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FROM : Chief of Base, Munich
SUBJECT: GENERAL-⁰ Operational/REDWOOD/AERODYNAMIC
SPECIFIC- Transmittal of Report

DATE: 28. Nov. 1955
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IP

Transmitted herewith for your ZCHOUN/BANDERA archives and files is an old translation, from MOB AERODYNAMIC and AEBATH files, of Stepan BANDERA's speech delivered in February 1953 in line with his decision to resign from the ZCHOUN triumvirate appointed by the homeland.

Approved:

23 November 1955

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FORM NO. 51-28A
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A Letter to the Members of the OUN

Glory to the Ukraine! Place of Encampment, February 1953.

Dear Comrades!

By this letter I want first of all to answer those letters, appeals, and expressions of thoughts and desires which I received in different ways after my abdication from the post of chairman of the Provid of the OUN. I should like to answer the questions asked in connection with that act. At the same time I am also going to touch other questions, about which, although are not connected with my resignation because of their importance I want to express my opinion.

First of all, I thank very much those members and units of the OUN which conveyed to me by means of private letters, or official organizational channels, their ideas and attitude. Particularly many thanks for all the expressions of confidence and friendly attitude toward me. I am sorry that because of technical conditions I could not give individual answers by letters, but do it by this collective letter.

Some Comrades expected a special appeal from me simultaneously with the news about my resignation from the chairmanship of the OUN Provid. I had not written such an appeal, I had only mentioned the main motives for that decision in an organizational document, about the contents of which the more important units of ZChOUN were informed. With my act of resignation is associated no change in the liberation struggle or in OUN activity for Ukrainian independence, whether in regard to objectives and content or in regard to the methodology and tactics. In regard to these matters there was no need to write a special appeal, such as is traditional when stages in the activity of our organization are marked. Neither was it necessary with regard to my participation in the work of the OUN. I resigned the highest post in the organization, but this step did not lessen my manifold work in OUN or my participation in its liberation struggle, to which I devote my energies now as I did formerly. My resignation represents a retirement neither from active work in the organization, nor from responsibility for its further development and its policy. My resignation changes the nature of my responsibility and work, but not their content and vigor itself, which without regard to position are always marked by one rule: to devote all of myself, all my strength and abilities to serving the organization, its liberation struggle and at all times, at any post and in any situation, to do everything in my power to do what is best for our cause. Therefore I did not consider it necessary to write a personal appeal on the occasion of my resignation.

I should like to make still one remark at the beginning of this letter; in the thoughts and stand of some comrades in regard to my resignation there runs the conviction that the moments raised by them were not taken into consideration when decision to resign was made. Studying all the arguments and anticipations given by these comrades with regard to the results of the resignation, I must assure those comrades that having taking into consideration all the "pros" and "cons" I had also considered those matters which they later brought up in their letters and appeals. Also, at the General Conference

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-2-

of the Provid of ZChOUN, at which conference I announced my resignation, and which subsequently deliberated over the whole affair from varying aspects the participants in the Conference pointed among other things, to those arguments which later were brought up in the letters from various territorial organizations, particularly from K. [REDACTED].

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The chief motives for my resignation are connected with the affair of "opposition" [REDACTED] and ZPUHVR. The content and the objectives of the political work of ZPUHVR completely accepted and exploited by the so-called "opposition" group, has created a state of ideological, political, and functional dualism in the revolutionary-liberation front abroad. This is extremely destructive to the liberation cause.

In ideological questions the so-called opposition and ZPUHVR have departed from nationalist positions to socialist ones. This group propagates socialist theses, not only in its name but, what is worse, stubbornly spreads within the Ukrainian emigration and before the foreign world false suggestions to the effect that the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement, particularly the OUN in the homeland, also accepts a socialist program and carries on the liberation struggle in this spirit. Lev Rebet publicized in SUCHASNA UKRAINA a statement that the OUN has a socialist program, as do all other Ukrainian groups, the Hetmanites excepted. Maistrenko-Babenko has become the ideologist of this group, while his own little group, consisting of a few members in the so-called URDP, which has a distinct national-Communist tendency, is its only ally. This partnership most convincingly shows whither goes ZPUHVR which is dominated by the "opposition", and along what new lines it tries to direct the liberation movement.

In his organ "Vpered" published in the name of the URDP, Maistrenko quite openly develops the thesis that the Ukrainian Communists-socialists, (thus does he frankly equate them) should dominate and hold the Ukrainian national revolution to their way. The basis and guarantee of success of such an orientation is supposed to be according to his statement, the circumstance that the Communist intellectual element, educated and trained by the Communist party and the Bolshevik state system, is the most active and dynamic element in the Ukraine. This element alone can and knows how to organize and administer state life. In the beginning of the broad revolutionary upheaval, the Communists according to Maistrenko, must use the tactics of mimicry in order to survive the wave of hottest anti-Communist feelings and penetrate the national-revolutionary forces. As the Revolution develops, however, they must seize the initiative and the chief positions and guide the whole revolutionary process according to their plan. This same Maistrenko currently determines the line of the ZPUHVR organ, Suchasna Ukraina. In its pages he insinuates the same national-Communist views, but in a more concealed hidden form.

It is precisely such Maistrenko-like tactics of mimicry that are the principle of action of the so-called opposition. The opposition tries openly

SECRET

SECRET

-3-

to portray the liberation-revolutionary movement as oriented on elements with Communist convictions, on so-called idealistic Communists, who allegedly should be drawn over to the Ukrainian revolution as a promising source of personnel. By this stand and by the orientation on foreign influences and tendencies, the opposition justifies the need of moving the liberation-revolutionary movement from nationalist positions to socialist ones. The "opposition" openly professes socialism as its ideological line. But it directs its socialist tendencies not in the direction of the old Ukrainian socialist parties, which to some extent opposed Communism, but in the direction of socialism-Communism. This is evident on one hand from the content and emphasis its various theses and declarations in regard to program problems. It suffices just to mention defense of the collective-farm hosp system, which had ardent defenders among the "opposition", which defense they began to conceal only after they were condemned in the materials from the homeland. However, the fight of the revolutionary-liberation movement against the same collective farm system did not prevent the opposition from stating that this movement in its program grants also a place to collective-farms.

The political friends of the opposition show still more characteristically what kind of socialism it cherishes. On one hand they oppose the representatives and remnants of the old Ukrainian socialist parties, and on the other hand they show unity and a very close friendship with the Maistrenko group, which regards socialism and communism as one and the same thing and which would like to influence the Ukrainian liberation movement to assume as its aim a Communist-- as they put it, a truly Communist Ukraine independent from Moscow. This national-communism, whose clear embodiment in the emigration is Maistrenko -- represents the real content and apex of the socialist tendencies of the whole "opposition" - ZPUHVR group. If however, "the opposition" does not use the word "Communism" delineating the content of its platform, this can be explained by the previously mentioned tactical facade of Maistrenko. They really desire to attach this orientation to the Ukrainian revolutionary-liberation movement. To achieve this, must do it in such a way that an excessively emphatic manifestation of their tendencies will not tare up the threads that connect ZPUHVR, with that movement and give the opposition the possibility to act in the name of the liberation movement. They know that if they should call their orientation by its proper term, they could not preserve the relationship they now have with the liberation movement. That is why the content and orientation of Maistrenko "Vpered" does not repudiate their true name and from time to time clearly espouse Communist principles, and while in another organ, that of the ZPUHVR (which is influenced by the same -- Maistrenko) the same things are called by a more "soft" or more obscure term : socialism.

The followers of this orientation justify their lack of principle in different ways. Some basically changed their convictions in these questions and have become enthusiastic about socialist and even Communist social principles and accepted as their ideal genuine realization of those principles on the national basis, in the framework of an independent state. Others do not sympathize with Communist or near-Communist slogans, but at the same time they do not regard these slogans as a fundamental evil, with which one could never

SECRET

-4-

become reconciled. However, they do submit to such confusing suggestions as "the world is tending to the left" and "we live in an epoch when Communist slogans and ideas are victorious because they are the most progressive and most dynamic". They consequently conclude that our liberation struggle must go along with the prevailing wave in order to escape the fate of reaction doomed to death.

A third category follows the view common to the whole opposition group, which holds that because of total domination of all life by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine domination of all aspects and emanations of human thought, along with total destruction and exclusion of any other orientation the generations, which grew up and were educated in the Soviet system in the Ukraine, as well as in the entire USSR, are convinced that that doctrine is right and good and the only possible doctrine. Moreover, these generations it is held, are actually the active part of the nation, on which our revolution must be oriented. The generation which grew up in our circumstances and knows systems other than the Bolshevik system, are, it is held, but old remnants, while the West Ukrainian are undergoing brutal Bolshevik devastation.

This thesis leads those who have been victimized by it to a further consideration in the core of the Ukrainian nation, as well as of all the countries enslaved by Bolshevism for a long time, there is no sizeable element capable by its own, or borrowed ideas of concluding that the Marx-Lenin theory is false and wrong. If there are such people, they are very few percentage-wise and they can be regarded as a decisive policy factor for a revolutionary movement. A liberation movement must be oriented on the state, views and temper of large national masses, which masses are generally convinced that Communist doctrine in itself is good and correct. Therefore a liberation movement would not have great support among the broad masses, if a given movement should accept as a basis of its approach the negation of Communist theory and contrast it with a completely antagonistic program.

A revolutionary program and activity must seek ready soil in popular conviction widespread among the masses, rely on discovered conviction which already exist, and which can be used as revolutionary material because they are opposed to Bolshevism. This approach just described, which is held by the "opposition" states that precisely such a crucial foundation for an anti-Communist revolution can be found in the ever evident contradiction between Communist theory and Bolshevik practice, a contradiction sharply felt by the broad masses.

It is known that Bolshevik practice in all fields of life enrages the nation and is greatly hated. The essential characteristic of the Bolshevik reality is the unparalleled lying of the Bolshevik propaganda, which turns all the facts upside down. The Bolshevik lie is evident to all; it calls the most terrible manifestations of Bolshevik violence, exploitation, and poverty, the highest gifts and achievements; it is a most cruel and cynical insult and

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-5-

cannot but evoke the strongest feeling of hate and contempt. But the stand of the "opposition" draws the conclusion that the hate of Bolshevik practice and lying existing in the people does not apply to Communist theory; rather it is concentrated on awareness of the contradictions between Bolshevik theory and practice. Consequently this approach regards the so-called idealistic Communists as the most mature element for an anti-Bolshevik revolution. That is, those who were educated in a Bolshevik spirit; those who became enthusiastic about the ideals of the Communist program; those to whom Marxist - Leninist principles became a religion; those who regard the fight for the realization of Communism as their life-task; those who were disappointed in Bolshevik reality, and see it a "distortion", misapplication, or negation of Communist ideals. Understanding the horror of all Bolshevik practice, they are not disappointed in Communist doctrine itself, they believe more and more in its rightness. They hate the Bolshevik regime because it has been unfaithful to Communist ideas and makes use of them in order to cover up and excuse Bolshevik practice, the real aim of which is the preservation of the ruling clique. This approach holds that hatred of the regime creates in idealistic Communists an anti-Bolshevik attitude which is strengthened, and not weakened, by their firm faithfulness to Communist ideas. Having accepted the thesis that the ideal element within the generation born during the Soviet period is organized and educated in the Comsomol and the Communist party, this approach asserts that only among those elements can be found individuals who are fit for a leading role in the anti-Bolshevik revolution. In like manner, it is held that the anti-Bolshevik attitude of the broad masses applies almost exclusively to the regime and its concrete machinery of oppression and exploitation. The masses are less concerned with theoretical questions, walled within the confines of Communist doctrine.

Such views make up the foundation and content of the approach of the "opposition". This approach is based on the assertion that OUN and the whole liberation-revolutionary movement must change their program positions, reorient them in the direction of so-called idealistic Communism. In their opinion only then will our revolutionary struggle find acceptance among the masses educated in the totalitarian Bolshevik system. The followers of this concept, assert that nationalist program and slogans are quite unacceptable and incomprehensible to the national masses and opposed by active or potential-revolutionary elements. To carry on a revolutionary struggle with such "obsolete" slogans, means in their opinion, to hammer the head against the wall. Instead of this, the revolutionary impetus should be directed against the weakest spot of Bolshevism, which is the rift between theory and practice. The ideas preached by the Bolshevism can and should be turned against it as the strongest destructive weapon. Those ideas and slogans of Communism, which have not been realized by the regime and not compromised by it should be adopted, written on the standard of the liberation revolution, and defended; in their name Bolshevism and the Bolshevik regime should be attacked. The regime should be attacked because it has trampled and betrayed the ideas it proclaimed. This is the essence of the platform which the "opposition" tries to fix upon the liberation-revolutionary movement.

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-6-

Such a fundamental change in the basic program positions and the entire conception of the liberation revolution can be of a double nature. It is either genuine, or it maybe an unprincipled tactical manœuvre. Probably both motives function among its adherents.

In the first case, a real fundamental change in the basic program positions which define the main objectives of the movement amounts to its liquidation, in fact its replacement by another movement with another program. The real substance of this phenomenon would not be changed even if the personnel, the name, and the organizational system remained the same. For what is most essential in every political movement, is its objectives, how much it influences the internal development and future fate of the nation.

The changing of the program positions in the second instance is possible for a group which regards these positions as a tactical means only for the achievement of another aim, not as an actual definition of the real objective. If one treats the matter in such a way, the program positions of the movement would remain true in regard to the main point-- the gaining of state independence. All other parts of the program regarding the nature of the state and the social structure, would serve only as a label and as a means of gaining the sympathies of the masses, of mobilizing the masses for the revolutionary struggle. For the movement itself the declared program would be only spurious platform without any real binding forces. This approach to the matter is quite foreign and contrary to the spirit of OUN. In our opinion a program is a definition of the very aims of the movement; aims to be fostered and realized; aims for the sake of which we carry on the fight, for the sake of which the heaviest sacrifices are made. A program represents the fundamental, unchangeable positions of a movement, which bind above all its members. With regard to our own nation and the fundamental aims of our movement, we have an unshakeable ethical principle--the principle of truth. Its rejection or breach is identical with liquidation or killing of the movement.

If that problem should be considered only from the point of view of rational practicality without regard to ethic or the spirit of OUN, even then, in that case one would draw the same conclusion i.e., that inconsistency, lack of principles and falsification in basic program questions lead to ruin. The lie and deception are the main substance of the Bolshevik system. Bolshevism brought them full fruition and they cannot be improved upon by anybody else. The lie, as a propaganda technique for a political movement or system can have success only for a very short time; in the long-run its results will damage those who make use of it. If Bolshevism were not based on violence and terror, its very lying disposition would have caused its ruin long ago. The most successful weapon against Bolshevik

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-7-

system of lies, is the truth. The Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement is based upon truth and fights with the aid of truth; it gives an unconquerable strength to our movement, not only to resist the most cruel and most ruthless acts of terror and total liquidation, but also to launch a psychological attack against the enemy. The basis of the system of truth of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism is the principle that the aims and the slogans written on its standard are actually the essence of its existence, the objective of its activity and struggle. The OUN itself recognizes the same ideas and program principles which it proclaims and spreads among the Ukrainian people, with the same belief and certainty as to their truth and justice. And proof of this is which the OUN wages, a struggle constantly hallowed by the blood and sacrifices of its best fighters. Therefore the Ukrainian nation, in spite of all the devilish resources of Bolshevik terror and falsification has full confidence in its liberational Organization and follows its slogans. Any suggestion that the OUN give up the principle of truth, is identical with a request that the Organization itself destroy the basis of the confidence between itself and the entire Ukrainian nation and so bury the fate the Ukrainian national-liberation revolution.

Inclusion in the program of the liberation movement of the principles and assumptions of Communist doctrine, the bringing of our program principles near to those of the enemy, or evaluation of the doctrine of the enemy as correct, -- lead to the strengthening of the positions of the enemy on the program level, to the disarming of the liberation revolution, to liquidation of the ideological front of the anti-Bolshevik struggle and the surrender of the revolutionary forces to an ideological prison of the enemy. Obviously, Communist doctrine besides its intrinsic false tenets, assumption and slogans, adopted many outside elements of a general, humane nature. Therefore not all what it accepts is of its own and evil. Recognition of these principles which have a broad human validity and which have originated with various wholesome and noble theories and movements (and which the Communist have usurper) is also not identical with an ideological relationship with or borrowing from Communism, or recognition of Communism. But Communism has intrinsic principles, assumption, objectives and slogans which we reject completely as wrong and untrue suppositions, or pernicious and false tendencies which are fixed or arrived at because of inaccurate conclusions and results. Here we are concerned with the approval, imitation, or following of these intrinsic Communist components.

Bolshevism would receive best confirmation that Communist theory is irrefutable and perfect if our movement were to confirm it by its own

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-8-

actions. The Bolsheviks would not even have to point to the fact of ideological capitulation to Communism of a most hostile, Ukrainian national-liberation movement. That would be obvious to all people and it would very strongly influence all people. If a movement should take program positions analogical with typical Communist positions, everyone would conclude that the given movement recognizes the positions of the Communist the most correct and that it has no alternate or more perfect positions that it could contrast with Communism. In such a situation anti-Bolshevik struggle actually would not be a revolution in essence, but merely a purifying fight for the correction of mistakes and deviations made by the Bolshevik regime. Only some methods of struggle would then be associated with revolution, which methods alone are far from defining a movement as revolutionary. Then also the question of the propriety of struggle by revolutionary methods, which require great sacrifices, would be open to doubt.

The policy of seizing from the Bolsheviks the role of carrier and executor of Communism is completely unreal and hopeless, not to mention the basic evil itself. No one can deny or deprive the Bolsheviks of Communist primogeniture. They are in fact most ardent and determined carriers and propagators of Communist doctrine. All that they do, all their man-hating practices, they justify by one thing, by struggle for the realization of Communist ideas. If anyone wants to compete with them in this respect, he himself chooses a lost cause.

It is also impossible to hurt the Bolsheviks with the assertion that they use Communist doctrine and slogans as a cloak for their domination over nations and for further imperialistic expansion, that they have no intention of realizing the Communist program. This thesis has no convincing force, and the Bolsheviks can oppose it easily for the Bolsheviks actually are realizing Communism with a most severe ruthlessness and perseverance. It is an evident and well-known fact that they aim at domination over enslaved nations, at the creation of a greatest world power, through extreme exploitation of those nations and by the enlargement of their domain through seizure of more and more countries. But in so doing Bolshevism uses the Communist doctrine, program, and state-political and social system not only as cloak, but on the contrary, as a most useful instrument. The Communist system suits the Bolsheviks the best; through it they can very easily totally enslave and exploit to extreme limits the subjugated nations; it is the main instrument of their constant imperialist expansion. Therefore the Bolsheviks not only make use of the Communist doctrine, system and slogans, but propagate Communism with the greatest carefulness; they develop it, spread it, and wherever they take a step, they apply it universally, destroying everything contrary to Communism. The question of the relationship between passion for power and the Communist program that is, which is the aims and which is the means, is a purely theoretical problem. In practice the former combines with the

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SECRET

-9-

latter in a firm whole, each supported by the other. Therefore to all who on their own skin experience the horror of Bolshevism Communism and the entire system of Bolshevik rule and exploitation are one and the same. The assertion that the Bolsheviks actually are not concerned with the realization of Communism can neither activate the anti-Bolshevik fight nor create an attitude toward Communist theory different from that toward Bolshevism. Attack of Bolshevik practice only along with recognition of the Communist program as positive, has only one purpose: to point out the difference and contrast between Communist doctrine and practice. Against such attacks the Bolsheviks protect themselves beforehand in the following way: they call the current state of affairs but a stage on the road to Communism, not its complete realization. All that takes place under Bolshevik rule they describe as only a step closer to the realization of the aims of the Communist program. They themselves very clearly and consistently stress the difference between present reality, which they say is a stage on the road to Communism, and the ideal, which is to be realized in some future time. So they put the matter, in all aspects of their Socialist-Communist engineering. By this approach the Bolshevik regime wants to achieve several aims. Firstly, to preserve the Communist program as an enthusiastic, unattained ideal, un-stained by the grossly evil and dirty Bolshevik reality. Secondly, to have some excuse for whipping the subjugated nations to efforts, beyond their strength, and keeping them in unusual misery and extreme tension. The transitional stage leading to "the beautiful Communist future" serves as an excuse for all that. The third aim of Bolshevik tactics is to deprive of weapons in advance those who attack Bolshevism by arguments about the contradiction between Communist reality and the Communist program. Accordingly attack of Bolshevism only in this respect can have but a weak effect and cannot determine the main direction of psychological war against it.

The open and concealed followers of the national-Communist orientation, regarding an independent state with a Communist structure as their goal, see in Tito's Yugoslavia a model for such a state. This is the reason for their more or less evident positive attitude toward Titoism and for their connections with that state. The accidental support of Tito by the unprincipled policy of the Western countries gives arguments for propagating the thesis that the international political constellation creates favorable conditions for creating and preserving national-Communist states independent of and hostile to Moscow, but have an internal Communist structure on a national basis. Simultaneously the proponents of the national-Communist idea apply for a support from foreign forces which are temporarily interested in the rise of such movements. There is a speculation on a suggested thesis that the Ukrainian nation has been already influenced by the Communist doctrine to such an extent that only an ideology with a Communist program can have ground and influence within it, that only a national-Communist movement, which should be organized, can successfully oppose Moscow-Volshevik imperialism in the Ukraine. The support of foreign forces would give the isolated handful of the Ukrainian national-Communists in exile the status of an important

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-10-

political factor and support this groups endeavors to gain influence in the Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement, to dominate its ideological and political development. Titoism is a model for our national-Communist orientation, by its political radiation Titoism creates a suitable climate for the existence of the latter. The analogy with Titoism best characterizes the national-Communist tendency of the union Maistrenko-ZP alliance, phenomenon contrary to the nature and aims of the liberation movement and which must not strike root in the Ukrainian soil.

Tito seized power and introduced the Communist system in Yugoslavia as an exponent of Moscow Bolshevism. Only with the help of Moscow, by Bolshevik methods and means, he forcibly broke the opposition of the nations of Yugoslavia, creating a system of Bolshevik totalitarian terror and through it imposing the hated Communist structure. When later in his fight for power Tito opposed the Kremlin and split away, even then he was not in favor of freedom for the nations of Yugoslavia, for he did not change the system of terrorist oppression and enslavement. He merely has taken advantage of international developments and changed his political preference: instead of being a satellite of Moscow he accepted support from the Western bloc, because from that side his rule was less threatened than on the part of the Kremlin, which demanded unconditional obedience. Tito speculated on the hope that the Western countries will support his regime because he threw off the power of Moscow and separated himself from it. The matter in question is not the well-being of the nations of Yugoslavia, but the position of Yugoslavia in the game between Moscow and the Western bloc. Thus Tito can use Western aid intended for strengthening of his position against Moscow, simultaneously for strengthening his power at home and in combatting the freedom-loving aspiration of the nations enslaved by Tito's regime. Tito does not change the Communist structure, because that structure is a fundamental component of his totalitarian-terrorist system which was copied from the Bolsheviks, or more precisely introduced in Yugoslavia by craftsmen from Moscow.

The Western countries want to keep Tito as a model of independent Communist states and regimes, as proof that there is a place and support for such ones in the Western bloc. This model is supposed, by influence of example to awake and encourage Communist separatist tendencies in the Soviet bloc. In the policy of the Western countries it is only a practical, tactical action. Tito undoubtedly aware of this, but finding himself in this situation, he has his own calculations. These calculations may include the hope that the existing international order will last a long time without essential structural changes, thus enabling Titoism, or Communist, totalitarian Yugoslavia to remain in the Western bloc permanently. The second possible hope of Tito may be that in making use of foreign support at this favorable juncture, his regime will so succeed in liquidating its opponents inside Yugoslavia and in dominating the people that later, even if the external situation should be change and become unfavourable to Tito, be strong enough to survive. He may intertain still another variant - the hope that

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SECRET

-11-

during a change in the international situation his OUN regime and system will change in an evolutionary manner.

The history of Tito is far from being concluded and one cannot draw final conclusions from it; besides that is not the purpose of this review. We are not concerned here with the problem of the role of Titoism in the struggle between the USSR and the Western bloc. We are also less interested in the Tito's whole game and his exploitation of the international situation about which some people have become enthusiastic and because of which some have become sympathizers with Titoism, despite their negative attitude toward Communism, totalitarian dictatorship and all the practices, which have been taken over by Tito from Bolshevism. For our review Titoism is of essential importance in that we seek to know what good and what bad Titoism brought to the nations of Yugoslavia, which role it has played and plays in the development of the country. In this respect Titoism's role is criminal, like that of Bolshevism. In its first stage Titoism was a Traitorous espionage service for Bolshevism, a preparation and opening of the gates for domination of Yugoslavia by Moscovite Bolshevism, through the liquidation of the nationalist forces headed by (General) MIKHAILOVICH. The enslavement of the nations of Yugoslavia by the inhuman system of Communist oppression and totalitarian terror is equivalent to Bolshevik practice, both before and after the break with Moscow and is an unforgivable crime which cannot in any wise be excused. Bolshevik Moscow made Tito the hangman of the nations of Yugoslavia; he has remained such and continues to fulfill that role voluntarily, relying on the system of totalitarian terror created by the NKVD. Tito's Communism is equivalent to that of Stalin; they are only quarreling twins. The judgment of Titoism on the part of the enslaved-by-the nations enslaved by it is the same as that of Bolshevism; both of them deserve the same gallows.

The proponents of the national-Communism adorn their program with democracy. They allegedly are in favor of the realization of a Communist order in the Ukrainian state by democratic methods. This is supposed to remove the bad side of the Communist system as practiced by Bolshevism, thus making Communism the best political and social order which would assure the nation and all citizens of happiness and freedom. Such an alliance of Communism and democracy (regarding it as a real rule by the people, free expression and realization of the will of the people) is either a product of the misunderstanding of the nature of Communism and democracy and ignorance of the nature of the Ukrainian people, or conscious false propaganda similar to that of the Bolsheviks. Communism, in its fundamental premises and principles and not only in such or another system of its practical realization, is completely contrary to the spirit of the Ukrainian nation, the psychology of the Ukrainian individual, and the Ukrainian concept of freedom of the nation and of the individual.

The philosophy of the national-Communism leads to materialism and mechanism. It recognizes matter as the only reality in the universe and in all human life; and the principles of mechanism are considered the only motive forces and regulators of all the phenomena and processes in the life and development of man and human communities. One can idealize and correct the Communist system how much as he wishes, but its essence will

SECRET

-12-

always be some mechanical norm, the reduction of man to a role of a mechanical-functional element, the suppression of human will, creativeness, and human spirituality by collectivism, mechanical limitations and norms; the individual is thus deprived of a material basis and of the social and legal opportunity freely to build and develop freely his life. Communism ascribes the subjective role in the formation and evaluation of all the elements of life to an impersonal community, which is organized according to the following mechanical principle: according to the norm of the average, or still worse according to some doctrinal rule.

In the actual building of a social-political order Communist principles lead necessarily to dictatorship and violence. A mechanical community by nature cannot be the subject of the creative processes and desires of the individual and socialization is only a result of the subjective role of individuals. The reverse of that relation, the reduction of human individuals to a role of objects and the grant to the community of a subjective role, which it by nature cannot perform, leads to the seizure of the control and functions of all human activity by the government, which behaves as it desires behind the facade of the Community. This is the inevitable road to totalitarian dictatorship by the ruling group--be it a party, the state bureaucracy, or one of the socialized sectors of life. Violence is a characteristic feature of Communism. Communism is contrary to the natural struggle of man for freedom, and for complete individuality, for the right to run his own life, for creative work according to his individual characteristics, needs and desires. Human nature resists restriction by collectivism and the shibboleth of the "happy" Communist way of life. Thus the realization of Communist principles is possible only by means of violence, in a crude or refined but equally oppressive form.

Communism and democratic methods are incompatible and contradictory. The assertion that communism can be realized by democratic methods and in this way will become a most humanitarian system capable of making people and nations happy is the same lie used by the Bolsheviks when they promised the same things and propagandize all over the world that in USSR a real peoples democracy exists. The harmfulness in both cases of lying is the same, regardless of whether the authors hatch it according to a plan, thus deliberately lying, or whether they do not understand reality, and having been deceived by lies, proceed to deceive others.

Communism likes to lay claim to the terms nation, national, nationalization, as it does to democracy. This is done by Moscow Bolshevism as well as by those Communists hostile toward Moscow or the Stalin regime. But Communist principles are contrary to the nature of the nation as well as to democracy. Not only Bolshevik Communism, which in its imperialistic bent enslaves more and more nations, but also those Communist movements that reject Bolshevik imperialism and limit the sphere of their activity to one national state -- destroy the substance and growth of a nation.

SECRET

SECRET

-13-

All this flows from the above mentioned fundamental characteristics of Communism. What is most essential in the nation is its organic nature, spiritual unity of all its parts. The materialistic-mechanical definition of the national community negates the nation as such. Communist society represents the collectivization, limitation and restriction of man, his will and free development. The Communist collective and the free man are antitheses. All that man may and has to do, what he may desire, the limits of his development -- all these things are determined by the collective.

The relation between the nation and human individuals in our nationalist interpretation is entirely different. The individual is a creative subject, not a mechanical part in the life and the development of the nation. The better, freer, and more creative the members of the nation, the better off is the nation. The nation must provide and guarantee the individual the best conditions for universal individual development, expression and creation. To the individual the nation is not only a society formed for a better satisfaction of life's necessities. By his free efforts the individual satisfies his spiritual needs in a subjective manner, creatively participating in the life and the development of a national unit more permanent than his own life, a national unit with which he is connected organically; in this way the individual gives his life a higher value.

The Communist collectivism, which restricts man in all spheres of life, is opposed to the nation, in which man is a creative subject, and in which the freedom of individual development is a fundamental principle of the life. These features have special application with regard to the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian individual whose spirituality, personality, freedom and creative subjectivity are fundamental and very strongly developed elements of life.

This is not abstract definitions, but fundamental opposed active laws which inevitably produce entirely antagonistic results in practical life. All what has been said here in regard to Communism applies to all the kinds of Marxism, regardless of how they are called be it Communism, national-Communism, socialism, or what else. The differences among them in special questions are not of great importance, because their common philosophical postulates and program positions, if they consequently realized, lead to the same results which we see in practice in Bolshevism, Titoism, in Communist China. Therefore in evaluating Communizing movements or Marxist-Socialist tendencies related to Communism, one should not be deceived if the attitude of these movements is hostile toward Bolshevism. One has first of all to consider whether the fundamental principles of each orientation are contrary or equivalent to the principles of Communist doctrine. The most faithful realization of which is the Bolshevik system.

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SECRET

-14-

I am of the opinion that the discussion of the contradiction between nationalist and Communist principles when considering the ideological tendencies of the "opposition" is not inadvisable despite the fact that the "Opposition" does not admit the Communist character of its tendencies, which tendencies are contrary to the OUN platform. However no suggestion is made that the "opposition" adopts the Communist orientation in its entirety. We are concerned with reality. If in a basic program problem the theses of the "opposition" are contrary to nationalist but equivalent or related to Communist theses, this fact cannot be changed by name-calling. However, it is most important that we consider these matters from the point of view of the fight against Moscow-Communist Bolshevism, in which fight the ideological front is of a very great and decisive importance. Such a consideration by its very nature, must differ from an academic discussion of these problems.

Between two extremely antagonistic ideological systems there can exist, and often does, a number of transitional positions by which as on stairs, one can cross from one extreme to another, there being no great differences between adjoining steps. But in the most bitter and all-sided fight being waged between the Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement and Bolshevism an entirely different battle line exists. This battle is characterized first of all by an insurmountable front line and by fortified positions on both sides. In the ideological struggle all differences are sharpened, not softened. All forces participating in the fight join one side or the other and occupy fortified positions; they do not remain in the background. The main objective in psychological and ideological war is to destroy the enemy's positions morally to such an extent that they give no moral protection and support, as well as to strengthen as much as possible one's own ideological fortress, to protect it from enemy attack, to render it impervious to moral and political bombardment. Sometimes ideological war attempts to drive the enemy out of his own positions, to seize these positions and to made of them one's own fortress. Such strategy is out of place and dangerous if one has to leave his own fortifications in order to carry it out, and to fight close to the enemy's fortifications, in which the opponent is firmly entrenched. On the foregoing pages I pointed out that the plan of seizing the Communist program from the Bolsheviks and of attacking Bolshevism from those positions is completely unsuited for our anti-Bolshevik revolution. Each step toward Marxist, socialist-Communist program positions, creation of transitional bridges in various questions, under existing conditions means yielding to ideological pressure of the enemy, and not attacking him. The most essential thing in the stand of the "Opposition" in ideological questions is ideological collapse, lack of faith in the rightness of the ideology and program of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, and lack of faith in its efficiency in the fight against Communist Bolshevism. Because of this lack of faith there emerges, or is excused, the search for other ideas as the ideological basis for our struggle, a search in the direction toward Marxist theses. The bearers of this lack of faith and of this searching assert that they are strengthening not weakening the ideological front of the Ukrainian

SECRET

SECRET

-15-

revolution. But reality says otherwise. Because their very lack of faith desertion in itself of the nationalist ideological positions is an act of weakness, collapse; and the seeking of such support is still more proof of at least partial ideological capitulation to the enemy. For given the situation of the most bitter all-pervading fight between two antagonistic poles, the transfers of a particle from one pole in the direction of another is a manifestation of gravitation in that direction, regardless of the distance involved in the move.

We cannot view the position of the "opposition" indulgently, as unimportant deviation or aberrations. Firstly, because it is a manifestation on one of the most important sectors of the front it is subject to the rules of martial law. Secondly, here we have to deal not only with retreat from the OUN line by the "opposition" itself, but also with the "opposition's" efforts to win over the OUN and the whole liberation-revolutionary movement, to make the Ukrainian and the foreign world think that our movement has gone over to the positions which are represented by the "opposition". Finally the matter is aggravated by the fact that the "opposition" gained control of ZPUHVR and has made that organ an instrument for the realization of its efforts, with consequent serious results. The "opposition" through ZPUHVR tries to change the nature, the ideological content and the political orientation of the nationalist revolutionary-liberation movement, to undermine the movements strategic plan of national revolution.

We oppose these endeavors most decisively, regarding them as being extremely destructive to the liberation struggle. The ideological content of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism has not lost its value and strength on the contrary it has proved its stability and rightness in the test of the most difficult revolutionary fight. In our movement belief in nationalist ideals has not been shaken; these ever inspire new cadres of nationalist revolutionists and give them moral strength to continue the fight in the present conditions of difficult underground reality. These ideals penetrate larger and larger segments of the nation, attract them by their truth, indicate the glorious way to freedom, and draw the nation to active participation in spreading the revolutionary fight. Indications of ideological surrender which are concentrated in the "opposition", are a matter involving the falling away of weak or unreliable individuals. They are represent usual phenomena which always appear in the development of political movements, especially during the most bitter revolutionary fight. However, attempts to extend the disease of such ideological collapse to the hitherto untouched generality of nationalist personnel require decisive counter-measures.

We do not find a basis for the stability of the thesis of the "opposition", which alleges that the ideals and the program of OUN in their collision with Communist doctrine proved themselves weaker, or worse, at different points. On the basis of development in the anti-Bolshevik fight we have quite a

SECRET

SECRET

-16-

contrary conviction. It is precisely OUN ideals which give clear distinct content and direction to the national-liberation revolution and serve as strong attractive, mobilizing appeal. They form the most successful opposition to totalitarian Communist doctrine on the level of social-political ideas. The further development strengthening and spreading of the national-liberation, anti-Bolshevik revolution, require neither substitution, nor correction of basic nationalist ideas but their fuller development and propagation.

We regard completely wrong and destructive the idea that in combating Bolshevism one should separate Communist theoretical program from Bolshevik practice, in the sense of seeing the whole evil only in practice which does not correspond to Communist theory, which theory in turn cannot be denied at least some basic philosophical soundness. We regard Communist doctrine as the basic evil, which along with and in equal measure with Moscow imperialism bore and nourished the terrible Bolshevik system with all its inhuman practices. Bolshevik duplicity must be explained and condemned by attacking both theory and practice, showing that the theory leads to the greatest evil, cloaking and adorning its real aims with phrases. Without ideological defeat of Communist doctrine to its very fundamentals, there can be no real victory over Bolshevism and no victorious anti-Bolshevik revolution can develop. To attack only Bolshevik practice and to ignore Communist theory is useless as to cut only the tops of weeds instead of pulling them up by the roots.

Equally, operational efficiency, in order to draw the broadest national masses over to the ideals of the anti-Bolshevik national liberation revolution, requires all-sided, complete and persistent opposition to all the elements of Bolshevism: Communist doctrine, the Communist system and regime. We do not agree at all with the diagnosis of the "opposition", which holds that the hostility of the national masses towards Bolshevism is concentrated only in the practice of the Bolshevik system and Bolshevik reality, that this hostility does not extend to the rejection of Communist principles themselves which allegedly are regarded generally as right and good. This dualism in the attitude of the national masses has no basis. Bolshevik reality presents to the nation both Communist doctrine and practice in one and the same way. Both are imposed by the same methods of totalitarian compulsion and violence, with merciless destruction of all in any degree antagonistic. Both Communist theory and Bolshevik reality, in all their worst forms, are praised by synical, strange and lying Soviet propoganda as high achievement, progress and unusual accomplishment. All the practices of Bolshevik despotism, extreme oppression and pauperization or the national masses, the most terrible terror, are explained away by the Communist principles of building Communism according to Marxist-Leninist program. Thus also in the popular consciousness Communist theory and Bolshevik practice are one and the same thing. The same hatred which the people have toward all the practices of the Bolshevik regime and

SECRET

SECRET

-17-

and the Communist system is also directed not to a less extent toward Communist doctrine. In consequence of this, the understanding and sympathy of national masses can be gained only by a revolutionary anti-Bolshevik movement which also sharply condemns and fully combats the whole of the Bolshevik Communism, both its theoretical program and practical manifestations. On the other hand, unfounded separation of Communist doctrine from practice can only meet suspicion and disfavor of the part of the anti-Communist masses.

Reference to the circumstance that the middle and younger generations of the Soviet nations know no reality or social-political system other than the Communist one has no importance. For instead, they have a deep practical knowledge of Communism in all its forms and an extremely negative attitude toward it, caused by bitter experience. This deep hate of Communism in its entirety is the main element of the anti-Bolshevik revolutionary potential in the masses. They most bitterly experience the absence of the multifarious necessities of life, needs in no way satisfied by Bolshevik reality, and they have a natural sense of national-political and social justice and injustice. This is natural and fertile ground for the liberation-revolutionary movement. The task then on one hand is to give a program plan and organizational forms for broad liberation revolution, in which the national masses by practical application will overthrow the hated Moscow occupation, the Communist regime and system. On the other hand the national liberation movement must give the nation a new positive program for a better and more just society and for development of life in an independent state, according to the natural needs and desires of the entire nation, of all its parts and every individual. The program of the liberation-revolutionary movement must be clearly opposed to Communism in its fundamental principles as well as practical postulates. This new program must correspond with and give a crystallized form to those general desires which live in the soul of the nation and of the individual man, at least in unclear outlines or in the subconscious. The revolutionary movement cannot be restricted only to what has ripened in the national consciousness; it must play a creative role, give ideals to the nation, determine program aims to strive for, plan the struggle and organize proper action. It will suffice if all that the liberation movement brings corresponds with the soul of the nation, its needs and desires; then the liberation movement will find recognition within the nation and will lead the nation in its historic aspirations. Such must be the role of the nationalist movement, such its historic purpose. But a preliminary condition is the crystallization of nationalist ideals unshakeable faith in these ideals and firm, persistent endeavor to realize them.

As in the question of consciousness of the Soviet masses, we reject the thesis of the "opposition" as to which element is to play a leading role in the liberation revolution and in the building of an independent state.

SECRET

SECRET

-18-

It is quite wrong to think that the same element which in the Bolshevik system is outstanding due to its dynamism and which makes up the leading stratum in the Bolshevik party and the administrative machine can also play the leading role in the anti-Bolshevik revolution that this element alone is able to do this because it includes all the most talented and most active people. Behind such a conclusion a superficial, mechanical approach to the matter is concealed. Talent and dynamism even in formal, free circumstances are seldom of a universal nature; usually these qualities have a set direction. These qualities can develop and freely appear either in conformity with Communist doctrine and the Bolshevik regime or in such fields of creativeness and work in which there are smallest possibilities of conflict with the line of the Communist party. In various non-political sectors many decent, excellent people can be found in leading posts. However, in those sectors where political moments predominate, such as the party and the state administration, two types of people prevail: convinced Communists and unprincipled careerists without any ideology, who for the sake of their own career are serving the Bolsheviks. None of these types can have a place, not to mention the leading role, in the anti-Bolshevik national-liberation revolution.

The question of personnel, particularly, of top persons, is most important for the development of the revolutionary struggle. Upon the personnel their moral standards and ideological proclivities depends the whole movement. To orient the anti-Bolshevik revolution on the attraction into significant participation of convinced, idealistic Communists, and Bolshevik activists is a manifestation of extreme stupidity, or deceitful deposit of the revolution into Communist hands.

The Ukrainian national-liberation revolution can depend only upon idealistic, patriotic and anti-Communist elements. Such exist in the Ukraine, many of them, despite Bolshevik destructiveness. They cannot be found among the party activists and in the Bolshevik state machine. Nationally useful anti-Bolshevik elements, including those as yet not associated with undercover activity in the national revolutionary underground are trying to do nationally useful work unobtrusively; at least they are trying to survive Bolshevik genocide concealing their real attitude with a cloak of passiveness, lack of interest, inability, and lack of knowledge. It is true that under present overt conditions imposed, or permitted by the Bolshevik system these elements are passive and seem dull. But it is a fundamental mistake to think that they are all that way by nature. Only Communism, the system of Moscow-Bolshevik enslavement and liquidation made them such or compelled them to pretend to be such.. Bolshevism does not allow them to develop the natural abilities many of them possess, to direct their activities as they prefer in a way which corresponds with their inner patriotic attitudes. Their unsilenced national conscience does not allow them to develop all their abilities to the advantage of the Bolsheviks, as it

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SECRET

-19-

is done by Communists and careerists.

The Ukrainian revolution must first of all destroy these manacles. The revolution will open to innumerable valuable individuals a large field for full development and expression of their natural abilities, concealed energy and dynamism. The ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the great achievements of the Ukrainian revolution will awaken deeply suppressed, dormant, and sublimated energies and the noble qualities of Cossack descendants. The plough of the revolution will plough up all life and what is most important it will bring to the fore new forces, new talents, new leaders and activists. The organized underground cadres of the Ukrainian nationalist movement must by their nationalist ideals their revolutionary struggle and by planned liberation activity produce and direct a universal chain explosion a general national revolution, which through its ideals and dynamism will embrace larger and larger national forces. We believe and know that such a revolution is possible, and that it will develop under proper conditions, that it certainly will come. All our activity is directed toward the preparation and organization of this revolution. The cadres of the Ukrainian national-liberation revolution include today and will be joined in the future, on the largest scale, by those elements which bear in their souls extreme hostility and hatred toward Moscovite enslavement, toward Bolshevism, toward Communist doctrine and its realization in the Bolshevik system by those who burn with patriotic love of the Ukraine. The main task of the military and political struggle of OUN-UPA at the present time is to awaken the dormant anti-Bolshevik revolutionary potential in the Ukrainian nation, to mobilize and activate for the liberation struggle all those who have already a proper attitude or bases for such an attitude. The leading element and main activist cadres of our revolution are and will be the Yaremas of current anti-Bolshevik reality, those who have been made slaves by a hostile system or have been compelled to conceal and to mask their real national-patriotic feelings in various corners and in different sectors of Bolshevik life. These Yaremas will become Halaidas in the process of the development of the national revolution, and this will come about only by clear ideas of Ukrainian nationalism, through the basic philosophy of the national-liberation revolution, by the uncompromising destruction of Muscovite tyranny and of Communism in the Ukraine, and by the uninterrupted struggle of the nationalist liberation-revolutionary movement.

Such is and must be the fundamental aim and plan of our movement. This is a platform completely DIFFERENT FROM THAT INSINUATED BY THE "opposition" which rejects Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism and which regards our movement only as a base of force and action, in order to draw our movement over to where the opposition itself gravitates, to "the achievements of the October revolution", and to the "leading and dynamic" cadres reared on Communist doctrine and in the Bolshevik system. We have here two cross-roads which lead to quite different aims. Although at the cross-roads the route of opposition is also marked by the same sign the "Ukrainian National Revolution", an "Independent United State" still this sign is but a fraud, or self-deception, because that way does not lead and never can lead to that destination.

SECRET

-20-

In the sphere of active policy abroad, ZPUHVR also follows a line completely contrary to the independence oriented policy of the OUN. Its political practice amounts to unprincipled orientation on the USA at a time when American policy with regard to the Ukraine and other sub-Soviet nations clearly follows the direction of supporting pro-Russian "one-and-indivisible" conceptions and Moscovite imperialist forces, completely ignoring the liberation struggle of the Ukraine for state independence.

The present political situation is very important because of far-reaching developmental consequences of the orientations now being established. It is a time for the crystallization of ideological and political fronts in the duel between USSR and the Western Bloc. Now particularly are crystalizing the political concepts and plans of the Western countries with regard to all Bolshevik-ruled territory; there is taking place an evaluation of all tendencies and forces in this territory. Positions toward these forces are being taken and slogans for every nation in case of war and plans of the future post-Bolshevik order are being prepared. Future development will to a great extent depend upon the result of this process. The Ukrainian nation itself, its determination and the strength of its fight for full state sovereignty, will play the decisive role.

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