

April 23, 1957

MEMO

re: newspapers "Suchasna Ukraina," "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk" and
"Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta."

1. The activity of our group is conceived as subsidiary action in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and of the Ukrainian liberation underground in Ukraine. Our group directs its action toward:
a/ the people in the USSR, and b/ Ukrainian emigres.
2. The purpose of our action in relation to the people in the USSR is:
a/ Encouragement of the existing demands of the Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR for political, social and cultural freedom. These demands constitute the main internal weakness of the Soviet regime, as referred to by Secretary of State John Foster Dulles in his address of April 22, 1957 in the following words: "Events of the past year indicate that the pressures of liberty are rising. Within the Soviet Union there is increasing demand for greater personal security, for greater intellectual freedom, and for greater enjoyment of the fruits of labor."
b/ Preaching the ideas and program of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the USSR, i.e. engage in work performed on wide scale during the early post-war period by the organized Ukrainian underground, which the latter is unable to perform at the present time;
c/ Disseminate information about the free world, about activities of Ukrainian emigres, and about the liberation struggle of other peoples, and keep alive in the Ukrainian people the belief that in their fight for independence they have friends beyond the borders of the USSR, particularly in the West.

The means for realization of those purposes are:
at the time of active liberation fight of the underground in Ukraine in the post-war period, and in the event of suitable circumstances in the future:

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- a/ dispatch of couriers and liaison men; and at the present ti
- b/ radio broadcasts "New Ukraine,"
- c/ "Information Bulletin,"
- d/ leaflets,
- e/ mailing of newspapers "Suchasna Ukraina," "Ukrainska Lite-
raturna Hazeta" and "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk,"
- f/ mailing of book publications.

3. The purposes of our activities among Ukrainian emigres are:

a/ maintenance of spiritual ties of emigres with the people, moral mobilization of emigres for anticommunist action in all countries of their settlement, and maintenance and development of a nucleus group who would be ready at the appropriate time to take direct part in the liberation fight in Ukraine;

b/ counteracting organized attacks by Bolshevik infiltration of emigres, especially counteraction against Sovietophile trends in connection with the so-called thaw in the USSR, and countering attempts to recruit agents among emigres.

The means for these purposes are:

a/ publication of the newspapers "Suchasna Ukraina," "Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta" and "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk," the main themes of which are: informing of the processes going on in the USSR, preaching of ideas of liberation, unity of the people in the struggle for independence, unity of all emigre groups, friendship with all other peoples, mobilization of anti-Bolshevik sentiments and uncovering all machinations of Bolshevik agents among emigres;

b/ activities of societies established on our initiative, viz.: "Association for Free Ukraine" in the United States, "Ukrainian-Canadian Society of Friends of Liberation" in Canada, and "Ukrainische Gesellschaft fuer Auslandstudien, a.V." in Germany. Similar societies are

presently being established in Great Britain. These societies have from several dozen to several hundred members each;

o/ activities in particular countries of settlement of emigres of delegates of our group and their sympathizers. The purposes of those delegateships are to direct the policy of Ukrainian emigres in those countries along our group's lines. Such delegates are active in: USA, Canada, Argentina, Australia, Germany and France. One is being formed also in Great Britain. In addition we have our own men of trust in the following countries: Sweden, Norway, Spain, Brazil. Our set-up is necessary in many countries also for the purpose of carrying out certain operations, as e.g. in connection with the "Information Bulletin", selection of ranks, etc.

d/ cooperation with other central groups, particularly with OUNz. the main purpose of the latter being enlistment of broad emigre masses for the support of OUN positions and of the entire liberation movement in Ukraine.

4. Continued publication of the newspapers by the exclusive means of emigres is impossible. Aid is required, for the following main reasons:

a/ the newspapers are political with a definite trend, and it is a natural process of every emigre group to assimilate and to become passive in matters of their former homeland. This process can only be slowed, but it can never be completely halted,

b/ widening of organizational activities to include masses of emigres and especially collection of funds for publication of newspapers results inevitably in infiltration by enemy agents unless the emigres have no other protective means except moral and educational;

c/ no emigre press of a political trend can stand on its feet without outside aid.

5. A planned withdrawal of aid to "Suchasna Ukraina," "Ukrainsky Samestinyk" and "Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta" would be a serious blow to our activities both in the direction of action on the USSR and on work among emigres.

With respect to action on the USSR in particular:

a/ the activities of our group are a matter of common knowledge among the Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR as a result of the lengthy struggle of the Ukrainian underground, our broadcasts and newspapers. Our newspapers are sent to the Ukrainian SSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Yugoslavia. Even the Bolsheviks cannot pass over these activities in silence and the name of our institution and of its leaders are frequently mentioned in the Soviet press and radio. In 1955 not only the Ukrainian communist press, but even the central, especially "Krasnaya Zvezda" which is distributed all over the USSR reported that a member of the UHVR, V. Okhrymowych had come from abroad to Ukraine in 1950 and fought in the underground for three years. According to testimony of many prisoners of concentration camps who returned to the West in recent years, the Ukrainian liberation struggle is known throughout the USSR. On the occasion of distribution all over the free world of letters from Ukrainian prisoners of the Mordovian concentration camps in 1956, this activity was mentioned by the delegate of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN in February 1957. The official newspaper of the Central Committee of Komsomol of Ukraine, "Dnipro" (March, 1957, p.100) came out with sharp criticism of the newspaper "Suchasna Ukraina

b/ the bolshevik press frequently engages in polemics with ideas propounded in our newspapers. In the above mentioned article in "Dnipro" there was an attack upon a suggestion made in "Suchasna Ukraina" that the Ukrainian SSR should demand secession from the USSR and that

Ukrainian communists should demand the right of a separate "road to socialism,"

e/ publication of our emigre newspapers is commented upon in Ukraine as evidence of the moral and political support of the United States of the ideals of national and social freedom of the Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR (the article in "Dnipro" suggests that "Suchasna Ukraina" is published "with funds of Americans hosts");

d/ a decline of our newspapers and their automatic withdrawal from dispatch to the USSR would be taken in the USSR to mean withdrawal of moral and political support of the United States of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian and other peoples of the USSR. This would undoubtedly contribute to a weakening of the liberation process behind the Iron Curtain. It must be added that such withdrawal of aid to the Ukrainian press abroad would take place at the precise moment when Moscow is assigning fresh funds for new publications in Ukraine (to prove that Moscow is making concessions to Ukraine, First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, O. Kirishenko stated that in 1957 alone the following new journals and newspapers have started publication in Ukraine: "Robitnycha Hazeta" (The Workers' News), "Uhol Ukrainy" (Ukrainian Coal), "Znannya ta pratsya" (Knowledge and Work), "Ukrainsky Istorychny Zhurnal" (Ukrainian Historical Journal), "Narodna Tvorchist ta etnografiya" (Folk Art and Ethnography), "Radynske literaturoznavstvo" (Soviet Literary Science) and "Fizkultura i sport" (Physical Culture and Sports). In addition, he indicated that a new publishing house for Ukrainian children's literature had been established and work on the "Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia" had begun, heretofore prohibited in Ukraine. See "Radyanska Ukraina" April 7, 1957, pp. 2-3).

With respect to emigres:

a/ stopping of publication of the three newspapers would undoubtedly

weaken the anti-communist front among emigres and create better opportunities for Bolshevik agents to infiltrate emigres;

b/ emigres would comment this as lack of interest of American political circles in anti-communist activities and in the problem of liberation of peoples of the USSR, and hence would automatically weaken the activities of Ukrainian emigres.

This would happen at a time when the General Mikhailov Committee is stepping up its attack on emigres and mailing masses of its publications to emigres, in which it devotes particularly vehement attention to the Ukrainian liberation movement and calls upon emigres to return to Ukraine. Abandonment of Ukrainian emigres without a proper political direction would easily create a fertile field for experiments by Bolshevik agents;

c/ "Suchasna Ukraina," "Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta" and "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk" are considered by the widest masses of readers to be the best Ukrainian newspapers. This opinion is also shared by other nationals (i.e. Poles, Jews, Germans etc.);

d/ Ukrainian emigres are likewise convinced that our publications are ~~aided~~ by American political circles and hence their suspension would be considered by emigres as abandonment by American circles of our group and of ideas preached by it. This would be a blow ~~to~~ our opportunities to work among Ukrainian emigres because such actions of ours like the "New Ukraine" broadcasts, leaflets, or "Information Bulletin" are not and cannot be known to the general public, and the sole visible sign of our work are the above mentioned three newspapers.

6. Taking into consideration the above arguments and particularly internal processes going on in the USSR, this is not the time to narrow down the activities of influencing the peoples of the USSR, but to widen them. As Secretary Dulles said in the address referred to above: "Let us also

make apparent to the Soviet rulers our real purpose. We condemn and oppose their imperialism. We seek the liberation of the captive nations." In accord with this, we should not halt distribution of free newspapers in the USSR, but increase their number to several thousand. The outlay of work and money connected with these activities is comparatively negligible with the great results which such activities can achieve by strengthening in the peoples faith in the feasibility and propriety of fighting for freedom. True, the results are not immediately visible, but in the long run they carve deep furrows inside the entire Bolshevik totalitarian structure and exclude any possibility of external expansion of the USSR.

Along the line of continued development we wish to offer the following suggestions:

- a/ preparation and publication of a political-educational library for distribution in the USSR now and in the future;
- b/ translations of artistic and political literature of the United States and of the free world, outlawed in the USSR;
- c/ preparation of brief pamphlets and leaflet-appeals to the Ukrainians and other peoples of the USSR containing information about conditions in the free world and suggestions of possible resistance against the totalitarian Bolshevik system in various walks of life (e.g. for farmers, laborers, students, intelligentsia);
- d/ widening of the scope of broadcasts to include Siberia with its numerous compulsory settlements of Ukrainians, Russians and others, and special appeals to prisoners of concentration camps and their guards;
- e/ sending of several people (3 to 10), university graduates, to the Near and Middle East, i.e. securing for them scholarships for at least one year's study of these nations and conducting anti-communist action from positions of experience gained by Ukrainians and other nationals of

the USSR with the communist dictatorship and Moscow;

f/ organizing trips to the USSR and satellite countries of such persons who can take part in various scholarly conferences, or simply for the purpose of visiting relatives (information on interesting observations made by a Ukrainian professor attending a scientific conference in Warsaw was reported at the time);

g/ organizing of material aid to members of the underground, prisoners and former prisoners and their families in the USSR. Such actions are already under way by private individuals and they can be widened;

h/ calling of an international freedom congress, attended by prominent leaders of culture and science and civic and political leaders. The purpose of the congress would be issuance of a universalized declaration of independence of nations and men, and its participants should represent various nations from both sides of the Iron Curtain;

i/ ~~organizing~~ organizing trips by members of the underground movement to different countries for the purpose of establishing ~~contacts~~ contacts with representatives of various nations and organizing anti-communist actions.

7. The best solution of the problem of permanent aid for the above mentioned newspapers and for our entire scope of activities and of other anti-communist groups would be if such aid could be received from private philanthropists, leaders in business, culture and politics in this country. Our group could take preliminary steps in this direction if the appropriate people were forewarned by competent circles that this concerns activities along the line of interest of this country and of its Government.

8. All our explanations are being presented in the name of our local group and in the interest of continued existence of our post in Germany. Nonetheless we believe that talks on this matter should be had also with representatives of our center in Germany.