

Via: Air Pouch  
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DISPATCH NO. WELA-6544

**SECRET**  
CLASSIFICATION

*IP*

TO : Chief, FDW

DATE: 17 August 1951

FROM : [ ]

SUBJECT: GENERAL— REDSOX

SPECIFIC— Exchange of Ukrainian Reports

Reference: WELA-6306  
*74-6-21-54*

In accordance with reference, the three reports in the URT series have been received from JAYHAWK for transmittal to Headquarters.

*attached*

[ ]

~~Encl.~~

MICROFILMED  
AUG 6 1970  
DOC. MICRO. SER.

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*1 ATT H/W*

FORM NO. 51-28A  
MAR. 1949

**SECRET**  
CLASSIFICATION

*74-124-29/3*  
*74-6-21-60*

ZIP WELA-6544

Leader BIJLIKH

Glory to UKRAINE!

MICROFILMED  
AUG 6 1970  
DOC. MICRO. SER.

Dear Friend Leader! (added in pencil)

1. In connection with the death of the late leader T., all letters addressed to him have been opened by me and I have passed their contents to others. We are unable to read the encyphered part of the letters as we are not acquainted with the cypher.

Last autumn I arrived and brought mail from you and other friends of the so-called opposition. This was still read by the late T. who shared his feelings and his thought about it with others. The late T. was very perturbed and anxious about the position. He thought it would be very useful if he, personally, went abroad to try and achieve reconciliation on the spot, but most unfortunately, things happened in a different way.

Friend K. arrived with mail from you in the autumn but he could only contact the respective individuals in the following summer.

Friend P. arrived with mail from you in the spring. Both mails were identical. Everything happened as you guessed at the end of your letter of July 1949.

2. I am quite convinced of the importance of keeping in touch with you and we are all doing everything here to tackle this problem successfully. The delay in answering was caused by a) winter, which made contacts impossible; b) intensified Bolshevik activities against our movement started in the early spring, and c) the importance of subjects submitted by you required previous mutual consultations which took time.

3. It is impossible to give a direct answer to a number of your definite questions. Many of them require previous discussion with you and other friends before making any decision. We realise quite well what far-reaching consequences our answer in this matter may have and, therefore, we have decided to postpone the answer until you reach agreement in all the controversial questions abroad.

4. All of us in the UKRAINE believe that the conflict abroad can be ended by reconciliation. It would be very desirable if you would use all your great authority to bring about reconciliation between the quarrelling members of OUN abroad. This, in my opinion, would be one of the greatest things you could achieve at present for the OUN.

To-day your name in the UKRAINE has become a banner and a flag for the fighting liberation movement. Our greatest desire is to associate with your name all that is best, most revolutionary, everything which is dearest to all Ukrainians. We all wish heartily that your name should be as honoured abroad as it is in the UKRAINE. And this depends on you alone and no one else. It seems that the best thing would be for you to stand above all the emigre' generals and party speculations and instead to identify yourself as closely as possible with the struggle taking place in the UKRAINE. It would be desirable that you should not personally favour ZCHOUN or that you should not engage personally in any activity which might in some way be detrimental to your good name.

*EOI - See Back of this page*

I can assure you that the late friend T. as well as all members of OUN Directorate in the UKRAINE and myself personally have the most friendly feelings towards your person, but none of us can understand what is going on in the OUN abroad which is under your leadership. None of us is able to understand the fact that so many leading prominent members formed an opposition against you whom they previously regarded as the greatest authority in OUN.

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ATTN TO WELA-6544

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74-124-29/3

*over*

It seems to me that many of them might have become your best direct assistants and councillors, people like KONONENKO, MIRONENKI and others. I am not against attracting Eastern Ukrainians to the Directorate but only such persons should become members whose political and personal reliability and revolutionary spirit are beyond any shadow of doubt, apart from other desirable features.

There is great discussion abroad around the question of democracy in OUN. I shall explain briefly our own practice in the UKRAINE. Beginning with the 111 NUZOUN there is democracy in the OUN Directorate, all questions being decided by an ordinary majority of voices. The Directorate was responsible for dealing with affairs of the Organisation through the Office which was responsible to the Directorate. After the death of the late friend TARAS the office practically ceased to exist. Because of the small number of members of the Directorate, all the competency of the office was transferred de facto and formally to the OUN Directorate. The Head of the Directorate submitted his reports to the Directorate which co-opted new members etc. Although by his nature the late friend T. was a soldier and liked strict discipline, our forms of democracy were regarded by him with favour. They engendered a creative atmosphere in which everybody felt that he had a share in leadership and in responsibility for the decisions. We practiced and still practise democracy in deciding matters, practise strict discipline when it comes to executing these decisions and there are no discussions about democracy or leadership in OUN. And I have noticed that our practice, here in the UKRAINE, does not weaken the energy and efficiency of leadership, on the contrary, it strengthens it. I think therefore, that it should not be impossible in this question of the form of OUN leadership to come to an agreement abroad.

Once more I emphasise and beg of you to spare no efforts to end this conflict abroad in a peaceful manner. The existence of this conflict is closely related to your person and to your name and this fact may damage the glorious fame of your name in the UKRAINE.

5. Concerning the prospects and development of the liberation struggle.

All your thoughts expressed on the above subjects are identical with ours. We are acting in the way you suggest. We rejoice that you, although so far removed from the scene of the actual struggle, so correctly judge the further development of the struggle for liberation in the UKRAINE. For your invaluable ideas in these important matters we are all duly thankful.

6. Miscellaneous

I am sending you 3,000 (three) American dollars and 15000 (fifteen) roubles. This money is earmarked for the needs of people who are being sent to us. One person needs for her travelling expenses 500 Krb.

I inform you that PS. ~~SSORNOVIJ~~ is not my name. You have been misinformed.

Concerning friend TIS, I inform you that the late friend TARAS gave his consent to his departure abroad and we have never regarded his departure as self-willed. We have nothing against him and consider him to be completely trustworthy. With regard to the company he keeps, there were certain suspicions but these were only indirect. On that basis we cannot draw any conclusions to-day. I consider that he could be used for work abroad but that he should not be initiated into the more important matters. I think that we should be unfair to friend TIS if we made our confidence in him dependent on the company he keeps.

Concerning the death of <sup>NO 201</sup> ~~Grits~~ KOSAK, I suspect that the chief role was played by his son-in-law, Ing. (engineer) ~~SOLONIJ~~. If he has emigrated be very careful. We have nothing against his company. We are aware that representative <sup>NO 201</sup> UNDA BILYAK was recruited by the NKVD during the first Bolshevik occupation of the UKRAINE. SUBJECT was close to Bolsheviks during 1st occupation  
CIT UKRAINE OF THE UKRAINE

SUBJECT

NO-201

CIT UKRAINE

I inform you that in August 1948 C. Okr. Shpak (Zavon' BLAGIJ) was caught by the Bolsheviks, seriously wounded and unconscious and he is still in their hands.

I inform you that in the spring of 1950 C. Okr. MIGAL' (PAVUR, Yr) from the district of SOKAL was caught by the Bolsheviks. He has given away nothing. He is alleged to have been murdered.

You write that your publications cost you a great deal. Would it not be advisable to do your own printing, just as we do. We have found a simple solution. On an ordinary printer's press of our own construction we now print all our literature, quite a large number of copies. All we need is from 10-20 kgs of print. You have plenty of labour available, expenses will be few and in this way the problem of your printing could be solved. If necessary, we could send you detailed instructions which we possess.

7. You will have to forgive this brief letter in which I do not answer all your questions, but you must believe that this is not possible. Much time was lost in discussing subjects which are very far from us but are important and rather painful. Our liaison men are ready to start and we cannot hold them back any longer. This is also the reason why I have not answered the letter from friend Z.K. Will you inform him and thank him cordially for his letter.

I send you my most cordial greetings and to all friends who are members of OUN abroad. I wish you the best success in your work for the elevation of the Ukrainian nation.

Glory to Heroes!

(The last paragraph was added in pencil).

WELA-6544

Freedom for the nations and mankind!

To the Ukrainian Independent United State!

Appeal of Fighting UKRAINE to all Ukrainian emigrants!

To our own brothers in distant foreign lands!

Four years have already passed since the war in EUROPE ended. But it has not ended in the UKRAINE. For four years you have had the chance to see how the nations of WESTERN EUROPE and AMERICA are building up their lives under peaceful conditions. But there is no peace in the UKRAINE! There the hard struggle continues, the guns are still heard and the fires are still burning! In factories and workshops on the KOLKHOZES and individual farms, in schools and institutions, in the hills and in the forests, in far away SIBERIA and KAZAKISTAN, everywhere the Ukrainian nation takes its stand at the barricades of freedom. It stands covered in blood but unyielding, unconquered and immovable. Filled with hatred of imprisonment and serfdom, of oppression and lawlessness, it has declared ruthless war on the Russian Bolshevik imperialism. Conscious of the justice of its cause, it has lifted itself to great heights of devotion and heroism.

Having taken its fate into its own hands, the nation hammers unceasingly and fearlessly to the very end.

The nation has placed itself in the forefront of the holy war of nations to overcome the strongholds of totalitarianism, despotism and terror, - STALIN's USSR - and the nation is fulfilling this great and responsible task bravely and with dignity. It has lifted high the standard on are written the words dear to all nations and men: Freedom for the nations! Freedom for mankind!

In this ruthless struggle which has no equal in history, no Ukrainian, man or woman, may stand aside. All Ukrainians, no matter where they are to-day, must join in this fight. Fighting UKRAINE looks to you, our brothers, dispersed in foreign lands as to a sector of the united front of the great struggle for liberation which goes beyond the limits of mere national struggle and becomes of universal importance. Fighting UKRAINE looks upon you as warriors fighting for the great liberation cause on the front in WESTERN EUROPE, the countries of AMERICA, in AUSTRALIA, everywhere where there is one Ukrainian. And fighting UKRAINE sends you brotherly fighting greetings in your position on the front. The Fatherland listens carefully to all that happens to the old and new Ukrainian emigres. The Ukrainian nation watches diligently to see whether the emigre front is marching in step with the home front, to see that it does not lag behind or disintegrate. The nation has the right to demand that the Ukrainian emigres should not stand aloof from the struggle at home, but fulfil those tasks which history has allotted to them. In the first place fighting UKRAINE demands that the Ukrainian emigres should represent to the outside world the nation and its struggle for liberation in a dignified and responsible manner. The UKRAINE is just emerging into the international arena. The world knows very little about it as yet and what is known is not clear but biased. To change this, to bring the truth about the UKRAINE and its fight to all nations beyond the frontiers of the USSR - this is the task of the Ukrainian emigres. In this direction our country has done and is still doing all that is possible. By its struggle it has created an enormous capital of good will which the Ukrainian emigres must exploit in the interest of the liberation cause on the international plane. Fate has scattered you to all the countries of the world, to its most distant corners. It is useless to-day to grumble against cruel fate, but rather to turn this into an opportunity to be used for the good of the Ukrainian nation. You will have to exploit the fact that you have found a place among the nations of the world by bringing a knowledge of the UKRAINE to these nations, of her struggle in the past and of her present heroic efforts.

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Remember that to-day every Ukrainian abroad is the representative of Fighting UKRAINE. Remember that when foreigners look at you they see the whole Ukrainian nation and when they judge any of you they judge the whole nation. Knowing this, you must behave in such a way as not to stain the fair name of your nation and to act in such a way as not to reduce her glory. To-day you must ask yourselves the question: have you done anything for the good of and of advantage to the UKRAINE? You must have the closest spiritual ties with your country. You must share its longings and its struggle. You must not harbour any doubts as to the success of our great cause. You must have no doubts as to the usefulness of our struggle at home. Otherwise you will not be able to inspire strangers with faith in the justice of our struggle, you will not convince them of its usefulness and importance or gain their friendship towards your nation.

Fighting UKRAINE demands that the Ukrainian emigres should become enthusiastic upholders of the ideals for which the Ukrainian nation is fighting. Explain to foreigners the absolute necessity for dividing the member states of the USSR into free national states, prove to them that this is what your nations desire and are fighting for courageously. Explain to them that, in the interest of all nations, the USSR should be split up, as only in this way can the danger of a re-birth of Russian imperialism be finally removed, an imperialism which to-day in the form of Bolshevism, endangers the whole world. You have to spread the idea of building the international order on the system of free, independent national states. Only such a system will create the best conditions for a successful political, economic and cultural collaboration and unity amongst the nations and provides an opportunity for building such a collaboration on the basis of equality, free will, mutual respect and trust. Only such a system is capable of ending the bloodshed of wars and securing a permanent place in the world. Explain to foreigners that the Ukrainian nation is fighting for the realisation of the progressive ideas of the human race, that it is fighting for the freedom of actions and of individuals, for true democracy, for a just social order in which there would be neither exploiters nor exploited.

Fighting UKRAINE demands that the Ukrainian emigres should unceasingly transmit the truth about STALIN's USSR to all the nations of the world and that they should actively mobilise these nations for a struggle against the Russian Bolshevik imperialism- the greatest enemy of all humanity.

The world still does not know enough of the truth about the USSR. It is not even completely aware that Russian Bolshevik imperialism is threatening its existence as well. To uncover to all the nations the true face of Bolshevism, to snatch off its false mask of democracy and socialism and to reveal it in its naked ignominy -- this is the great task that lies before the Ukrainian emigres. Help the foreigners who still believe that there is socialism in the USSR to see the truth. Tell them about the terrible oppression of the member nations of the USSR, about the colossal plunder of their wealth, about the merciless exploitation and slavery of the workers, about the new serfdom in the Kolkhoz and about the persecution of the intelligentsia. Show up before the world this "most democratic" country where people are driven by terror to election booths, where the nation is forced to vote for its own hangmen and oppressors, where courts of justice are tools in the hands of the oppressors, where man is not only muzzled, but where even his thoughts are chained, where a man is turned into a serf with no rights and where millions are in jail or in concentration camps.

Unmask before all nations this country where religion is being strangled and the Church desecrated, where freedom of conscience is put in irons, where not only Christianity is trampled underfoot but universal human ethics are ignored, the country in which, with monstrous cynicism, all sorts of liberties are advertised and the Church maintained as an annexe of the MGB and the MVD. Tell them about the destruction of the Ukrainian autocephalous Church/

Church and the Greek-Catholic Church, about the murdered and deported Ukrainian bishops and clergy. Explain to the foreigners that the present Russian Orthodox Church has nothing in common with a free Church and is simply an MVD agency. Appeal to all Christians and to all the faithful of other religions to fight and destroy the mortal enemy of humanity - Bolshevism.

Fighting UKRAINE demands that the Ukrainian emigres should collaborate actively in organising a single front of all the nations which are either enslaved or endangered by Russian Bolshevik Imperialism.

The Russian Bolshevik Imperialists have already enslaved many nations and are preparing to place their yoke on the remaining free nations. All the Bolshevik statements about a possibility of peaceful co-existence of the two systems is only deceiving propaganda. In reality, all the efforts of the KREMLIN leaders are concentrated on the preparation of a new war for the conquest of the whole world. All life in the USSR is subordinated to this one aim. The hopes of the Western World that war can be avoided are vain and built on sand. The world war cannot be avoided by any means. This certainty must be continually emphasised by the Ukrainian emigres amongst the nations of the West. This should be the starting point in the practical political activity of the emigres amongst these nations. Tell them openly that to-day the question is not how to avoid a new war -which cannot be avoided - but how to save freedom, independence and culture, how humanity can avoid enslavement and destruction -which are not inevitable. And the emigres must clearly point out that the only solution of the world lies in the speedy and complete destruction of the Russian Bolshevik Imperialism in its present hostile position. And this can only be achieved by the organised efforts of a united front of all the nations, which are enslaved and endangered by Russian Bolshevik imperialism.

The Ukrainian emigres must not only proclaim the necessity for such a front and convince the world of this necessity; they must also do everything possible to have the anti-Bolshevik front actually organised. For this purpose, the emigres must not only be armed with faith in the justice of the cause, but they must also possess organising ability, tolerance and perseverance in uniting all men who desire freedom without distinction of race, nationality, religious denomination and without distinction of their political convictions. First of all, the emigres will have to concentrate all their efforts in gathering together into one anti-Bolshevik front, the emigres of all the nations which are under the Bolshevik regime both in EUROPE and ASIA and all the enslaved nations of Central and South-Eastern EUROPE. Our country welcomes the present successes in this sector with joy. The Ukrainian emigres must develop and increase these successes. Persistently and with endurance, all difficulties and differences must be overcome to achieve a full union of the emigres of the USSR nations. This union must be strengthened and made evident in organised activities amongst the emigre masses and in view of the outside world.

Simultaneously with this action of uniting the emigres from the nations enslaved by the USSR, the Ukrainian emigres must be very active amongst the nations of the West in uniting into one anti-Bolshevik front all the freedom-loving people of the world. The emigres must make contacts with national and international organisations which will fight for human rights and liberties. They must assist in creating an international organisation which will aim at overcoming imperialism and totalitarianism and support the rights of nations and individuals.

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Our brother emigres must remember that the question of organising one anti-Bolshevik front of all nations does not concern the leaders of political parties exclusively, but should be the duty of everyone. You must remember that, like the question of the representation of the Ukrainian nation, that of the anti-Bolshevik front can be put not only before political and governmental circles of various nations and through diplomatic means; it can also be put before the widest public of the Western nations, in the factories, mines, farms, schools and institutions. Only when this anti-Bolshevik movement has become a mass one will it be possible to destroy the enemy.

Remember that proclaiming the truth about the USSR and mobilising and organising supporters for the struggle against Bolshevism constitutes a mission of universal human significance. You have to be worthy of this great mission which history has entrusted to you. Fulfil it with an apostolic devotion and endurance. Fulfil it with the same sacrificial courage which characterises the present insurgents in their struggle. If you fulfil this high mission you will be remembered with gratitude by future generations of all nations. In order to carry out all these responsible duties, you, our brothers in foreign lands, must be united and not divided, you must act in unision and not separately. Fighting UKRAINE emphatically demands from the Ukrainian emigres a firm unity, unity not of words but of deeds, active unity and not only on paper, unity based on the struggle for liberation of the Ukrainian nation.

The position as it is to-day cannot continue. There should be no division between Greek-Catholics and Orthodox, Auto-cephalous and unionist and especially not between "Easterners" and "Westerners". We cannot tolerate this division any longer. The emigres must do everything possible to remove the harmful consequences of the long bondage and artificial frontiers by means of which the occupying powers have divided the living body of the Ukrainian nation. In combined activity and battle all these differences amongst the Ukrainians must disappear. The better informed emigres must speedily make extra efforts to raise the level of national consciousness and political maturity of the less nationally conscious ones. This seems to be the principal task in the private life of the Ukrainian emigres. The solution of this problem lies entirely in the basis of the better informed members of the movement, who will also bear all responsibility for success in this matter.

At this critical juncture and in this serious situation in which the Ukrainian nation finds itself to-day, the Ukrainian emigres cannot afford any dissensions and party quarrels. To-day all party differences must disappear. They must be subordinated to one supreme aim - the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. To-day the dividing line may only be drawn not between various parties but between patriots and traitors to the Ukrainian nation.

Our country does not worry about the existence of different parties in the emigre movement, but about the lack of unity and collaboration between these movements and within them as well. Our country is exasperated by the decline of political and social ethics in the Ukrainian emigre movement which is very harmful to the whole liberation cause, dishonours the whole nation in the eyes of foreigners and forms a false picture of the struggle at home. Fighting UKRAINE is indignant because the party quarrels between the emigres cause the most vital and sacred interests of the nation to be forgotten. Fighting UKRAINE must solemnly condemn all those who cannot raise themselves above narrow party interests and use the liberation ideal for their own particular aims.

Our country discovered with sorrow that in the very midst of the emigres party there were people who, for quite a time, doubted the existence at home of the Insurgent Army, of the Chief Ukrainian Liberation Council and of the Underground organisation of Ukrainian nationalists and there were even some who opposed it actively. Only after the raids of UPA units, after the arrival of new witnesses, after a fighting march of over 1,000 kilometres by the insurgents, were these doubting Thomases convinced that UGUR, UPA and OUN really exist, that their members live and fight in the UKRAINE. But even so, there are still emigres who try to underrate the significance of the struggle at home and to underestimate its political influence. Our country appeals to these people to stop this underestimation of the liberation movement at home and to devote all their strength to the interests of the fighting UKRAINE. Those who, blinded by their own interests, cannot find courage and the will to abandon their activities against the liberation movement and who continue to underrate it, will be regarded by our country as committing an unpardonable crime against the Ukrainian nation and her liberation struggle in the UKRAINE.

Brother emigres! Our country to-day has achieved a new unity and the emigre movement must follow the lead. All those who are really touched by the suffering of their nation, who long for her liberation, who hold precious the idea of a Ukrainian State - all those should unite in a common effort to reach this supreme goal and to form a strong united front before the outside world. May the Political efforts of the Ukrainian emigres be directed towards the formation and development of Ukrainian political thought and not betray signs of party quarrels. You must prove that you understand the historical importance of the present moment and that you are capable of fulfilling your tasks. Set an example of unity and efficient organisation to the other nations, as such unity and efficiency by requested by all in the struggle against Bolshevism is to end in victory.

Brother emigres, manual workers! Having no possibility of returning to your Fatherland, you have settled down in factories, mines and on farms in many nations beyond the frontiers of the USSR. You are to-day labouring side by side with workers of all nationalities. You are in the very midst of large numbers of people most of whom have succumbed to the lies of Bolshevist propaganda. Help millions of these workers to shake off this Bolshevist deceit. Convince them by the fact of your own experience that in the USSR there is no Socialism, that it is a country of the most reactionary totalitarianism and tyranny. Inspire them with the feeling of your hatred towards the Russian Bolsheviks and their imperialism, as, deep down in their hearts, they also hate every kind of oppression and lawlessness just as you do. Working side by side in the workshops you should become friends with them and lay the foundations for a close friendship between these nations and the Ukrainian people. Take part in the activities of the Labour organisations of the Western nations and be an example of friendship and loyalty. Form Ukrainian Labour organisations and protect your rights. Develop your own cultural and educational life. Take part in the activities of international Trade Unions and represent those millions of Ukrainian workers who have no possibility to-day of speaking freely in their own name. Fight together with all workers against Imperialism and totalitarianism and for true democracy and social justice.

Ukrainian poets, writers, artists, scholars and members of the Press in exile! A free Ukrainian culture and education is being completely strangled at home. The free word has been driven deep down under the ground. Under these countries it is your great responsibility to develop Ukrainian culture and science, to enrich them with new treasures and discoveries. Our country follows with joy the new creative attainments of the Ukrainian emigres in the field of science and culture and it encourages you to make further efforts in this direction. Develop and strengthen the free centres of Ukrainian science and culture, gathering in them all the creative elements of the emigration party. Use your strength to spread the knowledge of the UKRAINE which, at home, is subjected to falsifying and twisting campaigns by the Russian Bolsheviks.

*over*

Brothers in Foreign Lands! Shortly you will be yet further dispersed all over the world and find yourselves still further away from the Fatherland. But remember, all this is temporary; there will be an end to your dispersal and to your home-sickness.

When the resurrection bells ring out and the UKRAINE rises in great glory, all of you will return to your Fatherland and then, in a "free and new family", all the children of the UKRAINE dispersed all over the world, will gather together in happiness and joy to build their new glorious lives. And the words of our great prophet will become true:

The UKRAINE will rise  
The darkness of bondage will disappear,  
The dawn of truth will come  
And the enslaved children will pray in freedom!

Believe in this with all your hearts and fight for it bravely and the great day will soon dawn.

EDJ - BLURB is ABOVE NAME

In spite of all the tremendous difficulties, fighting UKRAINE continues the struggle just as stubbornly as before, not begrudging either her strength or her blood. Fighting UKRAINE is straining all her resources in order to enable the Ukrainian nation to build her own temple of freedom, so that you may return to the UKRAINE, not as hirelings but as free guests.

UCIT UKRAINE

In the name of Fighting UKRAINE! members of UGUR, Head of the Underground Greek-Catholic Church.

Prof. M. LAVRIVC'KIJ

Head of the General Secretariat of UGUR, Supreme Commander of UPA, Ensign-General of UPA

R. LOZOV'S'KIJ-CHUPRINKA

Deputy Head of the UGUR Secretariat, member of UGURI

Y. KOVAL'

Member of UGUR

Prof. G. ZELENIJ

Head of the Political Section of General Staff of UPA

R. POLTAVA

Member of UPA General Staff

Major D. BUALI

Commander of UPA-NORTH

Major M. DUBOVIJ

Member of OUN Directorate in the UKRAINE

M. MAKSIMOVICH

" " " " " The journalist

G. CORNOVIJ

Member of the Staff UPA-WEST

V. KHVELI

Commander of the Military District of UPA-WEST "GOVERLYA"

Major V. GRIM

Leader of OUN in NORTH-WEST UKRAINE

Z. SAVCHENKO

" " " " Central-Eastern-UKRAINE

I. VASILENKO

Leader of Youth Underground UPA

R. IL'NITS'KIJ

" of Underground Ukrainian Red Cross

A. SHIBALINS'KA

EDJ - MORE ON BACK THIS PAGE

over

Leader of OUN District in Western UKRAINE

K. VLADAN

" " " " Eastern "

I. BUD'KO

" " " " North-Western  
UKRAINE

I. MELIYAN

Leader of OUN in BUKOVINA

S. STAL'

Editor of Underground publications

Prof. S. KOZ'MENKO

Artist

D. BEJ

UPA Physician

I. RESENKO

UKRAINE, October 1949

URT 009(44)  
WELA-6544

August 1950

To friends abroad.

I would like here to share with my friends some of my ideas about the current, ideological and future questions of our organisation. These ideas do not differ basically from the attitude of the whole of the OUN in the UKRAINE. I am sending you my ideas because I think no unity is possible between the two parts of the organisation without a wide exchange of views, nor any real understanding or crystallisation of ideological or political beliefs which would be understood by and acceptable to all members of OUN.

1. Holding fast to the resolution of the NUZ OUN and proving constantly how right they are, OUN in the UKRAINE does not identify itself either with any philosophical ideas or theories, nor with idealistic or materialistic Eastern philosophical tendencies. More detailed explanation of such a basically correct attitude is given in the article by O. GORNOVOJ "What philosophy - materialistic or idealistic - is binding for the members of OUN".

Here I would like to point out only the main arguments supporting the attitude described above.

1) In the first place, OUN is a political organisation which fights for political aims. Our supreme goal is to build up in the UKRAINE an independent Ukrainian State. Every Ukrainian patriot can fight for an independent UKRAINE without having to subscribe to this or that philosophical theory. It would, therefore, be unwise to condition the membership of OUN by belonging to one or the other of the philosophical systems and in this way limit the number of members and sympathisers of our organisations.

2) The ideological nature of the Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary movement is such that it does not require a philosophical - theoretical justification. Such basic tenets of our ideology as our belief in nation and a national State, belief in man as the main object of a national process are formed on the basis of analysis of social or social-political phenomena and do not require support or amplification in one or another branch of philosophical science, which is interested mainly in such questions as which comes first - spirit or matter. Neither solution by philosophical science could have any influence either on our work for the nation and for our national State, or even on our belief in man as the main object of an historical process.

3) The dispute between idealistic and materialistic tendencies in philosophy will remain one for ever. It existed from the moment of the establishment of philosophy as a science, it exists now and it will continue to exist in the future. Preponderance of this or that tendency depends on arguments which, at the given moment, various branches of science may furnish. Each new scientific discovery may strengthen one or the other of these tendencies. Apart from all that, deduction of two totally opposed philosophical tendencies is based on two opposite types of human beings: one half of humanity has always been ready to accept metaphysical explanations, while the other half has been more inclined to adopt a realistic, definite and precise attitude.

4) To identify oneself with one or another philosophical system would mean any political movement entering into this fight within philosophical science and, in consequence, either resigning oneself to constant changes in the principles of ideology or making an immutable, immovable dogma of it. Neither the one or the other would be advantageous in a political movement.

5) It would be especially futile for us to identify our movement with one or another philosophical tendency at present, when, in connection with the most recent monumental discoveries made by science, philosophy as such is as yet unable to assimilate or fully explain it.

6) Without identifying ourselves in any direction in the sphere of theoretical philosophy, we are, nevertheless, to-day, as in the past, definitely in support of practical idealism in subordinating every individual interest to that of the whole community or cause for which the individual fights.

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We are definitely in favour of the individual being guided throughout his life, not by his own selfish interests, but by idealistic aims, we favour a heroic pattern of life, a qualitatively high individual as the most important factor in human progress, as the deciding factor for victory in this fight; we regard life as a permanent battle in which the victor is the one who is stronger than the others in every respect. This is our philosophy of social life- if you can call it a philosophy, which does not make us into followers of materialistic or idealistic philosophical tendencies. Our own postulates of practical idealism are clearly postulates of a moral order or code and, as such, cannot be identified with any particular doctrine in theoretical philosophy. Having adopted this attitude towards the problem of philosophy as a whole, we certainly do not think it desirable to identify OUN with the Christian outlook upon the world as it has been advocated by ZCH OUN ("SURMA" for February-March 1950). As I see it, the main belief in the Christian outlook is the idea that the world was created by God, that God directs the world, that there is life beyond the grave, that God rewards the good and punishes the wicked and all similar legends from the Bible and the Church Catechism. All this has nothing in common with the work of scientific cosmogony and disagrees with the teachings of science. It seems that to-day there are very few political organisations which would be prepared to take up an officially Christian outlook as their own with a duty for all their members to subscribe to it. For the majority of educated people these legends are not acceptable. A political organisation which accepts them all as its own outlook upon the world, cannot be regarded by educated people as serious.

In the case of OUN there is one more important reason why I think it should not proclaim the acceptance of a Christian cosmogony as its own. As a consequence of Bolshevik upbringing, a large part of the Ukrainian nation in the Eastern districts is either completely atheistic or completely indifferent to all religious matters. And we have to reckon with them. A Christian cosmogony in our ideological arsenal will only repulse these people and not attract them to the organisation. I emphasise that we should not take into account the other element of those Eastern Ukrainian communities which, here and there, are still religiously inclined.

OUN cannot either identify itself with Christian ethics. Or rather, we must put ourselves the following question: which Christian ethics should we adopt as our own? Those which the Christian Church has applied in practice throughout her history, or those ideals exposed in the writings of the Church Fathers or summed up in the Church "Commandments"? In the first case, the ethics were those of the Inquisition, the ethics of the Jesuits, the ethics of the Papal Court in the days of the Renaissance, the ethics of more or less rapacious clergy. To accept these ethics and inscribe them on our banners does not mean that we have adopted morality of a very high quality. If we accept the other kind of Christian ethics- the idealistic kind - it would mean rejecting the morality of our "Decalogue" and all other documents of our moral code which was formed on the battle field against oppression and which formed the necessary corrective to this idealistic Christian morality. Is that in the interest of our revolutionary fight, our revolutionary movement? Has not the "Decalogue" proved to be right? Can the members of the liberation-revolutionary organisation of the enslaved nation be quelled in their fight by the ideals of universal forgiveness and love etc., without which no Christian ethics could be considered? And what about the principal idealistic and ethical slogan of Ukrainian nationalism: "The Good of the Ukrainian nation - our supreme command?". Is it necessary to pull down the Ukrainian nation from the pinnacle on which we have placed it? I don't think so. Of course, if we accept Christian ethics as ours, we shall have to do so if we want to be Christians in practice and not only in theory.

2. OUN in the UKRAINE considers religion to be the private concern of its members and of all Ukrainians and supports "freedom of religion and outlook" (Programme resolutions of MNVZOUN, point 10, letter "a"), and according to these resolutions, supports separation of Church from the State". It is with great astonishment that we read in the official paper of ZCHMOUN ("SURMA", No. 18-19) that "anti-national and anti-nationalistic front in the emigration, beginning with socialists of all sectors and ending with "MECNIKS" camouflage their destructive work of national outlook and morality by slogans of militant atheism and materialism, that "religion is the private concern of the human conscience" and that "Church should be separated from the State as a private association of believers.

Does not the author of this article know that our Organisation in the resolutions of the 111 NUZ (and also in the resolutions of the 11 General Meeting) adopted the attitude which he now condemns? Does he not know that ZCHOUN has officially accepted the resolutions of the 111 NUZ? How can the outside public understand and judge such declarations of the official publication of ZCHOUN? Everyone who wishes it could point to the resolution of the 111 NUZ and prove that our organisation has also joined this "anti-national and anti-nationalistic front!"

To my mind, the following arguments strongly support the belief that religion should be the private concern of the individual and that the Church should be separated from the State:-

1) As we propagate the idea of political freedom, we should adopt the attitude of religious freedom as well.

2) No Ukrainian political party or Ukrainian Government should identify itself with any of the existing Churches in the Ukraine, because these are quite numerous and to identify ourselves with any of them would rouse all the others against us. If the State tried to support all Churches in equal measure, it would become the object of attack by certain confessional groups, which would suspect and accuse the State of favouritism towards one particular Church.

3) In some respects we regard the Church as socially beneficial, but not as socially indispensable and the State should, in the first place, support institutions which are socially indispensable. This solution is based on the experience of many nations and parties and we should, in this case, take advantage of such experience.

5) Such a solution could also bring about a healthier atmosphere within the Church. If to-day we are conscious of a certain decadence in the Church and also in religion, this is due, to some extent, to the support received from the State by the Church and through which the Church often loses the sense of her higher mission and becomes merely an institution with worldly ambitions and aims, providing comfortable jobs for the clergy and an additional source of power in the State with all the negative consequences. We can only purify the Church and help her to return to her proper character by allowing her to rely on her own strength.

3. OUN still formulates her supreme idea and the aim of her struggle in the words: Ukrainian Independent United State. But to-day we realise that such formulation of our principal and supreme political aims is not sufficient. To give an example: it is obvious to the Eastern Ukrainians that we nationalists fight for independence and union. They expected something more; they would like to know for what kind of independent and united UKRAINE we struggle, with what political and social-economic system and which kind of State Government. For these people our formula: Ukrainian Independent United State is quite obvious and does not explain much.

As is known, this formula came into being in particular circumstances. After we lost the Election struggle and fought against the Socialist parties in the years 17 - 20, who placed the question of social system in the State above the problem of independence, we found it necessary to formulate our supreme ideas and aims concerning independence. This was necessary mainly from the point of view of national education and instruction. We wished to spread understanding and desire for independence among the wide masses of the nation. But a political organisation cannot be limited to a formula couched in such general terms. A political organisation fighting for that independence, must declare quite clearly for what type of State it is fighting - for a democratic republic, for a totalitarian type of State, or perhaps for one or another system of monarchy.

A clear attitude to this question does not mean that a political organisation would elevate the problem of internal State constitutions above the independence of the UKRAINE. To all nationally conscious people, the question  
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of the independence of their country is a primary concern - above everything else. All this means that, having in the first place understood her State-independent character, as it was necessary to do in those days in circumstances peculiar to the Ukrainian soil, an organisation should clearly define the kind of political constitution which it envisaged for the Ukrainian State and this idea of internal constitution should have been propagated together with the idea of independence and union. We have to admit that up to now this has not been done and it is one of the weaknesses in our programme. This empty space must be adequately filled. The formula of USSD in the greater part of the UKRAINE has fulfilled its educational purpose and our politically ripe organisation should now proceed to amplify it. It should be mentioned that in the Soviet UKRAINE, instead of saying: "We stand for USSD" it would be more useful to say: "We stand for the separation of the UKRAINE from RUSSIA". There the complex of "union" with RUSSIA (because that is what is meant by the so-called all-union complex) is so strong that the need for separation must be emphasised over and over again. The word "independent" or "independence", if it does not directly and clearly emphasise the need for separation from RUSSIA completely loses its effect.

To-day we deplore the idea of USSD as a Ukrainian, Independent, United Democratic republic. To-day we cannot be indifferent to the future form of the Ukrainian State. We have our own point of view as to what it should be in order to secure the best possible conditions for the Ukrainian nation for general progress. We are definitely opposed to a totalitarian, dictatorial system of government and also to every form of monarchy as a decaying institution. The actions of the world to-day do not place monarchs on the throne - they kick them out. Of all the State constituted forms which humanity has created, we accept that of the democratic republic, which, although it has a number of negative points, is the best and most sensible from the point of view of national interests as a whole, much more so than a totalitarian dictatorship or monarchy.

In our struggle we always like to refer to the traditions of the struggle for liberation and the building of the State. I think the best we can do is to accept the name for the Ukrainian State which was accepted by the Ukrainian nation in the years 18-20, namely, Ukrainian Peoples Republic (UNR).

This name, on the whole, is in accordance with the character which we would like to give our State - a character of State Government by the people. I do not think that this interpretation would, in any way, be contradictory to the idea expressed in USSD, on the contrary, it merely defines it more exactly and clearly.

It is, therefore, comprehensible that I myself and other friends do not agree with the accusation on the part of the opposition to the effect that ZPUGUZ, in his declaration concerning UN Council, "has abandoned the principle of USSD and replaced it by State constitutional conception of UNR (letter from S. BIJLIKH). We also do not agree with the ideas of "SURMA" (number mentioned above), that, as our main object is to destroy the reign of an eternal enemy, such "important matters as decisions concerning the form of internal system of State are at present pointless"; also ".....members and fellow-travellers of revolutionary nationalism are trying to substitute the supreme political aim of the Ukrainian Nationalists - the State - by "Ukrainian Peoples Republic", which was a symbol of class struggle within the Ukrainian nation in 1920 - a symbol of national treachery in these years.....etc." We do not agree because we read in this declaration of ZPUGUR: "At this time when we want to clarify the position of UGUR, among others, the attitude towards State constitution, even now ZPUGUR tries to throw some light on the interpretation of State constitutional conception of UGUR.....and declares that the real meaning of the ideas behind the Ukrainian Independent United State is best expressed in the name of the Ukrainian Peoples Republic....."

Accepting the interpretation of USSD as a democratic Ukrainian Peoples Republic, ZPUGUR does not identify these traditions or ideas with the contemporary UNR in exile in its historical and contemporary composition..... etc." To my mind, this statement is clearly concerned with the State controlled constitution of the future Ukrainian State and not with the policy of the UNR office in the sphere of party politics, social economy or military forces, and its attitude to Russians, all of which could not be accepted without reserve. I emphasise that our conception of a democratic republic rests on people; it is not a conception of an aristocratic democratic republic (if such a thing were possible). It is in that direction that we try to define the idea of USSD at home. And as such an idea inspired the creators of UNR in the years 17 - 20, we, who consider ourselves direct heirs to the lengthy revolutionary struggle of 17 - 20, should return to this name. It does not mean that we exalt the traditions of OUNR of 17-20 or that we wish to continue them entirely with all their mistakes and anti-State moves. We only accept what is positive and healthy in them and this is the idea of the Ukrainian democratic peoples republic where all Ukrainians are masters; we reject all that was negative, unhealthy, anti-national and anti-State.

4. OUN in the UKRAINE approves democracy in the State constitution of the future independent UKRAINE.

While we approve democracy, we must emphasise that we do not put it on the pedestal of a political fetish; we do not make a God out of it. We are conscious of all its negative sides, those which were manifested in our own history and those which we now observe in the contemporary history of some nations. We accept this idea of democracy because the experience of the past and especially of the past decade has shown that, in spite of its weaknesses, democracy, not only in theory, but also in practice, has proved to be the best system of State Government and the least evil form of Government. On the one hand we definitely reject the type of democracy which exists to-day in FRANCE or ITALY, i.e., anarchic democracy, and on the other hand we reject the type of Bolshevik "peoples" or "Soviet" democracy, which only covers up the reality of a terroristic totalitarian dictatorial regime. Generally speaking, our democracy should, on the one hand, secure free expression of all serious political tendencies in the nation, and should give them the possibility of organising activities and influencing the policies of the State: on the other hand our democracy must not allow a free development of anti-national forces. This democracy must also provide an energetic Government and administration. The State Government should be the instrument of the will of the nation. It does not mean that it should become a plaything in the hands of party politicians, of political parties, or that it should entirely depend on continuously changing whims and combinations of these parties. This should not happen. To secure a free expression of the will of the nation and to secure stability, energy and the strength of the State Government - these are the two equally important aims to the realisation of which our democracy should devote her strength. The main task of the authors of the future constitution in the Ukrainian State will be to reconcile these two principles.

Further detailed ideas on this matter were published in an article of a controversial character under the heading: " Type of organised democracy in the future independent Ukrainian State" published here in 1949.

5. Regarding the question of ownership of means of production, our views are identical with those of the 111 Meeting of OUN. The only change made was in allowing the ownership of small farms. We have made this change for political reasons. We consider that, in view of the existing universal hatred of the Bolshevik Kolkhoz system only such a solution can mobilise the Ukrainian peasants for a fight for an independent Ukraine and also prevent our political adversaries to accuse us before the peasants of being against private ownership of land by them and that our programme only talks about land exploitation and that we are against the interests of the peasants. To a lesser degree in this case we also considered the arguments from the social-economic aspect.

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Why do we advocate national State ownership or communal co-operative ownership of the principal means of production? Speaking of "principal means of production", we mean that, in accordance with the programme of the 111 Meeting which also represents our present attitude, national and State ownership should definitely predominate over the private ownership sector. This question was extensively dealt with in our various articles which were also known abroad. All arguments taken from other economic theories are also generally known, i.e. socialist conceptions, and we shall not repeat them here. They are either similar to or even identical with our own conceptions.

We admit private ownership in crafts, retail trade and land ownership in small farms. It would also be possible to admit ownership in light industry (Up to now no mention has been made about this in our programme). The social, national and State, or communal-cooperative sector of national economy should definitely predominate over the private ownership sector. Only under such conditions can the social-national character of planned economy be preserved. Without this safeguard the capitalist system of economy would soon predominate with all the negative social and economic consequences. The attitude displayed by some of our friends in ZHOUN and which found expression in the above mentioned article of "SURMA" and other hints in various letters and documents - we consider to be erroneous. The author of the above mentioned article in "SURMA" simply expresses his support of capitalism when he writes: "...the basic principle of social-economic order and relations in the State should be the personal and individual social-economic integrity of each person on the basis of ownership of means of production and production as such...etc. (following paragraph) "This is an open propagation of capitalism of which OUN has so far, been innocent. We admit that socialised economy has some negative factors. The state is being handed over a new powerful instrument of pressure on the community but, because of the economic interest of people in State activities in the really democratic nations in which the State economic policy is controlled by the nation - in such conditions the danger of the Government misusing its power for the economic exploitation of the community or trying to exercise undue economic pressure is non-existent. Also, by using the right policy, it would be possible to create economic interest among those who are engaged in production and so create a stimulus which would (next word illegible) the country's economy. If one were to strike a balance between the social state system and the capitalist system, taking into consideration all social and economic positive and negative elements, the credit will always remain on the side of the social state system. Anarchy in production, the sharpening of economic differences between the rich and poor, exploitation by one individual of another, unemployment and a chronic state of crisis - all these are inherent to capitalism and militate against it.

I do not admit as justifiable the attacks made by DONTSOV against the publications at home in which he denies the necessity for considering the existing economic situation in the UKRAINE on the grounds that this was created by the enemy occupying power. Such an attitude may be in agreement with the classic theory of revolution, but it does not correspond to the true state of affairs or to the real interest of the Ukrainian liberation movement. For what reason and on what grounds should the Ukrainian Government begin to distribute metallurgical, chemical, mechanical, building and other works and factories in the UKRAINE which, since they were taken from the foreign capitalists nearly 30 years ago, have been under public ownership? Why should they be handed over to private ownership? Is it because we must re-introduce capitalism with all its negative factors into the UKRAINE? A similar situation exists with regard to smaller enterprises. It would not be difficult to imagine the storm in the community if the Government started to distribute all these public goods among private individuals. I consider that we have to reckon seriously with the economic state of affairs created by the thirty years of Bolshevik regime, although in many respects this regime is hateful to us.

6. The Society which we are actively engaged in building up and which is based economically on national, state and communal cooperative ownership of means of production and politically on democracy in the state constitution is a classless one. We consider classless a society in which there is no division or exploiting and exploited, or small groups of rich and a large mass of poor people, where one man will not exploit another as is the case in capitalist society, nor groups of politically and economically privileged people who are beyond the control of the nation- magnates who politically and economically exploit the masses (as is happening at present in Bolshevik society).

The word "class" has various meanings, among others, a difference in financial status of various groups of society, a difference in political or economic spheres of various groups etc. Recently the word "class" has been used mostly in the negative sense to denote the privileged or oppressed groups. We have recently learned to associate this word "class" with all those social irregularities and social injustices which exist in a capitalist society. When we describe our society as classless, we are emphasising our desire to build up a social order in which there will be no classes in the negative sense of the word. There will be no division with exploited and exploited, with rich and poor. Everyone should understand that we obviously do not mean to abolish classes in the sense of describing an occupation, profession or trade as for instance, farmers, labourers. Such divisions are a natural outcome of a division of labour among the people and we do not intend to liquidate them in our classless society as this would be absurd. Such a division will be purely one of different production groups, division of people of the same financial standing with equal rights and equal economic and political standing, but not a division of people according to their property or economic position. Such a division will not be contrary to the idea of social and economic equality of the citizens of the State which is the principal idea of the Ukrainian national movement. Such a division does not lead to class struggle, on the contrary, by destroying financial differences between individuals in society, it excludes the possibility of class warfare and is the only real supposition of unity and solidarity within the nation.

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While striving after social equality and justice in the UKRAINE, we are, at the same time aware that the ideal of absolute social equality and justice cannot be realised because the material inequality among human beings cannot be remedied. People are different - they are more or less talented, more or less hard working, more or less practical etc. It will also be necessary in social economy to stimulate in various ways, economic interest of labour in production (inducement to output), (premiums, bonuses). This will also create certain inequalities. It is, therefore, Utopian to think of a classless society as a state of absolute equality. This will, however, be a society in which no group of speculators may exist, no group of social parasites tolerated, a society which will be spared the most glaring inequalities which are to-day characteristic of the capitalist or Soviet society. It may be that some elements abroad are afraid that the principle of social ownership of means of production will bring about a new enslavement of the people by the state and to governmental tyranny, in short, to all those phenomena which we observe in the Soviet system.

First of all, a guarantee against the enslavement of people by the state, against tyranny of the government over the nation, should be found in a democratic constitution. When the nation, through parliament, will exercise its influence on all state policy including the economic policy, when the nation controls the administration and exercises its influence on the drawing up of national-economic plans, when the administration itself will be changed periodically, then it would be impossible for the Government to tyrannise over the nation, to enslave the people by the State, all of which would be very dangerous for the nation.

Secondly, we have to resign ourselves to the thought that to-day order and harmony in society are only possible if social life is organised and guided by institutions armed with special powers. We all agree that such institutions in the national framework should form their own states and state governments. This guiding and organising of social life by the State leads to certain limits being imposed upon the liberties and rights of the individual, and the individual to-day must agree to such limitation of his rights. I think that humanity to-day is faced with the dilemma of people either resigning themselves to a loss of certain of their existing rights and allowing the state to organise the whole of the fabric of society in the interest of society, or of insisting on all their rights, in which case the state will not be able to exercise sufficient control over social life which will develop in a haphazard way and the whole of social activity will develop into a "free for all" fight. The rights of the individual will be safeguarded but the whole nation will perish and with the nation the individual too with all his rights. Let the English liberals fight for the unlimited rights of the individual - there is no known remedy for a second childhood in old age. Perhaps the columns of the Soviet Army marching through London will bring them to their senses. But it will be too late. We should already to-day take the attitude that it is essential to limit some of the "prerogatives of the individual in the name of a healthy national community, in the name of the healthy development of the Ukrainian nation. This should follow as a natural consequence of our national ideology.

7. I consider that a revolution is not only an absolute negation of a system against which it has revolted, nor an expression of opposition to old forms and the propagation of something new, which has not previously existed: I consider revolution to mean a synthesis of experience gained through a healthy development into a new whole, in which the various, frequently opposing elements are blended together into one system. Often revolution gives old forms an entirely new meaning. It is not the form that counts but the sense, the contents. And if the form is good and the contents reactionary, why reject the form together with the contents? In doing so the revolution becomes too theoretical, too dogmatic - not practical enough. There are many cases in history of revolution having had to march in a different direction.

If we look upon revolution from a similar point of view, it becomes clear that some of our friends have drawn wrong conclusions from the methods employed by our own revolution in the UKRAINE.

The letter of the leader S. BJULIKH, for instance, mentions that "it is wrong to attack only the factic (factual?) and to agree with the ideas". It is necessary to attack the whole system, the ideology and the practice.

From the practical point of view this is what it looks like. The Bolsheviks in their propoganda speak of national liberty, independence of all nations, the sovreignty of all national states, the abolishment of exploitation by one man of another, of the cultural and prosperous life of the great national masses, of the liquidation of differences between town and country, between physical and mental work etc.

Can we say that these ideas as ideas are wrong? Can we say that they are anti-national and reactionary? I am sure that every working man will agree that these ideas are right and sane. And so do the masses of the population under the Soviets. If that is so, then we must not attack these ideas or we shall find ourselves opposing the national masses as reactionaries-hostile to progress. This does not mean that we should not attack the Bolsheviks who only formally propagate these ideas. They only talk about them but do not practise them, they use these good ideas as a cover to camouflage their radically anti-national policy. That is where we must attack them and in doing so we attack the Bolshevik practice and not the ideas. Experience proves to us that, so far, we are on the right road, otherwise we should not have a proper ideological basis for fighting the Bolsheviks.

It is quite a different thing when we meet with Bolshevik ideological theories which are wrong, as for instance, STALIN'd theory of the possibility of building Communism in the country or the theory of the superiority of the Russian nation etc. In such cases we attack the theory as well.

I do not consider that "such an attitude is equivalent to capitulation or weakness". There are no feelings of capitulation, no ideological vacillations or weaknesses amongst our cadres. On the contrary I must affirm here with all authority that our cadres live in a state of such ideological exaltation, in a state of such consciousness of their ideological value and strength of full consciousness of their ideological superiority over the enemy, as never before in the history of the organisation.

I do not altogether agree with the statement that only a "categorical, total and radical negation of the enemy, of his faith, ideology, the whole of his teaching, his gheory (as I understand it - it would be necessary to reject all the ideas propogated by the enemy) and his practice, the rejection of all this will give our revolution a strong ideological basis and will attract the masses by the strength of its faith, it will convince and inspire". I repeat: the negation of the enemy need not be absolute in the sense that it is necessary to reject even the good ideas which the enemy is applying by false methods. Furthermore, this negation need not be extended to certain forms created by the enemy if they are not anti-national in themselves. For instance, we reject Bolshevism but we must acknowledge as right the idea that exploitation of one man by another should be abolished; or again, in rejecting Bolshevis, we cannot attack the widespread school net in the USSR, since the secondary schools themselves, in villages, in themselves, are not anti-national. We can only attack the very special use to which the Bolsheviks subject their school system. We also cannot reject the Bolshevik system of health centres in the villages or free medicines, we could not entirely reject them and yet you could not maintain that such an attitude would not influence the mass of the people or would not "convince them or inspire them".

In these letters a view was expressed that we should avoid in our propoganda literature the use of Bolshevik terminology, such as nationalisation of means and reserves of production, classless society etc. I consider that in most cases it is impossible not to do so. To oppose the enemy even in the sphere of lexicology is simply beyond our power. How would one change and find a substitute for such Ukranian expressions as "ZNARYZS'" and "ZASOBIV" and VIROBNITSVO", a Ukranian word

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for production and private property or communal property - (State-national or cooperative), which the Ukrainian lexicologists expressed by a word "USUSPIL'NENNYA" and as we Ukrainians from GALICIA have to learn the Ukrainian language from the Eastern Ukrainians also - why should we look for other expressions of the same idea? and how to express this idea in a different way? We have to make use of such lexicons as are already in existence and not worry about creating a new terminology. Apart from this, we write and compose our publications with a view to reaching the Eastern Ukrainian public brought up in the Soviet school in Eastern Ukrainian, or if you prefer it, Bolshevik terminology, and we have to write in such a way as to be understood by them.

8. I do not consider right the point of view expressed by IVANOV in one of his articles in which he states that our organisation up to 1941 was "no more than a camp of active battle against the occupying powers", that the organisation was "not a political party in the right sense of the word, but rather an all-embracing resistance movement etc". Our organisation, from the moment of its inception, had clear political aims and was always a political organisation, it had its weak spots as a political body but that is a different matter and it does not deny the political character of the organisation. I consider it wrong to talk of our organisation as merely "the camp of fight" (the field of battle) and to deny it any political character before 41.

I also consider wrong the statement made by M. PROKOP in the article "Ideological and Programme Questions of the Ukrainian Independence Movement", to the effect that, up to the year 41, OUN did not properly value the role of the masses engaged in the struggle. The cult of heroes in OUN, the emphasis on quality in selecting the cadres, the endeavour to develop high-quality characters, have nothing in common with the conception of the Russian popular idea of "heroes" and "mob". OUN rightly understands the value and meaning of advance-guard in the revolutionary liberation fight. The masses will rise in the struggle if they are led by carefully trained and organised advance-guards. The liberation movement will be victorious if the revolutionary advance-guards are followed by the national masses. Such are the mechanics of the liberating revolution and OUN has fully understood this.

10 D. KAM'YANETS'KIK, in his letter said a few bitter words about the low political ideas of the cadres in the UKRAINE. He said the same about our publications and used the proverb "not good in writing, not good in the head" (this was addressed to the authors of the publications at home).

It is not for us to correct these charges. We have accepted them. But as we are critical of ourselves, so we have the right to criticise others. In my opinion the proverb "no good in writing, no good in the head" is true, not with regard to certain people only, but it is generally true and concerns friend KAM'YANETS'KIK also. It is true that I only know friend KAM'YANETS'KIK from his letter but even so this proverb may be extended to this letter.....

With this I wish to end. I am aware that in the whole of this letter I have not said anything new, have often repeated what has been stated long ago or what was mentioned in other documents enclosed in this mail. But as with letters from our friend abroad, although written on the same subjects, yet always bringing something new, I also hope it will be possible to find something new between these lines and to share some peaceful thoughts of which we are in such great need. That is why I have decided to burden our mail by these additional sheets of paper.

I send you revolutionary greetings and wishes for best success in the work for the good of the cause which is so dear to us.

GLORY TO UKRAINE,

P. POLTAVA.

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