

# Kyiv Against 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 Pan Slavism 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, capa-

ble 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 in the campaign of General D...

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 containment 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 post-heroes of the present generation of Ukrainians, like Marko Boyeslav, Vasyl Symonenko and the intellectuals recently imprisoned in the Moldovian 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 Bolshevik 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:

- to abandon the fake and misleading policy of so-called peaceful coexistence;
- 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;
- 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;
- 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;
- to exploit every possibility to deepen internal conflicts in the Communist bloc, especially between Moscow and Peking;
- 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 independence, sovereignty and 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 her 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 Konovalts, 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 against Moscow!"

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



# 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 millions free in her empire, and now Moscow continues to press her 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, Korea and Vietnam is being prevented. 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 her 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.

The great 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 Czechoslovakia 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.