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PROCLAMATION OF THE UPRISE TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Ukrainian People!

By unleashing a revolution, you, the Ukrainian people established with your finest sons a Temple of Freedom in 1917-1918, the Ukrainian state, on the ruins of the imperialism which for centuries denied you this freedom.

Winds ruffled your victorious flags and banners over all towns of the Ukraine. Kiev, Lvov, Chernovtsy and Chast were proud of their flags. These same flags fluttered over and led the young Ukrainian Army in battle against the fleet of the Black Sea.

Your century-old enemies ruined your Holy Temple but You, Ukrainian Nation, gathered it to Your soul as the sacred heritage of Your ancestors. In the course of the last years of battle for the freedom of the Ukraine, and for an independent government, you have made a million sacrifices.

And now it is the fifth year that the war has been raging, shaking the Ukrainian land with the enemy's troops.

Not for Your freedom do the imperialists wage this fierce war. They bring You only ruin, enslavement and death. But You have not let yourself become enslaved. Instead, You manifested an unshakable will to live an independent life on Your own land. To guard this will, You deployed—from the hills of the Carpathians to the Don and the Caucasus—armed cadres of your own sons—the UPA.

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Ukrainian People!

The period of unceasing national revolutionary struggle for the enslaved people of the East and West who are trying to build a free way of life on the ruins left by the imperialist enemies is at hand. The Ukrainian people is entering into a decisive period of its liberation struggle.

Let the present day Ukrainian generation know that it will be its duty to achieve, through a heroic struggle, the establishment of the Ukrainian government. This gigantic task requires more perseverance than in the past, greater faith in the affairs at hand and most of all, a centralization of all liberation and revolutionary might in one political leadership.

Therefore, in order to unify all national-liberation struggles of the Ukrainian people, in order to direct the struggle from one center, in order to represent before the outside world our political will and in order to oppose the endeavors of the enemies of the Ukraine to have one independent Ukrainian front, the UNVR has been created. From this day on the UNVR assumes command of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

In the UNVR there are united the representatives of the liberation and revolutionary might as well as various political groups from all over the Ukraine which recognize the platform (of the UNVR) and the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for an Ukrainian independent Government.

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The UNVR is the highest unified executive organ of the Ukrainian People during their revolutionary struggle and until such a time as the Ukrainian Independent Government has been established.

The UNVR swears to you, Ukrainian People—

—to fight until you, Ukraine, will be master on your own land.

—to fight for a just social order without oppression.

—to do away with serfdom and establish free labor for the peasants on their own farms.

—to permit freedom of work for the working population.

—to permit wide freedom of initiative for the working population, in all phases of the economy.

—to allow the spread of Ukrainian National Culture.

The UNVR dedicates for these ideals its work and its life.

The UNVR calls upon all Ukrainians who live outside the Ukraine to work in behalf of the liberation of the Ukraine.

The UNVR welcomes the struggle of other enslaved nations and people for their liberation. With them, our neighbors, the Ukrainian people desire friendly co-existence and cooperation in the struggle against the common enemy.

Ukrainian People!

We are aware that the liberation struggle requires heroism and sacrifices of blood, but most of all it requires a strong belief in our truth. We believe in Your creative and constructive strength because only these factors are a guarantee of our victory. We believe

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that our fatherland will not be ashamed of us.

The heroic struggle of your ancestors and memory of their brave, supreme sacrifices for Ukrainian statehood--this should serve as a command to You. It is for this reason we are calling to You: Join in the fight for Your freedom and for Your own government. Unite in the fight. Strengthen Your beliefs.

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June 1944

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PRESENT STRUCTURE OF THE UNVR

I

General Basis of the UNVR

1. The UNVR is the supreme organ of the Ukrainian people in its revolutionary-liberation fight for a united independent government.

2. The source of power for the UNVR is the will of the Ukrainian people voicing the independence movement of all active members of the nation.

3. The UNVR:

- a) consolidates the common-political elements interested in independence for the Ukraine;
- b) coordinates the activity of politically active centers or groups;
- c) directs the liberation struggle by giving or setting the course of action of the Ukrainian governmental policies and directing the same.
- d) represents the Ukrainian people and their struggle for sovereignty to the outside world.

4. Members of the UNVR may be any active Ukrainian national in the service of the Ukrainian cause who recognizes the political platform adopted by the Assembly of UNVR and who is always ready to assist in the realization of the UNVR program.

5. The UNVR is composed of twenty-five members. The membership can be increased by cooptation via

- a) the Grand Assembly of the UNVR (Veliki Zbir) or
- b) by the presidium of the UNVR on the motion of the General Secretariat.

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6. Membership in the UNVR is terminated either by free withdrawal or resignation, or by expulsion by the UNVR.

7. For expulsion from the UNVR it is necessary to have a two-third majority vote of the Grand Assembly in favor of expulsion. During the period between the Grand Congress conventions the Presidium has the right to suspend the activity of any member until final action by the Grand Assembly at its next session.

8. Organs of the UNVR are the following:

- a) The Grand Assembly of the UNVR
- b) The Presidium of the UNVR with a President at the head
- c) The General Secretariat
- d) The General Court or Tribunal with a Chief Justice at the head
- e) The Comptroller Staff with a Comptroller General at the head.

9. The UNVR also operates in the form of a Conference of the UNVR which is headed by the President of the UNVR.

10. Activities of separate organs of the UNVR will be conducted according to the internal regulations confirmed by the President of UNVR in agreements with the Chief Justice.

11. Each organ of the UNVR can create separate commissions, bureaus, etc. in conducting their affairs.

12. The UNVR is located in the Ukraine. It is empowered to send its representatives to foreign countries.

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II

Grand Assembly of the UNVR

1. The highest Ukrainian legislative body during the revolutionary-liberation struggle for Ukrainian sovereign state is the Grand Assembly of the UNVR.

2. The Grand Assembly (Veliki Zbir) UNVR has the following functions:

- a) It resolves the basic laws.
- b) It resolves the basic political questions, decides the policy of the liberation movement and establishes the program and tactics of the Ukrainian people's struggle.
- c) It is the recipient of the activity reports of all individual organs of the UNVR.
- d) It determines the line of action for all organs of the UNVR.
- e) It chooses the president and seven members of the Presidium, the head of the General Secretariat, Chief Justice and General Comptroller.
- f) It administers the oath of office to the President.
- g) It accepts new members and confirms members accepted by Presidium.
- h) It expels members.

3. The ordinary sessions of the Grand Assembly are convoked by the President at least once a year.

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4. Extraordinary sessions of the Grand Assembly are called by the President--

- a) on his own initiative
- b) at the request of the Presidium
- c) at the request of the General Secretariat
- d) at the request of the General Comptroller
- e) at the request of one-third of the members of the UNVR.

5. The Assembly is opened by the President, and is conducted by a chairman chosen by the Assembly who convokes the members of the Presidium of the Assembly.

6. It is necessary to have at least one half the members of the Assembly present and voting in order to pass a law.

7. All Assembly business is decided by majority vote with the exception of expulsion of a member from the organization or decision to change the structure of the UNVR in which case a two-third majority is needed. For the dissolution of the UNVR it is necessary to have three-fourths members vote in favor thereof.

8. In exceptional cases the UNVR may decide certain problems without convoking the Grand Assembly. In such cases the principle of individual voting is employed.

III

The President and Presidium of UNVR

1. The President is at the head of the UNVR and represents the organization to the outside world.

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2. The functions of the President are:

- a) To summon the Grand Assembly-UHVR and open the session.
- b) To direct the Presidium UHVR as well as the Conference (Konferentsiya) of the UHVR.
- c) To confirm the General Secretaries selected by the head of the General Secretariat.
- d) To confirm the two members of the General Tribunal appointed by the Chief Justice.
- e) To confirm the two members of the Comptrolling Body proposed by the Comptroller General.
- f) To confirm foreign representatives of UHVR who have been appointed by the head of the General Secretariat at the request of the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs.
- g) At the request of the head of the General Secretariat, the President, may remove from office members of the General Secretariat.
- h) To administer the oath of office to members of the Presidium, the Head of the General Secretariat, members of the General Secretariat, General Tribunal and members of the Comptrolling Body.
- i) To recommend clemency.

3. The President is given the oath of office by the Chairman of the Grand Assembly of the UHVR during a meeting of the Grand Assembly.

4. The President, with the Presidium, is at the head of the UHVR and conducts all UHVR business between sessions of the Grand

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Assembly of the UHVR.

5. The Presidium is composed of:
 - a) President
 - b) Three Vice-Presidents
 - c) Four members of the Presidium.
6. The Presidium of the UHVR examines the political line, tactics and executive power of all organs of the UHVR and presents to them its own propositions and evaluation of political lines, tactics, etc.
7. The functions of the Presidium are:
 - a) To present its agenda for the convocation of the Grand Assembly.
 - b) To accept new members of UHVR proposed by the General Secretariat.
 - c) To suspend members of the UHVR from any membership rights.
 - d) To receive reports from the head of the General Secretariat, from individual members of the General Secretariat, from the General Tribunal, and from the Controlling Body. Time and manner of reporting are established by the Presidium in accordance to arrangements with the pertinent organs of the UHVR.
8. The Presidium meets with not less than half its members including the President.
9. In the event the Presidium cannot meet or take action, its functions, with the exception of dismissal of the Head of the General Secretariat, are to be carried out by the President until the earliest

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meeting of the Grand Assembly.

10. All decisions of the Presidium are decided by majority vote. When vote is divided equally on a point, the vote of the President decides the issue. In the event of a constitutional or political conflict, the Presidium has the right to request the dismissal of the Head of the General Secretariat. To do this, there must be at least two-thirds of the members of the Presidium present with at least three-fourths vote to carry the motion.

11. In the absence of the President, a member of the Presidium who has been chosen by the Grand Assembly as next in line to succeed the President will take over as acting President. The President selects his own assistant from among the members of the Presidium.

12. In the event of death, resignation or other unforeseen events, the functions of the President are taken up by the Presidium Collegium which is automatically composed of the three nearest successors or top of the hierarchy of the Presidium of the UNVR.

13. The Presidium Collegium is a temporary body and must, when it takes over the functions of the President, call a convocation of the Grand Assembly as soon as possible.

14. The President and the Presidium of the UNVR are responsible to the Grand Assembly.

IV

The General Secretariat of the UNVR

1. The executive organ of the UNVR is the General Secretariat.

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2. The General Secretariat is composed of the following:
 - a) The Head of the General Secretariat (Secretary General)
 - b) The Secretary of Internal Affairs
 - c) The Secretary of Foreign Affairs
 - d) The Secretary of Military Affairs and Commander of the Armed Forces
 - e) The Secretary of Finance and Economic Affairs
 - f) Other secretaries.
3. The Head of the General Secretariat is chosen by the Grand Assembly.
4. Secretaries of the General Secretariat are selected or appointed by the Head of the General Secretariat and are confirmed by the President of the UHVA.
5. More than one secretariat can be held by one man.
6. The General Secretariat presents an account of its activities to the Presidency of the UHVA.
7. The General Secretariat and all individual members of the Secretariat are responsible to the Grand Assembly to which they must present an account of their activity.
8. Disciplinary action can be taken against the secretaries of the General Secretariat by the Head of the General Secretariat and the President.
9. On recommendation of the Head of the General Secretariat, the President can remove a member of the General Secretariat from office.

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10. The General Secretariat operates as a collegium and decides issues, etc. by majority vote. In the event of a deadlock in voting, the vote of the Head of the General Secretariat decides the issue.

11. The Head of the General Secretariat may appoint a temporary replacement for himself in the event of his absence. This deputy or replacement must be chosen from among the members of the General Secretariat.

12. In the event the Head of the General Secretariat dies, resigns, etc., the President and the Presidium, General Tribunal, Comptroller General and members of the Secretariate choose a temporary Head of the General Secretariat.

13. The legality of government acts, etc. depends on the signature of the President and the Head of the General Secretariat.

V

The General Tribunal

1. The judiciary organ of the UNVR exists in order to preserve law and order in behalf of the UNVR. This executive organ is the general court composed of the Chief Justice and two members of the General Tribunal.

2. The Chief Justice is chosen by the Grand Assembly. The two members of the Tribunal are appointed by the Chief Justice and their appointment is confirmed by the President of the UNVR.

3. The General Tribunal is responsible to the General Assembly of the UNVR.

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4. In the event of death, resignation, or any other interruption of the functions of the Chief Justice, the President together with the Presidium, General Controller, Chief of the General Secretariat, and the members of the general court can elect a new Chief Justice.

5. The Chief Justice has the right to explain or interpret the structural problems of the UNVR and advise the President. The Chief Justice in his official capacity can comment to the President regarding adherence to the internal regulations of the various organs of the UNVR.

VI

The Controlling Body

1. The Executive controlling organ of the UNVR is the Controlling Body (Kontrolna Kolegiya) which is composed of the Comptroller General and two additional members.

2. The Comptroller General is elected by the Grand Assembly of the UNVR. The two other members are appointed by the Comptroller General and confirmed by the President of the UNVR.

3. The controlling body supervises the financial and economic activities of the organ of the UNVR plus the financial and economic policy of the General Secretariat.

4. In the event of resignation, death, or any other interruption of the functions of the Comptroller General, the President,



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Chief Justice, Chief of the General Secretariat, and members of
the controlling body choose a new Comptroller General.

The Ukrainian Supreme Council
of Liberation (June 1944)

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THE PLATFORM OF THE UHVR

I

1. The Ukrainian national-liberation movement, the struggle and resultant creation of an Independent Ukrainian Government in 1917-1921 spread national consciousness and strengthened the political activism of the Ukrainian masses.

With the fall of the Ukrainian Government as the result of foreign intervention, and the lack of internal unity among the Ukrainian national forces, it became easy for invaders to rule the Ukraine. This foreign rule was marked by unparalleled oppression, mass robbery of the Ukrainian people, conversion of the peasants and workers into genuine exploited serfs and the annihilation through hunger and terror of persons. This dreadful and inhuman plight has taught the Ukrainian people in the last twenty-five years that no foreign political and social structure can serve their purpose and that national sovereignty is the only guarantee of a normal and free existence, the development of the nation, of free culture and of spiritual and material welfare for the whole mass.

2. The present war between two totalitarian powers, Moscow Bolshevik and German-Nazist imperialists, is being waged in the first place for the establishment in the Ukraine of a suitable position to operate in the East and even in all of Europe. Both of these powers are enemies of the Ukrainian government. Both support the total

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colonial exploitation of the Ukraine and its people. Taking from the hands of the Ukrainian people all material and economic wealth, they drag them (the Ukrainian people) down to the level of obscure serfs. For this reason they are liquidating the leaders of the Ukrainian masses, combating national culture and consciousness colonizing the country with their own importations and either sending Ukrainians outside the borders or liquidating them outright.

3. This war is also weakening our enemies and is causing them social and political decay. This decay creates conditions and opportunities for a liberation movement of oppressed peoples and makes the latter's ultimate victory that much easier.

4. Therefore it is imperative that:

- a) in a situation of total war, the Ukrainian people must be safeguarded and its leadership and cadres must be saved from physical destruction;
- b) a battle must be waged for liberation and a sovereign government.

For the realization of this goal it is essential that the Ukrainian people be unified into an all-Ukrainian national front, organized to use all active Ukrainian national elements which aspire to attain a sovereign government and a central leadership.

Therefore with the initiative of the UPA, which was created during the course of the armed struggle of the Ukrainian people against the enemy, there was organized from representatives from all parts of the Ukraine and from all Ukrainian political centers, an all-Ukrainian central body called the ~~UWR~~.

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II

Aims and Tasks of the UNRA

1. To unify and coordinate the activity of all liberation forces of the Ukrainian people in all parts of the Ukraine and abroad for the national-liberation struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people and especially against the Moscow-Bolshevik-German-Hitlerite imperialists, and to create a Ukrainian Independent Government.

2. To determine what the ideological program of the Ukrainian people's struggle for liberation will be.

3. To direct the national-liberation fight of the Ukrainian people until such time that an independent government will be set up and an organ of the independent rule in the Ukraine is created.

4. To represent, as the supreme all-Ukrainian center, the present political struggle of the Ukrainian people inside and outside the Ukraine.

5. To bring to life the first Ukrainian Government and assume the first Ukrainian all-national representation.

III

The Basis of the Ideological Program

The preservation of national life, national unity and culture is the first and most important goal of any sound and healthy national organization. National sovereignty is the chief guarantee of the preservation of life and normal growth of a nation and the welfare of its people.

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Therefore the Ukrainian nation at this time must exert its entire strength in attaining and maintaining an independent government.

All politically active Ukrainian leaders must consolidate themselves in the struggle for an independent Ukraine, breaking aside any conflicting social or political questions which without the realization of an independent government have no real meaning.

The fight for an independent government can only be successful if it is fought independent of any political influence by foreign powers.

On this basis the UNVR proclaims the principles of its undertaking to be as follows:

1. The UNVR desires and will strive for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian government for all the land belonging to the Ukrainian people, utilizing a revolutionary struggle against all enemies of the independent Ukrainian people's sovereignty and especially against the Bolshevik and German occupants, and will cooperate with any other groups favoring such independence.

2. The UNVR is created on the principle that it shall retain full political independence from the influence of forces.

3. The UNVR is composed of all leaders of diversified political elements regardless of their ideological and political point of view who favor the sovereignty of the Ukrainian government and the independence of the Ukrainian liberation movement.

4. The UNVR adopts, for the unification of the Ukrainian forces of national liberation in their struggle for a Ukrainian sovereign

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state the following political-social platform:

- a) The securing of a people-democratic condition for the political structure of the Ukrainian government which recognizes the establishment in the Ukraine the means for a general people's representation.
- b) Guarantee of freedom of thought, of opinions and of beliefs.
- c) Guarantee of development of Ukrainian national culture.
- d) Guarantee of a just social order without any class oppression and exploitation.
- e) The guarantee of true justice in the Ukraine and equality before the law for all citizens.
- f) The guarantee of equal rights of citizenship for all national minorities in the Ukraine.
- g) The guarantee of equal educational rights to everyone.
- h) The guarantee of the right to select one's own type of employment, regulated in accordance with the requirements and needs of the whole nation.
- i) The guarantee of freedom in the selection of manner in which the land will be cultivated.
- j) Socialization of basic natural resources of the land, forests, water and minerals while transferring agricultural lands to the farmers for permanent use.
- k) Nationalization of all heavy industry and transport, transferring to the cooperatives all light industry and food and supply industries, and the right to form cooperatives among small manufacturers.

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1) The guarantee of free enterprise according to the limits of the law.

m) The guarantee of the right to own one's own shop, store, and other enterprises.

n) The guarantee of the right of both manual and professional workers whose interests will be protected by social legislation.

5. The UNVR conducts its fight for the Ukrainian sovereign state in collaboration with all enslaved peoples of Europe and Asia who are fighting for their liberation and who also recognize the right of the Ukraine to enjoy political independence.

6. The UNVR is striving for an understanding and amicable relations with all neighbors of the Ukraine. This friendship with neighbors of the Ukraine. This friendship with neighboring countries is to be based upon recognition of the sovereign rights of other powers within their ethnographic boundaries.

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