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Ukrainian Resistance

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Ukrainian Resistance

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Ukrainian Resistance

A. Area

1. Geographically, the Ukraine is a loosely defined region stretching northwesterly from the Sea of ~~Azov~~ along the Black Sea littoral, across the rich plains of Southern Russia, up to the present Soviet-Polish frontier. At present the geographical area of Ukraine is contained within the borders of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. It includes the CARPATHO-UKRAINE, Eastern GALACIA, and VOL-HYNIA. Before 1939 the western part of the Ukraine was dominated by Poland, which had acquired this region from the Austro-Hungarian empire. This territory previously under Polish control is referred to as "Western Ukraine", while the eastern region which was under Russian control is called "Eastern Ukraine."

2. The SUB-CARPATHIAN, LVOV, BORISLAV and CERNAUTI areas are close to the Slovakian and Rumanian mountains, which are most ideal for infiltration and buildup of para-military etc. operations. Because of the very suitable terrain which covers the above areas (almost completely covered with mountains and woods) they represent not only strong bastions, but also suitable bases for spreading out in the direction of TARNOPOL, BROSKUREV, ZHMERINKA to the powerful double track railroad line which leads from ODESSA to LVOV, PRZEMYSL and RAVA RUSKA.

The KOVEL-BREST LITOVSK and NOVOGRAD-VOLYNSKI area covers the southern part of the Pripet marshes and might also be considered as part of this strong natural bastion since it is situated in the heart of the Soviet deep rear.

Part I

Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

1. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was created in 1942-1943 for the purpose of fighting the Nazis and for the protection of the Ukrainian population. It is the military force of the underground government of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (UHVR). The UPA represents the only important resistance group operating at present in the Ukrainian SSR.

This military arm, by its operations against the Germans in the Ukraine, especially by the destruction of German communications networks and German supplies, and large-scale sabotage of German occupation authority and administration, played a vital part in the destruction of the German forces in the East. With the retreat of the Germans from the Ukrainian territory, this struggle turned with equal ferocity and determination against the Soviet occupants of the Ukraine.

The struggle of the Ukrainian resistance movement, for the liberation of the Ukraine from under the Soviet Communist domination is being conducted in practically all phases of life.

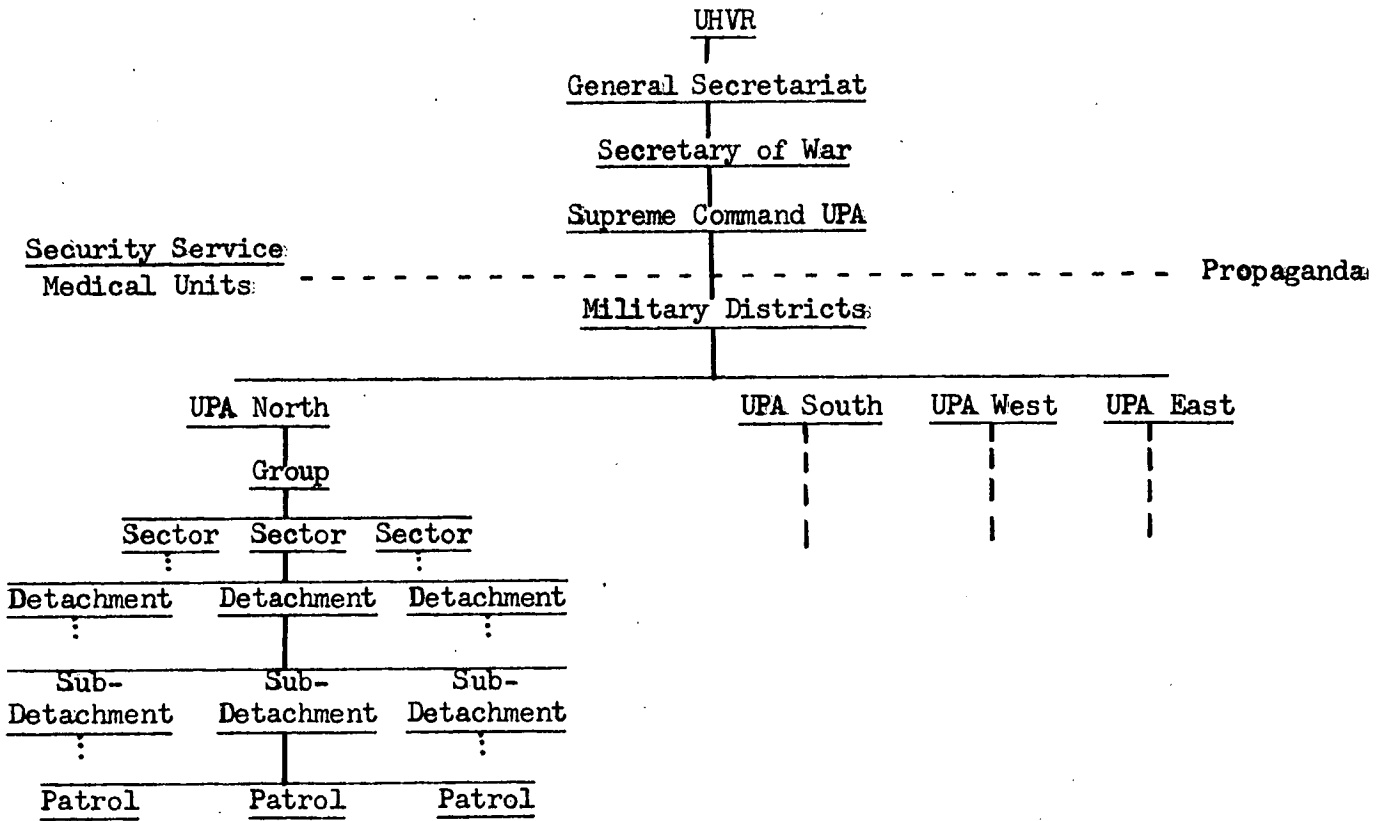
Until 1947 the organizational structure of the UHVR had within it the General Secretariat corresponding somewhat to the cabinet of the United States Government, with the Secretary General, like the United States President, responsible for the official activities of the other secretaries. The Secretary General of the General Secretariat is also the Secretary of War at the present time. He is the Chief of the Supreme Command (Staff) of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and has the title of Supreme Commander.

When the UPA was operating at its maximum efficiency, it was organized on somewhat conventional military lines. During World War II the following combat areas of the UPA were established:

- UPA Group East (Regions: KAMENETS-PODOLSKI, VYNNYTSYA)
- UPA Group South (Regions: BUKOVINA and ODESSA)
- UPA Group West (Regions, Galician: STANISLAV, LVOV, TARNOPOL, DROHOBYCH, and since 1945, also the CARPATNO-UKRAINE)
- UPA Group North (Regions: Northern VOLYNSKAYA and ROVENSKAYA OBLASTS, as well as BREST, PINSK, and POLESYE OBLASTS).

The organizational structure during the war period to about 1947 is shown on the following page.

UHVR Organization Structure
(As During World War II)



Unit Equivalents

Brigade - Group
 Battalion - Sector
 Company - Detachment
 Squad - Patrol

Rank of Commander

Colonel - Lt. Colonel
 Major
 Captain
 2nd Lieutenant
 Officer Candidate

2. Date of Information: Up to 19 July 1948.

Source: Two members of UPA who exfiltrated Westward arriving 10 October 1948.

The following large resistance areas exist, in which the resistance is directed from a fixed central point and who are in communication with each other.

- A. Resistance area or district GALICIA.
- B. District of Resistance VOLHYNIA (had died down in 1945, but the resistance in this territory has been reactivated)
- C. District of Resistance CARPATHO-UKRAINE. As a result of pressure upon the farmers in place of the former patronage, the resistance in this territory has been markedly stronger.
- D. District of Resistance POLESIA.
- E. District of Resistance BUKOVINA and BESSARABIA. A particularly well-developed system of communications exists with GALICIA.

In addition to these districts of resistance, there exists a strong Ukrainian resistance group in Eastern Ukraine, especially in KIEV, KHARKOV, and ODESSA, as a consequence of young Ukrainians considered as unreliable, having been deported into the industrial region.

In Poland, along the CURZON line, the Ukrainian resistance has been severely impaired because of deportation; for this reason numerous followers of the resistance movement are now living in the guise of Poles in the former German provinces of SILESIA, East PRUSSIA, and POMERANIA.

The whole military strength of the resistance movement is combined in the UPA, which represents an independent military organization. Chief of the UPA ^(until March 1948) is General TARAS CHUPRYNKA.

Part II

Activities of the Ukrainian Underground

1. The activities of the Ukrainian underground were and are conducted in practically all phases of life. Because of the topography and character of the western areas of Ukraine, these activities were and are more intense and systematic in the Western Ukraine (the

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CARPATHIAN Mountains, VOLHYN - in general, west of the DNIEPER River) than in other areas. In the beginning these activities were conducted by all possible means and methods, from armed frontal attacks by the UPA, to disruptive penetration and infiltration of the Communist Party and the Red Army.

- A. Among the victims of the UPA ambushes are some outstanding Soviet leaders:

1944 - the UPA ambushed and mortally wounded Soviet Marshall VATUTIN.

March 1947 - UPA men attacked and killed Lt. General Karol SWIERCZEWSKI, Vice Minister of Defense of Poland (the "General Walter" of the Spanish Civil War)

1948 - The UPA killed Lt. General MOSKOLENKO, high ranking MVD officer.

The representatives of the UHVR claim that 35,000 officers and non-commissioned officers of the MVD and MGB have fallen at the hands of the UPA during the period 1945 to January 1951.

1945, 46, 47, 48 - In the STANISLAV Oblast, partisan groups existed in large numbers. (During 1945, 46, 47, and 48 many Ukrainians were arrested by the MVD.) A state farm in STANISLAV region was attacked by a number of partisan troops in the Summer of 1947. All the buildings were burned, as well as all supplies that could not be carried away. Other attacks are mentioned in the report. (Source R-142-50, 3 Feb. 1950).

1945, 47 - Partisan activity in the CARPATHIAN region. Source mentions attacks on Soviet Communist Party officials at State Farms in the STRYJ area and the CZERNOWITZ oblast, and states that the movement was strongest in areas of LVOV, STANISLAV, DROHOBYCH, PRZEMYSL, and TERNOPOL. (Source: Soviet deserter - RT-150-50, 8 Feb. 1950)

1946-47 - frequent attacks by partisans upon State property were carried out in STANISLAV Oblast, Western Ukraine. (R-142-50, 3 Feb. 1950)

1947-48 - an UPA unit composed of three companies battles with Soviet forces for control of LEMKIVTSI area. Also UPA skirmishes with Soviet forces in various localities in the Western oblasts. (Source: Memoirs of a Ukrainian Insurgent Lieutenant Colonel - SODB-36986, 5 June 1951).

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1948 November - an MVD dragnet in NIKOLAYEV (4658N-3200E); uncovered a partisan headquarters. With exception of a few anti-Soviet leaflets and a printing press, the entire headquarters was evacuated in time. (Source: German PW)

1948-50 - small but numerous anti-Communist partisan bands have been operating along the Polish-USSR border, approximately 30 miles west of LVOV. These bands actively engage in armed encounters with Soviet Security Forces. (Source: R-177-50, 1 May 1950).

1949 - on 30 December 1949 the MGB Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, Lt. Gen. M. KOVALCHUK issued a proclamation to all resistance members to return peacefully to their normal occupation, under promise of a general amnesty (SODB-37589, 10 May 1951):

ORDER

OF THE MINISTER OF STATE SECURITY

OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

Regarding the Release from Criminal Responsibility of all Members of the Remnants of the Defeated Ukrainian Nationalist Bands in the Western Oblasts of the Ukraine SSR who voluntarily appear before the Organs of the Soviet Government for the Purpose of Unconditional Surrender.

No. 312 30 December 1949 City of Kiev

In the Spring of 1950, when it was seen that this appeal had failed to make any impression, strong large-scale repressive measures were undertaken throughout the Ukraine. In some areas detachments of 1,000 to 5,000 MGB troops were used in individual operations to clean up the district. In one district this sweep lasted about ten days. In others, they were repeated several times within a period of weeks. (SODB-53519, 17 June 1950).

1949, 1950 - during this period numerous reports originating from the archives of the underground movement were [disseminated]. These reports were, in effect, situation reports on various Western Ukrainian Oblasts and usually cover ten to fifty towns and villages. Mention is made of Soviet activity in the Oblasts and UPA skirmishes with Soviet Security

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forces. The number of partisans involved in the individual skirmishes averages about four in number. Also reported are UPA attacks on State farms and selsovets, dissemination of propaganda (giving the number of pamphlets, etc., distributed in an area) the anti-Soviet and anti-Kolkhoz demonstrations by the Ukrainian civilian population, names of individuals arrested and deported. Some of the reports mentioned above are as follows:

<u>AREA</u>	<u>PERIOD COVERED</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
ROVNO Oblast (BERESTECHKO and DEMYDIVSKA Raions)	1 Jan. 31 March 1951:	SODB-45448, 6 Feb. 52
" " "	7 Jan. 1950	SODB-45448, 6 Feb. 52
LVOV Oblast (BIBRKA Raion)	1948-1949	SODB-42937, 31 Oct. 51
<u>STANISLAV Oblast</u>		
<u>BOLEKHOV Raion</u>		
	June-July 1949	SODB-44719, 28 Jan. 52
	August 1949	SODB-44593, 20 Nov. 51
	Sept. 1949	SODB-44596, 19 Dec. 51
	1st Quarter 1950	SODB-35799, 13 Apr. 51
	January 1950	SODB-35947, 15 Aug. 51
	December 1950	SODB-35974, 17 Aug. 51
	March 1950	SODB-36635, 15 Aug. 51
<u>DOLINA Raion</u>	1945	SODB-47918, 5 June 52
<u>KALUSH Raion</u>	2nd Quarter 1949.	SODB-41469, 19 Sept 51
	October 1949	SODB-36919, 17 May 51
	November 1949	SODB-38298, 20 Aug. 51
	December 1949	SODB-44534, 17 Dec. 51
	2nd Quarter 1950	SODB-38533, 7 Jun 51
<u>PEREHINSKI Raion</u>	1st Quarter 1950	SODB-39523, 12 Sept. 51
<u>ROZHNITIVSKI Raion</u>	December 1949	SODB-54345, 30 July 52
<u>VYGODA Raion</u>	October 1949	SODB-46730, 27 May 52
	November 1949	SODB-46685, 4 Apr. 52
	December 1949	SODB-46741, 22 Jan. 52
<u>DROHOBYCH Oblast</u>		
<u>DROHOBYCH Raion</u>		
	July-September 1949	SODB-36962, 17 May 51
	1 Jul-30 Sept. 1949	SODB-37602, 11 May 51
	September 1949	SODB-41092, 20 Aug 51
	1st Quarter 1950	SODB-37569, 15 May 51
	2nd Quarter 1950	SODB-38492, 7 Jun 51

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<u>AREA</u>	<u>PERIOD COVERED</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
ZHURAVNE Raion	January 1950 February 1950	SODB-36322, 30 Apr. 51 SODB-36323, 25 Apr. 51 SODB-38515, 8 Jun 51
KOMARNO Raion GORODOK Raion YANIV Raion	(Gen. Report-Jan. Feb. 48)	RI-74-7-8-111, 22 Mar. 50
LVOV Oblast	July-Sept. 1949	SODB-36962, 17 May 51
ZHITOMIR Oblast	1945-1948	SODB-38865, 17 Jul 51

1951- UPA reported active in upper SILESIA. Polish government had to organize fighting detachments to counter-act the UPA. (Source: SVOBODA, No. 23, V. XIX, 4 June 1951).

1952 - A special force of MGB troops, consisting of 40 vehicles, was operating in DROHOBYCH Oblast in attempt to trap UPA units. (Source: W/T traffic from our team in the homeland and SODB-58884, 10 October 1952)

B. The following excerpts are taken from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, (82nd Congress, Second Session, 12 March 1952):

(1) "Resistance exists among the Georgian, Azerbaijanian, and Armenian peoples who have cooperated with scattered, roving units of Ukrainian Insurgents."

(2) "Frequently, with the cooperation of the Ukrainian UPA, Slovakian partisans meet in open battle with Czechoslovak troops and impede deportations to the Siberian and the DONBAS mines."

(3) "Until 1948 Polish and Ukrainian guerrilla units were active in the BIALOWIEZA Forest".

(4) "During the war, until German defeat at STALINGRAD, whole provinces in the Ukraine such as VOLHYNIA, POLISIA, and others (fell under control of the UPA)".

(5) "Taken from German archives is a report submitted by Ministerial-Director TAUBERT, dated 21 October 1943. It reads: "As known, the whole of VOLHYNIA is in the hands of the partisans. It is strange and surprising that the partisans are not Bolsheviks but exclusively Ukrainian partisans (Nationalists)".

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(6) "The UPA is a centralized outfit consisting of many groups, such as the old OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and commanded by a high military command with a Commander-in-Chief." During the war its numbers ranged over 100,000 men."

C. The following is a compilation of insurgents killed in the Ukraine between 1944 and 1950. These figures are not complete, but will give some indication of the amount of underground activity which took place during this period. (Source: SODB-377796, 23 May 1951):

<u>AREA</u>	<u>1944</u>	<u>1945</u>	<u>1946</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>
KOZLOVSKI Raion	26	7	3	13	4
MIKULINETSKI	28	34	8	11	8
VELIKO-BORKOVSKI Raion	22	37	21	8	8
VELIKO-GLUBOCHETSK Raion	43	40	37	14	16
ZALOZHTSEVSKI Raion	40	72	34	9	23
ZBOROVSKI Raion	34	105	13	7	5
	<u>1949</u>	<u>1950</u>			
BUKACHEVSKI Raion	5	3			
BURSHTYANSKI Raion	2	1			
PEREMYSHLYANI Raion	8	1			
BOGATINSKI Raion	10	6			
VILAIVTSI Raion	8	1			

D. Armed clashes with Soviet Security Forces took place in the following areas. In each case an average of five UPA partisans were involved. (Source: SODB-44172, 29 October 1951.)

DROHOBYCH Raion
PIDBUZH Raion
SAMBORSKI Raion
TURKA Raion

STRILKIV Raion
ROZHNITIV Raion
WYGODA Raion

PART III

Ukrainian Underground Resistance
Utilization of Persons Living Legally

Although it is impossible to say how many members of the underground or what percentage of the total live legally as citizens of the Soviet Union, there are five main categories of persons who, in a manner of speaking, lead double existences. That is, they are persons who live legally and overtly, but who are secretly members of the underground "reserve corps" at the same time. These categories are listed in descending order of importance to the underground, which corresponds to the number of persons found in each category:

1. Farmers and their sons
2. Workers in cities, towns, industrial areas, etc.
3. Exiles in Siberia.
4. Draftees in the Red Army.
5. Members of Communist organizations.

The Ukrainian underground finds its greatest support among farmers. Since the end of the Second World War, many UPA members were instructed to return home and legalize their existence at the first opportunity. The confusion which attended the close of the war and, later in 1946-1947, the mass forced evacuation of Ukrainian families from both sides of the present USSR-Polish borders offered excellent opportunities for partisans to slip back into legal livelihoods without being noticed.

The security and supply problems of the underground at the end of the war demanded that the total number of partisans in the woods be reduced. The systematic return of underground personnel to civilian life therefore became a standard practise.

Naturally, many farmers who furnished food and shelter to the partisans had never gone underground. Currently most of these farmers who contribute services and supplies to the underground are not members of any of the underground's organizations in any strict sense. Since there is practically no rural family in the Western Ukraine which does not have a relative or close friend who is in or has been in the underground, the UPA and all other branches of the underground depend on this section of civilian population more than any other. If the peasants were not sympathetic to the partisans, the latter could not exist.

Many members of the underground who lead normal, overt existences, live in cities or towns or factory areas. Western Ukrainians youths

are often sent to work in the Eastern Ukraine, particularly in the coal mines. These youths have spread resistance movement propaganda, formed cells, etc., in the factories.

City dwellers who have contact with small government officials often render valuable services to the underground. For example, a person with a friend in a printing office can arrange to have travel authorizations or work orders made. Since all important identity documents must have official stamps and seals on them, the importance of such contacts is readily understood.

Naturally, deportees in Siberia are unable to render any direct service to the underground forces in the Ukraine. They are able, however, to spread facts about the Ukrainian struggle for liberation among the other exiled nationalities. They strive to raise the morale of the other exiles and to organize anti-Communist cells. Thus, Ukrainian nationalists have organized anti-Communist sentiment in all areas where they find themselves.

Consonant with the UPA program of keeping the bulk of its potential members out of the woods, many youths are encouraged to join the Red Army when their age group is called up. By this means the UPA gives its candidates or members two years military training and often a specialist's skill. In addition, the UPA is able to thus keep abreast of the latest Soviet Army methods and equipment. Soldiers of the Red Army tend to be friendly towards members of the Ukrainian underground and vice versa. There is here a bond of sympathy between the downtrodden. The Red Army units which serve in the Ukraine spread by word of mouth accounts of UPA exploits when they are stationed outside the Ukraine.

The last category comprising underground members who hide their true motivation and lead double lives, overtly as ardent Communists but covertly as equally ardent Ukrainian nationalists, is by far the smallest group. Through past experience the underground has come to view the long-range penetration and sleeper operations with disfavor. In the earlier years, the underground did try to slip persons into the MVD, Communist Party, etc., but it was found that the results of such operations were negligible in terms of information, costly in terms of personnel, and almost always a waste of time.

The kidnapping and interrogation of an MVD officer, Communist Party official, etc., of medium high-level rating was always an operation more suitable to the talents of the underground and a more expedient way of collecting information. The leaders of the underground also feel that a man with enough talent to rise in the Soviet hierarchy into a position of major trust can better be employed in the underground itself. Since the higher one climbs in Soviet officialdom, the more minutely one's past is scrutinized, the underground

feels that the background of their man would disqualify him for high office.

The anti-partisan units of the MVD and the MGB are naturally the prime military and intelligence targets of the underground, but usually Ukrainians are not found in such units. The underground receives information on most phases of life within the Ukraine from its own members, but information on inner workings of Soviet organizations is easier to obtain by abduction and interrogation than by mounting long-range penetration operations.

PART IV

Nationalism As Reflected in the Ukraine

The following reports and newspaper articles indicate that Soviet attempts to root out all the anti-Soviet antagonism and eradicate Ukrainian nationalism have not been successful. After years of untiring propaganda, indoctrination, and use of security troops to eliminate the underground, the Ukrainian people are still vigorously and actively opposing the attempts of Moscow to impose its ideas and its way of life:

- a. 1951 January - Bodies of four UPA men were placed against a building directly across from the Raion KOMAT building on the main street of the town of DOLINA, STANISLAV Oblast. These men had been killed by a fire bomb thrown into their bunker by MGB troops. (SODB-92507-e, 15 October 1952).
- b. Kulak resistance to collectivization was reported to be widespread in LVOV province by PRAVDA UKRAINA. (Washington Post, October 1950).
- c. "Up to 1949, the Soviets themselves repeatedly complained of 'banditry'. Later it was considered preferable not to mention the subject. In the mountainous forests of the CARPATHIANS and in the POLESIAN and VOLHYNIAN marshes even MOSCOW's most highly trained police forces appear to have found it difficult to cope with partisans". (Christian Science Monitor, 16 January 1951).
- d. The Radyanska Ukraina for 2 March 1952, contained a list of individuals decorated for extra-ordinary achievements:

(1) "The Medal of the Fatherland War 1st Class" and "Medal of Valor (Courage)" for effectively carrying

out of special tasks for the government.

(2). The Medal "for Valor" (battle merit) for service with organs of State Security.

e. PRAVDA UKRAINA, 20 March 1952 - contains text of speech delivered in the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in KIEV, by B.K. DUDYKEVICH, member of the Supreme Soviet from the LVOV Oblast in which he paid homage to the Bolshevik pamphletist, Jaroslav HALAN, who was killed by the UPA. DUDYKEVICH said: "The Ukrainian people, always unveiled ruthlessly and annihilated those who carried out the tasks of imperialist gangsters to weaken the friendship of the Soviet peoples. The working people of LVOV Oblast will uproot, to the end, the remnants of the worst people of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples - the Ukrainian nationalists perpetrators, those hirelings of the American-English imperialists."

f. RADYANSKA UKRAINA, 22 January 1952 - contains the excerpt of a speech by I.D. NAZAREMKO, Secretary of the TskKP/b Ukraine, delivered in KIEV, 21 January 1952. "It is essential to root out and fight all manifestations of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism -- the greatest enemy of the Ukrainian Nation."

g. Other articles which appeared in Soviet and U.S. newspapers and which showed Soviet concern with Ukrainian Nationalism are as follows:

"Western Ukraine Troubles Moscow" - PRAVDA UKRAINA, October 1950.

"Soviet Molds Revolution from the Top in Ukraine" - ZVEZDA, July 1951.

"Reds in Ukraine Scored by PRAVDA" - PRAVDA, July 2, 1951.

"Ukrainian Nationalism" - N. Y. Times, 13 August 1951.

"Soviets Combatting Separatist Moves" - N.Y. Times, 19 July 1951.

"Ideological Purge Pushed in Ukraine" - N.Y. Times, 14 July 1951.

"Ex-Red Officer Tells of Rebel Ukraine Army" - N.Y. Times, 11 November 1951.

"Nationalism Still Worries Ukraine Reds" - Washington Post, 27 November 1951.

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"Russians Warned of Foreign Spying" (Ukrainian Nationalists Scored) - N.Y. Times, 29 September 1952.

Extract from Survey of USSR Broadcasts, 24 December 1952 - 6 January 1953, states that "Ukrainian Central Committee puts particular emphasis on failure of pro-propaganda organs to expose adequately 'the manhating bestial ideology' of American imperialism and its lackeys, the 'Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalists and Parentless Cosmopolities'".

NOTE: "Ukrainian Nationalism Reflected in the Soviet Press" is available on loan basis in SR3/W2.

PART V

Current Status Resistance Movement

1. On the basis of debriefings of newly arrived couriers and defectors during the past five years, the material transmitted to CIA by the Ukrainian underground, Analysis of W/T traffic received in the last two years from our teams in the homeland and analysis of Soviet and other newspapers, the Ukrainian underground resistance movement exists today in all of the following Ukrainian oblasts: VOLYN, KAMENETS-PODILSKI, DROHOBYCH, LVOV, ROVNO, STANISLAV, TORNO-POL, CHERNOVTSY, ZHITOMIR, and the TRANS-CARPATHIAN (CARPATHO-UKRAINE).

2. The Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (UHVR) further claims to have its underground units and cells in the Oblasts of VINNITSA, KIEV, AND CHERNIHIV.

Those activities which the UPA carries on today are mainly directed against the Soviet Security Service rather than the Red Army troops. The UPA high command maintains that the UPA does not fight against the Soviet Army since the Red Army is not the army of one state or one nation (People), but, that it consists of forcibly-mobilized citizens of the many nationalities of the USSR. The UPA propaganda distributed to Red Army soldiers further maintains that the army is in no measure responsible for the policy of pillage, oppression, and persecution conducted by the Soviet Government.

Therefore, the UPA units undertake offensive moves only against high-ranking Soviet MVD-MGB dignitaries or high-ranking communist officials. The UPA also helps in the distribution of revolutionary propaganda, which strives to keep alive and spread the idea of

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Ukrainian nationalism, in the minds of the Ukrainian population. Many of these armed illegal-living UPA units maintain themselves in underground bunkers in the CARPATHIAN Mountains, the VOLHYNIAN Woods, and the PRIPET Marshes. The bunkers serve as living quarters during the Winter, underground supply stores, printing shops for underground literature, dispensaries, and hospitals.

3. The numerical strength of the Ukrainian Underground Resistance Movement today is considerably reduced from what it was at the close of World War II, when it numbered in the tens of thousands and even, according to some figures, 100,000 active armed members. A fair estimate of the number of illegal-living armed partisans within the Western Oblasts of the Ukraine is 1,000 men and it is certain that many more live legally and maintain some sort of contact with the illegal-living underground units. The legal-living sector of the resistance movement performs the following functions for the illegal sector:

Collection of food, clothing and equipment, collection of information on movement and activity of Soviet Security Forces in the area, distribution of underground literature, performance of courier missions between the various underground headquarters units, etc.

4. The underground's past activities could not have been possible without the sympathy and support, either active or passive, of the majority of the Ukrainian population in the Western Oblasts. Therefore, it can be reasonably stated that at least 70% to 80% of the Ukrainian population sympathizes with the resistance movement and expresses its sympathy by some form of active or passive resistance.

It is from the rank and file of small farmers and kolkhoz workers that the legal living sector obtains the contributions which make up rather considerable stocks of foods and clothing required by the black-living units during the winter months spent in underground bunkers. These groups must be completely supplied with sufficient food, fuel, clothing to last from the first snow-fall until the Spring thaw, so that it is unnecessary for anyone to leave the bunker and risk exposing its location through footprints in the snow.

In addition to those who sympathize with the Ukrainian Underground Movement through anti-Soviet feelings and/or belief in the cause of Ukrainian Nationalism, consideration should be given to the anti-Soviet potential of the Church which, according to underground reports, is already collaborating with the resistance movement. This is understandable since the overwhelming majority of Western Ukrainians for the past 300 years have been Greek Catholic, "Uniate", e.g., they acknowledge the Pope of Rome as the Supreme Head of their church but in form they have retained the Eastern -- or Greek Orthodox -- rites. Since the Soviets took over Galicia

these Uniates have "voluntarily returned" to Russian Orthodoxy. According to eye-witnesses accounts, this "voluntary return" was accompanied by indescribable horror and bestiality. It follows, then, that apart from nationalism the traditionally religious western Ukrainians hate the Soviet regime because they have been forced to "return" to a faith they had never professed.

PART VI

Hot War Potential

1. Although the resistance movement is in no position to influence the policy of the Soviet Government, it is an obvious thorn in the side of Soviet authority as attested by the constant official attacks upon Ukrainian "national Bourgeois obstructionism" and the repressive measures taken against the movement and its suspected sympathizers in the Western Ukraine.

In the event that Communist domination were relaxed, it is contemplated that the strength and membership of the movement would mushroom in the Western Ukraine at least -- to a degree where the movement would be in a position to assume control of the area within a very short period of time.

2. People Involved

Upon the initiation of hostilities, the underground would increase the present estimated number of 1,000 members in geometric proportions. During the last conflict, World War II, the Insurgent Army numbered around 100,000 men. Since there is every indication that the spirit of Ukrainian Nationalism is still very much alive, and since many former UPA members have established themselves legally (but still consider themselves fighters for "Ukrainian Freedom"), it may be assumed that the UPA will again attain a numerical strength closely comparable to that of World War II. Such a force will be a strong challenge to the Soviet forces stationed within and en route through the Ukrainian SSR.

As for the civilian population of the Ukrainian SSR, a fair estimate of the potential sympathizers and supporters would be 80%. These would aid the UPA both actively and passively (food, information, sabotage, etc.).

3. Probable Areas of Resistance

Careful analysis of the past and current reports (W/T,

underground archives, defectors, newspapers and debriefings of UPA and UHVR members) indicates that resistance in the initial stages of hostilities would be most active in the following Oblasts:

VOLYN
KAMENETS-PODILSKI
DROHOBYCH
LVOV
ROVNO
STANISLAV
TERNOPOL
CHERNOVTSY
CARPATHO-UKRAINE

This resistance would soon spread to the VINNITSA, KIEV, POLTAVA, CHERNIHIV, and ZHITOMIR Oblasts.

PART VII

Nature of Activities

1. Guerrilla Warfare

If supplied with sufficient arms and the proper equipment, the Ukrainian Insurgents would become a very effective guerrilla force acting against the Soviet Army Security Services and installations.

a. Status of Training

The majority of the members of the armed sector of the underground received their training from their own military leaders during World War II when the underground fought against the Germans and the Soviets. Their experience with the Germans and Soviets has undoubtedly contributed to the improvement of their training.

According to first-hand sources (partisans who have exfiltrated to the West in recent years) the armed sectors of the underground are well-qualified to conduct guerrilla type warfare. This claim has been substantiated by independent sources which have corroborated numerous successful guerrilla type attacks on Soviet authorities and institutions in Western Ukraine since the end of World War II.

The nuclei of these guerrilla units would be composed of the trained armed members currently operating in small units in

Western Ukraine and would carry out the following actions:

- (1) Conduct harassing raids.
- (2) Attack small Soviet units.
- (3) Assassinate Soviet officials.
- (4) Obtain OB information as requested by CIA on Soviet forces and equipment.

b. Equipment

In addition to personal side-arms, pistol and automatic rifles, each member of the armed sector carries at least one hand grenade. According to reliable information, partisans attempt to maintain a minimum supply of 200 rounds each for their pistol and automatic rifles.

To the best of our knowledge, the underground has no communications equipment other than that sent by CIA.

The underground sources allege that caches of weapons taken during World War II from both the Germans and Soviets still exist throughout the Western Ukraine. We have no information as to approximate locations of supplies.

c. Logistic Support Efforts

To date stock piling of weapons, ammunition, and signal equipment has been limited to providing only for the immediate needs of the underground. It is contemplated that by the end of 1953 we will have adequate information as to exact needs and requirements of the underground so that a more complete program of logistics can be initiated.

d. Supply and Resupply

At present, since the area is already under Soviet control, the only practicable method of supply is by air.

During a period of open hostilities, it is conceivable that sea dispatches (Black Sea), as well as air dispatches of supplies could be made.

e. Communications

Couriers and crudely coded letters through regular mail channels were the only means of communications between the underground and the West until a W/T link was established in 1951. Since late 1950 there have been no couriers from the underground in the Ukraine.

To date, all centers of W/T communication between Ukraine and the West are within Western Ukraine. Within the Ukraine the underground means of communication are as follows:

- (1) Couriers between groups and headquarters.
- (2) Pre-established live drops and dead-letter drops.
- (3) Coded letters through regular postal channels.

2. Sabotage

The underground has conducted, and is probably currently carrying on, small-scale sabotage against Soviet installations in the Ukraine. The potential and capabilities of the underground in this field will be more fully known when answers to the various questions posed on sabotage activities have been received.

It can be assumed that with proper equipment and arms (supplied by CIA) the tempo and extent of sabotage could be greatly increased in the following fields:

- a. Disruption of communications and transportation facilities.
- b. Disruption of supply lines.
- c. Industrial sabotage.
- d. Sabotage of military and governmental installations, etc.

3. Psychological Warfare

Underground propaganda is tenaciously conducted by word of mouth, and the printed words which are directed simultaneously against Communism and Russian imperialism. The representatives of the Ukrainian underground movement claim that this activity is by no means limited to the Ukrainian territories, but is conducted on all other territories of the USSR to which dissident Ukrainian elements have been deported and forcibly resettled.

In time of open hostilities, the underground would be able to encourage the Ukrainian population to actively and/or passively resist all Soviet demands and attempts for all-out utilization of the Ukrainian population in the Soviet war effort (industrial and agricultural production, recruitment, etc.). The underground members, with the support and sympathy of the civilian population, could give wide dissemination of any and all propaganda directed at creating unrest among the civilian population and members of the Soviet forces operating in the Ukraine.

4. Escape and Evasion

The Ukrainian underground undoubtedly possesses the potential

to organize and staff escape and evasion nets and has indicated its willingness to perform such functions for CIA. It is doubtful, however, whether any action has yet been taken in this regard.

With this potential, it should be able to set up secure channels for escape and evasion by U.S. fliers who may be forced down during hostilities in the Ukraine and adjoining areas (POLAND, BYELO-RUSSIA, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, HUNGARY, and RUMANIA).

It is anticipated that by Fall, 1953, CIA will have been able to establish basis of its future relation with the Ukrainian underground. At that time the subject of the establishment of escape and evasion nets can be broached to the underground.