

Chief, Foreign Division M

4 April 1951

Chief of Station, Karlsruhe

Operational/AERODYNAMIC

Progress Report #3, SUCHASNA UKRAINA

REFERENCE: MCMA-5130

1. Attached herewith is the February 1951 critique and financial accounting for SUCHASNA UKRAINA. All information to date from the CASSOWARIES and from independent Ukrainian sources pronounce the paper a very decided success and a new force to be reckoned with in the emigration. CASSOWARY 4 reports that the subscription list is growing constantly and that only 60 copies of the 6th issue were left in the archives of the newspaper office. After distribution of issue number five, 400 copies remained in the administrative offices. Therefore, the editors feel that serious consideration should be given to increasing the bi-weekly tirage to 10,000 copies. The increase in tirage, when financial approval is received, would be gradual i.e., several thousand more the first month, several thousand the next month, etc.

2. Attachment B is a summary, in Ukrainian, of the main articles which appear in the 6th issue of the newspaper. Three copies of issue number 6 are also included as Attachment C.

3. Attachment D is the Ukrainian summary of the leading articles appearing in issue number 7 of the newspaper dated 2 April 1951. Three copies of issue number 7 are included as Attachment E.

4. Attachment F is an English summary of the lead article in issue number 7 of the paper. The article appears on the first page of the issue and is entitled Organizational, Political and Social Platform of the ZP UHVR. The article sets forth the legal basis of the ZP UHVR, and its strict adherence to the platform of the UHVR in the homeland. The platform is based on democratic principles and guarantees freedom of thought, religion, world-outlook, equality, etc. All minorities are to be equal to Ukrainians before the law. The ZP UHVR comes out against privileged individuals or classes, guarantees the individual's right to labor, and guarantees free forms of agriculture, trade and industry. The platform of the UHVR will be accepted or modified by a universal free Parliament of Ukrainian peoples after the war when elections are possible.

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ATTACHMENTS:  
 A, B, C, D, E, F, As described above.

10-6-3-1014

ATTN: A

Observations on the Budgetary Expenditures of SUCHASNA  
UKRAINA for February, Numbers 3 and 4.


Editorial Comments: The political line of SUCHASNA UKRAINA is clear to everyone. It defends the interests of the Ukrainian liberative front as the sole spokesman of Ukrainian liberative politics. This line is expressed in such articles as: The U.S. of America and its Allies (issue #3) and For the Acceptance of Internal Politics (issue #4). The former article criticizes the position of European politicians who are day-dreaming all over "Neutral Europe". In our estimation such tendencies should be fought since a "Neutral Europe" is a threat to the existence of a free world in general. We should point out the very recent endeavors by certain English circles in conversations with Ukrainians relative to the establishment of "European solidarity". In view of London's actual political tendencies, this means a weakening of the yet unestablished front of free peoples. Therefore, SUCHASNA UKRAINA as the spokesman of the UHVR must adopt a critical line toward such endeavors.

The article For Acceptance of Internal Politics signifies the transmission of the accent of emigration politics from the field of arguments over competencies to the service of the fighting homeland. The article signifies the preparation of the public for further requirements to stop, in general, dealing in matters of competency. Other articles follow the above general line. The general response has been quite positive and the newspaper, despite the overt and secret campaigns against it, is gaining readers. We have many letters of acknowledgement and containing the announcement of new collaborators. This however does not gain us our goal which is the widening of our circles of collaborators and readers and in general to change the tone of the whole Ukrainian press in which slanders take the place of discussions and the lack of arguments is made up by threats. In this sense, the newspaper has made good progress in influencing the Ukrainian press.

Administrative Comments: In selling the paper we have encountered only an insignificant number of refusals and we have new information from which we can deduce who is seriously subscribing to the paper and who is taking it only temporarily. Meanwhile, the number of each edition is not increasing but the addresses to which the paper is being sent are being changed. On an average 4,600 copies are sent out by mail so that only 400 copies remain for the administration. Following are distribution figures for the important countries:

USA	1351
Canada	727
England	872
Germany	480

These are not the final distribution figures because in the past weeks the currency of the Ukrainian question in foreign countries, in the American press in particular, and the tour of ZP UHVR members have not yet affected the distribution of the paper or the number of copies printed. We have perceived considerable support especially in England and Canada, firstly from Bandera circles and secondly from MELNYK and KUK circles. In any event, the success



of SUCHASNA UKRAINA to date has been considerable.

Budget and Expenses: Personal expenses remain practically at the same figure (4,757 DM), administrative expenses have fallen to 5,663.92 DM (6,485 DM in January 1951). The reduction in expenses can be explained by the decrease in costs for printing and photographs. However, it should be pointed out that paper costs have increased by 25% so that the costs of printing future issues will be greater.

We cannot yet calculate the rate of income because to date we have received money credits only from Canada (\$120), USA (\$157), France (6,000 fr.), England (25 pounds) and Switzerland (25 fr.). These first returns do not give a clear picture of the whole. The amount from America comes from subscribers and does not include newsvendors.

A further reduction in expenses could be achieved if we could get paper from IRO. The IRO paper is divided amongst the old licensees and nothing is left for SUCHASNA UKRAINA. We are making efforts in this sphere.

Plan for the future: In the general editorial line we must accentuate our solidarity with the American conception of politics in the East. By our way of thinking, the Soviet threat can create a dangerous illusion in Europe to the effect that war can be averted by not irritating Stalin or by decreasing the tempo of re-armament. Naturally, it is not a matter of accentuating the necessity of war (although that is our conviction) but of fighting dangerous semi-pacifistic tendencies. When it is a question of the Ukrainian political line in the emigration, we will push a line generally identical with the American view: we will not fight if Europe is going to stand on the sidelines. In practical terms this does not signify the cessation of the struggle in the Ukraine but a refusal to strengthen it to the degree of a general rebellion merely to relieve Europe for a short time. In this same area, we must struggle against the tendencies of certain European politicians who are trying to draw the emigres of various countries into a neutral game. We do not believe in the possibility of neutrality (at our expense) because the world is one and indivisible. It is possible to understand our complaints against the politics of Washington because of its unclear line (Voice of America and the influence of Russian re-actionary-imperialistic circles) and it is important for us to bring about a change along a line advantageous to us without our having to resort to promises from Paris or London. However, we must reckon with the fact that amongst Ukrainian groups there will be some who will adopt such a line but this will only be a clarification and not a weakening of the fighting front. In the future we will come out critically vis-a-vis the Voice of America and will ask for the creation of an independent Ukrainian section. The Voice of America is more important than it would seem on first glance because it presents the attitude of Washington toward the Ukrainian problem. It should not be forgotten that the Voice of America is listened to in the Ukraine which is the sole center of active resistance in the whole USSR. In one of our future editions we will print Poltava's letter to the Voice of America transmitted by the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the State Department.

The building of the publishing apparatus is going slowly because some of

the candidates for collaboration are hesitating, for others we are still fighting. The difficulty lies in the fact that the majority of people concerned are in bad financial condition or living in other areas of Germany from which it is difficult to move them to Munich.

In view of the continuing increase of interest in our paper, we are thinking of increasing the monthly tirage by 10,000 copies. This would increase the monthly costs by:

Paper	900 DM
Printing	600 DM
Mailing costs	900 DM
Other	100 DM
Air mail	<u>840 DM</u>
Total	3340 DM

Accounting for February 1951 (Issues 3 and 4)

I. Personal Expenses

a. Director - WRECHIONA	750 DM
responsible editor - STACHIV	350
Administrative editor - BUTKOWSKI	350
Editor of internal politics - REBED	350
Editor of Military Affairs - MARTINETZ	200
Editor of Russian Press - PRIWA	200
Literary Editor - PODOLYAK	250
Translator - STUDINSKI	150
Corrector - MANASTIRSKI	180
Administrator - MARTSYUK	300
Cashier - FEDKO	200
Librarian - IVANISHIN	200
Dispatcher - VORON	200
Typist - RENTA	200
Contributing Authors	200
Correspondents	200
File Clerk - IVANISHINA	150
b. Social Security for the group	<u>327.82</u>
	Total
	4,757.82 DM

II. Production Expenses

Printing	issue #3	1,200	DM	
	issue #4	1,200	.....	2,400
Paper	issue #3	310		
	issue #4	305	.....	615
mailing	issue #3	465.25	.....	
	issue #4	441.36	.....	906.61
Photographs	issue #3	94.35		
	issue #4	28.30	.....	122.85
Correspondence				68.14
Printing Addresses				.....
Foreign Press				50.80
Office Supplies				303.05
miscellaneous				113.52
Rent				280.00

Light	50.00
Telephone	26.95
up-keep of Office	50.00
Building Guard	4.00
Air mail	<u>672.00</u>
Total	5,663.92
Grand Total for February	<u>10,421.74</u> DM

III. Total Accounting to Date (thru February 1951)

Total for January 1951 .....	21,419.79 DM
Total for February 1951 .....	10,421.74 DM
	<hr/>
Grand Total thru February .....	31,841.53 DM

Att. A

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