

KYIV

VERSUS

MOSCOW

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**Political Guidelines
Of The
Organization Of Ukrainian
Nationalists**

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Appeal To The Peoples Of The Free World

Below we are publishing an appeal by the Fourth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the most important Ukrainian national liberation organization — held in the Spring of 1968. The Fourth Congress of OUN analyzed the conditions in Ukraine, the development of the national liberation struggle during the last 25 years, reviewed the present international situation and worked out the political, ideological, strategic, organizational, cultural and educational tasks lying ahead of the OUN and the whole Ukrainian national liberation movement.

For the past forty years, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has led the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for national sovereignty of its homeland and against Soviet Russian subjugation. At its recent, Fourth Congress (Spring 1968), the Organization reaffirmed its determination and resolve to strengthen the struggle against Russian colonialism. Thereby, the forces of freedom and independence for all suppressed nations are strengthened.

We believe national independence and personal freedom to be the greatest and most basic of human rights and we appeal at this time to all peoples of good will to join with and support us in the pursuit of those rights.

I.

The period since the last World War has seen far reaching human progress. In spite of the fact that war, poverty and hunger still cast shadows over much of the world, there is an acute awareness among peoples of the efforts being made to put an end to want and fear. Most heartening is the growing resolve of humanity to persevere in this effort to improve and humanize the world.

It is precisely against this background of growing enlightenment, however, that colonialism and subjugation of nations appear in their true light as the most anachronistic and evil vestiges of a bygone age. A number of nations continue to suffer outright oppression and foreign domination. Imperial Russia failed to set free the nations held in her captivity, and worse, Moscow continues to press its relentless drive to colonize the world.

The world is witnessing all too clearly the reality of Russia's long-term plans for world domination. As a direct result, the reunification of the peoples of Germany,

The peripheral wars in the Far East and, more recently, aggression in the Middle East have been Russian instigated. Moscow has established a strategic base in Cuba, now serving as its foothold in Latin America. There are long established Russian bases in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean region.

Russia's peculiar world-viewpoint and way of life deny the integrity and rights of other nations if those rights do not serve her specific purposes at any given time. This Russian view of the world has not changed for centuries, save that through experience it is now practised with a high degree of sophistication.

II.

Contemporary Russian colonialism has its gravest and most direct effect on the non-Russian nations and peoples within the U.S.S.R. National oppression there is intense and thorough. By the size of their populations alone, such non-Russian nations as Ukraine present a threat to the Russian empire and they are ruthlessly suppressed in an effort to reduce the danger of organized or spontaneous resistance and struggle for liberation.

The methods of Russian colonialism within the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries and in other nations are practised under new camouflage, but they remain

basically unchanged. As in the case of Russia's foreign policy, sophistication is a new cloak concealing old objectives. This sophistication has become imperative in view of world public opinion and pressures from national liberation movements. Stalin's outright genocide still finds widespread application albeit in a changed form. In Ukraine, for example, Russia aims at the destruction of the Ukrainian nation by doing away with its leaders, its writers, its intellectuals. Obviously, deprived of leadership freedom forces become weak and frustrated. Forced deportations of young Ukrainian activists to remote regions of the Russian empire are designed to prevent any popular uprising and to support the Russification process. Blatant suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture amounts to genocide in that it attempts to silence the soul of the nation. Through the persecution of priests and the faithful, and the closing or outright destruction of churches Russia aims to make the practice of religion impossible. Russia surpasses all precedents in her denial of the fundamental right of nations under her colonial domination to national freedom and independence. Moscow is also trying to further its expansionist aims by taking over the vacuum created by the liquidation of other colonial powers.

That such is the present fate of non-

Russian nations under Russian rule is the clear responsibility of the Russian nation and its leaders. The twin ideologies of imperialism and messianism are indisputable Russian national traits. To change the fate of those suppressed nations, to grant them national independence, and to assure for their people the basic freedoms and human rights, is however, at least partly, the responsibility of the international community. The age has passed when colonial powers could dominate and exploit their subjects, both nations and individuals, without being challenged. The assertion that the denial of basic human rights to the captive non-Russian nations should remain an internal matter of the Soviet Union is indefensible. No government or any international organization can turn its back on the denial of human rights to any nation or people. Numerous publications and various communication media of the free world have recently carried unprecedented amounts of information dealing with this issue. Eye-witnesses have managed to convey first-hand reports of the situation, and there have even been those victims of national and personal persecution who have smuggled detailed reports of their plight to the outside world. Ironically, even some Communist parties operating in the Western world) were recently shocked at the degree of national oppression perpetrated*

in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the reaction in the free world to these facts of oppression has been weak, uncertain and at times bordering on indifference.

It is even more difficult to comprehend how governments and international bodies — not to mention public opinion — can continue in this day and age to tolerate such events as have recently occurred in Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia. Writers, intellectuals and other national leaders have been shot, imprisoned or declared insane for advocating national independence and human rights for all peoples. Free peoples of the world have not raised a strong voice in their defense. The anguished cries of the enslaved are largely ignored.

Undue fear of Russian power has paralyzed free governments of the world, causing them to maintain a strange silence. However public opinion aroused has, despite muscle-flexing by the Russians, a moral obligation to speak out on behalf of those who so eloquently and bravely demonstrate their dedication to basic human rights.

**) The Canadian Communist Party, for example, sent a delegation to Ukraine which returned convinced that Russification and national persecution of that country was clearly evident. Also the leaders of the Communist Parties of Italy and France expressed their dissatisfaction with Moscow's policies.*

III.

It is quite clear that Russian designs for world conquest and domination are rapidly moving forward. Russia hopes to conquer the world by inciting peripheral wars, such as in Vietnam, and by subversion. By exploiting the tactics of "peaceful coexistence" Moscow buys time for strengthening its economic and military power. By infiltration and subversion of free countries Russia disrupts popular governments and jeopardizes human rights in all free societies. After half a century of growth Bolshevism is now out of control and threatens the entire world. The prophecy of Lenin is taking rather ominous proportions.

Imperial Russia has been engaged in achieving a devious plan to frighten the peoples of the free world, particularly the United States, by means of the alleged "Yellow Peril" arising in turbulent Red China. Tales and truths related to the unparalleled conquests of Ghengis Khan are promoted in a propaganda complex which paints imperial Russia as gradually moving toward democracy. Hints are made that those who are free should not be critical of Russian aggression and despotism because an alliance between Moscow and free nations will soon be a necessity to save the world from the so-called "Yellow Peril". The same propaganda tactics were used prior

to the outbreak of World War II to bring about the "strange Alliance" between the major powers of the free West and Stalin's imperial Russia. The penalties paid by civilized mankind for this international fraud are great, including the unending cold war, and the hot wars, which now torment the free world. We must not allow a repetition of the greatest blunder of World War II. It is impossible to eliminate the secondary threat from Peking without first eliminating the primary threat from Moscow.

This threat can be stopped if greater attention is paid to the injustice which prevails in the captive, non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries. Through skilful, appropriate action on the part of the free world, the last surviving colonial empire would cease to exist.

In their constant quest for liberation, the non-Russian nations imprisoned by Moscow have developed various ways to undermine the strength of their jailer, including active and direct struggle against the Russian forces of occupation. As a rule, Ukraine has been in the forefront and has led such activities. This was true at the time when the new empire was being forged by Lenin, during Stalin's purges, and particularly during and after the Second World War when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(UPA) and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) engaged in open combat with the larger and well equipped forces of Russia. The major character of that struggle is underscored by the fact that the USSR, Communist Poland and Czecho-Slovakia were compelled to enter into a treaty in 1947 in which they combined their forces for the specific purpose of putting down the Ukrainian armed struggle for liberation. That struggle is still going on. Ukrainian and other captive non-Russian peoples have widened their struggle for freedom and national independence across the expanse of the Soviet Union, adapting their methods to prevailing circumstances to the point of being able to lead active resistance from within the confines of the vast complex of concentration camps.

The aims of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists deserve full support of all nations and international organizations believing in and working for justice and peace for mankind.

We hold:

— that justice is indivisible and that its equal application to all nations and peoples is mandatory for the preservation of human rights in the world;

— that Ukraine and other subjugated nations must by natural right regain their independence and truly sovereign status;

— that the colonial empire of Russia

must be completely and finally dismembered and that in its place the captive peoples be supported in their efforts to reestablish their independent national states;

— that democratic forms of government must replace Russian autocratic rule in all non-Russian nations subjugated in the U.S.S.R.;

— that a just social order with full national rights replace the tyranny of foreign Russian control, throughout the present Red empire;

— that upon the liberation of Ukraine and other captive nations they enter voluntarily into international economic, social, cultural and political cooperation so that a new world order based on peace with justice for all may be built.

This year marks the 20th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which numerous states affixed their signatures, including the USSR. We ask that integrity and life be poured into that document. Speaking on behalf of the struggling Ukrainian nation and appealing in the name of justice for all peoples and nations of the world, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists urges the full restoration of human rights in Ukraine.

Specifically we demand:

1) that all Soviet Russian occupation forces be withdrawn from Ukraine;

2) that basic human rights, as defined

in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be respected and put into effect in Ukraine;

3) that the Russification of Ukraine be caused to cease forthwith;

4) that writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, be released immediately;

5) that it be made possible, by whatever means necessary, to hold free and democratic elections in Ukraine.

An aroused conscience of mankind can find the ways and means to make these appeals reality. We believe the tragic human plight of several hundred million non-Russian people in the captive nations of the present-day Russian empire, when it is widely known, will prove to be sufficient to arouse that conscience.

We believe without reservation that the right of self-determination, i.e. national independence and human rights in general, cannot be ignored without serious consequences to the great powers as well as to the smaller nations. The world today is confronted with a spirit of defeatism, a defeatism which draws a dangerous parallel to that which prevailed some 30 years ago. That spirit went unchecked and the tyrants grew bolder with each passing month. The dignity of man was made a mockery, despotism was glorified and the world was

plunged into a terrible war. We must not permit that to happen again. The present spirit of defeatism must be replaced by the peaceful power of human freedom.

We recall the words of Winston Churchill, who spoke in unequivocal terms against appeasement and defeatism. He emphasized that if a nation will not fight when victory would not be too costly . . . "you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival . . . There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

It is our hope that this urgent message will reach all men of good will and that they in turn will be moved to join the struggle for the implementation of basic rights for all the nations and peoples of the world. The enslaved nations now silenced by the chains of Red Russia plead for their liberation. What is done in response to these pleas may well determine the future freedom of each country. The future peace of the world hangs on the balance as surely as day follows night.

Kyiv Versus Moscow

Political Guidelines of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Struggle against Russian Colonialism and Imperialism

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which was formed at its First Congress in 1929, has for nearly four decades spearheaded the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. Its aim has been and continues to be the restoration of Ukraine's national sovereignty and independence destroyed by Russian colonial imperialism which is masquerading at present under the guise of Soviet Communism and proletarian Marxist-Leninist internationalism.

The world is witnessing an unheard-of *imperialistic expansion by Russia* under the deceitful guise of Communism. Its aim is not only political, economic and military conquest of the world, but also spiritual enslavement by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the way of life of the imperialistic Russian nation. This includes an intrusion into the most intimate sphere — that of religious life. What is at stake at present is not merely the shifting of borders between the Russian empire and the rest of the world in this or that direction, but the question whether the world is conquered or liberated from this latest and most dangerous and pervading slave system.

The source of the Communist totalitarian ideology and policy of enslavement is Russia, where disregard for the liberties of the individual, brutal tyranny and lawlessness are not a recent development but the traditional style and way of life of Russian society.

Russian expansion and colonialist imperialism are nourished by age-old *Russian messianism* which in different times adopted different forms: at one time it was the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome, then the idea of Panslavism and defence of Orthodoxy, and at present the idea of world Communist revolution led by Moscow.

Modern weapons in the hands of Russian tyrants strengthen their self-confidence and audacity. They are also assisted by various forces in the West which persistently labour to strip the free world of all the values which made the free nations strong — namely: patriotism, religion, a heroic attitude to life, faith in lasting ideals and truths. These forces are instilling ideas and concepts of a new “classless” universal society. They further the idea that this society can be achieved only with the help and under the leadership of the Russians, because the foundations of this “noblest” and “most just” world order have already been laid, allegedly, in the Russian society. These circles form the

basis of Fifth Columns of Russian imperialism among the free nations. **Their** role is to combat free cultures of the world, religious values, and above all Christian faith.

The positions of the totalitarian Russian despotic empire are further strengthened by certain governments and circles in the free world who either support the indivisibility of the Russian empire or take a passive stand and endeavour to coexist with it.

Notwithstanding the growing internal conflicts and polycentrism among the Communists, the mould of modern Russian tsardom has been imposed upon 1,000 million people other than the Russians, spiritually, economically and militarily.

The main enemy of the free world is Russia, for Bolshevism is the original product of Russia. It is a mistake to consider Red China as the main threat to world peace and freedom. Russia is a well-armed and growing industrial power, capable of maintaining a world empire, while Red China still lags far behind. Russia possesses the geographical advantage of threatening all continents; Red China cannot be a real danger to Europe, Africa or the Americas for a long time to come.

The most consistent national, spiritual, ideological, political and social *opponent of Russia* has always been and presently is

Ukraine. Ukrainian philosophy and way of life are diametrically opposed to those of Russia. At the outset it was a conflict between the higher civilization of the Kievan State and the primitive ancestors of Russians. Ukraine defended Europe against the invasion of the nomads, while Muscovy adopted the despotic system of Genghis Khan. Cossack Ukraine, as part of Europe, with the pronounced democratic character was in sharp contradiction to the autocratic government of Russia. In the war of 1709 Ukraine, under Hetman Ivan Mazepa, in alliance with Sweden under King Charles XII, tried to stop Russian aggression against Europe. In 1918/20 it was the independent Ukrainian State that helped to save Europe from Bolshevization. It was the Ukrainian Army under Symon Petlura that forestalled Soviet Russian help to the Communist government of Bela Kun in Hungary, to Kurt Eisner and Spartacist Communists in Germany and helped to stem aggression into Poland. (General Weygand emphasized the decisive role of Ukrainian troops under the command of General Bezruchko.)

The fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during the 1940s and 1950s and Ukraine's heroic national liberation struggle have till the present moment tied down the forces of the Russian Communist empire and thus contributed to the con-

tainment of the Russian drive for world domination. Ukraine has paid for her resistance to Russian expansionist policies with the innumerable lives of her patriots.

The failure of the West to render support to the friendly anti-Russian national liberation forces largely contributed to the loss of one third of the world to slavery and genocide. Having physically subjugated scores of nations, Russia now endeavours to persuade and blackmail the free nations into recognizing the status of this enslavement as legal, and into refraining from uttering any criticism of Russian imperialism. If the resistance of Ukraine and other subjugated nations were broken and Russia consolidated her empire with Western assistance, she would be able to use the enlarged empire as a stepping stone for further conquests. The policies of the Western powers in relation to Russia have been weak and vacillating. First it was a matter of containment, then there was some talk of liberation, now we have the so-called policy of coexistence, tomorrow we may very likely have an alliance with Moscow against Peking — in short, a repetition of the political developments just prior to World War II. It would be a mistake to rely on Russia as a bulwark against Red China. Peoples enslaved in an empire were never bulwarks against other empires, because the oppressed peoples

never defended their oppressors. Therefore the Russian empire cannot become a bulwark against the so-called Yellow Peril.

It is the strategy of guerrilla warfare, peripheral wars, civil and subversive actions, Communist fifth columns, pacifist movements, that systematically helps to expand Russian domination in the world in the present epoch of a thermonuclear stalemate, without overstepping the imaginary line which would be regarded by the West as *casus belli*. If the same strategy were applied against the Russian empire, the free world would have behind it not only the support of "fifth columns" but of whole nations within the empire of the enemy. Such a strategy would not increase the danger of nuclear war; on the contrary, it would diminish the chances of a nuclear holocaust.

The elimination of peripheral and limited wars, which exhaust the forces of free nations, is possible only by direct action against Moscow as the centre instigating these wars and by giving support to the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russia. It is impossible to eliminate the secondary threat from Peking without first eliminating the primary threat from Moscow.

Despite bitter opposition on the part of the forces aiming at world domination, the national forces are asserting themselves.

The importance of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the 46-million strong Ukrainian nation stems from its propagation of anti-imperialist concepts throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Russian empire. This liberation struggle is waged on national, religious, cultural, political and social levels. It frustrates to a great extent the realization of Russian global plans. It revives the thousand-year-old heroic, humanistic and religious ideals which have always contributed to the advancement of true culture. It suffices to mention the poet-heroes of the present generation of Ukrainians, like Marko Boyeslav, Vasyl Symonenko and the intellectuals recently imprisoned in the Mor-dovian concentration camps.

The Ukrainian cultural, political and religious revolutionary processes inspired by patriotic, freedom-loving ideas stemming from the traditions of a people believing in spiritual values, are diametrically opposed to the Russian Bolshévist totalitarian system imposed by the October counter-revolution and exported abroad. Moscow is in mortal conflict with Kyiv in all domains of life.

Considering Ukraine's contribution to the defence of faith in God, equality and freedom of nations, human dignity and liberty, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists calls upon the peoples of the free world:

a) to abandon the fake and misleading policy of so-called peaceful coexistence;

b) to recognize unequivocally the right of all the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the satellite states to national sovereignty and independence as the natural, universally desired and just principle of international order and the most dynamic concept with which to combat Russian imperialism, Communism and all forms of totalitarianism;

c) to render active and effective support to the liberation struggle of the nations oppressed by Russia, and to cease any support of tyrannical Communist regimes: to transform the present defensive strategy and policy of the preservation of the *status quo* into an offensive strategy, the only strategy that can guarantee survival and victory;

d) to support the genuine national and Christian cultural processes behind the Iron Curtain which are in opposition to the false ideas of culture propagated by Moscow, and which are symbolized by the age-old Western-oriented culture of Kyiv;

e) to exploit every possibility to deepen internal conflicts in the Communist bloc, especially between Moscow and Peking;

f) to proclaim a Charter of Independence for nations enslaved by Moscow and Peking as the goal of the free world;

g) to rally together all those in the free

world who believe in the preservation of human rights, dignity, freedom and national independence into one front of anti-Russian, anti-Communist forces. This front must raise a powerful voice of protest in defence of all the persecuted and oppressed; it must take action against the destruction of churches (such as the Kyiv Pechersky and Pochaiv monasteries) and all religious life; against the suppression of freedom of creative work and the rights of individuals and nations; against oppression, terror, genocide, deportation of millions of Ukrainians and other non-Russians to Siberia; against collectivization and the exploitation of labour. At the time when large numbers of misguided people all over the world defend the false ideas of Moscow, there must be forces of mankind ready to stand up in defence of the ideas of freedom, human rights and national independence for which Ukraine is fighting;

h) to encourage all religions and churches in the world to stand firm against atheistic Moscow, remembering the example of the martyred Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches. OUN disapproves of the attempts made by some representatives of the Western and Eastern Churches to seek appeasement with the atheistic Communist regimes.

Ukraine's criterion in relations with other peoples is their recognition of Ukraine's

right to independent existence within her own ethnic territory.

An independent Ukrainian State will assure equal rights to all citizens loyal to the Ukrainian nation without distinction of race, religion, class or national origin.

The year 1968 is symbolic for the Ukrainian people in many ways. Fifty years ago, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian nation broke the remaining chains of alien Russian oppression and proclaimed its independence. Although the Russian Bolsheviks conquered Ukraine militarily, her freedom-loving people have carried on, for the past 50 years, a relentless national struggle for liberation. Thirty years ago Moscow succeeded, with the help of an assassin, in murdering in Rotterdam Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the leader of the OUN. Just over 25 years ago the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) began its heroic war for national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine and other subjugated nations on two fronts - against Nazi Germany and Russian Communist invaders. Its fight lasted for years and still continues though in different forms. 25 years ago (November 1943) the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was formed. Liberation forces of the peoples enslaved within the Russian empire resolved to fight together against their common enemies, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. These liberation movements decided to

unite their forces for a concerted effort of synchronized national revolutions. Since then the ABN has grown into a world-wide movement and a symbol of a world struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism.

During the conflict between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia - two most brutal totalitarian regimes - the OUN carried on the liberation fight under the banner: "Freedom to Nations! Freedom to Individuals!" This struggle is continuing today, with added rallying call: "Kyiv versus Moscow!"

*The Fourth Congress of the Organization
of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)
Spring 1968*

The Main Ideological And Political Principles Of The OUN

I

1. Ukraine and Russia, Kyiv and Moscow — these are two national and cultural antipods. This is a permanent struggle of two nations, two opposite cultures, two mutually contradictory tendencies.

2. Ukraine's ideas are a contradiction to the Russian world of ideas which is grounded in the denial of individuality, dignity, freedom and human rights, the negation of a nation as a cornerstone of the universe, its sovereignty and completely independent development. The totalitarian imposition of the Russian-Bolshevik way of life upon other nations is one of the means employed by Russia to subjugate freedom-loving nations and rule over them.

3. In contrast to the Russian world of ideas Ukraine places in the heart of the construction of the new world the idealistic values of life, the eternal truths of God and Country, the dignity of man, the heroic concept of life and liberation nationalism which rejects any kind of imperialism and

Communism as historical anachronisms of the present day and age and recognizes the independence and sovereignty of every nation.

II

1. Our epoch distinguishes itself by the fact that under the pressure of the national liberation movements colonial empires are disintegrating and are being replaced by independent national states.

2. The present-day development of the world, which follows the lines of the downfall of empires and the creation of national states — completely reaffirms the independent aim of the Ukrainian people to topple the Russian empire and to reestablish independent and sovereign states of nations subjugated within it. Thus, the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Sovereign Unified State corresponds to the trends of world development, and the ideas of the Ukrainian nation are the most progressive ideas of our epoch.

3. The Russian empire, as an historical anachronism and a violent offspring of the Russian people, is the main obstacle on the road to the reconstruction of the world according to the principle of sovereign national states, because with the help of force it follows the road of destruction of nations leading to the nationless constructions encompassing large areas. Historical develop-

ment of the world fully confirms the ideological bankruptcy of the Russian empire as well as the inevitability of its disintegration.

4. Ukrainian nationalism rejects all concepts of large international states, which do not recognize the rights of all nations to have their own independent national states. As shown by historical experience multinational empires, spreading over large areas of land were always the grounds of national persecution and exploitation by one nation of another nation. Therefore the liquidation of imperial states, especially the Russian empire, which at present is disguised under the name of the USSR is an absolute precondition to the guarantee of lasting peace and justice in the world. The liberation of all subjugated peoples, their independence and sovereignty are possible only when the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which is the same as the liberation strategy and policy of Ukrainian nationalism, will be victorious.

5. The sovereignty of the Ukrainian nation is understood not only as political independence from external forces, but also as independence from such forces which undercut its independence from within in order to make it a satellite of international, foreign and other secret conspiracies which with the help of their agents inside the nation, are assuming influential positions.

6. In planning and organizing its liberation struggle, Ukrainian nationalism depends on the strength of the Ukrainian nation itself and does not make its hopes for Ukraine's liberation dependent upon external intervention or the evolution of the occupation system existing in Ukraine. OUN feels that external factors or internal political, social, cultural and economic processes on the territory of the Russian Bolshevik empire can ease and quicken the successful termination of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people but its final success depends only upon the organization of the revolutionary and liberation forces and resources of the whole nation.

7. The most topical and the most necessary form of struggle for national and social liberation are synchronized national liberation revolutions and guerrilla-insurgent wars which as a double-edged sword are at the same time a road to the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia and a way to avoid nuclear war.

8. Ideological, moral and political crisis of world powers which has been created as a result of fear of nuclear war, can be removed when free nations understand that it is in their own interest to support the national liberation revolutions, against which Moscow would be unable to employ nuclear arms.

9. In our epoch the historical role of the Ukrainian nation and state, marked by the national heritage of Christian faith and culture and geo-political situation of Ukraine as a front guard in East Europe, has been confirmed again. The great task of all generations of the Ukrainian people is to defend the chivalrous and Christian Ukraine from the Russian genocidal messianism and usurpation.

III

1. Ukrainian nationalism recognizes the Ukrainian national state as the sole form of organization of the nation, which guarantees the best conditions for an all-round development of its spiritual and physical forces. The idea of one's own national state which guarantees a sovereign government to the nation, stems from the deepest feelings and aspirations of every nation which wants to be master of its own land and to exercise its authority there.

2. Every nation of the world is entitled to have its own national state just as the people of the whole world are entitled to have personal freedoms. The organization of the world on the principle of national states is a guarantee of peace and justice in the world. Unity of the world, liberated from colonialism and totalitarianism, as

well as real international cooperation are possible only on the basis of equality and sovereignty of all nations.

3. Ukrainian nationalism knits into one whole centuries-old and invariable truths, values and achievements of the Ukrainian nation. On the social plane it realizes the concept of such an order which is based on the principles of legality, social justice, human dignity and harmonious balancing of individual aspirations with the demands and needs of society as a whole. It rejects exploitation of man by man or regime, acknowledges the right of individual creativity and private property, creates opportunities for the disposal of income derived from work as one sees fit. It rejects the Marxist-Bolshevist concept of class struggle and contrasts it with the concept of cooperation among all social strata of a nation.

4. The social order as understood by Ukrainian nationalism, springs from Ukrainian spirituality and Ukrainian traditions of everyday life which are characteristic to it only. It does not imitate foreign socialist, capitalist or liberal speculative doctrines. It transforms technical gains and social achievements of other nations of the world independently, according to its own needs.

IV

1. The nation — the most enduring human community, the roots of which spring from the depths of centuries, and whose development leads into unfathomable future, is endless and unconquerable. Just as the nation, Ukrainian nationalism, which is the product of the nation, is endless and unconquerable.

2. The guiding principles of the Ukrainian nation, and at the same time of the Ukrainian nationalism are the historical truths of Christian national Kyiv, the idea of national freedom, expressed in its own independent state, and the idea of social justice which guarantees human freedom and development.

3. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is the product of all-Ukrainian unifying ideas of all generations. Therefore Ukrainian nationalism is a dynamic, unifying, national liberation movement which acts according to the principles of unity of all revolutionary forces of the nation in the struggle for freedom and statehood. It is a conscious formulation of aspirations and the expression of the intellect, heart and will of the Ukrainian community as a whole which in the present stage is fighting for power in its own nation, for its all-round development, and for better living con-

ditions of the nation on its own national territory.

4. Ukrainian nationalism has passed through many stages of development, formation and testing of its positions, experience and action. It is a general phenomenon for it manifests itself in various forms: as spontaneity in the masses of the Ukrainian people, as creativity and activity of its outstanding individuals and as an organized ideological and political movement. It grew, developed and hardened in the struggle for the spiritual, political and national as well as social liberation of the Ukrainian people, in the struggle for freedom and justice, for free cultural development of the nation and the individual, for personal freedom and social well-being of man.

5. The concept of Ukrainian nationalism of the 20th century is much broader than the concept of liberation of the nation itself. In the present struggle Ukrainian nationalism is a complex of ideas in the spiritual sphere with the aim to renew and to form the Ukrainian nation into a single political, cultural, religious, ethnic and moral whole with its own traditions and determination to realize them in life.

6. Ukrainian nationalistic outlook sprang up from the thousand-year-old spiritual heritage of the Ukrainian people and the

singularity of its historical existence⁸ which was formulated by Christianity. Therefore there is harmony between it and the Christian philosophy and morality. The fight for the Ukrainian national state is at the same time the fight for Christian truth.

7. The substance and the dynamics of modern Ukrainian nationalism arose from creative expressions, profound thoughts, immortal deeds and deliberate conscious sacrifices of a number of generations of Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionaries and statesmen, who overcoming the indifference of their own surroundings — were able to awaken pathos in the broad masses of the Ukrainian people and to raise their national and political aspirations to a higher level, to guide them in the struggle for the restoration, the strengthening and building-up of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

V

1. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism was formulated on the basis of the spirituality of the Ukrainian nation, as a synthesis of the values and concepts which it created and cultivated during its historical existence. This is a collection of truths and ideas which give an answer to the most important questions of the existence of the world, nation, human life and society, the values of man and society, and cooperation among men and peoples.

2. The chief truths and ideas of Ukrainian nationalism are: the primacy of spiritual origin, the primacy of the nation and its state sovereignty and unity, independence of Ukrainian politics, social justice, respect for man and universal human values, and free development of all creative forces of the nation.

3. Ukrainian nationalism, as an ideological and political movement, stems from the spiritual and social nature of the Ukrainian nation and therefore it satisfies its most essential needs, its general development and natural harmony of all creative expressions of the individual and the nation.

4. The guiding principle of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is the truth that the prime cause of all life is spirit not matter. The mover of human life, social order, social and political processes is a human being and not industrial relations. Rejecting the thesis of dialectical materialism which says that matter is the basis of life, Ukrainian nationalism acknowledges that the First Cause of all life is Absolute-God in the Christian meaning of the word.

5. The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism is an exact opposite of all materialistic ideologies. Materialism equates all life with material processes, denying God, religious values, spirituality and free will. The Marx-

ist-Leninist materialism also denies universal human values and replaces them with class morality and tries to explain the moving forces of history by economic conditions and class antagonisms. Regardless of the fact that the materialistic theory has long been disproved by science, especially contemporary sciences beginning with the quantum theory of physics, through biology, to space flights and including the splitting of the atom, the Russian Bolsheviks are still trying to impose this theory on other nations by force attempting to subordinate to it economic, cultural, political and social life of the subjugated peoples in order to realize their Russian concept of social order and their imperialistic exploitation under the guise of Marxist-Leninist theory.

6. In the nationalistic world outlook a special place is reserved for Christian and national mystique, the cult of saints and heroes, the uncompromising fighters for truth. Human dignity and respect, religious toleration, sacrifice and self-denial in the name of eternal postulates of man and nation — are the component elements of nationalistic outlook on the world.

7. In accordance with the maxim "nobody has greater love than he who gives his life for his brethren" it is a precept of the members of the OUN "to win a Ukrain-

ian state or to die in the fight for it." The activity and the struggle of the OUN for national and human rights against imperialistic and colonialist enslavement and lawlessness flows from this moral spring.

The ideology of Ukrainian nationalism places man, family, nation and the form of its organization, the national state, in the centre of attention. Well-organized relationship among these components is a precondition to the full-valued national development.

a) *Man* — Ukrainian nationalism acknowledges the special role and position of man in the life of a nation, as a being with his own unique individuality, free will and his own intellectual, spiritual and material needs and interests. Man-individual is not only a physical part of national society, but also an active and formulating factor of national life. He, as an inseparable component part of a nation, is responsible in his conscience for the performance of his function in society. There is no such thing as a nationless man, there is only a concrete national man defined by national substance. It is in the national interest to guarantee to every man conditions favourable to his complete development and self-expression in free work, at the time when the boundaries of freedom of an individual, the ways and forms of satisfaction of his private

interests and needs are defined and regulated by freedom and rights of another individual, by the needs and interests of the nation as a whole.

b) *Family is the basic cell of the spiritual and organic society, the nation, the preserver and creator of the Ukrainian kin, Ukrainian culture and morality.* The nation, as a living organism preserves itself and develops thanks to the growth and development of its living cells, which are the families. As a basic cell of society, the family is also the first school of social life, solidarity, respect for the rights of others, unity, and in particular — the source of the propagation of the human race, nation, the forge of Ukrainian morality and patriotism.

c) *Nation* — In the centre of the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism stands a nation, as a natural category, socio-political value and living, original, spiritual and organic society, which crystallized and grew from determined historical, geo-political, economic and socio-political conditions. The nation, as understood by Ukrainian nationalism, is a unity of all strata and all generations ("the living, the dead and the unborn"), welded together by common history, culture, language, traditions, territory and the common will to live an independent, self-reliant, life in their own state.

On the road of historical development of mankind a nation became the basic subject of international life and a force which plays a decisive role in the formulation of historical processes in the world; it became the basis of the political organization of the world. The idea of national freedom corresponds to the deepest aspirations of all peoples. Constant and all-round strengthening of the development of the nation as the highest form of human society will also decide the question of further existence of all kinds of empires and together with it will bring about the liquidation of domination of one nation over others.

d) *State* — In accordance with the ideology of Ukrainian nationalism, the national state is the highest form of the organization of the life of the nation, which serves the interests of its citizens, and its structure and order correspond to the characteristic attributes of the nation and its living needs. Only its own national state can guarantee to the nation the free development of all its spiritual and material forces and a proper place among other national states. The national state is a permanent embodiment of the will of the nation and the individual.

The Situation In Ukraine And In The USSR

The USSR is the last great colonial empire of the Russian people at the present time. It is, no doubt, the greatest paradox of our era, for all the European empires have already fallen and in their place many new states have arisen. In the national revolutions of 1917—18, the Russian Tsarist empire also collapsed, but the Bolsheviks, after liquidating the national states which had been established after the downfall of the Tsarist empire, renewed the Russian empire with treachery and the force of arms. Recreating in it the Russian spiritual foundations and resting on the dictatorship of the imperial party — the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, they are keeping the empire intact by terror and with ever improved administrative and political means.

Masking themselves with slogans of "socialism" and Communism, and in recent decades assuming the role of the defender and protector of the national liberation movements on the other side of the Iron Curtain, the Russians, with brutal force, unheard of terror and systematic realization of genocide, are subjugating scores of nations, particularly the Ukrainian nation, which is ceaselessly struggling against enslavement and for its independence.

In the early years of the building of the Bolshevik regime the new rulers of the empire placed all their hopes on the European proletariat, at a time when countries outside Europe were considered of secondary importance in their plans to conquer the world. Today the imperial strategy temporarily centres its major forces in non-European areas, where it deceptively supports the national liberation wars by all methods according to the theory of "just and lawful wars", and in Europe, reinforcing Russian influence and demoralizing the West with the help of "fifth" and "sixth" columns, the imperial policy defends "peaceful coexistence". The continuous war waged by Bolshevik Russia for the expansion of her influence and world domination in the guise of "peaceful coexistence", clarifies the contradiction, unnaturalness and paradoxicality of the imperial monster — the USSR. Its rulers are proclaiming freedom and state independence for one-time colonial countries, and in their own empire, covering themselves up with the building of Communism, are directing their policy of assimilation to the transformation of national society to a structureless mass "of a single Soviet people" with the Russians playing the dominant role.

The victory in the war over Hitler's Germany in an alliance with Western demo-

cratic states and the unscrupulous exploitation of the international situation have helped Russia to extend her military, political and economic control over many countries which helps Moscow in achieving its goal of world domination. For its imperial aims Moscow utilizes the nuclear arms build up and the intercontinental missiles in particular. The emergence of the so-called world system of socialist states, which constitutes half of Europe and large parts of Asia, even including bridge-heads on the American and African continents, should be evaluated as a dangerous success of Russian imperialism which has reached a decisive phase in its drive to dominate the world.

The Russian-Bolshevik government conducts its policy of expansion, employing all means of power at its disposal, unscrupulously exploiting the subjugated nations. The territorial expansion and the establishment of political and economic control beyond the borders of the USSR is taking place under the slogan of so-called proletarian internationalism and allegedly in the name of national liberation and defense of the rights and interests of colonial or economically underdeveloped and dependent peoples and states.

Russian Bolshevism which took the place of Russian Tsarism and received the support of the Russian people, the master in

the empire, acts through the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the government of the USSR are continuing the traditionally Russian imperial and colonial policy, taking advantage of the so-called republican Communist parties — branches of the CPSU on the territories of the enslaved nations, which were especially created for this purpose, and the cruel apparatus of terror.

An invariable principle of the colonial policy of Moscow always has been and still is complete national oppression, social and cultural pressure and ruthless economic exploitation of the non-Russian peoples, and particularly of the Ukrainian people.

In the 1917—18 revolution two opposing worlds clashed and today continue to clash, worlds with different sociological structures, different cultural modes and worlds which distinguish themselves by their system of spiritual attributes and values, which make up the essence of a nation. The Ukrainian world clashed with the Russian, and Moscow's victory for the time being has not put a stop to the historical struggle between them.

The Ukrainian world, as an opponent in the struggle with Russian Bolshevism, with its quelling of human and national freedoms, which has to lead to the ruining of

spiritual culture and slipping into barbarity and the end of progress, opens a wide field of creative competition, human initiative and harmonious cooperation of social groups in the national state founded on justice.

A temporary Bolshevik victory has not broken the national spirit of Ukraine and the struggle for the realization of the national ideal in a sovereign state with a just order, for the fullness and sovereignty of the national contribution into the world treasury, does not cease. The forms and methods of its conduct have undergone changes during the last half century, because the conqueror has also changed his tactics.

Behind the sign "USSR" all the basic attributes of national Russia have been preserved and cultivated. The doctrine of political infallibility characteristic of Russian spirituality has been reinforced and intensified by remade laws of Marxism and Leninism. The messianism of Russian Orthodoxy and the idea of Panslavism under the tsarist crown have been turned into "international unity" under the leadership of the imperial Communist party.

Terror in all its modifications in the hands of the Kremlin chieftains is one of the major methods of spiritual and physical oppression of individuals and nations. Just as in the tsarist times, terror, robbery, political

murder, spiritual and physical pogroms of the Ukrainian nation were raised to the level of state policy.

Bolshevik ideology views the state as "an organization ruled by an economically dominant class", and describes democracy as "a form of dictatorship of the ruling class", therefore in essence it recognizes the division of society into two classes: the masters and the slaves. From this point of view it is evident that the Soviet state is also a society of masters and slaves. The propaganda about the "development of socialist democracy" does not change the attitude of the Bolshevik rulers towards retaining at all costs their domination over the mass of slaves deprived of all rights.

In the half century of its rule, the Russian-Bolshevik empire has experienced many upheavals. Its leaders have changed very often, and the dogma of Marxism and Leninism has been changed in line with new demands. But one thing has remained unchanged: a permanent, year in year out destruction of human freedoms and the subjugated nations, and side by side with it the strengthening of Moscow's central rule in all aspects of life. Totalitarian centralism of superpower Russia, raised to the highest level in the empire, became the absolute law in the economic life of the empire.

The formal changes which from time to

time are put into effect by the Bolsheviks in the structure of their rule, the rewriting of the constitution of the USSR and the "union republics" does not change the essence of the ruthless dictatorial imperial system. The so-called "most democratic Stalinist constitution" of 1936 has in reality changed nothing of the lawless situation of the subjugated nations and individuals. What's more, the period after the introduction of this constitution was marked by genocide, bloody terror and lawlessness, to which millions of people fell victim. The changes which were effected after Stalin's death, especially by Khrushchiov, did not bring any changes to the position of the subjugated peoples and human rights, did not liquidate the totalitarian mono-party system.

The Fourth Congress of OUN confirms the great threat to the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for its independence which flows from orientation upon the liberalization of the Communist regime. Such orientation relegates national liberation to a secondary position, because the determination of the fate of Ukraine and other subjugated nations does not have unbreakable bonds with any state or socio-political regime of the so-called metropolis, as proven by the liberation struggle of Ireland, India or Algeria. The complication for the national liberation struggle of Ukraine and other

nations subjugated by Moscow, is to be found in the fact that the yoke, evil and hardship of the nation is seen solely as caused by the Communist system and not by foreign domination. The Communist system has different stages of oppression, but with its liquidation national oppression and the violence of Russian imperialism over the rights of individuals and nations will not end. Consequently, the solution to the problem of Ukraine's liberation cannot be simplified to the so-called democratization of the regime in the Russian empire.

Beginning with the 22nd Congress of the CPSU the tendencies were to strengthen imperial centralization and the restriction of rights of the "union republics" in order to intensify the process of Russification in the direction of the "fusion of nations" into one "Soviet people" which is motivated by "the passing to the highest stage — Communism". As a consequence this can lead to the liquidation of nevertheless fictitious boundaries between the so-called Soviet republics and to the creation of a new administrative division of the USSR according to the principle of the so-called economic expediency, which had been the case at the beginning of the Soviet rule as well as partially in Khrushchov's time. This is the next stage of unification which has to lead to the transformation of the formal Union

of Soviet Socialist Republics into a monolithic Russian empire.

The allegation of the Russian-Bolshevik propaganda that "CPSU is part of the whole people", about the "unanimous support of the party by the people" and about the fact that "the USSR is the most progressive socialist democratic state in the world" — do not lessen the natural aspirations of the subjugated peoples for independence. The absence of opportunities for the existence of any kind of opposition even inside the Communist party strengthens the dissatisfaction of the masses and provides an additional excuse for the revolutionary forms of struggle. The subjugated peoples see the downfall of the empire and the destruction of the hated system as the only way out of their situation.

Contrary to the proclamations of the Russian-Bolshevik propaganda, no just social order has been constructed in the USSR. In place of the Tsarist social order which marked itself by social and national injustice, the Russian Bolsheviks by the use of violence and terror have established such an order in which the great majority of the population of the subjugated peoples was reduced to the level of real proletarians — slaves of the all-powerful imperial bureaucracy. Referring to the authority of the state which has been raised to the absolute, the caste of

imperial rulers and millions of Russian colonists are exploiting Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals, and with resources thus obtained they are realizing their policy of grasp in the subjugated countries and in the whole world.

Together with the national subjugation and social exploitation of nations, the Russian Communist authorities which preach their "progressiveness" and "humaneness" are causing inhuman suffering to tens of millions of people, breaking up their families, setting children against their parents, giving rise to mutual suspicion and denunciation, hooliganism, drunkenness, bribery and all sorts of abuses which lead to the decline of morality in all spheres of social life.

After the death of Stalin the leadership crisis in the Russian empire reached its climax. Under Khrushchov's leadership the empire went from one failure to the other in foreign and in particular in the domestic policy. In his foreign policy Khrushchov was unable to preserve the state of indivisible authority and domination of Moscow in the so-called international Communist movement, where two centers have been created — Moscow and Peking. The economy was in a state of constant crisis, and an acute shortage of food and items of everyday use brought on mass dissatisfac-

tion and disturbances and strikes on the territories of the subjugated peoples, especially in Ukraine, which were dangerous for the empire. At the base of these mass disturbances lay the national and political movement, and the socio-economic foundation provided an opportunity for its strengthening and expansion. Collective leadership in the Kremlin did not put an end to the crisis and did not bring an end to the internal power struggle in the empire, instead it led to an open break with Peking.

The growth of military strength in the Russian empire and its territorial expansion coincided with the process of internal deterioration and with a deep crisis in all aspects of life. The present situation is characterized by the following basic qualities:

- a) Political and ideological policentrism and fragmentation of the system;
- b) In the USSR the Marxist-Leninist ideology has lost the sharpness of the political instrument of the superpower politics of the party. After each change at the imperial peak this ideology has been turned about and changed. Today there are as many Marxisms-Leninisms as there were changes at the imperial peak;
- c) The psychological revolution and the intensification and expansion of anti-imperial and anti-regime attitudes are assuming defined organized forms;

- d) The presence of anti-Russian resistance and struggle among the subjugated peoples in the USSR and in the countries dependent on the USSR, the deepening and the sharpening of the crisis as a result of constant attempts of the Russian center to increase the dependence upon it of all other non-Russian peoples;
- e) In recent years the subjugated nations, and especially the Ukrainian, have resorted to strikes and other disturbances (Donbas, Odessa, Kazakhstan). With the help of force they were subdued and the spirit of revolt was reinforced. It is significant that these disturbances began in concentration camps, where most of the prisoners from the subjugated countries, especially Ukraine, are to be found, and among whom many were former soldiers of UPA and members of OUN;
- f) During half a century of "building socialism", by which the idea of a single multi-national state is covered up, the USSR does not leave the state of economic crisis, which like malaria shakes the whole system. Senseless and impractical centralization of economic life, which is a method of imperial policy, freezes human initiative, stops the development of productive forces in the occupied countries and causes economic stagnation. Contrasts in social life

party bureaucracy and deprived peoples) unprecedented exploitation of the people, have strengthened the struggle of the peoples for their rights and freedom.

The so-called Ukrainian SSR is part of the empire — the USSR. Its colonial status has been concealed by the state sign. In the economic respect Ukraine has been transformed into a colony of Russia. The centralized economic system of the USSR deprives Ukraine of any kind of elements of independence in economic life. The ministries of the Ukrainian SSR are merely branches of all-union ministries, and ministers are supervisors and drivers who watch over the performance of economic plans of the all-union government.

The Ukrainian SSR, as a false creation, has neither a parliament, nor a government elected by the free will of the Ukrainian nation; its political leadership has been thrust upon it by a foreign center—Moscow; its sovereignty does not manifest itself in any way whatsoever. Ukraine cannot decide the question of war and peace, has no army of its own and does not conduct any foreign policy of its own, and the so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR only executes the dictates of the CC CPSU in Moscow. The majority of members of the “government” of the Ukrainian SSR are even formally provincial officials of the

Russian union and "union republican" ministries. The constitution of the Ukrainian SSR has been drawn up not by the representatives of the Ukrainian people, but by agents of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik party. This constitution is even formally dependent on the constitution of the USSR. The so-called political, civil and cultural organizations of the Ukr. SSR are local branches of the "all-union organizations". The so-called soviets on all levels are completely bound by party discipline to carry out the orders of the CC CPSU.

The assertions of the Bolshevik propaganda on "voluntary admission" of Ukraine into membership in the Russian empire is a total lie. The Pereyaslav Treaty was trampled by the tsars from the very beginning and the sovereign rights of Ukraine recognized in this treaty were finally liquidated in the 18th century. The newly created Ukrainian state of 1918 was conquered by the armed forces of Bolshevik Russia in the 1920s. No general and free referendum of the Ukrainian people about the Ukr. SSR's entry into the Soviet Union was ever held.

The Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) is the most important instrument of Russian domination in Ukraine. A decisive part of membership of CPU is made up of Russians and their henchmen who hold key

positions in administrative, economic and socio-cultural life. Ukrainians — members of CPU — are in no position to change the political face of the CPU, which is an instrument of subjugation of Ukraine and the party of traitors of the Ukrainian people, opportunists and selfish people. The hopes of some individuals for a gradual transformation of the CPU into a truly Ukrainian party have no real basis, are illusions of dreamers or means of deception used by traitors.

Mass organizations in the Ukrainian SSR such as Komsomol, trade unions, councils and so forth are also weak-willed tools of the Russian-Bolshevik occupational regime for regimentation of all phases of life of the Soviet man. The prohibition of the existence of organizations which would not subordinate themselves to the Bolshevik party, makes it impossible to create an effective legal opposition to the existing dictatorship in the occupied Ukraine, the carrying out of a "legal" political struggle, and dooms to failure all attempts at evolution of the colonial tyrannical system in the direction of national liberation. This prohibition is the greatest crime against human and national rights, unprecedented lawlessness which testifies most glaringly to the absence of all freedom for individuals and social groupings in the Russian-Bolshevik colonies.

The Russian-Bolshevik government through its policy of resettlement attempts to liquidate the Ukrainian ethnic substance. The intermixing of people, the planned deportation of Ukrainians from Ukraine and bringing in of Russians, intensified Russification of schools on all levels, offices, army — are all measures which have as their aim not only to break the resistance of the Ukrainian people, to crush, its struggle for liberty and political and state independence, but also to destroy it as a national entity and to transform it into a component part of the so-called Soviet people using Russian language and culture. Disregarding constant attempts of the superpower Russian chauvinism to uproot the basic substance of Ukrainian spirit and to pour into Ukrainian forms the spirit of treason, Janissarism limited provincialism, inferiority complex in relation to the Russian imperial idea — all these attempts are breaking up against the spontaneous nationalism of the Ukrainian people which falls into the organizational framework of underground struggle which is based upon traditions of the national liberation activities of revolutionary organizations in particular OUN and UPA.

Ukraine, the richest country in the Soviet Russian empire, is an object of ruthless economic exploitation, and the development of Ukraine's economy is taking place from

the angle of its integration with Russia. In Ukraine, the sectors dealing with the extraction of raw materials and their initial processing are being built up mostly of those industries which involve the manufacturing of products for export or military and aggressive ends. The only task of agriculture is to supply food products for the imperial needs of Russia. In the building up of transportation, communication as well as trade, the principle of imperial expediency is dominant.

The Russian Soviet regime is attempting to keep Ukrainian culture on the level of provincial ethnographism. Its development is systematically hindered and in its place the Russian language and culture are being spread. In secondary, special and higher educational establishments, instructions are given mainly in the Russian language, and any attempts to return its rightful place to the Ukrainian language is evaluated by the occupational regime as an anti-state act. At the present time a great majority of Ukrainian cultural leaders are either in prisons or concentration camps and the rest is forced by terror to be silent. Free cultural ties of Ukraine and the Free World are impossible with the exception of those which the government purposely allows.

At the same time the Russian government is waging a merciless struggle against re-

ligion in Ukraine. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been liquidated, forcing them into catacombs. The Russian atheistic propaganda is assuming ever greater dimensions, and the faithful are cruelly persecuted. Religious rites and everyday customs are exchanged for Bolshevik rituals.

Great social inequality between the impoverished and enslaved people and the Russian ruling class with its local henchmen is evident in Ukraine. In comparison with Russia, in Ukraine work norms are higher and pay is lower. In the Soviet system of wages, Ukraine, with the exception of a few places, is in third and at times in last place. Ukrainian peasants, robbed of their property, are brought down to the level of state serfs, without passports, without social security — the most deprived category of the population of "the workers' and peasants' state." Ukrainian workers virtually deprived of the protection of trade unions, exploited by the monopolistic Russian colonial regime have no right to direct their own enterprises, to share the products of their labour. Living conditions in cities, and in particular in the workers' districts are unbelievably hard in comparison with the living conditions of the workers and peasants in the Western world. Ukraine, the chief

agricultural and meat producing area, is constantly short of food and other items of everyday use (textiles, leather and household goods). As a result of the shortage of widely used items and low wages, the workers resort to black marketeering for which they are severely punished by the occupational regime. The draconic passport system forbids the population to change places of residence and the peasants are deprived of passports altogether.

The women and teenagers belong to the most overworked and deprived strata of the population of Ukraine. No precedent is to be found in the whole of the civilized world for the overworking of women and mothers, who are protected by legislation of common law of all civilized nations, who (women and mothers) have to work in mines, construction, road building and in heavy industry and transportation.

Political prisoners, released from prison or returning from banishment remain without work, living quarters and social security; exiles who have completed their term of banishment are often deprived of the right to return to their native land. Their children are given no opportunities to receive a normal education.

The 40th Anniversary Of The Organization Of Ukrainians Nationalists (OUN)

In 1969 patriotic Ukrainians in Ukraine and all over the world are marking the 40th anniversary of the formation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which has carried the brunt of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their national freedom and independence in the most recent historical period. The OUN is now by far the strongest of all political organizations of freedom-loving Ukrainians and its influence extends to all countries wherever there are patriotic Ukrainian communities.

On the occasion of its 40th anniversary the Supreme Executive of the OUN has issued an Appeal to the Ukrainian People, the main passages of which are quoted below:

“The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has grown on the basis of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian nation in 1917—1921 for its sovereignty and independence, on the traditions of the Ukrainian underground and insurrectionist organizations of

the 1920s, such as the Central Insurgent Committee, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, and above all the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), whose founder was Colonel Evhen Konovalets and who later united various nationalist formations into the single Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929.

Ideological justification for the struggle of the OUN gave Dmytro Dontsov, the most eminent theoretician of modern Ukrainian nationalism and contemporary political thinker of Ukraine.

The OUN began a new stage in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. It placed the main emphasis on developing a mass movement, and the Ukrainian Military Organization became its fighting arm.

The OUN closely related its national and political struggle with the struggle for social justice, defending the Ukrainian people and all its strata from exploitation by foreign occupants.

The OUN has always been with the people and for the people. It is working amongst the people. It is a true popular organization. An inexhaustible source of its strength is our people, the undaunted Prometheus, who gives strength to the OUN. The OUN has chosen the most difficult but, nonetheless, the most certain path to national liberation. It develops the

main front of struggle against any immediate occupier of this or that part of the Ukrainian soil. The front against all the occupiers of Ukraine, reliance on Ukrainian people's own forces, and cooperation only with those external factors which recognise our conception of liberation and the future political order in the world, namely those which recognise the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of a free, sovereign, united and independent Ukrainian State and other national states of the peoples at present enslaved by Russia — this is the signpost of the OUN.

The OUN has finally unmasked the unchangingly aggressive, insatiable Russia, her imperialism which hides under different masks, including Communism or a veil of Russian pseudo-Christianity; it has channelled the forces of the Ukrainian nation against the age-old enemy of Ukraine — any Russian empire — be it white or red.

The OUN has stressed that Communism and collectivisation are products of the Russian mentality of conquest, a form of subjugation of other nations by means of forcibly imposing the Russian way of life on other peoples. Against it the OUN has undertaken an uncompromising fight in Ukraine with all available means. On the other hand, the OUN has given our nation the vision of the Ukrainian way of life

in opposition to the Russian one, and for this ideal the struggle against the occupiers is now going on.

In March of this year we marked the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Carpathian Ukraine in 1939. This Act which presented the first challenge to Hitlerite Germany in contemporary Europe proved the independence of the Ukrainian policy.

In the struggle for the independence of Carpathian Ukraine the OUN suffered great sacrifices.

During the period of leadership of Stepan Bandera (1940-1959), the successor to E. Konovalets, the OUN made a great and historic decision, unprecedented in the history of other nations — to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the strongest powers of that day — Germany and Russia. At the initiative of OUN the restoration of the Ukrainian State was proclaimed on 30th June, 1941. The chairman and members of the Ukrainian State Government, the leader and members of the Supreme Executive of OUN, despite German terror and imprisonment in concentration camps, refused to revoke this historical act and to dissolve the Ukrainian State Government. The OUN then called into being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which waged war on two fronts. Its strength grew to such an extent that in

1947 three powers, — the USSR, Red Poland and Czecho-Slovakia — concluded a military pact against it. At the initiative of the OUN and UPA there took place in Ukraine the First Conference of the Peoples Enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. By now it has grown into the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which has come forward with the only realistic conception of liberation by the peoples' own forces, in other words by means of a common front of all the enslaved nations, synchronised and coordinated national liberation revolutions and a world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front, as an auxiliary front aiding the liberation fight in our home countries.

The period 1943-1950 was marked by the heroic deeds of the great strategist of the Ukrainian national revolution, the C.-in-C. of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych (nom-de-guerre Taras Chuprynka).

By their anti-German struggle the OUN-UPA eliminated the danger of Sovietophile orientation among the people on the territories occupied by Germany and transformed the two-front war of Ukraine into a sovereign factor in world politics.

The simultaneous front against the two greatest tyrannies in the world during World War II has become a historical way pointer at that time for the Western allies,

to create a united front of free and subjugated nations against both Berlin and Moscow, and at present — against both Moscow and Peking, instead of entering into alliances with Muscovite tyrants against Peking tyrants.

The military conception of a war of insurrection, as an independent style of waging war, has been peculiar to Ukraine since the Cossack period (16th-18th C.), and has now been developed into a modern method of warfare in the thermonuclear and ideological age when ideas inspire broad masses and the armed people decides the fate of tyrannies which have at their disposal thermonuclear weapons, unsuitable however for combating uprisings by subjugated nations.

In 1946-47, representing at the time the revolutionary political sovereignty of our nation, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which came into being at the initiative of the OUN, successfully organised a boycott of the "elections" to the Bolshevist "parliaments" by the population of Ukraine. The nation-wide uprisings in the years 1943-53, i.e. over a period of ten years, organised by OUN-UPA, saved many Ukrainians, especially in West Ukraine, from mass deportations and physical annihilation, by which methods Moscow tried to extinguish the conflagra-

tion which began to envelop the Russian empire.

In the next period, 1953-1959, strikes and uprisings initiated by imprisoned members of the OUN and UPA fighters spread in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The revolutionary conflagration threatened to leap over into Ukraine and the territories of other enslaved nations. No wonder therefore that Khrushchov tried to save the Russian empire by reorganising the concentration camp system.

At present, a new young generation of Ukraine which knows no fear is being brought up on the examples of self-sacrifice, on the sacrifices of blood and on the graves of the heroes of OUN-UPA. It mobilises the people to mass actions in Ukraine, strikes of workers and youth, mass demonstrations and clashes with the forces of occupation in the streets of Ukrainian towns, including Donbas and Odessa. Demonstrations before the court buildings, in court rooms, courageous protests against the imprisonment of the fighters for freedom of creative work, for the rights of man and nations — these are the main features of the present-day struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine. The young generation which has grown up on the ideological foundations of OUN-UPA, has begun a great fight in the literary, artistic, scientific and publicistic fields, in particular by clan-

destine literature. It has come forward in defence of the historical monuments of the past glory and freedom of Ukraine, the great traditions of the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world, because its independence would mean the collapse of the biggest contemporary empire in the world — that of Russia. As a result the political map of the world would change radically. OUN is in the vanguard of Ukraine's struggle for freedom.

Ukraine has risen against Russian imperialism; Kyiv stands in opposition to Moscow; these two capitals symbolise two antipodes: Kyiv — the world of sincerity and goodness, freedom, truth, justice, dignity of man, sovereignty of nations, belief in God, Moscow — the world of evil, injustice, deceit, exploitation, trampling on human dignity, imperialism, militant atheism. A world front united against imperialist Russia and Communism is the key to the solution of the world ideological and political crisis.

On the 40th anniversary of the OUN we pay tribute to all the freedom fighters, heroes of Ukraine, members and non-members of OUN, who during the last 50 years gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of their country.

Among thousands upon thousands of fallen heroes of Ukrainian struggle for natio-

nal freedom and independence, we mourn the leaders of OUN: Evhen Konovalets murdered in May, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland, by a Russian agent by means of a bomb planted in a parcel; his successor, Stepan Bandera, killed by a KGB murderer in Munich, 10 years ago, on October 15, 1959, with the aid of a pistol firing cyanide gas; and General Roman Shukhevych, C-in-C of UPA and leader of OUN in Ukraine, killed by Russian security troops near Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine, on March 5, 1950. Though the struggle is still far from finished, their sacrifices have not been in vain. New heroes are born and join the ranks of fighters. Truth, Justice and Freedom will prevail."