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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

LIMITED USE

DATE: October 4, 1960

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SUBJECT: Meeting with representatives of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council
regarding tactics at current session of the General Assembly

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Lubomyr O. Ortynskyj) of the Foreign Representation
Mr. Myroslaw Prokop) of the Supreme Ukrainian
Mr. Omelan Antonovych) Liberation Council

Mr. John M. McSweeney, Director, Office of Soviet Union Affairs
Mr. D.E. Boster, SOV

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Messrs. Ortynskyj, Prokop and Antonovych called on Mr. McSweeney by appointment today to present the views of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council regarding a rebuttal to Soviet propoganda operations in the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Mr. Prokop referred to a resolution, a copy of which is attached, which he recommended be submitted to the General Assembly, proposing an immediate examination of the situation in the Ukraine and calling upon the Soviet Government to remove Soviet army and police units from the Ukraine in order that free elections might be held there under United Nations supervision. Mr. Prokop conceded that even if passed such a resolution would be disregarded by the Soviet Government, ^{but} said he felt it would, nevertheless, create a favorable psychological climate both in the Ukraine and in the world at large. He said it would answer effectively both Khrushchev and the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations which were trying to make the point that the Ukraine was a sovereign state owing its independence to the Communist Party, and that the only enemy of the Ukraine was the United States which was attempting to enslave it. Mr. Prokop suggested that we could very effectively challenge the credentials of the Ukrainian delegation, pointing out that the Ukrainian regime had none of the attributes of independence, maintained no embassies, conducted no foreign trade and was in general entirely subordinate to the Soviet Government. Mr. Ortynskyj reviewed the activity of the Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations over the years, indicating that it had clearly been assigned a special role to influence colonial nations and was continually coming to the defense of Indonesia and other former colonial nations. He summarized the statement made today by the head of the Ukrainian delegation, Podgorny, and urged that we take occasion to counter Podgorny's statement.

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Mr. McSweeney said he was pleased to have the opportunity to hear the views of the representatives of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. He indicated that we generally agreed with the point of view which they had expressed, with certain technical reservations. He thought, for example, that we should keep in mind that it was not desirable to elevate Podgorny's status by responding directly to him; that we preferred to treat him as simply another one of the Soviet spokesmen. He entirely agreed that it was desirable and necessary to rebut the Soviet position on colonial regimes, and said that we were undertaking an educational campaign in the United Nations to this end. We had welcomed the inscription of the Soviet item on anti-colonialism and felt that this would be a good item in which to make an effective case against the Soviets themselves. This was a two-fold operation -- in the first place we needed to rebut the Soviet charges of Western colonialism, and secondly, we needed to bring out the fact that it was the Soviets themselves who were the modern day colonialists. In doing this, however, we would not want to exclude the other countries which were the victims of the Soviet colonial empire in order to concentrate solely on the Ukraine. He said that in this connection we would welcome any material that the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council could supply which might be used in our argumentation. (Mr. Prokop left with Mr. McSweeney two memoranda for this purpose.)

Mr. Ortynskyj recalled the unsuccessful attempts made in 1947 and 1952 by the British Government and the Sudanese Government, respectively, to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukraine. He thought such initiatives were welcomed by the Ukrainian leaders, who desired broader contacts with the outside, and that they would help to exacerbate relations between the Ukrainians and the Soviet Communists. Mr. McSweeney agreed that these were interesting proposals, but pointed out that they also had the disadvantage of appearing to confer recognition on Ukrainian sovereignty and thus cut across the other objective of demonstrating to the people of Africa and elsewhere that the Ukrainians were under the domination of Moscow.

Attachments:

As stated.

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Attachment - 1

September 30, 1960

Your Excellency:

In his address to the XIV UN General Assembly on September 23, 1960, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, proposed, among others, that the General Assembly adopt the following resolution:

"To grant immediately to all colonial countries, trusteeship territories and other non-selfgoverning territories complete independence and freedom in the building up of their own national states in conformity with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples."

In connection with the above, we have the honor to ask you to propose to the General Assembly, an immediate examination of the situation in Ukraine which lost its national independence as a result of armed aggression of Communist Russia in the 1917 to 1918 period, and which still remains in colonial captivity. We particularly request that you propose to the presently convened General Assembly to adopt a resolution calling upon the Government of the USSR to remove from Ukraine units of the Soviet Army and Political Police and to permit the holding in Ukraine of free democratic elections under the supervision of the United Nations, to enable the people of Ukraine express their true wishes.

We wish to assure you, Your Excellency, of our readiness to submit exhaustive source material and evidence at your request, illustrating the colonial enslavement of Ukraine by Communist Russia during the course of the last forty-three years, and documents proving that the Ukrainian people are engaged in a ceaseless struggle for their national independence.

Respectfully yours,

(Rev.) Ivan Hrynioch, Ph.D., D.D.
Chairman, Foreign Representation
Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council

Mykola Lebed
Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs
Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council

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Attachment-2

SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL

Secretariate-General for Foreign Affairs

875 West End Avenue
New York 25, N.Y.

Tel. MO 3-8461

EARMARKS OF THE COLONIAL ENSLAVEMENT
OF UKRAINE

I.

Ukraine was the first country to fall victim to the unprovoked aggression on the part of communist Russia in December 1917. The Russian communists embarked upon armed aggression after they had received only 10% of the total vote in Ukraine in the election to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly. The war of the Russian communists against the Ukrainian National Republic went on for three years.

II.

Following the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1920, the resistance of the Ukrainian people continued for several more years, first in the form of armed uprisings, and later in a legal struggle, particularly in the field of culture, literature and economics. During World War II and following the war until the middle 1950s, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was active in Ukraine, fighting for the independence of the Ukrainian nation at first against the Nazis, and later against the communists.

In order to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people, communist Moscow employed a rule of unceasing and ruthless terror, manifested in particular in the following forms:

- (1) In the early 1930s Moscow organized an artificial famine in Ukraine which claimed at least five million Ukrainian peasants as its victims;
- (2) The Ukrainian Orthodox Church was simultaneously destroyed by force and subjected to the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Thousands of Ukrainian clergymen, from Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkiv's'kiy down, were liquidated;
- (3) This was also the time of the liquidation, arrest or deportation of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals in the field of culture, such as writers, poets, and artists. In the city of Vinnytsia alone, during the years 1937 and 1938 the NKVD executed and buried in common graves ten thousand Ukrainians. The bodies were discovered during the German occupation of Ukraine;

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(4) The elite personnel among the Ukrainian communists also fell victim to these mass purges in Ukraine, Moscow accusing them of "national communism";

(5) In 1946 the Russian communists liquidated and decreed illegal the Ukrainian Catholic Church which was headed by a Metropolitan and 8 bishops, with over 3,000 clergy and 4 million faithful. All bishops and a majority of the lower clergy were arrested and deported. Metropolitan Iosyf Slipyi is the only one alive from among the higher Catholic hierarchy.

III.

The colonial position of the Ukrainian people is evident from the following particulars:

(1) Although the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is formally a sovereign state, it lacks some of the fundamental attributes of sovereignty, and in particular:

(a) All power in the USSR is actually in the hands of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which is a centralized and totalitarian party, acting through its branches in the non-Russian republics of the USSR. Thus, the so-called organs of supreme power in Ukraine, as the Supreme Soviet or the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, are only organs carrying out the orders and instruction received from Moscow.

(b) The Ukrainian SSR has no diplomatic missions abroad with the sole exception of a permanent delegation to the United Nations. Feelers put out by the United Kingdom in 1947, and attempts of Sudan in 1956, to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR, were rejected by Moscow.

(c) The Ukrainian SSR has no armed or defensive forces.

(d) The budget of the Ukrainian SSR constitutes an integral part of the budget of the USSR, and the government of the Ukrainian SSR has at its disposal only the appropriations reserved to it by the government of the USSR. Ukraine has no state bank, currency, or even postage stamps. Ukraine cannot directly engage in foreign trade, and the Ukrainian economy is subject to continuous exploitation on the part of the center in Moscow.

(2) The Russian communists are adhering to a steadfast policy of deportation of Ukrainians from their native land, and settlement of Russian colonists in Ukraine. This colonial policy is clearly reflected in the figures of official Soviet statistics. Whereas between 1926 and 1959 the number of Ukrainians in Ukraine increased from 28.9 million to 32.1 million, the number of Russians in Ukraine increased from 2.6 million to 7.9 million. At the present time the Russians constitute 16.9% of the population of Ukraine, as against only 9.2% in 1926. Especially large numbers of Ukrainians are currently being forcefully shipped to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan.

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SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL

Secretariate-General for Foreign Affairs

875 West End Avenue
New York 25, N.Y.

Tel. MO 3-8461

October 4, 1960

M E M O R A N D U M

The XV Session of the United Nations General Assembly currently held in New York is being subjected to a wide propaganda campaign on the part of the delegation of the USSR and its satellites, with the purpose, among others, of convincing the world, and especially the Asian and African nations that only the USSR and its bloc are the true defenders of peace and of the ideals of national and social freedom, while the Western powers, and particularly the United States, are labelled as enemies of peace and defenders of colonialism.

The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR is one of the active spokesmen of the propaganda campaign of the Soviet bloc. Its attacks are primarily directed against the United States for its alleged hostility against the Ukrainian people and other peoples of the USSR. The delegates of the Ukrainian SSR present themselves as delegates of an allegedly sovereign Ukrainian nation, and make attempts to prove that the national question has been justly and successfully solved in the USSR.

Thus far, these attacks launched by the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR against the United States and the West have not been answered on the forum of the United Nations. As a result, there is an impression among some nations of the Afro-Asian bloc that these allegations are based on the truth. Moreover, if it is taken into consideration that the addresses delivered by the delegates of the Ukrainian SSR in the UN are given wide publicity in the Ukrainian Soviet press, the Ukrainian people might also get the impression that the United States either does not wish to answer these accusations, or else does not possess the required arguments for an answer.

Under these circumstances, the silence on the part of the United States and other Western delegates in the UN on the Ukrainian problem facilitates the propaganda campaign of the delegates of the Soviet bloc.

In this connection there arises an immediate need of counteraction on the forum of the United Nations on the part of the delegations of the United States and of the other free nations along the following lines:

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Attachment - 2

(3) The Russian communists are engaged in an increasing Russification of all sectors of life in Ukraine. In most of the trade schools in Ukraine, especially in the field of natural sciences, instruction is in Russian, from Russian textbooks. All the leading newspapers and magazines in Ukraine are simultaneously published in Ukrainian and Russian. Newspapers, magazines and books in Ukrainian are deliberately printed in limited editions, unlike their Russian counterparts.

(4) In Ukraine, as in the whole Soviet Union, there is a continuous propaganda of the superiority of the Russians as a race, and glorification of everything Russian. At the same time, even the slightest attempts of the Ukrainian writers, scholars, historians and artists to preserve the national roots of Ukrainian spiritual life and to develop Ukrainian culture and literature, are subjected to relentless attacks by Moscow and labelled as manifestations of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The methods of ruthless terror used by the Russian communists against any signs of the Ukrainian liberation movement were explained, among others, in the letter written by Ukrainian political prisoners from the Soviet concentration camps in the Mordovian ASSR. This letter was successfully smuggled out of the Soviet Union in 1955, and it was submitted to the Committee on Human Rights in the United Nations.

(5) The Ukrainian, and other peoples of the USSR are deprived of all basic civil liberties, particularly of the freedom of speech, of the press, religion, assembly and association.

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