

SECRET

XAAZ-24180

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHOD EXEMPTION 3828
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

JAN 4 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE

SUBJECT: Joint OSO/OPC Report on the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

1. As a result of OSO's recent successful penetrations of the Ukraine, it is now established that a well-organized underground movement is active in the Ukrainian S.S.R. under the direction of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHLR) and its partisan army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). A comprehensive report on the Ukrainian resistance movement is attached as Enclosure A. In view of the sensitive nature of this document, it is requested that it be returned to OPC when it has served its purpose.

2. This material is considered to be of particular importance since it substantiates the fact that the Ukrainian resistance movement is larger and more fully developed than previous reports had indicated. It is evident that a united underground movement, both active and passive, exists among Eastern as well as Western Ukrainians. The material also affords an insight into the thinking of peoples living under Soviet domination and outlines their ideas concerning the political, social and economic basis of a future free government.

3. The joint OSO/OPC Ukrainian project is now being expanded to take advantage of the potential which the underground represents for intelligence and OPC-type activities both in the present situation and in time of war. In view of the extent and activity of the resistance movement in the Ukraine, we consider this to be a top priority project.

4. In view of the importance of the new information contained in the report, it is recommended that it be brought to the attention of Mr. E. Freeman Matthews, and that the Secretary of State be generally briefed by him. A forwarding letter has been prepared for your signature.
(Enclosure B)

TSO	DI	SB/GA/S
PS	BEST	
ABSTRACT	X	INDEX

Assistant Director for
Special Operations

FRANK G. WISNER
Assistant Director for
Policy Coordination

CS COPY

Encl: 2

A - Joint Report
B - Letter

EE-4/JG/jw

2 Jan 51

Distribution
DCI - 1 and 2
ADSO - 3
EE-4 - 4,5,6
III/RE - 7

SECRET

74-124-79/3

Final
COPY 2 OF 2 Copies

SECRET

XAAZ-24180/01

15 December 1950

Note.: Never signed
dated, or sent to
addressee. Rec'd in
SD/RE on above date
for processing.

MEMORANDUM FOR: MR. H. FREEMAN MATTHEWS,
Deputy Under Secretary of State

VIA: Mr. Robert P. Joyce

SUBJECT: Report on the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

1. As a result of our recent successful penetrations of the Ukraine, it has been established that a well-organized underground movement is active in the Ukrainian S.S.R. under the direction of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHL) and its partisan army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). A report on the Ukrainian resistance movement is attached as Enclosure A.

2. This material is considered to be of particular importance since it substantiates the fact that the Ukrainian resistance movement is larger and more fully developed than previous reports had indicated. It is evident that a united underground movement, both active and passive, exists among Eastern as well as Western Ukrainians. The material also affords an insight into the thinking of peoples living under Soviet domination and outlines their ideas concerning the political, social and economic basis of a future free government.

3. The Central Intelligence Agency has established contact with the resistance movement and is developing its clandestine potential for limited use in the present situation and for a full-scale effort in the event of war. It is felt that this new information on the Ukrainian resistance movement emphasizes the importance of giving full consideration to the national minorities in our approach to the Soviet problem.

4. It is believed that you may deem it advisable to brief the Secretary of State generally concerning these matters. It is requested that this information be held to the smallest number of persons possible within the Department and that it be returned to this office when it has served its purpose.

ANTSCO	FI	SR/CA/S
PS	DECT	
ABSTRACT	X	INDEX

Encl: 1
Report

EE-4/00/jw
2 Jan 51

att #1 to XAAZ-24180

Distribution
Addressee - 1 and 2
DCI - and 4
OSO - 5
EE - 6
II/RE - 7

CS COPY

SECRET

APR 16 1951

ONE MONTH		
74	130	2
DATE 15 Dec 51		

COPY 2 OF 2 Copies

14-124-29/3

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

XAAZ-24180/0.2

12 December 1950

SUMMARY

JOINT OSO/OPC REPORT ON THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

1. As a result of OSO's recent successful penetrations of the Ukraine, it is now established that a well-organized, active resistance movement exists there under the direction of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) and its partisan army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The resistance movement is now active in both the Western and Eastern Ukraine, the first president of the UHVR being an Eastern Ukrainian.

2. The UHVR underground network is composed in the main of citizens living in normal circumstances with legal documentation. These legalized members of the underground fulfill various support functions to assist the resistance movement, including the collection of food and supplies for UPA and the distribution of propaganda materials. For the past three years the resistance movement has concentrated with marked success on organizational and political work among Eastern Ukrainians. This eastward extension of organizational work has been the result of a carefully planned program based on a realistic appraisal of the post-war political psychology of the Eastern Ukrainians.

3. The UPA is a disciplined partisan force highly trained in the techniques of guerrilla warfare. Its primary mission at present is the preservation and training of cadres and the defense of the underground centers of resistance. Although large-scale military action has been curtailed for the purpose of consolidating and strengthening the security of the resistance movement, the UPA conducts spot raids on selected targets and personalities either for propaganda purposes or to create a diversion which will interfere with collectivization, forced resettlement, etc. The size of the force is estimated at 5,000 active partisans, operating in groups varying in size from 150 to 300 in each raion. In addition, recruiting is being conducted in all parts of the Ukraine of personnel who have received military training and who would be available for partisan service when the need arises. These recruits are drawn from the UHVR's underground network. Evidence of Soviet respect for the efficiency of the UPA and the resistance movement is seen in the recent proclamation of Lieutenant General Kovalchuk, Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian S.S.R., offering amnesty to all Ukrainian resistance personnel who would surrender to the MGB.

4. The political platform of the UHVR is based principally on state ownership of heavy industry, banking, transport and natural resources, cooperative and private ownership of light industry and commerce, and

JAN 5 1951

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

74-124-29/3

OPC REGISTRY		
74	130	2
DATE 12 DEC 50		

CS COPY

51776-A
#2

att. #2 to XAAZ-24180

SB/CA/S
ABSTRACT
INDEX

~~TOP~~ SECRET

private ownership of land within the limits of holdings actually worked. The UHVR rejects attempts by many Western Ukrainian chauvinists, including Stefan Bandera, to erect a Ukrainian state on a narrowly religious, mono-party, totalitarian basis, since the Eastern Ukrainian nationalists find such a political philosophy unacceptable. In terms of the institutional form of government, the UHVR has consistently favored parliamentary government by consent. The anti-Soviet elements of the Ukrainian population are in agreement with the basic platform of the UHVR.

5. The political activity of the resistance movement is supported primarily by printed materials which originate in the propaganda centers located in the mountainous regions of the western oblasts and are distributed throughout the Ukraine. These materials vary from serious political discussions on a theoretical or ideological plane to specific requests to boycott Soviet elections, resist and sabotage deliveries of grain and other produce, and similar appeals calculated to arouse the inhabitants from a position of passivity to one of active support of the resistance.

6. The resistance movement desires to collaborate with the Western democracies in the war against Soviet Communism. It fails to understand why the national aspirations of the Ukrainians have not been recognized and why the facts of the resistance struggle have not been put to better use in the constant propaganda battles of the cold war. The members of the resistance movement listen constantly to the VOA Ukrainian broadcasts and derive from these broadcasts their ideas of official U.S. policy toward the Soviet regime and toward the people under Soviet domination. The resistance movement strongly opposes the domination of the minorities by Moscow and deplores tendencies of the Western powers to support proponents of this concept. The resistance movement has stated that its aim is to free its people from Russian domination, and that it will not be willing to collaborate with the United States Government unless it receives some indication that the principle of self-determination will be applied to the Ukraine at least to the extent of affording it full autonomy within any future federation of the peoples of Russia. Although realizing that no official commitments of this nature can be made at this time, the resistance movement looks for some encouragement through a change in the VOA Ukrainian broadcasts which would bring them into closer harmony with the psychology of the population in the homeland. It feels that the broadcasts should reflect American interest in and sympathy with the Ukrainian people's struggle against Soviet tyranny and should, in addition, give a factual presentation of information about the resistance movement and its activities.

~~TOP~~ SECRET

~~SECRET~~ #2

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

12 December 1950

JOINT OSO-OPC REPORT
ON THE UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENT

1. Preamble

As the result of the successful establishment of courier contact with the resistance movement in the Ukrainian S.S.R. during 1949 and 1950, and on the basis of additional reports of such resistance from independent sources, OSO and OPC have undertaken a complete re-evaluation of the scope and significance of resistance activities within the Ukraine. The pouches received from the Ukrainian resistance movement as late as October 1950 comprise the largest single group of intelligence reports received from inside the USSR in recent years. The couriers carrying this material and the pouches themselves have been subjected to the most intense investigation, and the authenticity of the material has been established beyond question. Taken together, this material affords the most recent, comprehensive review on the Ukrainian resistance movement, its relation to the Ukrainian emigration, the Western democracies, and other resistance groups in the USSR. A brief resume of the history of the OSO development of this liaison with the resistance is in order.

In 1945 and 1946, Ukrainian resistance "ambassadors" made direct approaches to American diplomatic and intelligence officials requesting political and material support for their movement. American officials were not in a position at that time to grant such requests, and these "ambassadors," freshly arrived from partisan-held areas in the Ukraine, found it difficult to comprehend the apparent indifference of their American contacts to the Ukrainian resistance movement. Ineptitude in arguing their case and factionalism among the emigration did much to discredit them. As a result, no American intelligence service had any real hope of exploiting emigre groups in an effort to establish contact with a resistance movement whose chances of survival were an unknown quantity.

In 1946 and 1947, OSO began an intensive counterintelligence investigation of the several Ukrainian emigre organizations which apparently provided the only means of contacting the resistance movement within the Ukraine. Sporadic arrivals of partisans from the Ukraine in the U.S. zones of Germany and Austria, as well as reports of continued resistance from independent sources, convinced OSO by early 1948 that an effort should be made to explore this operational potential in a systematic manner. The best candidates for missions designed to establish contact with the resistance movement were themselves members of the resistance who had become subordinate to emigre groups once they arrived in the West. The problem was, therefore, to choose the group which would best serve long-range

~~TOP SECRET~~ SECRET

~~SECRET~~ #2

 SECRET

United States interests. It was evident that such a group must not only be acceptable to the leadership of the resistance in the homeland, but also one which by its activities or political philosophy would not become an embarrassment to the United States government in the event overt support were contemplated.

The Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZPUHVR) was chosen as the group which met these specifications most satisfactorily. First, it was known and not generally disputed that this group was dispatched from the Ukrainian resistance movement in August 1944 to act as its foreign representation. The validity of this mandate was somewhat clouded by counterclaims in 1948, yet this was the only group whose security, politically ethical behavior and compact organization qualified it for operational use.

In October 1948, couriers arrived in Germany from the Headquarters of General Taras CHUPRINKA, commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and Secretary-General of the Supreme Liberation Council. The couriers, one of whom was a former professor of the University of Kiev, were subordinated to the ZPUHVR. With OSO assistance these couriers were trained and redispached in mid-1949. However, since no communication existed which would have permitted coordination, prior to their arrival in the Ukraine, another courier group had been dispatched by General CHUPRINKA to ZPUHVR. The six survivors were intercepted by OSO and turned over to ZPUHVR. They brought with them the extraordinary news that despite adverse conditions, active resistance to the Soviet regime was spreading steadily eastward, out of the former Polish, Greek Catholic provinces. The emphasis on armed partisan activities had given way to intensified, long-range activities aimed at organizing the entire Ukrainian population in support of the liberation movement. This information was contained in the pouch material and further supported by actual interrogation and debriefing by OSO officers of the courier personnel.

The latest courier group was also trained by OSO and redispached in the early summer of 1950. These couriers were briefed verbally by the ZPUHVR to request the leadership of the internal resistance movement for specific answers to questions involving cooperation with U.S. authorities, relationship of ZPUHVR to the emigration and to the Western democracies in general. This group returned in October 1950, their mission completed. The pouch, the largest ever to be brought out of the Ukraine, contained official reports, samples of resistance periodicals, handbills, propaganda leaflets, policy declarations, etc., as well as specific intelligence information on every aspect of the Soviet Ukraine. This material and the courier group leader were brought to the United States, where the entire matter was again subjected to careful investigation. The pertinent sections of this latest authenticated report are presented below.

-2-

 SECRET

51776-9
#2

SECRET

2. General Organization of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

The largest single activist group in the Ukrainian resistance today is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, most of whose members live legally as fully documented citizens of the Soviet Union. In July 1944, the OUN recognized the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation (UHVR) as the highest governing body in the Ukraine and representative of all classes and groups. The UHVR is responsible for the direction of the resistance and the control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Almost all of the political opinions which are represented in the emigration by separate political parties are found in the UHVR, even though those parties as such either never existed in the Ukraine or disappeared upon Soviet occupation of all of the Ukraine. As early as August 1943, it was recognized that OUN could not successfully bring all Ukrainians into the struggle against the Soviets because of its almost exclusively Western Ukrainian character. For this reason the UHVR was created and chose as its first president an Eastern Ukrainian. However, during the course of the more than seven years of continuous Soviet occupation, the Western Ukrainians have, as a result of common experiences, drawn much closer to the Easterners and now it is the OUN that is most active in extending its work into the Eastern oblasts, under the direction of the UHVR.

The UHVR, which was established in 1944, is the highest political organ of the Ukrainian resistance. Its membership represents all Ukrainian territories and all political opinions, policy decisions being arrived at by majority vote. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, however, is the most powerful organization of the UHVR and may be considered the "party in power," since its ideological positions are reflected in UHVR policy. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) is a national army subordinated to the UHVR as a government, not to the OUN as the dominant political group. Approximately half of the UPA members are also members of the OUN.

3. Activities of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, although it has perfected the art of partisan warfare to a degree rarely attained by other similar organizations, has always been and remains a highly disciplined military force. Its primary mission at present is the preservation and training of cadres and the defense of the underground centers of resistance, as well as political and propaganda activity. In addition to this, however, it makes spot raids on selected localities either for propaganda purposes or to create a diversion which will interfere with collectivization, forced resettlement, etc.

The best estimate of the size of the UPA at present is approximately 5,000 active partisans. Groups vary in size from about 150 to 300 per raion. Because of the advantageous terrain, the greater number of the partisans are located in the extreme western end of the Ukrainian S.S.R., near the juncture of the Polish, Czech and Soviet frontiers. Subordinate commands of UPA-North and UPA-West still exist.

SECRET

~~51976~~ A
2

 SECRET

In addition to this personnel now actively engaged in the field, recruiting is being conducted in all parts of the Ukraine of personnel who have received military training and could be called into partisan service if the need arose. Large-scale military action has been reduced to a minimum since 1949 in order to consolidate and strengthen the resistance.

Further proof of the efficacy of the UPA and of the resistance movement in sabotaging the sovietization of the Ukraine was the proclamation by Lieutenant General KOVALCHUK, Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian S.S.R., offering amnesty to all Ukrainian resistance personnel who would surrender themselves to the local MGB organs. Although the deadline for surrender was given as 31 December 1949, interrogation of the couriers who returned in October indicates that this amnesty offer has been indefinitely extended and that the few partisans who have been captured have been returned to their villages unharmed in order to lend credence to this proclamation.

4. Political Activities of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

The political platform adopted by the UHVR is based generally on the principle of state ownership of heavy industry, banking, transport and natural resources, cooperative and private ownership of light industry and commerce, and private ownership of land within the limits of holdings actually worked. The UHVR rejects attempts by many Western Ukrainian chauvinists, including Stefan Bandera, to erect a Ukrainian state on a narrowly religious, totalitarian basis, because of the obvious unsuitability of such an approach in the Eastern Ukraine. In terms of the institutional form of government, the UHVR has consistently come out in favor of parliamentary government by consent. The present ideological position of the Ukrainian resistance is based on the decisions of an underground congress held in 1943. In a communication to the Ukrainian emigration dated July 1950, the resistance movement placed its major emphasis as follows:

a. no official espousal of either the idealistic or materialistic philosophy,

b. recognition of the value of religion and defense of the persecuted churches as a political expedient, with the strong reservation that separation of church and state is mandatory,

c. socialization of the basic sectors of the economy (heavy industry, transport, banks, mineral resources, forests, waters),

d. abolition of collectivization in agriculture,

e. democratic governmental apparatus,

f. achievement of the "basic objective--a united Ukrainian independent state."

-4-

 SECRET

~~SECRET~~
#2

 SECRET

Examination of underground propaganda materials substantiates their adherence to this platform. The adjectives most frequently used by the Ukrainian resistance to describe themselves are "liberation-revolutionary"---"liberationist" characterizing the nationalist component (independent Ukrainian state), and "revolutionary" the social-economic component of their program. On the whole, resistance propaganda materials appear to be incisive, surprisingly voluminous, and of a serious historical and ideological nature, although designed to have popular mass appeal.

Political activity is supported primarily by printed materials which originate in propaganda centers located in the mountainous regions of the western oblasts. These materials vary from serious political discussions on a theoretical-ideological plane to specific requests to the population to boycott Soviet elections, resist and sabotage deliveries of grains and other produce, and similar appeals calculated to arouse the inhabitants from a position of passivity to one of active support of the resistance. As might be expected, the resistance movement utilizes a cell structure similar to that of the Communist Party, and extending into the Eastern Ukraine.

The principal informational tasks of the resistance were agreed on at a meeting of resistance leaders in the summer of 1949. They included the fostering of political and psychological unity of Eastern and Western Ukrainians, support and encouragement of peasant opposition to collective farming, circulation of literature designed for mass appeal, and concentration on winning adherents among the youth.

Extension of the underground into the Eastern Ukraine is and has been for the past two years the primary agitational objective of the resistance. The principal means employed in this activity include:

a. Utilization of the estimated two to three hundred thousand Eastern Ukrainians who fled into the Western Ukraine for food during the famine of 1946-47. They were treated hospitably. UPA partisans conducted special food collections for them, and when they were sent back, they were indoctrinated with the concept of Ukrainian nationalism and provided with funds for the journey.

b. Utilization of the young Eastern Ukrainian teachers, mainly former members of the Komsomol, who were sent into the Western Ukraine because they were believed to be politically reliable. Since these teachers, like most Soviet teachers, were grossly underpaid and underprivileged, they were susceptible to the friendliness of the Westerners. Most would return home with a new realization of their Ukrainian nationality, resolved to take some part in the resistance to the Soviet regime. They in turn became the nuclei of new resistance groups in the East.

c. Contrary to the former policy of encouraging Western Ukrainian youths to take to the woods to avoid conscription, the resistance now orders them to report for military service. Once assigned to

 SECRET

~~SECRET~~
#2

~~TOP~~ SECRET

units, they act as individual agitators whose aim is to make all Ukrainian personnel serving in the armed forces conscious of their Ukrainian heritage. This also serves to train the young Ukrainians in the latest technical advances of the Soviet armed forces.

d. Youths from the Western Ukraine are encouraged to answer draft calls for laborers to work in the Donbas area. Before they depart they are given special operational assignments.

e. A definite policy of encouraging intermarriage between Western and Eastern Ukrainians has been promulgated by the UHVR. Couples who are already married are expected to encourage others to follow their example.

f. Members of the underground who are natives of the Eastern Ukraine and who are trained for political work are often sent back to their home districts as cell leaders and organizers.

g. Contact with new groups is established by inserting printed propaganda material into freight cars and vehicles carrying raw materials bound for the Eastern Ukraine. Casual travelers are also used for distributing printed material.

In general, it became standard procedure for the resistance as far back as 1947 and 1948 to have assigned to responsible leaders from the Western Ukraine certain areas in the East which were to be cultivated politically. Persons with areas so assigned would see to it that any or all of the above methods were put into practice. The minimum area assigned to any one individual was two raions. Some energetic activists were able to establish functioning organizations in as many as two oblasts.

5. Present Status of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (ZPUHVR)

The latest pouch to be received from the Ukraine includes a renewal of the mandate which was originally received by ZPUHVR in 1944. This renewed mandate states that ZPUHVR has the exclusive right to:

- a. provide diplomatic and political representation abroad,
- b. consolidate the Ukrainian emigration on the political level in behalf of the resistance movement,
- c. publicize the resistance movement and its activities in the Ukraine,
- d. coordinate all assistance to the resistance movement.

In its organizational structure the ZPUHVR is a replica of the UHVR in the Ukraine in that it has a Presidium and General-Secretary. The Chief of the Foreign Affairs Branch of ZPUHVR is Mikola Lebed who, although in exile, is also the General-Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR.

-6-
~~TOP~~ SECRET

5776-A
#2

~~SECRET~~ SECRET

Attached to the ZPUHVR is the official Military Mission of the UPA, which alone is empowered through the ZPUHVR to represent the UPA abroad and to supervise the activities of former UPA members now living in the West.

As a result of this renewal of their mandate, the ZPUHVR will attempt to unify the emigration, primarily by means of persuasion. Stefan Bandera, leader of the OUN in the emigration, whose totalitarian, chauvinistic policies are entirely out of line with the trend of political thinking in the Ukraine today, and are explicitly repudiated, may refuse to accept this mandate, and it is possible that he will attempt to discredit ZPUHVR. Spokesmen for ZPUHVR indicate they will not be deterred by such fractional disputes from their primary responsibility to aid the resistance in the homeland.

6. The Attitude of the Resistance Movement Toward the Western Democracies

In an article dated August 1950, written by P. Poltava, leading theoretician of the resistance movement, regarding the Voice of America, the attitudes of the resistance toward the West are clearly indicated. Four major points are developed:

a. The Soviet masses must be aroused from a condition of complete apathy and a feeling that they have been abandoned to their fate by the Western powers.

b. Criticism of the Soviet regime cannot be considered valid if the only alternative given is a return to Tsarist, laissez-faire capitalism.

c. The West must recognize that the peoples most capable of conducting an active fight against the Soviet regime from within the USSR are those minority nationalities who are struggling for independent national status.

d. The West must do all it can to publicize and use to its own advantage the fact that there is a Ukrainian resistance movement still strongly active in the "workers' paradise."

The Ukrainian resistance strongly opposes a Russia "one and indivisible" and deplures tendencies of the Western countries to support proponents of such a program. A large part of the resistance propaganda is devoted to the thesis that the break-up of Russia into nation-states is indispensable for freedom, democracy, and reconciliation in Eastern Europe. The July 1950 document, referred to earlier, states that federalist ideas are completely bankrupt in the USSR. It holds that the Russians are the chief support of Soviet rule and that in case of war the Russians will be the nationality group most loyal to the Soviets; that no anti-Stalinist movement exists among the Russians today; that the Russian intelligentsia are the

~~SECRET~~ SECRET

~~SECRET~~ 1776-2

SECRET

most chauvinist Soviet patriots, although among the Russian workers and peasants there is dissatisfaction because of economic oppression. The position of the Ukrainian resistance toward the Russians is generally determined by the position of the Russians with respect to Ukrainian aspirations for statehood.

Resistance literature depicts the Western democracies as the allies of the resistance movement and interprets anti-American attacks by the Soviets as attacks on the general anti-communist front. It declares that the Western world and the Ukrainian resistance have a common enemy (communism) and a common objective—the building of a just and progressive world in which the rights of individuals and nations will be honored. The Ukrainians hold that the entire world is rapidly polarizing into two antagonistic camps, with war as the logical result. They frequently express chagrin over Soviet diplomatic and military successes and at times are impatient with the ineptitude and "deafness" of the Western democracies. The Ukrainian underground has prepared a plan of action for the outbreak of hostilities, and in a communique to the Foreign Representation (ZPUBVR) dated July 1950, asks the Ukrainian emigre leaders to obtain permission from the Western powers to distribute underground literature to the citizens of the USSR and Soviet Army personnel who may come under the jurisdiction of the Western powers. Should war not evolve, the resistance leaders are prepared to continue their struggle by concentrating their efforts on arousing active opposition to the Soviets among all Communist-ruled nations. The same document requests statistical data on the main Western countries, basic works on the politics and economy of the West, and important articles and speeches of the leading figures in the Western governments. One resistance leader has requested the basic works of Keynes, Alvin Hanson, and Stuart Chase.

7. Conclusions

The main conclusions to be derived from this study of the present status of the Ukrainian resistance movement are:

a. There exists in the Ukrainian S.S.R. today a resistance movement which is still in active operation after seven years of Soviet occupation.

b. This movement possesses an underground army which is at present capable of survival as a cadre force and which could be expanded into a large partisan fighting force if the situation required.

c. Through the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, and the revitalized Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the resistance has expanded into all of the Ukraine on a firm organizational basis. The political and propaganda work of the resistance is planned and directed from mobile centers in the western mountains. It is skillfully executed and reflects a high level of competence in covert techniques.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~ #2

~~SECRET~~ SECRET

d. The only organization in the Ukrainian emigration which is officially recognized by the resistance as having the right to speak for and represent the movement is the Foreign Representation (ZPUHVR), the original members of which were dispatched by the underground to the West in 1944. This right has never been questioned by the underground, although it has been disputed by certain groups in the emigration whose political theories are not in accord with the progress made in political thought in the Ukraine itself.

e. The Supreme Council of Liberation has repeatedly announced that its policy looks forward to the creation of an independent national state based on principles of political and social democracy. It must be accepted that nationalist fervor is the cornerstone of the Ukrainian resistance movement. No other motivation could have kept the movement alive through these years or could have expanded its political base to the degree presently existing.

f. The leaders of the Supreme Council of Liberation have developed mature programs for the solution of the political, social and economic problems of the Ukraine when it is freed from Soviet rule. These programs call for a parliamentary democracy, separation of church and state, public ownership of heavy industry and commerce, and private ownership by the peasants of land which they actually work.

g. The resistance movement desires to collaborate with the western democracies in the war against Soviet Communism. It fails to understand why the national aspirations of the Ukraine have not been recognized or why the facts of the resistance struggle have not been put to better use in the constant propaganda battles of the cold war. The members of the resistance movement listen constantly to the VOA Ukrainian broadcasts and derive from these broadcasts their ideas of official U.S. policy toward the Soviet regime and toward the people under Soviet domination.

h. The resistance movement strongly apposes the domination of the minorities by Moscow and deplores tendencies of the Western powers to support proponents of this concept. The resistance movement has stated that its aim is to free its people from Russian domination, and that it will not be willing to collaborate with the United States Government unless it receives some indication that the principle of self-determination will be applied to the Ukraine at least to the extent of affording it full autonomy within any future federation of the peoples of Russia. While it asks for no direct promises from official United States sources, it looks for some encouragement through a change in the VOA Ukrainian broadcasts to give them a more truly Ukrainian character. It feels that the broadcasts should reflect American interest in and sympathy with the Ukrainian people's struggle against Soviet tyranny and should, in addition, give a more complete factual presentation of information about the resistance movement and its activities.

~~SECRET~~ SECRET

~~SECRET~~ #2

~~TOP~~ SECRET

Attachments:

1. Accession List of Materials Received in Courier Pouch from the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in October 1950.
2. MGB Amnesty Proclamation to Members of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.
3. Critique of Voice of America Ukrainian Broadcasts by Member of Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

~~TOP~~ SECRET

~~51776-A~~
#2

~~TOP~~ SECRET

ACCESSION LIST

Materials Received in Courier Pouch from the
Ukrainian Resistance Movement in October 1950

A. IMPORTANT POLITICAL MATERIALS

1. Stand of the Ukrainian Underground in regard to Employees of the Soviet Administration in the Western Ukraine. Pp. 2.
2. List of Underground Publications. Pp. 5.
3. Why the USSR must be Reconstructed according to the Principle of Independent National States for all Nations Subjugated by the Soviets. Pp. 16.
4. Appeal to Ukrainian Peasants, Workers, Intelligentsia. Jan. 1950. Pp. 2.
5. Appeal to the Ukrainians in the Red Army. Pp. 2.
6. Order of Lieutenant General M. Kovalchuk, Minister of State Security of the Ukrainian SSR, promising amnesty to Ukrainian insurgents.
7. Resolutions and Decisions of the Ukrainian Liberation Council on the Political Situation in the Period from August, 1949 to May, 1950.
8. Report on Conditions in the Petroleum Industry in Skhidnytsya, Western Ukraine, by a Worker Employed there. Pp. 3.
9. OUN Appeal on the Occasion of its Twentieth Anniversary. Pp. 16.
10. Appeal to the Ukrainian School and Post-School Youth. Pp. 4.
11. The USSR—the Country of the Most Brutal Oppression of Nations and Exploitation of Workers. Pp. 28—written by O. HORNOVYI, UHVR ideologist.
12. Brief Reports on the Ideology, Policy and History of Revolutionary Ukrainian Nationalism. Pp. 30 on the following themes:
 - a. Why We Call Ourselves Nationalists. (P. POLTAVA).
 - b. The Meaning of the Idea of a United Independent Ukrainian State, the Highest and Basic Ideal of Ukrainian Nationalism (P. POLTAVA).
 - c. Where Does the Revolutionary Nature of Our Movement Reside? (P. POLTAVA).

~~TOP~~ SECRET

51776 A
#2

25. Resolutions and Decisions of the Conference of the Leadership of the OUN in Summer, 1949. pp. 7.

26. Letter to Voice of America from P. POLTAVA, Director of the Bureau of Information, Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, dated August, 1950, on the nature of American broadcasts beamed to the USSR.

27. Our Plan of Struggle for the Liberation of the Ukraine Under Present Conditions. Dated April, 1950; written by POLTAVA. pp. 7.

28. In the Banks and Under the Banners of the OUN for Struggle against the Manovite Opponents and for a United Independent Ukrainian State. An underground pamphlet, put out in May, 1949, on the twentieth anniversary of the existence of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. An appeal to the masses. pp. 16.

29. Military Actions of the UPA in the Ukraine. UP A inventory of armed conflicts with the Communists.

- a. Report Covering Period from August 1946 to August 1947. pp. 32.
- b. Report on Period August 1947 to December 31, 1947. pp. 23.
- c. Report on Period January 1, 1948 to June 1948. pp. 28.
- d. Report on Period from July 1948 to end of December 1948. pp. 31.
- e. Report on Period from January 1949 to June 1949. pp. 14.

30. Rayon and Oblast Situation Reports

Concentrated statistical and descriptive reports on conditions and developments in each rayon or oblast prepared by UPA reporters stationed in the pertinent areas. Data covered include: production in industry, types of new enterprises, functioning of established enterprises, number and morale of workers in various plants, cultivated areas, new kolkhozes, organization of work on collective farms, standard of living, trade and commerce, forest and lumber industry, Soviet taxation policy, registration and draft policies of the Soviet regime, Soviet propaganda techniques, quartering of Soviet troops, situation in schools and the teaching profession, Pioneer and Komsomol activities and recruitment, village clubs and theatres, religious problems and holidays, activities of party members, public meetings and discussions, anti-American propaganda, actions between UPA and Soviet troops, arrests and sentences, individual cases of terror and punishment, attitudes of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, new Russian arrivals, banishment and exile to the East, Russification measures, MVD and MGB personnel and policies, changes in Soviet army and administrative personnel, troop movements, activities, of the courts, propaganda activities of the Ukrainian underground, evaluation of present conditions, etc., new officials of the raykom or obkom, officials and activities of the village soviets, "peace petitions." Reports include the following items:

~~TOP~~ SECRET

a. UFA Report on Conditions in the Drohobych, Dublyanetsky and Medvynetsky Rayons in the Period from 1 July 1949 to 30 August, 1949. pp. 42

b. UFA Report on Conditions in the Volokhivsky Rayon During the First Quarter of 1950. pp. 15

c. Monthly Reports on Conditions in the Bolekhivsky Rayon. Reports for the months of January, February, and March, 1950.

d. UFA Report on the Situation in the Drohobych Area. One report on the first quarter of 1950, pp. 6; another report covering the second quarter of 1950, pp. 4; report on conditions in the Drohobych oblast.

e. General Evaluation of the Situation in the Kalushch Area. One report covering the second quarter of 1950, pp. 3; report covering November, 1949; report covering October, 1949.

f. UFA Report on the Chopovich, Malyn, Potilivka, Korosten, Volodarsk-Volynsk and Zhytomir Oblasts. Reports are dated February, 1950.

g. UFA Report on the Situation in the Fibuka Nadrayon. pp. 15.

h. UFA Report on Conditions in the Beresteshko Rayon. Dated Jan. 7, 1950; pp. 14.

i. UFA Report on Conditions in the Zhuravansky Rayon. Report covering Jan. 1950, pp. 11; Feb. 1950, pp. 9; March 1950, pp. 7.

j. UFA Report on Conditions in the Vynohodsky Rayon. The report begins with the month of March 1950.

B. OTHER POLITICAL MATERIALS

1. The Policy of the Muscovite-Bolshevik Government and its Ukrainian Agents has Nothing in Common with the True Will of the Ukrainian People. A reply by POLTAVA to Mr. MacNeill, the British Delegate to the United Nations. Provoked by report heard over BBC. Reply was printed 1950; pp. 4.

2. Reply to Liudmila SHEVCHENKO from Ukrainian Revolutionists. The Kiev publication Svoboda i Malynka printed an attack on Ukrainian leaders in the emigration written by Liudmila SHEVCHENKO, a descendant of the Ukrainian poet, Taras SHEVCHENKO, in which she maintained that the emigres had departed from Taras SHEVCHENKO's ideals and were misusing his name. This is a reply to Liudmila, in the form of a pamphlet circulated by the underground. pp. 23.

~~TOP~~ SECRET

51776 A #2

~~TOP~~ SECRET

3. Prerequisites for the Spreading of our Movement under Conditions of the Bolshevik USSR. An underground pamphlet published in 1947; pp. 13. POLTAVA is the author.

4. Appeal to the Ukrainian people from the Ukrainian insurgents, dated August 1949. pp. 1.

5. Christmas Message to the Ukrainian People, January, 1949. pp. 1

6. Christmas Message to the Ukrainian People, January, 1949. pp. 2.

7. The Truth about the Help of the Russian People. An ideological attack on the Soviet contention that the Russians have consistently "helped" the Ukrainians or played the role of the "big brother."

8. Appeal to the Peasants of the Volynivsky Rayon. pp. 2.

9. Appeal to Members and sympathisers of OUN. May, 1949; pp. 5.

10. News from the Eastern Ukraine as Reported by an Eyewitness in June 1949. pp. 3.

11. Comment on the Voice of America ("Distortion of Historical Facts"). pp. 2.

12. Christmas Message of the Ukrainian Insurgents to the Ukrainian People.

13. Notice to all Active Workers in the Organs of the MVD, NKVD and the Party! Leaflet announcing the death of two local Communists because of their crimes against the population. One page.

14. Descriptions of Battles and Exploits of Heroes. pp. 59, dated Jan. 1950. Devoted to accounts of UPA fights.

15. Protocol on the Resettlement of Peasants of the village of Oriz, Drohobych Rayon, to Siberia on 7 Sept. 1949. pp. 2 on action involving 27 families.

16. Protocol, dated June 1950, on a military action in which the Bolsheviks killed Myron and Romko, two UPA leaders. One-page report on the action, which took place in Autumn, 1949, near the village of Skhidnytsya, Drohobych rayon.

17. Protocol on the death of Skory, a UPA leader, and his men. Action took place 4 April 1950 near village of Bystrytsi, Drohobych Oblast. Protocol is one and a half pages in length.

~~TOP~~ SECRET

~~51776~~ A
2

~~TOP SECRET~~

18. List of Dead who Fell in the Period 1 May 1949 to 1 May 1950. List is restricted to UPA members from Peremyshl, Rohatyn, Bukachivtal, Burshtyn, and Bilyvtal -- 47 persons with date of death, function of person, birth-date, and remarks on how death occurred. pp. 2.

C. MISCELLANEOUS

1. Work Camps in the USSR. pp. 29; printed in 1948
2. Anti-Election Appeals. A page of appeals by the insurgents against Stalinist election procedures.
3. Cover to Documents. pp. 2, hand-written in Ukrainian, for VSEVOLID and the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. Brief description of contents of pouches.
4. Announcement by Bureau of Information, Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, that Vasyl KOVAL is new UPA Commander, succeeding CHUPRINKA. Announcement is dated July 8, 1950.
5. Document from UNVR and UPA authorizing the Foreign Representation of UNVR (ZPUHVR) to grant officer promotions to UPA members now abroad.
6. UPA order, addressed to ZPUHVR, giving special foreign assignments to Lt. Col. KALYNA and Lt. Col. HUTSUL and subordinating them to ZPUHVR.
7. Communication from UNVR to Mykola Lebed affirming that much of the materials seriously damaged; disposition of dollars; and moneys received from courier.
8. Promotion and Awards of UPA members, including BONDAN, HUTSUL, KALYNA, PAS, etc.
9. Various Notices from UPA regarding deaths, promotions, and Distinguished Services.
10. Why Will We Win? pp. 2, exhortation by HORNOMYI. No date.
11. A Raid for Political-Propaganda Purposes into Rumania in 1949 by an UPA Unit. Incomplete report - one page only.
12. List of Fallen Heroes of the Ukrainian Revolution against Muscovite-Bolshevik Opponents for the period from March 12, 1944 to December 31, 1948. List is restricted to Ternopil area and consists of 158 pages, with brief biography of each of the dead.
13. Ghoryi Lis ("The Black Forest"). Magazine put out by underground; approximately 15 issues, the years of 1947-8-9; contains poetry, short stories on partisan life, morale-building articles, a sort of Army publication.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~
#2

#2
4-26-58

74-124-293

TOP SECRET

15. **W. L. Linn.** "A Journal for Young People," published by the propaganda office of the underground, July, 1950 issue.
16. **Communistes and Revolutionaries.** On various matters: death of underground fighters, promotions, conferences of the organization. (GUM).
17. **Illustrated Leaflets and Placards.** Twenty-seven separate pages. Subject: patriotic themes, anti-Communist slogans and cartoons, appeals to battle peoples, appeals to Christians serving in the Red Army, appeal to Kolchos workers, and others.
18. **Heads Volx (Eyes of Freedom).** A periodical publication of the Ukrainian underground. A 1950 issue contains morale-building appeals, descriptions of various battles, and articles by members of UPA.
19. **Letters from Underground Members to Yuri,** a girl friend.
20. **Revolutionaries and Fighters of UPA Medals and Awards.** pp. 9.

TOP SECRET

SECRET

Translation of MGB Amnesty Proclamation
To Members of Ukrainian Resistance Movement

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 Ukrainian 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

To the Governmental organs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic come letters from members of the remnants of the defeated OUN bands who, finding themselves in an illegal position, request that they be permitted to appear before the organs of the Soviet Government for the purpose of unconditional surrender, and that they be given the opportunity for honest occupation in kolkhozes, on their own farms or in factories in order to atone for their guilt before the people and the Soviet Government, and that they not be criminally prosecuted for the crimes they have committed.

In one of these letters a group of young people from the Drohobych Oblast writes:

"We, the youth of the Western Ukraine, during the period of aristocratic Poland and during the period of the Hitlerite usurpers, did not have the possibility of entering higher educational institutions; we were instructed only in Polish; and we were even prohibited from speaking in our native Ukrainian language.

"However, the great Soviet Union, which is so dear to us, liberated us from exploitation by the usurpers and gave us the opportunity for education and work in such a way that the peoples of the western oblasts feel themselves to be happy and free.

"Here in the western oblasts there remain, since the retreat of the Germans, nationalist provocateurs, so-called BANDEROVTSI, who hinder cultural and conscious development, so that our youth, frightened by various slanderers, cannot freely enter into cultural life, which consequently flourished only weakly in our western villages. The nationalist provocateurs have dragged hundreds of unoriented youths into bands, but the youths have come to understand the free, cultured life in our native Ukrainian fatherland. They have destroyed many of their leaders and provocateurs, and desire to return to honest employment as a means of justifying themselves before the people.

SECRET

att.#3 to XAAZ-2180

SECRET

"We, the youth of the western oblasts, request that those who have been deceived by provocateurs be given the opportunity to return to honest employment, and that they be exempted from responsibility in the courts.

"We, the youth of the Western Ukraine, our parents and sisters will dedicate our strength to the liquidation of all the remnants of Nazism.

"From the youth of the Western Ukraine.

Drachobych Oblast."

In letters and declarations, as well as upon appearance for the purpose of unconditional surrender, onetime illegals declare that they have finally, although much too late, become convinced that the chieftains of the OUN nationalist bands--the BANDERA's, the MELNYK's and other terrible enemies of the Ukrainian people--served the Fascist occupation, landowners, kulaks and manufacturers during the Great Patriotic War and, concealing themselves by fallacious nationalist propaganda, deceit and anti-Soviet slanders, they betrayed the interests of the Ukrainian people, endeavoring to arouse them against their brothers, and against their own mother, the Soviet Ukraine. After the smashing of the Hitlerite occupation, these traitorous monsters, the chieftains of the OUN nationalist bands, fled to the West and went over to the service of the American and English imperialists.

The BANDERA's, the MELNYK's and other traitors to the Ukrainian people, carrying out the desire of their bosses, and in accordance with the objectives of the American and English intelligence services endeavored, through their net of agents in the western oblasts of the Ukraine, to bring harm to the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia who are rebuilding the national economy ruined by the Hitlerite usurpers, improving their standard of living, and creating a new, bright, cultured and prosperous life in their own families, together with all the fraternal peoples inhabiting the Soviet Union.

It is they--these BANDERA's, MELNYK's and other fanatic enemies of the people--who, through their agents in the villages and cities of the western oblasts of the Ukraine, both in the post-war years and during the Patriotic War, organized burnings, robberies and murders of peaceful, innocent inhabitants, of honest working people, peasants, and representatives of the Soviet intelligentsia, intending in this manner to frighten the workers and to disrupt their peaceful employment.

This did not come to pass and never will! The workers of the western oblasts of the Ukraine have been united forever in one Ukrainian Soviet Socialist state, in one family with their brothers--the Russians and the Belorussians, the Georgians and the Uzbeks, the Armenians and the Moldavians--with the entire Soviet people they are travelling on the road to Communism.

SECRET

The peasants of the western oblasts, having become convinced of the advantages of collectivized agriculture over private agriculture, have joined the kolkhozes. In the Volyn, Drohobych and Chernivtsi oblasts all the peasant holdings have been united into kolkhozes. In the remainder of the oblasts the absolute majority of the peasants have joined the kolkhozes.

The Soviet Government at present provides help to the kolkhozes each year in the form of tractors and other agricultural machinery, facilities, and various supplies and materials. In the future even greater assistance will be given.

Freed from landowners, kulaks and other exploiters, the peasants of the western oblasts, having come to understand the joy of free collective work, work honestly in kolkhozes, unswervingly increase their prosperity, cultivate great harvests, and raise their cultural level. Their children are educated in the native Ukrainian language, in schools, technical schools, institutions and universities.

The workers in factories and plants who, in a short period, rebuilt all the enterprises ruined by the Hitlerite occupation, work along with the entire Soviet people, without sparing their efforts, in order to fulfill and overreach the goals of the post-war Stalinist Five-Year Plan.

The intelligentsia of the cities and villages in the western oblasts of the Ukraine works diligently and successfully in developing Ukrainian Soviet culture, art and science, contributing their honest work for the good of the people.

In their letters the illegals declare that at one time they were drawn either forcibly, or by deceit and through ignorance, into bandit anti-People's activities. But, once in these bands, they could see nothing good in the future for themselves or for their families. Thus, having become aware of their crimes, and being distressed by further remaining in an illegal position, as well as by the consequent impossibility of taking advantage of all the rights of a citizen of the Soviet Union, they now desire to participate in creative work for the good of their Soviet fellowmen, but fear severe punishment before the people because of their crimes.

The Government of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic has empowered me to announce that it has decided not to prosecute those members of the remnants of the defeated Nationalist bands that sincerely and forever desire to break with banditry, and who, through honest employment, will atone for their crimes and appear for the purpose of unconditional surrender before the organs of the Soviet Government. In accordance with this

SECRET

I O R D E R :

1. THE CHIEFS OF THE OBLAST CENTERS, CITY AND RAION BRANCHES OF THE MGB OF THE WESTERN OBLASTS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR not to bring to criminal prosecution any of those participants in the bands or the illegals, including bandit chieftains, who appear for the purpose of unconditional surrender.

2. THE GRANTING OF THE RIGHT OF FREE CHOICE OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE TO ALL WHO APPEAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER, AND THROUGH LOCAL ORGANS OF THE GOVERNMENT, OF ASSISTANCE IN OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT AT THEIR FORMER PLACE OF RESIDENCE OR IN ANOTHER RAION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR FREE CHOICE.

3. THAT THE CHIEFS OF THE OBLAST CENTERS, CITY AND RAION BRANCHES OF THE MGB explain to all those who appear for the purpose of unconditional surrender that their families will be returned from banishment to their previous place of residence.

4. THAT IT BE EXPLAINED TO THE LOCAL INHABITANTS WHO KNOW THE BANDITS AND MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THEM THAT THESE INHABITANTS WILL NOT BE HELD CRIMINALLY LIABLE IF THEY PUT AN END TO THEIR CONTACT WITH THE BANDIT OWN UNDERGROUND, AND INDICATE WHERE THE BANDITS ARE LOCATED BY MEANS OF DECLARATIONS, ANONYMOUS LETTERS, OR BY SOME OTHER MEANS.

5. THAT THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHO WERE DECEIVED AND FRIGHTENED BY THE BANDITS INTO DESERTING FROM FZN* (sic) AND TRADE SCHOOLS, AND WHO ARE NOW IN HIDING, THOUGH THEY HAVE COMMITTED NO CRIMES, BE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN TO THEIR PARENTS.

6. THAT THE ORGANS OF THE MGB AND OF THE MILITIA INTENSIFY THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST THOSE BANDITS WHO DO NOT DESIRE TO APPEAR FOR THE PURPOSE OF UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER AND WHO, BY MEANS OF THREATS AND ACTS OF PROVOCATION, PREVENT OTHER ILLEGALS FROM BREAKING THEIR RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNDERGROUND, FROM RETURNING TO HONEST WORK IN KOLKHOZES, OR ON THEIR OWN FARMS.

7. PERSONS WHO IN THE FUTURE SHELTER BANDITS AND GIVE THEM MATERIAL OR OTHER ASSISTANCE, AS WELL AS THOSE PERSONS WHO ILLEGALLY CONCEAL ARMS, WILL BE CONSIDERED ACTIVE BANDIT ACCESSORIES AND WILL BE LIABLE FOR CRIMINAL PROSECUTION.

The Ukrainian Soviet people will deal mercilessly with those members of the remnants of the defeated bands who do not desire to take advantage of this final opportunity.

Their destruction is inevitable.

THIS ORDER IS TO BE WIDELY PUBLICIZED AMONG THE POPULATION OF THE WESTERN OBLASTS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR.

THE MINISTER OF STATE SECURITY OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR
LIEUT.-GENERAL M. KOVALCHUK

* Plant and Factory Training Schools

SECRET

CRITIQUE OF VOICE OF AMERICA UKRAINIAN BROADCASTS

Submitted by Member of Ukrainian Resistance Movement

SECRET

4 December 1950

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA - DEPARTMENT
OF STATE
DIRECTOR, VOICE OF AMERICA BROADCASTS
TO THE SOVIET UNION

through

The Foreign Representation,
The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council

**A FEW REMARKS ON WHAT BROADCASTS BY THE VOICE OF AMERICA TO THE SOVIET
UNION SHOULD BE LIKE**

I am writing these brief notations in the conviction that the people of the United States of America and the Ukrainian people possess a common objective--victory over Bolshevism, struggle for freedom.

The Ukrainian people, from 1918 to this day, have been struggling against Bolshevik tyranny in defense of their own as well as general human freedom, in defense of their own life as a distinct nation, as well as in defense of that part of the world that is still free. Beginning in the year 1943, with the sequent occupation of the Ukraine by the Muscovite-Bolshevik imperialists, which occurred as a result of the defeat of Hitlerite Germany by the Allied nations, the Ukrainian people for a period of seven years have been waging a fierce, unparalleled, heroic and extraordinarily bloody insurgent and underground struggle against the Bolshevik oppressors. In the front ranks of this struggle are the Ukrainian insurgent Army (UPA), with its thousands of men, and the armed Ukrainian underground. The struggle is directed entirely by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), which consists of representatives of all Ukrainian territories and of the different Ukrainian political parties and groups. The Ukraine has always been a vanguard of the struggle of the free world against Bolshevik tyranny. Most emphatically is the Ukraine such a vanguard under contemporary political conditions. At a time when the Western nations are but preparing for defense against Bolshevism, the Ukrainian people for several years have been suffering thousands of sacrifices in an unequal armed conflict against Bolshevik tyranny in a lone struggle with the Muscovite-Bolshevik colossus.

The great American people have always fought, and are fighting today, in defense of freedom against any form of tyranny. Today the American people are the leaders of the free world and march in the front line of the struggle against Bolshevik aggressors and tyrants. The American people have already been forced to suffer sacrifices in lives in a struggle against the imperialist Bolshevik aggressors in Korea. We possess a common enemy--the dictatorial, terrorist, imperialist Bolshevik clique which is endeavoring to bring the entire world under its submission. We possess a common objective--the building of a just and progressive social order in this world predicated on the respect of the rights of individuals, citizens, and nations.

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

One of the means of struggle employed by the American people against the Bolshevik tyrants is the broadcasts of the Voice of America to the Soviet Union. These broadcasts are such a means only insofar as they endeavor to convey the truth to the people subjugated by the Soviets; on one hand, the truth about the Western world; and on the other, the truth about the terrorist, totalitarian, oppressive, and exploitative Bolshevik regime. In this manner is formed an anti-Bolshevik, anti-regime consciousness in the peoples under Soviet misrule. In this manner is formed an anti-Bolshevik spirit, which, as is known, is of primary importance in planning a struggle against Bolshevism.

We who participate in the struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and who live and fight in the Soviet Union know very well how significant for the Soviet masses is free and truthful information as a part of a plan of anti-Bolshevik struggle. In order to be effective, however, such information must most decidedly take into account the psychology, ways of thought, points of view, and attitudes of the people under Soviet misrule. This is an entirely comprehensible and essential prerequisite of any informational or propagandistic action.

In regard to the radio broadcasts of the Voice of America to the Soviet Union, I am forced to state that this prerequisite has not always been honored. Consequently, not always have the broadcasts of the Voice of America to the Soviet Union produced the desired effect.

In view of this inadequacy, I as an active participant in the armed struggle for liberation from Bolshevism in the Ukraine and with a feeling of unity with the entire free world in its struggle against Bolshevik aggressors and tyrants, wish to present a few modest and brief comments in regard to the proper nature of the broadcasts of the Voice of America to the Soviet Union, in order that these broadcasts might facilitate to the utmost the emergence of an anti-Bolshevik consciousness, an attitude hostile to the regime, in the subjugated masses, thereby paving the way for the organization of a front of struggle for freedom within the Soviet Union.

1. The Soviet masses must be aroused from a condition of complete apathy, from the feeling of complete abandonment by the world, from the feeling of complete helplessness before Bolshevik tyranny.

The most characteristic attribute of the spiritual condition of the submerged masses in the USSR is a certain type of psychological paralysis in which the vast majority of the people under Soviet rule are suspended. The cause of this paralysis is, first of all, great fear of the MGB-MVD with their elaborate, all-embracing police apparatus and terrifying, bloody, and never-weakening terror. Moreover, another cause of this condition is the previous successes of the MGB-MVD in throttling all forms of "opposition," their success in combatting hostile elements and all forms of opposition. Consequently the citizen of the Soviet Union feels completely helpless before the Bolshevik regime. He has succumbed to complete apathy toward all that transpires. MGB terror has broken him spiritually; he has lost faith in the possibility of forcing through any

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

changes; he has come to the conviction that all struggle against the regime is futile, that it is necessary to come to terms with evil, to live out his years in a Bolshevik inferno.

Such are the internal reasons (that is, reasons brought about by life within the Soviet Union) for the spiritual paralysis of the subjugated people, for their immeasurably deep and death-like apathy. In addition to these, however, there are also external reasons.

What, for example, does the Soviet citizen hear over the foreign radio, what does he hear generally from beyond the frontier, what in general is the policy of the Western countries in regard to the Soviet Union?

The basic leitmotiv of the policy and propaganda of foreign countries in regard to the Soviet Union is, as is known, a statement such as the following: the Bolshevik system within the USSR is an internal affair of the nations of the Soviet Union, and the Western countries, especially the United States of America, do not interfere with these relations.

It is not difficult to appraise what effect this position, particularly on the part of the United States, may have on the subjugated Soviet peoples. This position utterly kills any hope on the part of the oppressed peoples of improvement in their fate, creates in them a feeling that they have been abandoned by the world, a feeling of complete helplessness before the Bolshevik regime, further deepening the apathy in which they exist. This position of the West in regard to the Soviet Union, both in policy and propaganda, utterly breaks the will of the subjugated peoples to oppose the Bolshevik oppressors, completely depriving them of the courage to resist. Such a policy not only does not facilitate the creation of the prerequisites necessary for the emergence of a front of struggle for freedom within the Soviet Union, but also ~~works against~~ the creation of such prerequisites.

It is understood that the official diplomacy of the United States cannot assume, because of definite reasons, a different policy toward the Soviet Union. But why must American propaganda follow the same line? The Bolsheviks indeed, as opponents of the United States, conduct themselves otherwise. Formally they adhere to the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of sovereign states, but in their propaganda to the peoples of a given country they follow a policy not only of criticism of the internal affairs of that country, but also with every instrument of propaganda at their disposal they instigate and stimulate active resistance to the regimes of these countries. In their propaganda the Bolsheviks at all times come out clearly as the friends and allies of different political forces and the broad national masses of a given country, a policy which is not without noteworthy results for the Bolsheviks.

The most important prerequisite for the rise of a front of active fighters for freedom within the USSR is the jarring of the subjugated masses from their condition of apathy and feelings of helplessness before the Soviet regime and of abandonment by the world. This can be accomplished

SECRET

SECRET

-4-

when the American people are able to convince the subjugated peoples that the Americans are grieved by their fate, that the Americans sympathize with them and are their active friends and allies. It is important that the subjugated nations feel that the American people are unequivocally against the usurpatory, totalitarian, and terrorist Bolshevik regime everywhere, including the territory of the Soviet Union, that the Americans are unequivocally on the side of the subjugated peoples in their just struggle for national and social liberation. The leitmotiv, if not written then factual, of American propaganda should be not the affirmation of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the USSR, but active commiseration with the peoples of the Soviet Union and an unequivocal policy of supporting these peoples in their just struggle for liberation. Sensing that the support of the great American nation is behind them, the subjugated people will cease to feel helpless before the Bolshevik terrorist clique. They will cease to feel alone in their sufferings, and in their hatred of the Soviet regime they will arise from the death-like apathy in which they now find themselves. This will be the first significant step in the direction of the activation of the subjugated masses toward a struggle for freedom from Bolshevik tyranny.

In the direction of the psychological regeneration of the subjugated masses, primarily of the Ukrainian people, significant successes have been obtained in recent years by the Ukrainian ~~liberation~~ movement. Through their successful struggle the UPA and the Ukrainian underground of liberation have smashed the myth of the omnipotence of the MGB, and thus significantly have stimulated the rebirth in the subjugated masses of courage to oppose the Bolshevik oppressors. The example of the UPA and the Ukrainian underground of liberation is convincing the subjugated masses that the MGB is not as omnipotent as it formerly appeared, that struggle against the Bolshevik oppressors is possible even under conditions of the Bolshevik MGB police system. A corresponding line in the American broadcasts would quickly and successfully move this process forward.

2. Criticism of the Bolshevik system cannot be carried out adequately from the positions of capitalism.

The Bolshevik order, Bolshevik "socialism," is detested by the Soviet masses. However, neither do the Soviet nations long for capitalism, which was destroyed on the territory of the present-day USSR in 1917-1920. The Soviet masses in the vast majority are unequivocally against the return of capitalism. This is a result of the revolution in Russia in 1917-1920, a result which in no way can be ignored and which must very decidedly be taken into consideration. Reality and true political acumen demand this consideration, and an over-all policy must determinedly take these facts into account. These facts must also be taken into account by American propaganda directed to the nations of the Soviet Union.

We who are participating in the struggle for the liberation of the Ukraine, who are within the Soviet Union and have contacts with the broad masses, know very well that the Soviet nations are not enthused about capitalism, either of the old European or of the contemporary American variety. The Soviet masses can be aroused successfully against Bolshevism not in the

SECRET

SECRET

-5-

name of the restoration of capitalism, not even in the name of the American way of life, which indisputably possesses many bright and wholesome features. The Bolshevik system must be criticized from the positions of those progressive social forces among the peoples in the Soviet Union who are struggling to destroy Bolshevism, not in the name of the restoration there of old orders, but in the name of the construction of a new, just, and progressive social and economic system.

One of the most serious of such forces is the liberation movement currently active in the Ukraine and which is represented by the UPA and the Ukrainian underground of liberation under the direction of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council. The Ukrainian liberation movement stands on the principle of nationalized-state ownership (in heavy industry and transport)*, and social-cooperative ownership in light industry and commerce; on the principle of private ownership by the peasants of land within the limits of holdings actually worked; and on the principle of true democracy in the matter of government. This program has the support of the broadest masses in the Soviet Union, both among the Ukrainians and the other nations in the Soviet Union.

In the case of the Ukrainian people, the most successful criticism of Bolshevism would be criticism from the positions of the liberation movement which has been active in the Ukraine for many years and which is led and directed by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council. I state this not as a member of this or that political party, but as a Ukrainian patriot who for years has been in the Soviet Union in active struggle against Bolshevism and who is endeavoring to attract the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people into an active anti-Bolshevik struggle for liberation-- in the name of the ideals common to the entire free world, in the name of political, social and cultural progress in the entire world, in the name of the liberation of the Ukrainian and other nations in the Soviet Union.

3. Criticism of Bolshevism must be conducted from the positions of the different non-Russian nations subjugated by Bolshevik Moscow in the USSR, in the name of the reconstruction of the USSR according to the principle of independent national states for all the subjugated peoples, in the name of the liberation from national oppression of the non-Russian nations in the USSR, especially of the Ukrainian people.

In the Western world, in my opinion, the importance and timeliness of the national movement in the territories of the present-day Soviet Union are definitely and erroneously underestimated. This is an enormous mistake of the Western world in regard to the peoples of the USSR. The national sentiments of the different Soviet peoples, especially of the Ukrainian people,

* Translator's note: Page 4, par. 2, of Ukr. original lacks apparently one line of draft manuscript. Interpretations and interpolations made on basis of documentary evidence, such as MOMA 793 and attachments, Do Zhurvi, etc.

SECRET

SECRET

-6-

their cravings for independence, are an enormous force which under no conditions can be underestimated, or dismissed from attention. The de-nationalizing, Russifying, terrorist policies of tsarist and Bolshevik Moscow may have blunted these aspirations here and there, but that policy has taught the subjugated peoples to conceal their aspirations deeply. At the proper moment, however, they will appear with mighty strength. At the moment of the overthrow of the USSR these aspirations will constitute the most important political factor on the territory of the present-day USSR.

These conclusions are based on current observations of subjugated people of different nationalities, primarily of conditions in the Ukraine, which I know well, as well as on the experience of the Russian revolution from 1917-1920.

Thus an example from contemporary practical life in Ukraine. It suffices for the underground to meet once or twice with a Ukrainian youth belonging to the Komsomol, a youth who hitherto was exclusively under Bolshevik de-nationalizing influences and who has heard literally nothing of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for independence (for such cases occur); it suffices to carry on with such a Komsomol member one or two expository discussions, to give him one or two pamphlets or leaflets written in the patriotic Ukrainian spirit; such a youth tears up his Komsomol card and declares that henceforth he will struggle only for the liberation of the Ukraine, only for the construction of an independent Ukrainian state. In our underground experience there are many such examples. It would seem that this youth was indifferent from the national viewpoint, but after several talks the opposite proved to be true. The national sentiments of the subjugated peoples, especially of the Ukrainians, in certain cases are submerged and concealed, but they are alive, they are an enormous force that has only to be put into motion.

During the revolution in Russia in 1917-1920 the non-Russian nations were more backward than today, but despite this fact the revolutionary movement among the non-Russian peoples in the border regions of Russia immediately assumed a national-liberation character. This is a widely known historical fact. This was true in Finland, the Baltic States, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia. In these cases nationalist feeling acted with great force and put its imprint on the entire revolutionary movement, increasing revolutionary passion to an extraordinary degree and inflaming the broad masses to struggle against tsarism. Today the non-Russian nations in the USSR are on a somewhat higher level of national and cultural maturity. They are somewhat stronger, despite Bolshevik perfidy in their policy toward the nationalities. They feel and resent national oppression and exploitation by Bolshevik Moscow. Therefore the undervaluation of the national moment within the Territories of the Soviet Union is not permissible in planning the organization of a world-wide front for struggle against Bolshevik tyranny.

The American broadcasts should appeal to the different non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union which are subjugated by Bolshevik Moscow; they

SECRET

SECRET

-7-

should lay bare national oppression, formerly by tsarist and now by Bolshevik Moscow, and should support the national consciousness of the non-Russian peoples, appealing to their national sentiments, exploiting generally the facts of the political and cultural history of the non-Russian peoples in the USSR. In one word, broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples of the USSR should be in a national patriotic spirit.

Very revealing in this respect is the effect which the Voice of America broadcasts had in the Ukraine after the broadcasts began, at the end of June and beginning of July, 1950, to be edited in a somewhat greater patriotic Ukrainian spirit. Despite the possibility of repression, Ukrainian men, women and children gather in groups in order to catch a few words from these broadcasts. One should see the explosions of resentment and hatred of the Bolshevik oppressors evoked by the jamming of these broadcasts in order to appreciate how eagerly the Ukrainian people grasp every Ukrainian word connected with the life of the Ukrainian people, their history, struggle for liberation, and aspirations for independence. However these broadcasts in many instances continue to be completely unsatisfactory. They must be given an even greater Ukrainian content.

4. The Voice of America must take advantage of all the facts of active anti-Bolshevik struggle within the USSR, including the facts of the struggle for liberation in the Ukraine, the struggle of the UPA and the Ukrainian underground of liberation.

I, as well as all of my friends, am constantly and considerably perplexed by this fact: why Bolshevik propaganda never neglects to exploit even the smallest instance of dissatisfaction of active struggle on the part of this or that trade-union in the United States; it does not neglect to exploit this or that act of protest against the regime, as for example in the Philippines; while at the same time American propaganda takes practically no advantage of the facts of anti-Bolshevik struggle in the USSR, especially of the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people. This line of American propaganda is of extraordinary value to the Bolsheviks. It expressly gives the Bolsheviks the opportunity to convince the world that there reigns in the USSR a "moral-political unity" of society, government, and party hitherto unknown in this world. At the same time, however, for almost seven years in the Ukraine there has been taking place a mass anti-Bolshevik struggle for liberation, with the participation of millions of Ukrainians, a struggle without parallel in history in regard to heroism and intensity. In the meantime the Bolshevik satraps in the Ukraine perform the greatest barbarisms on the participants in the struggle of liberation, as well as on the peaceful population. It is in the interest of the free nations to take as extensive advantage as possible of the facts of the current struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people in the USSR and the facts of the barbaric treatment of this movement by the Bolshevik criminals, in order to unmask before the entire world the true position of the Bolshevik imperialists in regard to the liberation struggles of the subjugated peoples, in order to reveal to the nations of the world the true state of affairs in the USSR, in order to reveal to the world community the savage methods of the Bolshevik criminals in throttling the

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

Ukrainian liberation movement, as well as in throttling all oppositional movements within the USSR. To remain silent about this is to pave the way for Bolshevism; to remain silent is not to struggle against Bolshevism but to abet it.

I emphasize especially that underground and partisan struggle under conditions pertaining in the Soviet Union is the only possible form of political action against the regime. The underground partisan struggle in the Soviet Union cannot be judged by the same categories which are applied to such forms of struggle in the democratic countries, where legal and peaceful possibilities of protest obtain. Such possibilities do not exist in the USSR. In the USSR opposition can be carried out only by underground and partisan methods. Therefore all reservations regarding the legality, illegality, etc., of such a struggle must be definitely discarded.

Information over the Voice of America about the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people, by unmasking the true state of affairs in the USSR and the true nature of Bolshevism, would have great significance not only for the outside world. Such information would also play an enormous role in stimulating active opposition among the broadest masses of the entire Soviet Union against the dictatorial Bolshevik regime. The informational work of the Ukrainian underground of liberation, because of understandable reasons, can be conducted only to a limited degree. Our propaganda cannot penetrate to all subjugated peoples, but it is assuredly true that if the Soviet citizenry were accurately and thoroughly informed about the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian people, the influence of the spurious Soviet propaganda on the subjugated masses would be lessened considerably. Moreover, the opposition of these masses to the Soviet regime would be increased considerably. The struggle of the Ukrainian people and dissemination of this struggle throughout the world would give them the courage for such opposition.

At this point I conclude these observations.

I am sending these observations in the faith that I am working not only in the interest of the victory of the Ukrainian people subjugated by Bolshevik Moscow, but also in the interest of the common victory of all freedom-loving peoples over Bolshevik tyranny. And this tyranny most realistically threatens the entire world, including the United States of America.

August, 1950
In the Ukraine
In the underground.

P. POLTAVA
Major, UPA
Director, Bureau of Information
Ukrainian Supreme Liberation
Council in the Ukraine.

SECRET

74-124-29/3