

SECRET

TO: The Chief Editor of Za Synim Okeanom

New York, U.S.A.

Gdansk, 1963

Dear Comrade Editor

I probably am one of the earliest readers of your esteemed magazine, Za Synim Okeanom. I read it not only with great interest but with real pleasure as well. It is very good that your magazine is there abroad to present in a true light the situation in the Soviet Ukraine and in the emigration. I would like also to emphasize that your magazine's standing is very high due to its contents, style and level, and you are to be congratulated on that. You comment particularly wide on politico-cultural problems and on relations between the emigration and the Ukraine. With your permission I should like, however, to direct your attention to another problem which should be of great interest to our readers in Poland and in the Ukraine. I have in mind the idea of starting in your magazine a new political discussion on the present misunderstandings between the USSR and CPR. These matters are of such importance that they deserve to be widely and properly discussed. It seems to me that your magazine is suitable for the discussion of this problem in all its aspects, including also the position of those Ukrainian Communists who are not going to undersign blindly everything which is done by Comrade Nikita Sergeyvich Khrushchev and the present CC CPSU. I also belong to those Ukrainian communists, though I live in Poland. This does not mean, of course, that I approve of everything being done by Comrade Mao and the CC CPC. However, I am inclined to seek for the

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truth somewhere in the middle. It seems to me, that both sides indulged in serious mistakes and both sides are right on many issues; and, therefore, only by combining and uniting the just positions of both sides can we find the way toward solution of the conflict and farther strengthening of communism.

Allow me first of all to point out some one-sided, rather vague and subjective and unjust accusations directed by the CPSU against the CPC. Until recently, I too agreed with these accusations but after having become familiar with the position of the CC CPC, I had to change my opinion in favor of the CPC in spite of everything. Let us take, for instance, the question of peace and war and look at it from the point of view of further extension of communism. The CC CPSU claims wrongly that the CPC relies only on war as the instrument of world revolution. Now I am convinced that the CPC considers war only as one of the possible and extreme means which cannot be excluded, and this is absolutely right, in my opinion. To assert that because of thermo-nuclear weapons war is completely impossible is not political and inconsistent with reality. The same applies to revolutions and upheavals. The CPC does not exclude the possibility of peaceful take-over of power by communists, but it points out simultaneously that so far there has been no such precedence in history. The position of the CPC entails all possible varieties of struggle, including revolutionary and warlike methods, and it quite rightly demands that the problem of war to be approached not from the angle of fear of the atom bomb but from a Marxist standpoint by classifying wars according to their class-nature. It is difficult to disagree in that with Chinese Comrades who

are against war as much as all other communists but they are not going to resign from it if it will be mandatory for the interests of communism. They also rightly point out that wars on smaller and larger scales are always being conducted but this does not mean that they will lead automatically to a nuclear war. The fact of the superiority of communism in its relations with Capitalism is the best guarantee of the incapability of the latter to blackmail us with war as it was the case when capitalism possessed a predominance in atomic weapons. One has to take into account this fact. Most important, I would like to stress again that our attitude to war -- consistently with the position of the CPC -- has to be determined not by the kind of arms employed in war but by class-character of a given war. Should we approach this problem differently, then this will have nothing in common at all with Marxism-Leninism.

Another problem: The liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa, and South America and their role in world revolution. It is difficult not to agree with Chinese Comrades who clearly follow the path of Lenin by pointing out the significance of those continents for the cause of world communism. And it must be clear that support of the socialist block has to be directed to further strengthening of revolutionary processes in them and not towards strengthening of those elements which are now and will be even more so in the future the basis of reaction and counter-revolution. One also cannot justify the fact that the CC CPSU has broken a series of economic agreements with CPR to the detriment of the latter, and just at the time when the CC CPSU was simultaneously helping bourgeois governments who

still put communists in jail and kill and persecute them. Such a position of the CC CPSU is difficult to reconcile not only with Marxism-Leninism but communist morale and common human logic in general, and rightfully one has to discern in such a policy some great power chauvinistic combinations which have nothing in common with the cause of world revolution.

Since we are on the problem of great power chauvinism, I think it advisable to point out that this question also merits discussion in another aspect, i.e., not only in the aspect of internal relations within the socialist block and its relationship with the countries of Asia, Africa, and South America, but also in the aspect of internal relations in the Soviet Union itself. Just recently I had opportunity to talk to people who visited Kiev and other cities of the Ukraine. They confirmed that which I knew before, i.e., that the CC CPSU not only tolerates but deliberately supports Russian great power chauvinists. The present course of the CC CPSU in nationalities policy has nothing in common with either the friendship of peoples or with sovereignty of the Soviet republics, nor with the Leninist solution of the nationalities problem. Chinese comrades have pointed rightfully to the danger being engendered by the efforts of comrades from the CC CPSU to get an upper hand over, and dictate to other communist parties and socialist countries by means of dictatorial and arbitrary methods. Under the circumstances, when the comrades in Moscow indulged themselves in serious deviations from Marxism-Leninism, such efforts on their part are doubly dangerous for the whole communist movement. I think that solution to the problem is to be

SECRET

found not only in putting relations within the socialist block on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect, agreement and coordination between the parties and governments, but above all, in application of those principles in the Soviet Union itself. Efforts to Russify the Ukraine and other non-Russian peoples do not only constitute a deadly threat for Ukrainian and other non-Russian working masses, but they also mean weakening of the whole communist movement. Continuation of errors from the time of the cult of personality perverts the Soviet Union into a representative of Russian great power chauvinism - as it was mentioned by Chinese Comrades - and deprives it (the Soviet Union) of being an example for other socialist countries.

As I said in the beginning, I do not agree with everything asserted by the CC CPC. I think, for instance, that their wholesale justification of the cult of personality practiced by Stalin - is not right. But here I nevertheless have to agree with them that Stalin was not to blame for everything and it is not party-like to shift all the blame from themselves to Stalin's shoulders.

Neither can one approve the position of the CC CPC toward Yugoslav and Albanian comrades. In essence, the condemnation by Chinese comrades of the policy of Comrade Tito is inconsistent with their demand for normalization of relations inside the Socialist bloc on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and national identity of socialist states and communist and workers parties. One cannot also justify all that is now going on in Albania which has become an embodiment of all the worst features of the cult of personality.

I don't know whether you agree with my conclusions. Nevertheless, I should be grateful to you for printing them on the pages of your esteemed magazine.

Sincerely yours,

P.S. Inasmuch as my name here would not mean anything, you may publish my letter signed only with initials.

українським і іншим неросійським трудящим мас, але й послабленню цілого комуністичного руху : продовження помилок з часів культу особовості перетворення Радянський Союз не у взіреть для інших соціалістичних країн, але навпаки - робить з нього, як не правильно підмітити китайські товариши, - речника російського великодержавного шовінізму.

Як я вже згадав на початку - я не підписуюсь тез під всім, що твердять ЦК КПК. Урачаю наприім., що їхнє всестороннє виправдування культу особовості, практиковане Сталінін - не є правильне. Але тут мушу з ними погодитися, що Сталін не робив всього сам і не по партійному є спихати всі помилки з себе самих тепер на Й.В.Сталіна.

Не можна тез сувалити становища ЦК КПК до справи югославських і албанських товаришів. В сути справи, засудження китайськими товаришами політики тов.Тіта протиричить їхньому твердженню про потребу нормувати відносини внутрі соціалістичн блоку на базі взаємного респекту для суверенност і самобутност соціалістичних і комуністичних та робітничих партій. Не можна тез виправдати того, що дється зараз в Албанії, яка стала просто оплоченням всім нагірних предмет культу особовості.

Не знаю, чи Ви погодитесь з моїми виводами. Буду Вам все т таки вдячний, якщо помістите їх на сторінках Вашого цінного часописьма.

З правдивою повагою до Вас

П.С. Поскільки моє прізвище є тут без значення, можете помістити мене доне тільки з ініціалами.