"THE CASE OF FOURTEEN" AND THE POLISH ANTI-SOVIET UNDERGROUND IN LVIV DURING 1939-1941

An issue about the Polish underground activity under the circumstances of the occupation regimes in Western Ukraine is considered in the paper. Particularly, the archive criminal case № P-30031 from the fund of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region about the conviction by the Russian authorities of 14 members from the headquarters of the Polish underground "A Union of Armed Struggle" has been published and analyzed for the first time. Prior to this, the course of the war between Poland and Germany on September 1st-28th 1939 is briefly characterized; an arrival of the Soviet army and army of the repressive forces is depicted. The autonomous endeavors of the Polish patriots to organize the underground military organizations for the struggle with the occupants in Lviv at the end of 1939 - at the beginning of the 1941 are described. The efforts of the Polish emigration government to organize the underground struggle against the occupants throughout the territory of former Rzeczpospolita II are confirmed. A detailed characteristic of "A Union of Armed Struggle" is given where the command staff, its quantity, a level of armament and the general readiness for the armed rebellion are presented. "The case of fourteen" members of the Union is highlighted, the behavior of police officials, detectives, judges, the officials from the cassation authorities and the Supreme Legislative Bodies of Soviet Ukraine and the USSR regarding to the defendants is considered. The authors have come to a following conclusion: despite the scale and detailed plans of the emigration government and the Polish underground organizations directed to the renewal of Poland according to the borders of 1939, the lack of state, insufficient quantity of weapons, material and financial resources for the struggle had led to the quick revelation and subsequent arrest of UAS leaders, that was one of the biggest underground organization. The analysis of the criminal, control and personal cases of UAS members has depicted the tragic fate of the Polish military underground in Lviv in 1939-1941-s.

Key words: Lviv; Soviet occupation; Poland; underground; "Union of Armed Struggle"; criminal case № P-30031.
revelation and publication of the new documents connected with the Polish underground's activity in Ukraine during occupation. The necessity of its reconsideration and the further action study of the Polish underground members from the side of the co-conspirators seems to be vital.

Having analyzed the archive criminal case № P-30031 from the fund of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv region about the conviction by the Russian authorities of 14 members from the headquarters of the Polish underground "A Union of Armed Struggle", our aim is to highlight the following positions:

- the first independent endeavors to create the Polish military underground in Lviv at the end of 1939 and at the beginning of 1941;
- the targets and structure of the underground, its quantity, the number of weapons and general readiness for the armed rebellion;
- the materials of investigation and the accusations according to which almost all arrested Polish patriots were sentenced to the death penalty;
- the tribunal and penalty mechanism existed in The People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in 1940.

Methods

The complex approach applied to the issue permitted to describe the reasons and pre-history of the Polish underground on Western Ukraine territory. The systematic approach gave an opportunity to consider the Polish confrontation during 1939-1940-s as a separate phenomenon as well as a component of the system of common European relations during the Second World War. The authors wanted to follow the influence of the Soviet and German factors on the Polish struggle in Western Ukraine. The methods of archive and source heuristic, source criticism, contextual analysis and information reconstruction gave an opportunity to define the source base representation, study the content and structure of the archival criminal case, and peculiarities of archival description.

The historical circumstances of the Polish underground's creation and existence in Lviv, the peculiar processes' description that happened in Polish environment in post-Soviet Lviv were constructed via the special historical methods, in particular with the help of the retrospective method, comparative historical research, the method of historical typology and others.

Research and Results

The German army crossed the border with Poland at 4.45 a.m. on September 1st 1939. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) Molotov congratulated the German government on entrance to Warsaw on September 9th.

Germany had an army consisted of 1.5 million people, had more than 2000 military aircrafts, 2600 tanks. Poland could counteract with only an army consisted of 800 thousand people, 150 tanks and 400 military aircrafts. Approximately 45-66 thousands of the Polish soldiers and officers were killed, 133 thousands were injured during the short term war. The industrial costs were 100 million American dollars. The main forces should retreat to Stanislaw Wojewodship, occupy a line of defense by the line of the rivers Stryl-Dniester and wait for France attack in the west according to the order of the Polish Army Commander-in-Chief Rydys-Smigly. However, the attack of the Red Army from the east destroyed the plans of the General Headquarters of the Polish Army (PA).

The political government fled and left its state and army to the mercy of fate. The President of Poland, professor, the doctor of chemistry Ignacij Mostitsky, the government of Slavoj-Skladovsky and the headquarters headed by the General Wacław Stachiewicz moved to Kuty, Kosiv. After some time the Polish government evacuated through Romania to friendly France in Paris where tried to create a rebel organization from the former soldiers on the lost state territory.

The Soviet Army crossed the Polish border and invaded Eastern Galicia on September 17th 1939. Three regiments of the PA "Sarny", "Ruzne", "Podolie" consisted of 10 battalions, 3 divisions and the cavalry of "The Border Defending Corpus" under the command of the General Wilhelm Orlik-Rückemann confronted the Ukrainian front. The Polish frontier posts were simultaneously attacked by the Soviet divisions. The Polish Army obtained a following order: "To avoid fighting with the Bolsheviks, only in the case of an attack or disarmament". On September 17th an ambassador of Poland in Moscow Wacław Grzybowski got an official note from the USSR about crossing the border by the Soviet Army. The intervention was called "a bailing campaign for rescuing the Slav brothers" for the citizens of the USSR.

A demarcation line was agreed between Germany and the USSR on September 22nd 1939. The same day, on September 22nd 1939 the military divisions of the Ukrainian front under the command of Tymoshenko entered Lviv. On September 23rd the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army (WPRA) entered Stryl, Drogbych, Boryslav, Sambir. The USSR paid Hitler the annual oil production for Boryslav oil basin.

The Polish militaries did not accept a defeat and tried to confront the enemy on their own. On September 27th-28th 1939 a Brigadier-General Vatslava Andersa tried to lead a military group to Hungarian border trough Chelm. Anders was injured and captured, treated in a military hospital in Lviv. On November 20th 1939 he was transported to Lubyanka in Moscow. The General agreed to cooperate with the Soviet authorities. Vatslava Anders became a Commander of the Polish Army that was formed in the Middle East in 1941 (Rozyk, 1992).

The Polish state Rzeczpospolita II was divided by fascist Germany and the USSR of the Bolsheviks. A leader Joseph Stalin refused to occupy Wojewodztwo Lubelskie and a part of Warsaw. He got Lithuania instead. The border between German and the Soviet Union was due to "Curzon Line" from September 28th 1939. Two sides realized the temporality of the situation. Hitler expressed the inevitability of a war with the USSR on September 5th 1939. The Western countries paid for their levity in an issue of European secure system's creation against Hitler's threat. "A devil broke free from a snuff box" (Kovalyuk, 1991). Nevertheless, the Polish from Lviv desired to be free.

The Lviv organization UAS (A Union of Armed Struggle) was created by the Divisional General Marjan Zegolta- Yanuschaits (1889-1973) by a decree of the General Sikorsky. The time of its creation was October 1939. The first name was Polish Organization of the Struggle for Freedom or the Struggle against the Enemy. The General Sikorsky was in France at that time. After the General Yanuschaits was arrested the administration was headed by the General Mechyslaw Boruta-Schipchovy who had an illegal status in Lviv. The administration was headed by Ezy Dobrovoisky after his arrest, later he officially discharged. A new head of administration became V. Zebrowsky (1983-1940?) (the nicknames "Beetle", "Dembtsky"). The direct guidance of UAS performed the General Sosnokovsky who accompanied the Prime Minister V. Sikorsky in Paris. An organizational structure.
Соціальна філософія
to Lviv in January 1940. He was aimed to unite who were not able to unite on a voluntary app-
1 was UAS-2. The last obtained a name "The - a representative of the party "Stronnitstwo
Ezersky", the deputies were the gle (UAS) in (a
Stanislav and Volyn Wojewodztwo. Strovsky gave 60 thousand zł. to Zebrovsky¹ for the local organization in Lviv.
A Union of Armed Struggle (UAS) was created at the end of 1939. The organizational structure included the territories of Western Ukraine and Western Belorusia. The main task of an organization was to unite the Polish officers and soldiers for the underground struggle aimed at Polish state recreation due to the borders of 1939. The other tasks were to prepare the personnel reserve to the Polish Legion planned in France and to develop a rebel against the Soviet authorities. The creation of such organizations had a chaotic character in October-December 1939. Later they began to be structured and follow the instructions of the emigration government in Paris. The members of organization owed loyalty and obtained the nicknames. The leaders could have some nicknames, each of them used for a separate work direction.
There were two numerous organizations under the command of V. Zebrovsky and 55-years old reserve officer E. Sokolovsky who were not able to unite on a voluntary basis due to the personal antipathy and began to struggle with each other. The organization of the Lieutenant-Colonel Sokolovsky was also recognized by the Polish government, financed from Warsaw and was subordinated to the General Karaschevych-Tokarzhevsky. According to the Polish military historiography the organization of the Colonel Zebrovsky called UAS-1, and of the Lieutenant-Colonel Sokolovsky was UAS-2. The last obtained a name "The Loyal to Poland" in spring 1940.
An obscure Khartyszsk organization "The Grey Coats" was eliminated by NKVD at the beginning of 1940. Another obscure organization existed under the command of the Colonel Vitez-Zarchevsky in Lviv, a nickname "Neuron".
A scheme and organization's subordination was designed according to the assignment of the Colonel Zebrovsky. The representatives of the Polish political parties were not included into the structure; however a consultative committee of UAS was deliberately created for them. Luchkeyvych - a representative of the party "Stronnitstwo Narodowe" (National Party), a priest of a church of St. Magdalene Žensky - a representative of a self-help organization, were the members of the committee. The Polish government in emigration gave the instructions to the Colonel Zebrovsky. One of them contained permission for establishing contacts with the representatives of the Polish parties. A considerable instruction was from the Polish emig-
¹ Vladislav Zebrovsky - a Colonel, former Commander of Cadel Corps, illegally lived in Lviv at Piarov Str. 5A, the owner of which was a Sergeant of the Polish Army. He was disguised as a university professor from Krakow; consequently he had a nickname "Professor". He also used the nicknames "Beetle" and "Old Smith".

УАС був поділен на 4 райони:
Львівский район.
Станиславський район.
Тернопільський район.
Волинський район.

Архівні документи.

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The second: English, France, Romanian and Turkish forces would begin a war against the USSR.
The third: It would be a war between the USSR and Germany. It meant railroads explosions, derailing trains and dismantling rails. UAS leaders accepted a decision to enhance preparation of the conspirators and saboteurs on the railroad.

200 Polish saboteurs were prepared for the subversive activity in oil Boryslav's industry and on the railroad near Hungarian border with the aim to stop oil shipment in Germany from the south in March 1940. The ultimate goal was to provoke a conflict between the USSR and Germany. The groups were created from the selected officers to conduct sabotage on the railroad. The Commander of the Western district Matsievsky was the first to perform the task. His regional branch had 3500 members.

The Commander of the Eastern district Nr 1 Kotarsky, a nickname "Friend" considered citadel, the barracks of Peter and Pavel, the police barracks at Zelena Str., the barracks at Lychakivska Str., the barracks at Yablonskogo Str., the barracks at Kurkova Str., the barracks at Romanovycha Str., a post office, telegraph, slaughterhouse and prison at Kazymyrivska Str. (now Gorodotska Str.) and Zamarstynivska Str. to be the strategic objects on his territory in Lviv.

A separate territory for armed capture was allocated for each branch of UAS.

The force was not enough for a city capture according to the leaders. A citadel was the most unobtainable object that should take a troop of Tsybulsy, a nickname "Vitold". His troop had 700 soldiers in total. It was a military base (m/b) consisted of 1700 soldiers in the citadel according to the exploration data. Moreover, "Vitold should also capture a prison of NKVD Nr 3 at Kazymyrivska Str., a barracks at Romanovycha Str., a hotel "George" where the Red Commanders lived. The capture planned to perform at night. The soldiers of UAS were armed. They had 5 submachine guns, 20 carbines, 200 pistols. A rebellion data should be defined by the emigration government according to the political situation in Europe.

The investigative authorities of NKVD supposed the Polish military organizations to be anti-Soviet and anti-revolutionary that had the ultimate goal in an armed rebellion against the Soviet authorities in Western Ukraine. A team of the best detectives of NKVD from Soviet Ukraine and the USSR arrived to address the Polish underground. The repressive forces quickly understood a real threat of the rebellion initiated by the Polish and Ukrainian nationalists. The first blow was considered to be delivered to the leaders of A Union of Armed Struggle (UAS) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationals (OUN).

Due to the case of NKVD, 14 members of the headquarters were arrested in Lviv district. Among them were:

Dzekanovsky Karol, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Polish Army (PA), Commander's deputy of the district Nr 3 headed by the Colonel Vladyslav Zebrowski. He had the nicknames "Olgerd Dzewonsky", "Charovin", "Nadolsky", "Korvin", "Karol", was arrested on April 4th 1940.

Kotarsky Vladislav, a Lieutenant Colonel of the PA. A Commander of the first Lviv Eastern district, later he became a Commander's deputy of the district Nr 3. He had a nickname "Friend", was arrested on April 20th 1940.

Martsenyak Peter, a major of the PA. He was a leader of the local departments' network. He had a nickname "Emil".

Sverzbinsky Anton, a Lieutenant of the PA, was a leader of the intendant service. He was arrested on March 16th 1940.

Kisi Yan, a priest, was in charge of the civil aid organization. He had a nickname "Maple", was arrested on April 17th 1940.

Levtsky Anton, a Major of the PA, a head of UAS headquarters was arrested on April 10th 1940. He had a nickname "Horn", "Mountain".

Chrzans dovsky Zigmund, an agricultural engineer, Second Lieutenant of the PA reserve, a Commander's deputy of the first Lviv Western district, a member of the finance committee of UAS, was arrested on March 30th 1940. He had nickname "Beam", he was an Armenian.

Bogdanovych Adam, a priest of the Armenian Catholic Church, a member of the finance committee of UAS, was arrested on April 2nd 1940. He had a nickname "Dog". He was an Armenian who openly declared his nationality, however mentioned that he was a Polish patriot, he had huge authority in Lviv.

Luchkevich Zigmund, an engineer, a member of a political committee of UAS, a member of the Polish party "Stronnitstwo Narodowe" (National Party), was arrested on April 2nd 1940. He had a nickname "Koral".

Mironovych Mykola, a Captain of the PA, a head of the propaganda and publishing, was arrested on April 9th 1940. He had the nicknames "Mykola", "Zbik".

Pininsky Andzej was responsible for the abroad connections. He was arrested on June 20th 1940.

Korchynsky Ezy, a Lieutenant of the PA, courier, had an opportunity to be arrested from February 20th - March 1st 1940. He had a nickname "Dovsha".

Berovsky Anton, a Captain of the PA, Commander of the third district that included the part of Lviv region, was arrested on April 9th 1940. He had the nicknames "Berek", "Vit".

Rodovit Adam, Second Lieutenant of the PA was arrested at a safe apartment on March 22nd 1940. He was the only one who managed to escape the execution.

The organization of UAS was structurally alike to the Polish military organization. The territory of Eastern Galicia (obschar) was divided into the districts, battalions (obvody), companies (rota), platoons (vzvod), groups (druzyina) consisted of 5 persons. The headquarters which divided into the intendant departments (the finance and control commission was included there), the departments of propaganda and publishing, liaison office, intelligence and postgraduate offices was created.

The leader of UAS, Colonel V. Zebrowsky mentioned a figure of 20 thousand members which should correlate with the quantity numbers of the organization members on Western Ukraine. Lviv organization, obschar Nr 3 had 60 guns, 6-8 machine guns, some grenades, thus the task was to take guns from the attack of the Soviet military departments and military warehouses.

The organization planned to create an artificial conflict between the USSR and Germany via exploding the oil
А кримінальне історичне дослідження: Збройна діяльність Польщі у Львові у 1939-1941 роках

Архівні, документальні, археологічні та інші джерела свідчать, що польська терористична структура "Собиця" залучила до своїх сил багато польських легіонерів, які залучалися до активної збройної діяльності. Одним з таких факів є відкриття у львівському суді справи, яка була звернена на польську терористичну діяльність в Львові. Спробу зупинити цей процес в провінційному селі, яке було в руках польських терористів, здійснилося через усунення з діяльності керівництва Петерна, який був засуджений до смерті.

Судовість дій польських терористів у Львові

Судовий процес над польськими терористами здійснювався згідно з законами СРСР. У справі були залучені різні учасники - судді, обвинувачені, захисники і адвокати. У разі гри на загальних правах відбувається депортація на територію СРСР.

Висновки

Збройна діяльність польських терористів у Львові в 1939-1941 роках була сформована з метою впливу на діяльність військових структур та забезпечення своєї територіальної цілі. Висновки дослідження вказують на необхідність зміни стратегії військової діяльності і використання мирних та політичних механізмів для спротиву терористичним діям.

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as they were afraid of the intensification of the Polish deportation inland. However a flywheel of repressions had only gained momentum.

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У статті розглянуто питання діяльності польських підпільних організацій в умовах окупаційних режимів на території Західної України, зокрема вперше оприлюднено та проаналізовано архівну кримінальну справу № П-30031 з фонду УСБУ у Львівській області щодо засудження радянською владою 14 членів штабу польської підпільної організації "Союз збройної боротьби". Попередньо коротко охарактеризовано хід польсько-німецької війни 1-28 вересня 1939 р., показано прихід на територію Західної України радянської влади, армії, каральних органів. Наведено приклади самостійних спроб польських патріотів організувати підпільні військові організації для боротьби з окупантами у Львові наприкінці 1939 р. - на початку 1941 р. Підтверджено намагання польського еміграційного уряду організувати підпільну боротьбу проти окупантів на всій території колишньої Речі Посполитої ІІ. Подана детальна характеристика структури "Союзу збройної боротьби", його командний і чисельний склад, показано ступінь озброєння та готовності до збройного по- встання. Охарактеризована "справа чотирнадцяти" членів Союзу, показана поведінка оперативних праців- ників, слідчих, суддів, чиновників касаційних інстанцій, вищих законодавчих органів УРСР і СРСР у відно- шенні до підсудних. Автори доходять висновку, що попри масштабність та достатню розробленість планів еміграційного уряду та польських підпільних організацій, напрямлених на відновлення польської держави в кордонах до 1939 року, відсутність держави, достатньої кількості зброї, матеріальних та фінансових ре- сурсів для боротьби зумовило швидке викриття та арешт керівництва СЗБ, найбільшої з підпільних організацій. Аналіз слідчих, контрольно-наглядових та особистих тюремних справ учасників цієї організації показа- зав трагічність долі польського військового підпілля 1939-1941 рр. у Львові.

Ключові слова: Львів; радянська окупація; Польща; підпілля; "Союз збройної боротьби"; кримінальна справа № П-30031.

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