

[suggested replies to policy
Question **SECRET** by file ZPDHVR.
(never actually used)

File
Cassowary
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a. It is not possible to give an official American attitude toward CASSOWARY 1 inasmuch as CAWNPORE is not an official organ of a government recognized by the U.S. However, those U.S. government agencies which are in direct contact with CASSOWARY 1 consider it as the official foreign representation of the Ukrainian liberation movement, and in particular of the UHVR and the UPA. These U. S. Government agencies fully recognize the responsibilities delegated to CASSOWARY 1 by the homeland. Furthermore, these Government agencies intend to cooperate fully with CASSOWARY 1 in all operations directed to assist the Ukrainian underground as represented by CASSOWARY 1 and CAWNPORE 4.

b. CASSOWARY 1 should inform CAWNPORE via CASSOWARY 5 that it ~~has established~~ ^{is still in} contact with the U. S. Government agency responsible for such matters and is perfectly satisfied with this arrangement.

Cooperation between U. S. Government agency and CASSOWARY 1 is not limited to technical and material assistance. Planning and execution of an operation of this scope obviously involves policy matter considerations which have to be made by appropriate U. S. Departments. Although no individual American with whom CASSOWARY 1 is in contact is authorized to make policy decisions without approval of proper officers, such approvals are made on a higher level and include concurrence of other U. S. Government departments. All major policy questions raised by CASSOWARY 1 are referred to the

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responsible U. S. Government officers for coordination and concurrence. The present arrangement, therefore, is perfectly satisfactory to take care of all policy matters affecting CASSOWARY 1 activities.

c. Inasmuch as ^{the} number of people who need to have information concerning such an operation is kept to a minimum, only certain individuals within the Department of Defense and Department of State are kept fully informed concerning the developments and the organization of this operation. Even in these exceptional cases, details of a purely operational nature are not revealed, thus further limiting the number of individuals who are fully informed on all the phases of the operation.

d. Those American Government officials who have been briefed are fully sympathetic toward the difficulties which the Ukrainian resistance has encountered and is encountering. They feel that every assistance within the framework of ^{U.S. foreign policy} ~~present international~~ relations should be given to the Ukrainian resistance. Obviously, such assistance must be of a covert nature ^{in order not to jeopardize} ~~so as not to further~~ ^{the security of ~~our~~ the activities.} ~~endanger the US-USSR relations.~~ Those Government officials who are familiar with the sacrifices made by the Ukrainian resistance have great admiration and respect for the ^{heroism} ~~heroic qualities~~ displayed by the Ukrainian people in their effort to weaken and overthrow the Bolshevik yoke in the Ukraine.

e. The Department of State is primarily concerned in dealing with all problems affecting our foreign policy. Naturally, any major decision in a foreign field must be approved by the President, and even the Congress. However, on a day-to-day operating basis,

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a determination of a policy in a given area and the implementation of such a policy is the responsibility of the Department of State.

f. Inasmuch as the Department of Defense is primarily concerned with military matters, it is not a competent Department to answer policy problems raised by CASSOWARY 1. The Department of State, which is directly concerned with policy matters, is intensely interested in the developments in the Ukraine. *Ukraine*

g. Our Agency is in a position to bring to the attention of the Department of State policy questions raised by CASSOWARY 1. However, whether a reply from the Department of State would be forwarded to CASSOWARY 1 would be determined by the nature of the question and its implication ^{with respect to} American foreign policy. In the final analysis, therefore, the problem of whether the Department of State would deem it advisable to answer CASSOWARY 1 questions would be left to the decision which the Department itself would have to make.

h. Those competent American Government circles who ~~are~~ *have become* familiar with the general aspirations of the national minority groups within the USSR sympathize with their aspirations but officially and ~~formally~~ ^{cannot} *recognize officially and publically* ~~condone~~ such aspirations until an overall policy decision on this matter is reached. It has always been the American desire to assist all national groups, no matter where they are, in attaining the basic freedoms in which Americans believe. ^{Supplemental} ~~Operation~~ of basic democratic rights is strongly ^{emned} ~~condoned~~ by Americans.

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i. Because of the nature of the problem and because of the acuteness of the international situation, there cannot be an official attitude either favoring or opposing the aspirations of the Ukrainian people to achieve national sovereignty. Generally, it can be said that the American Government realizes that as long as the Soviet regime is in control, there can be no question of the Ukrainian sovereignty. Therefore, no discussion of this problem can be had ~~until the overthrow of the Soviet regime~~ *under existing conditions*. Every effort, therefore, must be made to attain this objective, which is really the priority objective.

j. Although there is no official policy concerning the moral support and encouragement to be given to the national minorities in the USSR, these nationalities must realize that the American Government believes in the principle of self-determination whereby the people can determine for themselves their future political and economic structure.

k. The U. S. Government has no reason for seeking to hide the struggle of the Ukrainian people. In this connection, considerable changes have taken place in those Government agencies which deal with dissemination of propaganda. Thus, for example, certain changes are taking place within VOA in order to give a more accurate account of ~~the~~ events in the Ukraine, and the aspirations of the Ukrainian emigre groups.

l. Everything told the couriers relating to information above must be essential either to (a) the encouragement of CAWNPORE leadership, or to (b) keep the underground abreast of the progress

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made by CASSOWARY 1 since May 1950. The briefing must be more positive than that given in May 1950. On the national question, statements similar to the following must be made:

"The U.S. actively supports the principle of self-determination. The U.S. is prepared to take all reasonable steps to insure that the future of the Ukraine will depend upon the will of the majority of the Ukrainian people. The U.S. considers all active anti-Soviet Ukrainians as unofficial allies in the fight to overthrow the Soviet regime. It would only be ethical for the U.S., as the leading nation of the democratic anti-Bolshevist world, to give moral and other types of support to her democratic and freedom-loving allies, ~~in recognition of their contribution to the defense and during the all-out war against the Soviet Union.~~

The United States stands on the position of the Atlantic Charter."

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