmacists, nurses, specialists and social workers were taken into the U.P.A., which thus became an armed organization of the whole Ukrainian people. The U.P.A. was able to perform striking actions against the German occupation forces.

In 1943, Ukrainian Insurgent units made their appearance in the southern part of Western Ukraine, and fought against both the Nazis and the Reds, when they advanced to the Carpathian mountains in Spring 1944. By Summer, 1943, in Galicia, units of the U.P.A. occupied most of the Carpathian and sub-Carpathian terrain and established here their supply depots, field hospitals and officer schools. In vain the Germans tried to prevent the Ukrainians from building their insurgent forces in the Carpathian mountains. In September, 1943, German overwhelming forces attacked training-camps of the U.P.A. near Dolyna, Western Ukraine (Galicia). The attack was pushed back. In a battle on a mountain railway near Vygoda the Germans lost more than 200 killed and a considerable number of wounded.

The Nazi Germans combated the Ukrainian Insurgent Army by launching their offensives against it, by an unheard of terror against the Ukrainian population, and, especially, against the Ukrainian intellectuals and by propaganda. Three times (April-May, 1943, July-October, 1943, and February, 1944) during the German occupation of Ukraine, the Nazi Germans launched their offensives against the U.P.A. The entire campaign was fierce and bitter. The enemy used aeroplanes, artillery and tanks, closely followed by infantry. Several attacks against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) were repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy, although it was very difficult to state the precise number of their losses, because they took along with them their wounded and killed. In the first half of April, 1943, the U.P.A. cleared the northwest of Volhynia completely, removing German administration and police. Germans had launched there a whole division. Battles lasted three days and the Germans were crushed. One single S.S. regiment lost 280 killed. In May, 1943, Victor Lutze, C.-in-C. of S.A. was killed on the highway Kovel-Brest Litovsk in a fight with the U.P.A. which made an ambush on this road. On July 24, 1943, the German police destroyed three Ukrainian villages Toolychiv, Lityn and Radovich in Kovel Province and murdered several hundreds of defenceless people. A battle took place between German and Ukrainian armed detachments, and Germans were defeated in spite of the assistance of their planes. The enemy lost 170 killed and 20 motor cars. On October 8, 1943, on the road Rafalivka—Volodymyrets, detachments of the U.P.A. surrounded and annihilated a German punitive expedition, killed 300 men and captured 1 tank. On January 9, 1944, near the village of Lyschirky, in Kamyanets-Podilskyi Province, in a battle against Germans, a detachment of the U.P.A. captured 3 motor-cars, 7 machine guns, 2 trench-mortars, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and other war material. The attack against the Black Forest in the Carpathian Mountains near Stanislavov was repulsed with very heavy losses for the Germans. Counter-attacks of Ukrainian Insurgents and their shock troops launched at several points of Western Ukraine frustrated temporary enemy successes at other points. At least the Nazi offensives were broken and the Germans were defeated. They restricted themselves to the bombardment of

the Ukrainian villages and towns and to murdering political prisoners as well as the peaceable populations near the large towns. The Ukrainian civilian population was in the beginning suffering heavy losses, but later the major part of towns-people fled to the regions administered by the U.P.A. and, on the other hand, in the villages a system of signalmen secured the population against the German motorized expeditions. As in the ancient times of Tartar incursions, the Ukrainian population signalled by bonfires the approach of the enemy.

The troops of the U.P.A. did not restrict themselves to defence. They were attacking and disarming the detachments of the German army and police, capturing war material and food from German convoys, setting free workers taken for forced labour to Germany. One day, all the Ukrainian police of Volhynia passed over with their arms to the U.P.A. The propaganda of the U.P.A. succeeded in estranging the Germans' allies. The Hungarian, Rumanian, Slovak, French, Belgian and other troops stationed in Ukraine were used in expeditions against the Ukrainians. Gradually, the commands of these troops agreed with the High Command of the U.P.A. to observe neutrality during the Ukraino-German hostilities. Many foreign detachments abandoned their arms to the U.P.A.; many foreign soldiers voluntarily enlisted in the U.P.A.

After several months of hard battles, the Germans were forced to retire to the large towns, protected by strong garrisons. Communications between these towns was only maintained by strong convoys and only on principal roads. But even in their centres the Germans were not masters of the situation, because the troops of the U.P.A. succeeded in taking possession of the prisons and of the concentration camps in the largest towns of Volhynia, Kremyanets, Bubno, Lutsk, etc., and in the Carpathian Mountains. The concentration camp in Dubyna, near Skole was seized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) in August, 1943, all political prisoners being set free and the guard executed.

The rest of the country was exclusively dominated by the U.P.A. and administered by the Ukrainian authorities. Agriculture and industry were normally developing under the protection of the U.P.A. Agrarian Commissions, appointed by the Supreme Command of the U.P.A., were dividing large estates among poor peasants. Schools and cultural institutions operated normally. Civilian and military police of the U.P.A. secured order. The Ukrainian youth, enlisted in the U.P.A., were being trained in the training camps and officer schools, operating in Volhynia and in the Carpathian Mountains.

In this way, the U.P.A. became the third military and political power in Eastern Europe and, soon became the champion of all revolutionary forces representing not only the resistance movement of Ukraine, but of all subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe, Caucasus and Central Asia. As a result of the well-planned and directed propaganda of the U.P.A. command, the German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern

Front which were stationed in Ukraine and were directed by the Germans against the U.P.A. were won over by means of proclamations and broadcasting in their mother tongues, and filtered in the ranks of U.P.A. A constantly increasing number of them, of "White Ruthenians," Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tartars and Cossacks led to the organization of separate national legions of those peoples within the U.P.A. The net result of this process was the convening on November 21 and 22, 1943, on the territories under the control of U.P.A., of a Conference of Representatives of Soviet-enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, attended by 39 delegates. The Conference drew up a platform of common aims of the enslaved nationalities and adopted a common slogan: "Freedom of the peoples, freedom of the individual!" Thus the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) came into being.

The Germans lost their battle. They could only answer with unheard-of terror. At this time, at the close of 1943 and in the beginning of 1944 the whole of Ukraine was the theatre of continual bloody scenes. Ukrainian patriots were shot or hanged by thousands, and in all cities of Ukraine these executions were performed in public. The Nazi Germans attempted to prevent the Ukrainian population from co-operating with the U.P.A. by establishing court-martials, shooting down hostages, bringing public actions against many persons, burning to ashes whole villages with their population, and taking the Ukrainians to forced labour in Germany. Here are typical specimens of the German terror in Ukraine. On July 14, 1943, a terrible slaughter of the Ukrainian and Czech population took place in the village Malyn, Dubno Province, in Volhynia. The people were driven by force into the wooden church and burnt alive. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former village hall and burnt too. Altogether about 850 persons were burnt. Shrieks of agonized persons in the fire were heard about three miles away. A similar incident took place in the village of Rubkiv, Kostopil, on July 2, 1943, and in many other villages of Ukraine. On November 17, 1943, a mass trial and execution of the captured U.P.A. men were held in public in Stanislawov, Galicia. At the same time the German police troops burnt the village Bili Oslavy in the Carpathian Mountains and murdered the population: old men, women and children. Indeed Ukraine had many a Lidice of its own, at this time. Mass shootings of the Ukrainian population, which were performed always in public, were held in Vorochta, Stryj, Drohobycz, Sambor and other towns of Galicia. A mass execution of the political prisoners of the prison in Rivne, Volhynia (nearly 500 persons) was applied as a "hard counter-measure" for the "terrible" deeds of Ukrainian Insurgents.

The Germans violently combated the U.P.A. by their propaganda. They stated in their leaflets that U.P.A. were directed by "Bolshevist emissaries." They tried to deomonstrate to the Ukrainians that their resistance and their fight were useless, and hoped by their propaganda to weaken, to corrupt and to break the fighting-morale of the Ukrainian people. Insidious persuasion

alternated with threats of bloody reprisals. Here you see one of the mentioned leaflets :

To the Working and Peaceable Ukrainian Population !

The gangs of the O.U.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) have committed very grave crimes. They murder, not only German and Polish families, but also they have killed a great number of Ukrainian families—their own countrymen, whose only fault was their loyal and diligent accomplishing of their duties. The German police was forced by these terrible deeds to apply hard counter-measures. Many of you were persuaded into escaping. Consequently, you have made yourselves suspect of belonging to the gangs. Come back and continue cultivating your soil. Having committed no crime you have no reason to fear. If your farm is destroyed, apply with confidence to the German authorities : they will give you employment, home, and bread. Ukrainians ! Be prudent ! It is only fools that set about waging a guerilla war against the powerful German State. In such a manner you will never build up your Independent Ukraine ! You will only render unhappy yourselves and your families ! Your villages will be reduced to ashes, your country will be devastated. It is starvation that will be the consequence of this foolish deed. Assist, therefore, the German police in their fight against the gangsters. The criminal O.U.N.—this Bandera movement—is disturbing peaceable life in our country and that is why it must be and will be crushed without pity. With this movement, everybody will be exterminated who is aiding it in whatever way. Everybody who knows the gangsters and does not denounce them to the German authorities, will be severely punished too. To save yourselves, your children, your country and your countrymen from disaster, denounce any gangster, any Bandera partisan, to the German authorities. The German police will protect you against their vengeance. Aid in establishing peace and order in Ukraine ! (Signed) Commissioner-General of Volhynia and Podolia and S.S. and Police Commander-in-Chief.

The German police could not protect their charges against the vengeance of the Ukrainian people and their armed forces—the U.P.A. On September 11, 1943, the chief agent of the German Gestapo and at the same time the agent of N.K.V.D. Michael Tarnavskij was captured and tried by court-martial of the U.P.A. He was condemned to death.

In connection with their propaganda, the German government officials in Ukraine, in different ways, endeavoured to brand the good reputation of the Ukrainian fighters for liberty, as well as degrade in the world's opinion the Ukrainian liberating fight to "riots of the local population." The Ukrainians were being shot down for belonging to the U.P.A., for co-operation with the U.P.A., but in German public notices they were generally charged with "brigandage," or "assistance to brigands." The Ukrainian Liberation Movement which at the same time combated the Red partisans in Ukraine, and waged its struggle for freedom against both the Nazis

and the Bolsheviks, was charged with "Bolshevik inspiration" and "Bolshevik assistance." Only by Spring, 1944, after the collapse of the German front in Ukraine, German commanders in Galicia hastened to find connections with the troops of the U.P.A., and proposed them an anti-Bolshevist collaboration. But any negotiations with the Germans were interdicted by the U.P.A. command (one commander of the U.P.A. was even condemned to death by court-martial of the U.P.A., and shot for not having observed this order). By autumn, 1944, the German policy suddenly changed : the German press was full of praises of the U.P.A. for their anti-Bolshevist successes, the U.P.A. were now called "Ukrainian fighters for freedom," although, some months before, they were called by the same press "Ukrainian national brigands." The leader of the German-sponsored Russian "Vlassov Army," in his interview given to the international pressmen and printed in *Völkischer Beobachter* of December 7, 1944, confirmed the importance and the strength of the U.P.A., and emphasized the efforts of this army in their fight against the Bolsheviks. But already the Germans had left the territory of Ukraine.

The executions and German propaganda could not break the spirit of the fighting Ukrainian people. During the last months of 1943 and the first months of 1944, when the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll near to Western-Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) consisted of four large groups : (1) U.P.A.-North, operating in Polesia and northern Volhynia ; (2) U.P.A.-West, in Eastern-Galicia and in the district of Kholm ; (3) U.P.A.-South, in Northern Bucovina and in the region of Kamyanyts Podolskyi and Vinnitsa, and (4) U.P.A.-East, in the wood sectors north of Kiev and Zhitomir, in the area of Bazar—the battlefield of the famous Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik uprising in 1921. These two groups comprised more than 200,000 armed Ukrainian insurgents which were united under one command—the Supreme Command of the U.P.A. with Major Klachkivsky (KLYM SAVUR) as the chief commander, and General Stupnytsky (HONCHARENKO) as his chief of staff. Both officers fell in a fight with the Red Army, by Spring 1944. General Stupnytsky, former colonel of the Ukrainian Army 1918-1921 and the hero of an anti-Bolshevist uprising in 1921, had the chief credit for the development of the military strength of the U.P.A. He and his collaborators indefatigably worked on the organization of the U.P.A., on its training and supplies, and on leading its operations. After the death of Major Klachkivsky and General Stupnytsky, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council delegated to General TARAS CHUPRYNKA the responsibility for all operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.). He was appointed Supreme Commander of the U.P.A. and he held this post till his death in battle in March, 1950.

The growth of the U.P.A. kept step with the growth of the O.U.N. as the sole important political organization in Ukraine during the German occupation and now. But the second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets raised apprehension that it would turn out to be of

long duration. The general strategy of the Ukrainian Independence Movement had therefore to be broadened and designed accordingly. First of all, however, full national unity had to be secured. It became evident that the supreme command of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation could not rest in the hands of only one party. This conclusion was reached as a result of the development in Ukraine during the German occupation. In a very short time the U.P.A. lost its appearance of a guerilla organization of one political party, and became all-national in its character. The lines of the U.P.A. were swollen with Ukrainian peasants, workers and intelligentsia who were not members of the O.U.N. Thus, the U.P.A. became an armed political organization common to all, in which the whole Ukrainian people participated and took pride. Even the most indifferent obeyed the orders of the U.P.A., regarding it as the Ukrainian rule. In this way the general consolidation of the Ukrainian nation into one military camp was brought about.

In this situation the necessity arose to give an outward expression of this internal consolidation by the form of a supreme directing body. It was necessary that a supreme political and state organ should crown the national struggle, in which all forces and elements taking part in the struggle would be represented. In June, 1944, a Ukrainian National Congress was summoned on the territory occupied by the U.P.A. This Congress gave birth to the SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL (ukr. U.H.V.R.), as the supreme state of the Ukrainian nation for the duration of its struggle for freedom and sovereignty. This Council is built on democratic principles. Its executive is the General Secretariat. At the head of each department there is a General Secretary. The aims and purposes of the Council are expressed in its Constitution and its Proclamation to the Ukrainian People. Some extracts of this Proclamation are quoted below.

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council swears before you Ukrainian people, that :

- It will fight to make you the sole master of your soil.
- For a just social order without oppression and exploitation.
- For the destruction of serfdom.
- For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land.
- For free enterprise for the worker.
- For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of the economic order.
- For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national culture . . .

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council greets the struggle of enslaved peoples for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbours, in neighbourly friendship, and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies . . .

In addition to the above proclamation and its constitution, the Council worked out a political programme for the entire Ukrainian

Underground. The programme envisages a democratic process of installing government authority in a free Ukraine, and reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their form of government. Economic democracy is also an envisaged unit, it is based on the right of private ownership and free enterprise. The Communist system, states the programme of U.H.V.R., is alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to spirit of the Ukrainian people.

Such was the Ukrainian Underground Movement at the time of the German occupation of Ukraine and such was the Ukrainian Underground Government which came into being on the eve of the Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine. According to its constitution it must be always in Ukraine, and only its delegations are permitted to go outside the borders of Ukraine. For the great part of the Ukrainian people it is now a true Ukrainian government, opposed to the "Quisling" Soviet-Ukrainian government of Manuilsky, Kaganovich and Khrushchov. As such it is recognized by the U.P.A. and by the broad masses of the Ukrainian population.

The German retreat from Ukraine was utilized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) to gather for its use as many weapons as possible. New methods of worrying were adopted. The Ukrainian people met the Soviets fully prepared for the new struggle which will continue until full victory is won.

(B)—THE PRESENT SITUATION OF THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (U.P.A.).

(1)—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT (U.P.A.).

Among the movements of liberation prevailing among the other nations subjugated by the Soviets, the greatest publicity has recently been acquired by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.), which had been called in the Western press by the name of one of Ukrainian patriots—Stephen BANDERA (leader of the O.U.N.)—"Banderivtsi" or "Banderovici." The U.P.A. is the revolutionary army of the Ukrainian people and one of the forms of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. For three years now since the end of military operations it has been proudly offering stern opposition to the powerful Soviet Union, whose excellently trained detachments of the M.V.D. (G.P.U.=N.K.V.D.—Soviet political police, or Red Gestapo as it is sometimes called) are not quite capable of coping with it.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) is fighting today on the steppes of Ukraine in the Dnieper regions; from time to time it occupies whole areas of the Carpathian Mountains, and the boggy regions of northern Ukraine known as Polesia. For months it fought in south-eastern Poland, i.e. on the Ukrainian ethnic territories which Moscow had given to Poland. Sometimes the detachments of the U.P.A. are fighting in Czechoslovakia hand in hand with the Slovak nationalists. They even cross Hungary and Austria into Yugoslavia where they lend a helping hand to the Yugoslavia's

"krussars" who are struggling with the tyranny of Tito. Other detachments of the Ukrainian insurgents pass White-Ruthenia and the wilderness of Bialowieza and enter Lithuania to join the Lithuanian fighters for freedom, or to cross into East Prussia, where live the Ukrainians re-settled from Poland. They appear on Polish soil, in Silesia and Poznania, near Lublin and Bialystok, and co-operate with Polish insurgents from National Armed Forces (N.S.Z.). In Vienna and in Bratislava they distribute leaflets of A.B.N.—the organization formed on the initiative of the U.P.A. as early as 1943, whose chief aim is to co-ordinate the underground action of the other peoples subjugated by the Soviets. The real scope of the U.P.A. actions in under-Soviet Europe goes far beyond the cradle of the U.P.A.-movement—Ukraine. In their fight of long duration the Ukrainians were able to develop the best methods, and to create the convincing ideology of the struggle against the Bolshevik totalitarianism.

Nevertheless, the chief centre of this fight for freedom was and still remains Ukraine. At the moment bloody purges are taking place in Soviet Ukraine. As some years before, in 1930, 1934 and 1937/38, its victims are Ukrainian scientists and scholars, artists and prominent figures who are charged with "Ukrainian nationalism." Ukrainian press and literary life were most heavily hit. Premier Khrushchov charged the Communist Party of Ukraine with failing "to organize widespread criticism of the hostile Ukrainian nationalist ideology in the press." He revealed that a "mass replacement of the Party's personnel" is taking place. This purge is an additional proof that legal methods of opposing the existing regime in the realities of life in the Soviet Union are unthinkable. Such Soviet practices compel the nations enslaved by Bolshevism to fight in their underground organizations. This truth was long realised by the Ukrainians who have been fighting Bolshevik imperialism for the last thirty years. This fact places the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in a prominent position among the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Central Asia as well as the "satellite" nations in the Soviet sphere of influence.

The Soviet Union respects no boundaries in its cold war against the Western States. It tries to enlist the aid of every force of subversion and disintegration in all the five continents. It has its corps of conscious and unconscious agents working on American soil. The entire recent trend of events, the formation of the Cominform, the breakdown of discussion about Germany, the Soviet blockade of Berlin point to a period of acute crisis in the relations between Soviet totalitarian dictatorship and the free world. The Western States must look for their allies behind the "Iron Curtain." With others, Ukraine can be a most valuable ally if the possibilities of its Resistance Movement are fully realized and exploited in the Western States. It is high time that a world which is seriously interested in stopping the advance of Communism should take note of these possibilities and help the Ukrainians in their gallant struggle against the Kremlin.



Ukrainian Insurgents in Forest Entrenchments, near Lviv



Detachment of Ukrainian Insurgents in Volynia



Ukrainian Insurgents in Carpathian Mountains



Ukrainian Insurgents pursuing Russian Invaders



Ukrainian Insurgents cleaning weapons



District Leader of Ukrainian Underground Forces, (O.U.N.)

Українська-Делегация
в ЦК АБН



Ukrainian Insurgents on Propaganda March to Slovakia



Ukrainian Red Cross Staff with Wounded U.P.A. Soldiers and Guard

THE WORK OF THE UKRAINIAN RED CROSS

IN THE

UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (U.P.A.).

THERE are few people today who have not heard of the fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for the freedom and independence of Ukraine. Like every other army waging war, the U.P.A. has casualties. The sick and wounded have to be withdrawn from the field of action and be nursed back to health before they can return to their units. Their nursing demands an immense amount of energetic work, and the expenses are high. Aside from that, it means sacrifice—the sacrifice of those men and women who, under the most adverse circumstances, in a country occupied by the enemy, and unknown to the outside world, risk all, to save the valuable lives of the fighters for freedom.

The special ambulance detachments of the U.P.A. which since 1943 bear the name "*Ukrainian Red Cross*" and carry on the tradition of the Ukrainian Red Cross of the 1918-1920 struggle, have this task in hand. As a doctor who has been active with the U.P.A. for years, I feel called upon to give the public beyond our borders, a report of their work.

As the U.P.A. grew in numbers its structure became more and more complicated. As planned by the Supreme Command of the U.P.A., cells of the Ukrainian Red Cross were formed in the whole territory covered by the U.P.A., more especially, of course, in the wooded parts. It must be said here, that cells had been formed in North Ukraine when the army was created, now, however, they were extended over the whole field of U.P.A. activity.

MEDICAL SUPPLIES.

The most vital question we had to face when the Ukrainian Red Cross was founded was how and where to get medicine. No one was inclined to drop medicine for us from aeroplanes, and the International Red Cross, as we know, was not in the least interested in the problem of helping the sick and wounded soldiers of the U.P.A. We were carrying on a sanguinary battle against two armies of occupation in these days—against the Germans and the Russians.

No one in the West, however, evinced the slightest interest in what was going on. Under these circumstances we had to depend on our own strength and ingenuity.

The underground net of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) has been a great help to us, for through it we were able to establish contact with the Ukrainian medical world and organize the purchase of medicines and surgical instruments on a large scale. As an example, I may say, that in the town of Lwiw (Lemberg) alone, through the assistance of Ukrainian students and doctors, medicines to the amount of one and a half million Polish sloty were purchased for U.P.A. in the spring of 1944.

Fighting groups of the O.U.N. and detachments of the U.P.A. attacked the enemy's ambulance depots and confiscated the captured medical stores. The voluntary donations of medicine, bandage material, too, must not be forgotten, which the Ukrainian Red Cross received from doctors and chemists.

The medicines were divided among the large ambulance centres and then distributed to the different units. At the same time underground stores were built in the woods.

TRAINING.

The second problem to be solved was no easier than the first. That was the training of the ambulance staffs. U.P.A. Ambulance schools were established; separate ones for men and girls. Only voluntary candidates who were deeply imbued with the high ideals for which the U.P.A. was fighting and who had passed at least six classes in school were accepted by these schools. When their training was finished each member was given a diploma showing the results of the course. Then the work at the ambulance centres and U.P.A. units began. The U.P.A. issued a special text-book for them entitled "The Ambulance Manual." Its authors were Dr. Jurks and Dr. Schuwar.

RUSSIAN OCCUPATION.

When, in the summer of 1944 the Russian occupation came again in the whole of Ukraine, and the U.P.A. became involved in hard-fought battles, there began a time for the Ukrainian Red Cross which words fail me to describe. Countless wounded U.P.A. soldiers had to be put up in the underground military hospitals and shelters which were usually damp, where there was no daylight, and, most important of all, where the rest and quiet, so necessary for a convalescent, failed entirely.

The raids of the Bolsheviks in villages and woods made it impossible to use buildings above ground for the sick and wounded. Bolshevik terror increased the difficulty of obtaining food and supplies. As a rule the enemy never gave our wounded men who fell into their hands any medical help. Neither the Russians, nor the Poles, nor the Germans, have recognized the international laws which oblige an army to care for a wounded enemy. The U.P.A. doctors, however, always gave first aid to the enemy's soldiers, and after they had been questioned by the security service of the U.P.A., they were sent to

our hospitals. The U.P.A. always respected all the international agreements concerning a fighting army. That our enemies did not do so is only a confirmation of their barbarity.

UNDERGROUND HOSPITALS.

A hospital of the Ukrainian Red Cross, that is to say an underground ambulance centre, was generally built below ground for six to fifteen beds, and had a kitchen and an office. Nothing above ground was allowed to indicate what lay below, which meant that every bit of clay, shavings etc. which are unavoidable when building, had to be cleared away. The Russians and Poles generally made raids with soldiers placed at four to five paces from each other, when they were on the search for subterranean ambulance centres, munition and food dumps, so that the greatest care had to be taken to camouflage everything perfectly and preserve strictest secrecy.

The technical units of the U.P.A. who erected the subterranean buildings have covered themselves with glory by creating military hospitals, complete with ventilation, water supply and drains, below ground. It happened sometimes that the wounded soldiers lying in these hospitals heard the enemy walking over head, without being discovered. But there were times, too, when the enemy came upon these underground hospitals, whether by chance, by well organized spying, or sometimes by torturing captured U.P.A. men till they disclosed the places where ambulance centres were to be found.

LEMKIWSCHTSCHYNA, THE TRIANGLE OF DEATH.

The Ukrainian Red Cross suffered the severest losses in Lemkiwschtschyna in the spring of 1947. (Lemkiwschtschyna is an ancient Ukrainian ethnographic territory which is now within the Polish state.) As the Poles, after many futile attempts to destroy the U.P.A. troops in this area, saw they could not do it alone, they made a military pact with Moscow and Prague, April 7, 1947. What may be called a triangle of death was thereby created. The Ukrainian population was expelled in two stages, in 1946 and April 1947, from this area, as well as from Posjannja, Pidlaschscha and Cholmschtschyna, which also belonged ethnographically to Ukraine (now too under Polish domination). As a consequence the U.P.A. troops operating in this area were without supplies and the "allies," the Soviet Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia gave them and the Ukrainian Red Cross one heavy blow after another.

DESTRUCTION OF AMBULANCE UNIT.

One of the heroic episodes in the general offensive against this sector of the U.P.A. front was the destruction of the ambulance centre at Chreschtschata (Lemkiwschtschyna) on January 23, 1947.

Having learned the whereabouts of this centre, the enemy began a regular siege with a detachment of 500 men under a colonel. At

that time there were twelve people in the hospital, Dr. Rataj, Orest the chemist, ambulance man Arpad, three women nurses, and six patients. The call to capitulate was answered with shots. A Polish N.W.K.D. man who was present at this siege and later taken prisoner by the U.P.A. told the tragic story of that heroic defence, which never stopped day or night. The enemy wished to capture the inmates alive but did not succeed. One volley after the other cracked out of the hospital and hand-grenades, too, causing the besiegers casualties.

When ammunition was at an end, the defenders killed themselves with the last rounds, and one man fired a 100 litre drum of petrol so that the whole place, including all documents, was destroyed. Not one person surrendered.

Even the enemy press, Czech and Polish, reported the heroism of that ambulance unit, at the same time saying that only support from abroad could have made the excellent equipment of such an underground hospital possible. In reality, however, it was the self-sacrifice of the Ukrainian population and the superhuman efforts of the Ukrainian Red Cross that set up such hospitals.

MEDICINAL PLANTS, COLLECTED.

During the German occupation the Ukrainian Red Cross had given instructions for the school children to collect medicinal plants and how they were to be preserved, for it was evident even then, that after the renewed occupation by the Russians it would be still harder for the Ukrainian Red Cross to get medicine. That it was possible to accomplish this task was due to the widespread net of cells established by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. At hay-harvest time and in the woods children were often to be met collecting medicinal plants, and when asked for whom, they would reply "For our wounded." A good many plants, of course, became useless through inexpert handling or lack of proper places to store them, but in spite of that these collections enabled the Ukrainian Red Cross to form a reserve for use in later times. This activity had another value, an educational value, it brought the youth of the country into the struggle and these young people will never forget our fight and aims.

To explain how medicinal plants should be used the Ukrainian Red Cross issued a manual, "The Medicine Plant and its Use." Every U.P.A. ambulance man had to carry this book with him and know all its rules by heart.

The food question was most satisfactorily settled, thanks to the good work of the commissariat. The daily ration for a wounded or sick soldier in the centres, usually consisted of :

fat	....	....	approx. 2 oz.
meat	....	....	" $\frac{1}{2}$ lb.
bread	....	....	" 1 lb. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ oz.
potatoes	....	....	1 kilo.
sugar	....	....	approx. 1 oz.

besides a number of other products, such as honey, dried vegetables, onions, cabbage, peas etc. It happened, though, at times when the enemy was active, that sick, wounded and ambulance staff had to "fast," eating potatoes only with salt and the partisan's food, the so-called "Tschyr."

Generally the ambulance centres received sufficient foodstuffs from the army and economic department to lay in a store for five to six months. The foodstuffs were stored in special depots below ground. At times of great enemy activity and the blockade of the forests, the ambulance centres were deprived of fresh vegetables from the villages and had to fall back on their stores, which were then replenished in more peaceful days.

It is thus no wonder that the general health of the sick and wounded rapidly improved. It must be said that, in spite of the lack of proper food when heavy fighting and raids were going on, and in spite of living winter and summer out in the open, the health of the U.P.A. soldiers was remarkably good, much better than was to be expected. The most prevalent illnesses were heart diseases in the mountains, and lung trouble in the valleys.

APPEARANCE OF THE U.P.A. SOLDIER.

Hands burned black by sun, wind and—roasting potatoes ; coat with burnt or faded patches, a cap, torn boots or straw shoes, and a smile on his face ; a keen eye, and an iron will expressed in all his features. That was the U.P.A. soldier as I saw him again and again in our homeland. He was always ready to fight for his country and to bear any hardship, finding in himself new strength to carry on.

MEDICAL STAFF.

In the beginning the medical work was done by doctors, but in time, owing to heavy losses, the number of doctors decreased, and ambulance men often had to take their places. It thus occurred that only battalions disposed of a proper medical staff. As to nationality, the doctors were not always Ukrainians.

The lowest rank in the Ambulance Corps of the U.P.A. was the ambulance man of a squad, the next, the ambulance man or doctor of a company (100 men) and the highest rank was the battalion doctor. The duty of the ambulance man was to give the wounded in his squad first aid, and look after them until they could be taken to a collecting point after the battle. There the doctor or the company ambulance man examined the bandages to see whether they were properly adjusted, when necessary he gave an injection. Then the wounded were taken under guard on a horse wagon, or on litters, sometimes carried on a comrade's shoulders, to the nearest ambulance station.

The duty of the squad ambulance man was to care for the sick and attend to the less severely wounded, for which he always carried a small field medicine case. He was not permitted to use a hypodermic needle. The doctor or ambulance man for a company, was

responsible for the health of the whole company. Now and then he held a medical inspection of the entire company, attended to sanitary conditions, and saw to the cleanliness of his charges, also giving the soldiers talks on hygiene. When U.P.A. troops were attacking enemy bases he had to see that the captured medical material was taken to the ambulance centre. He carried a larger dispensary case than the squad officer and the most important surgical instruments as well.

The medical officer of the battalion was chiefly concerned with administrative affairs and organization. He reviewed the Companies, gave instructions and recommendations to the ambulance men and arranged for their training. He kept in touch with the regional doctor, who was responsible for all the ambulance stations in his area.

The pharmacist of the area supplied the medicines, not only to the ambulance centres or stations, but also the army, all from his underground laboratory, which was stocked with medical plants and bought or captured raw material.

TRANSPORT DIFFICULTIES.

The transport of the wounded which causes even a regular army with cars, trains and planes at its disposal difficulties, was a still greater problem for the U.P.A. In difficult terrain where the enemy was in force, the wounded were transported on stretchers or carried like children, often without having had any medical aid beforehand, by devious ways and over stock and stone, the soldiers generally working in shifts when the casualties were heavy.

When the wounded had reached a so-called "dead point" i.e. a place where little was to be feared from the enemy, the stretcher bearer went to the ambulance station to report that a new patient had arrived. The doctor or ambulance man then came out and the patient was carried in with eyes bound so that he should not recognize the entrance again. The old method, "better know too little than too much, lest you should be tortured and give information." In the same way the soldiers when healed were led back to their units.

The underground net of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists took care of the wounded who were unable to fight again, in places which were practically inaccessible to the enemy. The enemy was out to destroy the fighting formations of the U.P.A., which enabled the O.U.N., taking advantage of that fact, to quarter the men in among the villagers. Besides which the U.P.A. kept the Bolshevik administration in constant fear, so that they dare not interfere too much with the home life of the population. Every case of repression on the part of the Bolsheviks is followed by reprisals from the U.P.A.; and there is no mercy for the agents of Moscow.

WINTER.

The snow increased the problems and difficulties of transport, footprints and marks left by the sleighs would show only too clearly

where the hospital was. The enemy had to be misled and no traces left anywhere near the ambulance station. Long, long marches were therefore necessary, the wounded and their escort suffering badly from frost, as winter equipment was not always available.

SUFFERING POPULATION.

The Ukrainian Red Cross did not confine itself to the ambulance centres and units of the U.P.A. Wherever and whenever they could they assisted the Ukrainian population which was being tortured by the Russian and Polish imperialists. The Ukrainian lived in constant terror of banishment or annihilation, and very seldom received any medical help from the occupying power. In that ethnographically Ukrainian territory which through the Moscow-Warsaw treaty had come within the Red Polish state, the Ukrainians did not get even the most elementary medical aid. That was one of the Polish methods to force the population to leave their native country, but the Ukrainian resisted stubbornly, the struggle costing heavy losses on both sides. In the district of Lemkiwschtschyna, in which I was, 82 persons, men and women and children of the civil population of Sawadka Morochowska were killed. In Karlykiw—sixteen, among whom was the whole family of a clergyman; in Beresko Nyschnja—nineteen persons, and in Terko thirty-one.

On the east side of the river Sjan, thirty-five Ukrainian houses were destroyed completely, twelve houses almost entirely, while forty-six were partly damaged. 609 persons were murdered, 1998 arrested (443 of whom never returned), 5,437 were robbed. All that happened before December 31, 1946.

In the neighbourhood of Peremyschl there were massacres in Bachiw, Beresko and Siwtschyna 208 Ukrainians were murdered. These acts were committed in the neighbourhood of Birtscha, by bands of Poles. A special detachment of the Polish militia raided Pawlukoma and murdered 380 Ukrainians there, then 870 in Pjatkowa, Iskary and Schogatyn. In Beresko a band of Poles attacked the Church during divine service and beheaded Bilyk, the priest, on the threshold of the building.

The U.P.A. detachments, when they reached the scenes of these catastrophes, had their hands full, succouring their suffering countrymen, while their hearts were filled with rage and thoughts of revenge. Many precious medicines had to be used to save our wounded and crippled peasants, but we did not count the cost, for in this way we could, at least in part, repay them for the support they had given us in times of stress.

EPIDEMICS SPREAD.

It was not only the bullets and bayonets which decimated the Ukrainian population. Typhus and other diseases broke out among the people and the soldiers of the U.P.A. The Ukrainian Red Cross began an organized action to combat epidemics, and our doctors and nurses risked their own lives to check the dangerous spread of infection.

The enemy state, as already said, did nothing against these diseases; on the contrary, in some parts of Ukraine they began to wage a bacteriological war against the U.P.A. and the population which supported it.

It goes without saying that such methods were contrary to all international agreement, as well as the most elementary sense of humanity. From 1946 the M.W.D. sent agents into the villages frequented by U.P.A. men, to introduce bugs infected with typhus.

The Ukrainian Red Cross organised inoculation. The vaccine was soon exhausted and it was imperative to get more. There was nothing for it but to buy on the "black market" at high prices. Here, too, the enemy resorted to inhuman measures, for the vaccine sold on the black market with the usual labels, in reality contained poison. No one, at first, could understand why the patient died after treatment. Experiments were made on dogs and cats, till at last the truth came out, that the enemy was systematically selling poison on the black market as remedies.

ORGANIZATION.

In conclusion I should like to say a few words about the general organization of the Ukrainian Red Cross and its founders.

The Ukrainian Red Cross consists of two divisions:

1. The military division which works with the U.P.A. troops.
2. The civilian which works for the population and supports the military units.

DUTIES.

The Red Cross has the following duties:

1. To acquire qualified doctors for service in the U.P.A., and to train the ambulance staffs;
2. To organize medical assistance in the army;
3. Procure the necessary instruments and medicines;
4. Organize the transport of the sick and wounded.

The Ukrainian Red Cross carries out its work according to international agreements and usage regarding the methods of fighting, and the treatment of the wounded. The families of deceased enemy soldiers are informed by special letter, bearing the stamp of the Ukrainian Red Cross. In these letters it is stated that the deceased was killed fighting against the U.P.A., not for a just cause, that he was not defending his country, its people or its church, but that he was serving Moscow and the Soviet-regime. The documents of the dead man are enclosed in the letter as proof of the correctness of the news.

Such information induces fear of the U.P.A. on the one hand, and on the other admiration for the excellent organization of the fight for freedom.

ORGANIZERS.

Of the organizers of the Ukrainian Red Cross whom we know, the following names must be mentioned:

Surgeons—Jurko, Schuwar, Arpad, Nechrup.

Physicians—Dr. Marta Tarnawska.

Nurses—Misses Marijka, Bogdanna, Lesja.

There are many others whom I do not mention because I do not know them; names which speak not only of self-sacrifice, but also of heroic deaths for their idealism and their great love of their country. Of course, the broad masses know little of their daily work, which perhaps would not even impress them as anything extraordinary or heroic. But their activity and work have helped the U.P.A. army to become what it is today, the heroic army of the Ukrainian people, known all over the world. And for that very reason the Ukrainian Red Cross is waiting for its historian.

MY EXPERIENCES WITH THE U.P.A. IN THE CARPATHIAN MOUNTAINS.

HOW I CAME IN TOUCH WITH THE U.P.A.

By General FERENC FARKAS DE KISBARNAK.

IN the spring of 1944, when the Hungarian Corps marched over the Tartar Pass, the whole area presented a most unfavourable picture. Besides the difficult country, the snow-blocked roads, the mighty forests and other obstacles, the troops, especially those in the rear, commandos and reinforcements, were constantly exposed to partisan attacks.

Rifle and machine gun fire, sometimes even bomb throwers, from three to six thousand feet summit, was the order of the day, and nothing could be done about it.

As Corps Commander and Commanding General, I declared martial law in the first days of May, and called upon the inhabitants in the field of action to desist from all partisan activity, as anyone caught would be tried by martial law.

The Hungarian army was fighting only against the Soviet enemy, to protect its country from Bolshevism, and would meet loyal inhabitants in the spirit of peace and understanding.

The partisans were threatening my right wing, the 27th Szekler Division in Zabie, which had about a 150 km. supply line, and their sphere of action greatly favoured partisan activity. Every attack meant heavy casualties, and supplies were often almost at a standstill. Whatever the Division undertook against the partisans was futile, and although the 6th Corps took every precaution to secure the success of these operations, and had the apparent support of the population, not a prisoner was taken.

In April and May there was great partisan activity in Zielonetal, and the 201st Division was detailed to mop up that valley. Once, when a party had surrounded a partisan shelter, a young man came out with a white flag, declaring they were Ukrainian insurgents and not Russian partisans, and were willing to fight along with the Hungarian troops against the Bolshevich red partisans. Thus it came to my knowledge that in our area there were not only red partisans but also national Ukrainians, the U.P.A.

This was further confirmed on May 25, when at Zabie in the area of the 27th Division the insurgent Kimejczuk fell into our hands. When interrogated, he declared he was not afraid of death, would say nothing and was ready to die for Ukraine's freedom. I liked the fanatical Ukrainian. At our suggestion that he might bring his commander to us in order to discuss the question of our joint work he agreed to bring about a meeting. Kimejczuk was released and he kept his word.

After discussions with the U.P.A. the following agreement was reached :

- (a) The fight against Bolshevism is mutual. Ukrainians and Hungarians are to support each other and will not go against each other with arms or in any other way.
- (b) Possible friction to be investigated and settled peaceably with the mutual understanding of comrades in arms.
- (c) The Hungarian troops to fight in the front lines, the U.P.A. behind the front.
- (d) The Hungarian troops to have regard, as far as possible, to the interests of the Ukrainian population.
- (e) In order to preserve contact, and to accelerate the interchange of information, the U.P.A. to detail a liaison officer to the 6th Hungarian Corps.
- (f) The U.P.A. requires no material support, it only requests that its sick and wounded may be treated in Hungarian military hospitals.

After these negotiations and the agreement, U.P.A. partisan activity ceased in the area under the 6th Hungarian Corps and a quiet life and an undisturbed supply line were secured.

The Ukrainians came out of hiding and returned to their homes, where they began to cultivate their fields, knowing that the Hungarians were only fighting to defend their own mother country, and that in this struggle they could depend on the support and sympathy of the population. Furthermore, for the future it is not a matter of indifference whether Hungary has an independent national Ukrainian State, steered in the brotherhood of arms, as a neighbour, or a gigantic Imperium.

Major Bohdan Zubenko also speaks of this brotherhood in arms in the following order of the day :

U.P.A. Headquarters,
11.989/44 D.Z.

Extract.

Order No. 896/44

The Soviet Russian hordes have resumed their attacks in our country. The battle between two imperialist powers, Germany and Russia, is about to take a decisive turn.

In view of our future tasks we must all be organized in one firm block. The strength of our military organization has reached several hundred thousand.

The enemy must not be provoked by us, but if he provokes us we must stand firm. We must all remember that the hour of our liberation is near, so we must not shed our blood needlessly.

The Hungarian troops are on our side in fighting Communists. It must not be forgotten that sooner or later our leaders will have to treat the Hungarians with understanding. We can with confidence state that even today we have achieved an agreement with Hungarians, a thing which would have been unheard-of in military or political spheres before 1938. Our soldiers must be briefed as to these facts, and their attention drawn to the possibility of a collaboration between Hungary and Ukraine. He who cannot, or will not, understand this is not worthy of being a member of our Liberation Organization.

We must keep up the good neighbour attitude to Hungary, as by that Moscow's strength will weaken. The Hungarians have recognized the value of our arms, and, should necessity arise, would willingly stand side by side with us. Whoever tries to spoil or weaken this good relationship will be expelled from our ranks.

We have shown the world what we are capable of. As allies we will have only those who put nothing in the way of our fight for a free Ukraine. We have shed much blood for our freedom, now we must prepare for the death of the imperialists.

We need self-reliant men. No Ukrainian soldier may be left in ignorance of what the present situation demands from us, or what the war between two adversaries means. As I mentioned in my previous orders, avoid everything which can harm us.

Long live liberty ! Long live Ukraine, Free and Independent !

Long live peaceful collaboration with our neighbours ! Death to all imperialists !

The Supreme Command of the Fighting
Forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army,
Major BOHDAN ZUBENKO.

THE IRON CURTAIN.

After World War II there came no freedom and no peace. Behind the Iron Curtain a system of terrorization reigns and the nations suffer and bleed.

To my mind the great political differences in the world cannot be wiped out without a war. Today the whole world knows and sees that the day of reckoning with the Bolsheviks cannot be evaded. In this connection I must declare that the decisive factor in the coming third world war will be the people who fight for an ideal. Thousands of such will determine the war if they are not forced to die as single individuals for their convictions.

In future wars great moral strength will be required. That alone can lead the cardinal ideals—the liberation of mankind, protection of religious freedom and human dignity—to victory.

Members of the oppressed peoples, in each of whose families someone has been murdered by the Russians, or deported to Siberia, are sure to fight with greater tenacity than the Western soldiers. The indigenous "Insurgent Armies" are better able to fight, knowing Russian tactics, training, weapons and the country and—most important of all—the real feelings of the soldier and peoples.

The Underground Movements, national groups of partisans, especially the U.P.A. troops, have experienced Russian methods to their cost, having fought for years within the Soviet States. There are thousands of U.P.A. soldiers fighting today just as they did in the Carpathians, in mountains, forests and big towns. They are accustomed to going for months without meat, to working hard all day long on a crust of bread.

These U.P.A. soldiers will know in the future how to cut the Russians off from their bases, they will be able to start a revolution in the whole country and obtain reinforcements.

Atomic bombs alone will not be able to defeat Russia. Two previous wars waged against Russia without indigenous soldiers ended in Russia's victory.

Today there are hearts to be won behind the Iron Curtain, and the power of resistance can be increased a thousandfold by support from the West, and secure Europe's victory.

F. FARKAS DE KISBARNAK,
General.