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Stephan Bandera

PERSPECTIVES FOR A UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE POPULAR MASSES AND THEIR INVOLVEMENT

"This, the first in its order, article of Stephan Bandera was printed with the pseudonym of S. Siryj, in the publication "The politics of Liberation", No. 1, year 1, Prague, January 1946, pp. 15-17. The author indicates the significance of the participation of the broader circles of the community in the internal political activity, which is directed towards the aid for the revolutionary liberation struggle, and also offers a variety of practical advice for the implementation of this activity."

Our internal political work is directed towards involving the entire scope of the community, towards reaching every Ukrainian person, those participating in the general activity of the community, as well as those who do not, equally - within the framework of that life, or outside of it, and independently of it.

The most important issue - is to gain immediate influence, to include the most numerous and most valuable section in our struggle. Therefore, we take the entire popular masses as the object of our political activity.

For us it is important due to the following considerations: first of all the masses - are an assembly of individuals. In order to influence the greatest number of Ukrainians at the same time, we involve the entire masses in our scope of influence. In it live and grow out of it the most valuable in their idealism, courage and ability individuals then, when the suitable action awakens them, gives them an opportunity and opens the road for them to prove themselves. Many such highly valuable people, so to speak, live in the deaf thicket of the masses, but their ability and for political activity valuable characteristics are unknown both to themselves as well as to others. It is necessary to penetrate into the densest masses, in order to reach them, and the appropriate action is necessary in order to appeal to them.

Secondly, we need to involve the very masses themselves, as a collective entity, with our ideas, struggle and appropriate activity. It is necessary to make it participate in political actions. Because it signifies broad support for the political movement and the organization. For , the masses lend to the revolutionary struggle and to every political action its great driving force and multiply its numbers.

In our struggle the masses - are a significant factor, as a community of individuals, we draw them and group them. AND, conversely, we reach and organize the masses with the help of individuals. We simultaneously pursue these two paths, and one work strengthens the other.

First of all, we should become acquainted in detail with every group among which we intend to carry on political activity. It is insufficient to generally know the character and traits of the elements , which group in it, or generally the psychology of the masses, It is necessary to study every concrete group, especially it is necessary to get to know its most significant characteristics. Self-evidently, as it turns out, all this

happens to have to be done already in the course of the activity itself, as we cannot afford in today's circumstances, long introductory observation and studies before commencing the actual work itself.

To become acquainted with a group signifies to find out its average type, its particular facets, its deviation from the average, its various peculiar characteristics. It is necessary to get to know and to understand the people, their way of thinking, their response and reactions to these or other phenomena, to know, what motivates them, what and how they experience, their attitude to various phenomena.

First of all, it is necessary to show interest for their survival, life, work, the possibilities of establishing and improving their life, their circumstances, their needs and wishes.

For that purpose our members should penetrate into the life of the masses, in all its extensions. To reach for all kinds of encounters with the people and to display interest to the utmost extent of their affairs.

In order for it to be possible and to be able to carry on successful activity for the involvement of the broad masses, it is necessary to accept them such as they really are, which signifies, also with all their defects and insufficiencies. In approaching the masses, we should not exclusively count on the highly valuable or already skilled sector and become involved only with them, and to dismiss the others. Along with each activity which is calculated for the broad masses, it is necessary to adjust the tactics and the entire approach to the level of the average citizen, to his interests, mode of thinking and his abilities and his readiness to pursue the path of political struggle and to respond to the exigencies they pose.

Therefore the tactics of political activity among the broad masses must be uncomplicated and adjusted in every respect to the political level of the community concerned. Life itself poses this demand and without this the political activity which is directed towards the broad masses, is, especially at its inception, unsuccessful.

Should we orient all our work towards the path of the masses, the result would be a lowering of its standards. But we do not intend to do that. Like until now, we ought to further continue all those kinds and forms of our activity which are designed for the better, foremost elements. We must further strengthen the work which is designed to activate, attract, group, train and discipline the best, foremost individuals from among the masses, and there can be no thought of neglecting or stopping it.

The idea is the broadening of our activity and not of moving it on to another path. We should activate and strengthen the political activity which is designed for the broad masses, without weakening the work designed for the foremost, leading elements. We are carrying on our internal political action along several trails simultaneously. Depending on the higher the expectations, we pose toward a community, the higher the political level of the resulting work will be and simultaneously, the narrower its framework and the tighter the limits of the group involved in it. On the contrary, the broader the circles that a political action involves, and the

lower the average standard of its participants, the simpler the character of the resulting political action.

Whenever we accomodate a mass political action to the character and standard of the broad masses, we do this only for tactical considerations. First of all, - the meaning always remains unchangeable , only the external forms change, as well as the practical conditions of the work. But in this consideration also we do not intend to continually accomodate to the standard of the masses. When only we gain ground under our feet in a certain community, we immediately begin to shape these masses, raising them to a ligher standard and step by step, we begin to lead them to the goal . Having gained an influence over the masses, we begin to channel it from the state of the masses, to which we at the beginning had to accomodate our tactics, we lead them to the role of the conscious, skilled and active factor in our political struggle.

At the first look at this matter it may seem that because of the lack of sufficient people in this territory we will not be able to do this with the foremost people, thus, that we will be forced to carry out this or that kind of work. But in



reality it must not turn out that way.

The activity of a broad mass character, the shaping of appropriate methods of action, the formulation of the necessary organizational apparatus, the search for the right paths and the use of the necessary driving force - all this at the start requires a great input of energy and the reservation of a great number of people for the job. But, for the continuation and the further development of the work it is not necessary to add new forces, it is not even required to leave those employed at the start. Because already in a short while the incipient input of strength shall pay off by the onflow of new forces awakened to action.

As the result of active work among the broad masses, many new people will be at our disposal. To a great extent they can be entrusted with the less complicated political tasks and thus lighten the burden of the people with greater political skills, who today we very much need for more responsible political activity. The activity among the masses will be carried out to a significant extent by those new people who shall prove themselves and come to us.

As the result of the encouragement of the masses to action, and the having gained influence among them, we shall have a more durable and a stronger position in many facets of community life. Because the content of the work among the broad masses does not differ from the content of our political work, which we have so far carried on among narrower circles, it shall only remain for us to choose a suitable form for it. The main task - is to decide upon the content, the popularization of what is ready, is not difficult and does not require much work.

At the present moment we have at our disposal such a great political capital, that we shall not lessen it through mass political action, but, on the contrary, increase it. Let us further remember, that our struggle against the Hitler Germany now is of great significance, which it shall lose in the time to come, unless we now make use of it, we shall lose to a great extent the political capital, acquired at the cost of such great labour.

Therefore, unless we involve the masses, they shall partly not go with us, or even against us and shall become demoralized to a great extent. Yet we need the masses in our political

struggle, including the masses in emigration.

Stephan Bandera

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CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES OF OUR LIBERATION POLICY

The article signed by the pseudonim S. A. Širyj is like a continuation of the preceeding one, with the aim to explain to the Ukrainian community in exile (emigration), for what, in the name of what and by what methods it should fight politically, once having become unified (consolidated). The author explains the essence, content, and process of the Ukrainian national liberation revolution, the inutility of evolutionary concepts, the nature of the Russian bolshevic regime and the system, the three phases of revolution, its liberation concept and strategy. We find a broadening and a broadening and deepening of these themes in other articles by Stephan Bandera, like "State Policy against the bolshevic Game in the USSR", "The Planfullness of the revolutionary struggle in Ukraine", "Ukrainian national Revolution, and not only Resistance to the R<sup>u</sup>gime", "A Word to the Ukrainian Nationalists -Revolutionaries", "Perspectives of the Ukrainian national Liberation Revolution."

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THE ESSENCE, CONTENT AND PROCESS OF THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION

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The Ukrainian national revolution - is a struggle for the very life and freedom of the nation and of the individual, and also a struggle for the content, foundations and forms of life, for its development and its progress, this is a struggle against Russian bolshevic imperialism, which strives towards the domination of the whole world and with this aim makes nations, and the undividual unfree, exploits and violates them. This is a struggle against the bolshevic-communist system, which in the name of the speculative doctrine and in the service of the imperialism of one party carries out the most horrible experiment ever in history on the organism of the 200 millions of masses of the subjugated peoples, against nature, freedom and the good of entire nations and individuals; this is a struggle against the regime and tyranny of the bolshevic communist party, which from its desire for unlimited, willful power and its own benefit turned the masses of the subjugated peoples into slaves and the greatest (neediest) beggars; this is a struggle for the defense of the very existence of freedom and development of all nations (peoples), subjugated by bolshevism, and for the defense of human, free and dignified life of the popular masses and every individual.

The Ukrainian nationalism has its order of positive ideas and values, which define the content and forms of life and the development of the nation and individual in all sectors, define their creative role in the overall human progress. The fundamental truth of our ideas are rooted in the Ukrainian spirituality, formed and established during the entire historical development, in the spirituality, which harmonizes with the best achievements in the development of the overall human spiritual and socio-political culture and progress. Our truths are diametrically opposed to the spirit and essence of Russian bolshevism, in which are collected, repeated and stretched to a refined system the manifestations of the blackest reaction and fall of the entire

human history, with the negative implementation of the achievements of material and technological progress, foreign, yet employed by bolshevism.

Our ideas of freedom, self-reliance and the free development of nations is contradictory to the bolshevic oppression, annihilation and destruction of entire peoples. The idea of the dignity and respect for the human being, its free development, own initiative, creative and dignified initiative and participation in the harmonizing order of the collective national and social life is diametrically opposed to bolshevic tyranny, enslavement (unfreedom) and exploitation of the person, stepping on his dignity, rape of freedom.

Our idea of social justice - is contradictory to the bolshevic false misuse of social slogans for the fooling of the masses of foreign peoples and the covering up of the most reactionary social oppression in the entire USSR.

Our idea of equality and brotherhood of all people in the nation - is opposed to the bolshevic class theory and their practice, which transforms the national masses into slaves and beggars on one hand, and on the other - gives the ruling clique of the Communist party unlimited power and self-will.

Our idea of the positive, creative role of the state, which has to defend, organize, and favour the free life and development of cultural progress and economic prosperity of the people and the person, is contrary to the bolshevic system of oppression, exploitation, and violation of the person and the popular masses by the state, one great concentration camp.

The idea of directing the activity and efforts of the state and in it of the organized national community towards the creation, completion and multiplication of positive values, which enrich and raise the level of the life of the people and the individual in all branches,

multiply their creative input into the treasury of all-human progress and culture - is contradictory to the void bolshevic imperialism, which from senseless urges for domination of the whole world wants to reduce everything to its tools of its violence and usurpation.

The respect for the variety in the content and forms of life and the richness of culture of the various nations, the idea of tolerance towards foreign and different cultures and social values and systems, along with the loyalty to the native (own), and the cultivation of one's values - are opposed to Russian bolshevic intolerance and hatred of everything, which is different, unbolshevic, and the desire to destroy foreign cultures and entire peoples (nations), which is born from the sense of one's own inferiority, to annihilate the life of all individuals (persons) , all nations into one measure and to the taste of the bolshevic regime.

The co-existence of free nations and the peaceful relations of their independent governments, disregarding the differences of social and political systems, instead of bolshevic permanent hostility, full isolation and a permanent, open or hidden (concealed) war against the non-bolshevic world.

The idea of free creative initiative for the individual, and free activity, which does not threaten and does not harm the neighbour (other citizens) and the nation, is turned against bolshevic totalitarianism and dictatorship, which deprives the person of any freedom, reduces it to a slave of the exploiting state and chains its creative forces, by means of the allmighty totalitarian communist monopoly.

The idea of freedom of religion, conscience, thought and social, free spiritually-cultural and artistic creativity - opposed to the violence, on the peoples and the individual, against the imposition by means of terror of the bolshevic doctrine and its "form" (facon) on the spiritual, cultural and artistic life and creativity.

The faith in the human being, his (or her) noble, positive qualities and drives (strivings), his social instincts, the cultivation and raising of these good sides of human nature - are opposed to bolshevik hatred and despisal of the person and the system of force born by it, system of violence and the most horrible terror.

The idea of natural harmony, equilibrium and co-operation between the spiritual and material elements in life and in the development of humanity is directed against the forcible imposition on everybody and everything of an artificial, speculative materialistic doctrine of communism, and the unnatural bending of life to its grasps and assertions.

In the spirit of these eternally new and unchanging fundamental ideas, the Ukrainian nationalism developed a whole program, as a system of directives, principles and values, which determine the content and forms of life and development of the nation and the individual in all sectors. In this program that from the Ukrainian past, which has preserved its value and actuality, which suits the present state and development of knowledge and progress, has its place.

In our program the best achievements in knowledge and progress in all sectors of life of other nations, which suit our spiritual and cultural elements, conditions and natural habitat of life in Ukraine, are accepted.

The ideas and program of the Ukrainian revolution define the progressive content and forms of life, completely opposed to the reactionary bolshevik order. Even though the bolsheviks have assumed foreign achievements in the sectors of technology and the material civilization, have implemented some means, methods and forms, which the people have struggled for during the revolution, yet all this, they employed in the service of a reactionary essence and of such their own very reactionary aims.



For a change from the bolshevic reactionary reality, the idea and program of the Ukrainian national revolution lead up to a fundamental reconstruction of the whole life, in all its areas and manifestations. An uninterrupted ~~h~~ revolutionary struggle is being carried on for this positive content.

The Ukrainian national revolution is an uninterrupted, constant and progressive process, which embraces and penetrates all life. The order of its positive ideas and values stands against the bolshevic system not as an abstract theory and doctrine, but as a live and active dynamic force.

Corresponding to the spirituality, nature, wishes and interests of the broad national masses, ~~the~~ in putting before them concrete aims, how should be the content, order and forms of the entire life, in showing them a realistic path, how to achieve these aims - the ideas and programme of the Ukrainian revolution, together with the active revolutionary struggle, materialize and activate the national masses to struggle for their full coming to life by means of the destruction of bolshevism. Precisely the all the time greater developing, sharpening and deepening of the process of all-round struggle against the bolshevic system of reaction and the coming into being of the progressive aims is an <sup>ss</sup> essential characteristic of our revolution. Enhancing the national masses, this struggle is carried on in all areas and sectors of life: in the political, community, economic, spiritually-cultural, religious and others. The national masses put up opposition to the bolshevic system, not letting them get rooted and to easily make their aims reality, carry on an offensive against it, in forcing the regime to make concessions and a constant manipulation.

Our revolution is in a constant advance. Its ideas and program conquer in the clash with bolshevic reality, as they are true, more valuable and stronger. Therefore they grasp all the time broader national masses, spread further and among other peoples, unfree under

bolshevism, enhance and activate them in a revolutionary manner, and even penetrate into the ranks of the regime itself and partly desintegrate it, reaching enthusiastic, more valuable individuals by means of themselves.

THE IRREALITY OF THE EVOLUTIONARY CONCEPTS. THE NATURE OF THE BOLSHEVIC REGIME AND SYSTEM.

Such a process of growing pressure of the revolutionary ideas is essential for our revolution, but it does not exhaust our revolutionary struggle. By itself it would not lead to full victory, would not force bolshevism to such a gradual retreat, which would end in a revolutionary changeover, the transformation of the content and forms of life from the bolshevic system along the line of our program. This is impossible, as much as because of the very nature of bolshevism, and its system, as also regarding the state of affairs in the regime and its attitude to the peoples which it oppresses. The bolshevic regime, in its essence, remains in a ceaseless struggle against the masses of the nations which it oppresses, in which it could not maintain itself without its communist system of oppression (compulsion). The bolshevic regime and system are interrelated in such a manner, that when one falls, the other will fall too, one without the other cannot exist and cannot betray it without suicide. It is impossible to fully break the bolshevic regime by means of ideas, to desintegrate it morally, as it has neither ideas, nor any moral, at all. Instead of an idea, it has one aim: to rule and govern the subjugated nations and to subjugate others; to rule in the most absolutist manner, by means of total dictatorship and terror. Such a ruling gives the ruling clique - the party everything, which a desirous person, unidealistic, can only wish for. Instead of morals, the bolshevics have one principle: everything, which serves their aims, which aids them - must be accepted, and everything, which is in their way, can be and ought to be destroyed

by all kinds of means. The concepts of good and evil, crime and law, honour and shame, the permitted and forbidden means and methods, bolshevism does not recognize as the norms by which it would be bound, but deceitfully uses them with regard to the oppressed and other peoples, as means, elements of bolshevic dialectics and tactics.

By means of ideas and moral advance only the ideologically and morally valuable elements from the ranks of the regime can be reached and torn out. But there are not many of them there. The chief part of the Communist party and the bolshevic regime - is an unidealistic and amoral element, which knows only one thing: to either have everything by means of unlimited power, or not to be. One cannot influence such an element, which is the product of the bolshevic regime and party, by means of ideologically-moral values, it can only be destroyed.

For this one aim - the dictatorship of the party, the rule of the party to which actually the bolshevics had admitted from the very beginning, they, only by using the disguise of the proletariat, have built up and constantly strengthen and perfect their system. In it they have used all types of dictatorships, terror, a system of transforming the masses and peoples into an obedient instrument of force in the hands of a small group of people. Having selected and showed the most sophisticated samples, which the history of humanity knows, they have employed the achievements of modern technology in the service of this dictatorship. The whole bolshevic system has been brought to perfection in two aspects: total dictatorship within, and exploitation of the individual, peoples and means of the country in the creation of an instrument of force for imperialist expansion.

Bolshevism in such a manner deforms the whole life of the USSR, in order to make sure of the guaranteed subordination and obedience of the masses. For that it destroys all human communities, foremostly the strongest ones, - the family and the nation. It drives the entire

community to such a dispersal, that the regime would always have to deal with the isolated individual. The nationalization of all life in the first place of economic life, creates such a situation, that the regime immediately controls all means for life, and the citizen, deprived of them and any possibility for independent activity and survival, constantly lives in "the favour" and starves at the hands of the government, and for the least attempt at disobedience he is deprived of means to live. Further, because of the destruction of religion and any non-bolshevic values, both the imposed materialistic doctrine, and the entire bolshevic system of education are expected to help the regime to reduce the person to the role of a slave, who, dominated only by worry, how not to loose the minimal means for survival, which he can obtain only by means of subordination to the regime - will in all be an obedient instrument.

The communist system of total state capitalism has to limit the internal consumption of all goods to a possible lowest minimum and use all material means of the sub-bolshevic countries for aims of external exploitation. Anyway, allpowerful, having dominated the life of all the peoples and all people in the USSR, the bolshevic system smithes from them and the material means one instrument for violence and the subjugation of the world.

The system of lies, which the bolshevics have stretched to the utmost extent, - is one the main factors in the bolshevic tactics. It should paralyze and dominate the souls and minds of the people in the USSR and beyond its borders.

The bolshevic state all-powerfully dominates not only the collective, but also the individual life of every person, and rules the bolshevic state and uses it as an instrument, the criminal communist party - a union of anti-national and anti-human conspirators, headed by the regime of the USSR.

As it is impossible to break the bolshevic regime by only ideological pressure, so also the bolshevic system cannot be destroyed by partially fighting it and dealing with it in individual sectors, in stages.

By such means it might be undermined, weakened, but not abolished, nor forced into an evolutionary change. For bolshevism is based, not on the values and stability of its principles, doctrine and method of organizing life, but on violence and terror, which it cultivates and constantly strengthens and which it always takes resort to, is its argument. In totalitarian bolshevism the communist order and system and dictatorship of the regime constitute two indivisible parts of one entity (whole), connected with each other in such a manner, that as long as one of them lives, it gives little to the other, if it should fall.

Bolshevism cannot be destroyed by evolution, only by a total revolutionary confrontation, in which the organized revolutionary force, with immediate active participation of the broadest possible masses, in a mighty upheaval will destroy and tear out the very roots of the elements of bolshevism - the regime, the party, the system and doctrine, all its branches and manifestations. In this final confrontation the process of revolutionary struggle must be centred and culminate in it. Only after the destruction of bolshevism and the fall of the bolshevic prison - USSR, positive ideas and the programme of revolution will be introduced into life.

### THREE PHASES OF THE REVOLUTION

The Ukrainian national revolution, as a uniform process, consists of 3 phases. The first and second - are phases of struggle, the third - of statehood building.

In the first phase a process of lengthy, progressing underground struggle is carried on. In it, a striving first of all for the soul of the popular masses, their mobilization and activation on the side of the

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revolution, against bolshevism; the positions of the bolshevic system and the forces of the bolshevic regime are undermined, the organized strength of the revolution is growing. In this phase, a foundation-constructing process is being carried on; our ideas and program dominate the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people, are spread to other peoples, enslaved by bolshevism, determine for them the desired content and form of life in all sectors, become roadsigns of their activity - their goal, mobilize and organize the work for the putting into reality of our program.

The second phase, as the continuation of the first - is the phase of liberation: In it the lengthy liberation struggle is culminating, all forces are centred on direct open struggle with the bolshevic regime and its force, in the final general uprising of the nations.

The third phase - the construction in place of the destroyed USSR of independent national states, the safeguarding of their independence on the outside, the making come real of the ideas and program of liberation revolution in the state and social order, in the content and construction of all life.

We are living in the first phase, before the 2nd. All forces and all revolutionary action are directed towards the path of liberation - revolutionary struggle, in accordance with our concept of liberation.

The idea and program of common liberation-revolution struggle of all the nations, which are oppressed by Russian bolshevic imperialism, lies at the very foundation of our revolution concept. Bolshevism must be destroyed, and completely destroyed, everywhere, where it rules. Only by such means can it be conquered. Russian imperialism in the bolshevic guise must be destroyed in all the countries which it oppresses, independent national states must arise in the place of the USSR, and the Russian state should be limited to the ethnically Russian lands.

The limiting of the liberation struggle of every nation by its own national borders, the carrying on of the liberation struggle of every nation separately, not co-ordinated with the struggle of other peoples, would only give the bolsheviks a comfortable position, would make it possible for them to localize separate forces of revolution, to use their distancing and to conquer one opponent after the other. We put an equal sign between the Ukrainian revolution and the liberation of all nations unfree under bolshevism. We see the guarantee of the success of our struggle in that, that it spreads to other nations and will lead to that, that they all will carry on their liberation struggle in one general, co-ordinated revolutionary action. The weight of this struggle shall be distributed to all nations, not only Ukraine itself will be the fire of revolution and not only the Ukrainians the revolutionary element. The common anti-bolshevik front will include other peoples just as much, their masses will just as much, in such a measure take up active struggle, that a unified front of all elements hostile to the lonely regime and its servants, of all elements and forces hostile to it, shall be created on its own impetus. The success of our liberation struggle will give other nations just as much chances to become free.

Every liberation struggle of one people, which weakens bolshevism and leads up to its fall, in the same measure helps the liberation cause and struggle of other peoples enslaved by bolshevism. The essence of the common anti-bolshevik front consists of that, that the revolutionary strivings of all peoples constitute one co-ordinated whole (entity), have one common, general plan and strategy, every revolutionary movement is also directed towards the strengthening of the struggle of other nations. All revolutionary and active anti-bolshevik elements and forces carry on the struggle in every place, wherever they can, against

every part of the bolshevic force. Everyone participates in the anti-bolshevic liberation front, and if he is unable to fight immediately in the ranks of his own national revolutionary force, he participates in the struggle of the other, allied nation and because of that fights on a common liberation front, which will make his people free.

With such a common front of all subjugated peoples, the bolshevics will not any more be able to localize and disperse the forces of revolutionary struggle. There will no more be room for their strategy of conquering different nations one after the other, for the strategy of fighting one people with the help of sons of a different nation who are indifferent to its affairs, and for the dispersal of revolutionary forces by means of resettlement and the creation of national mixtures, particularly in the army and in great work centres. When one and the same, the very same, a common liberation struggle will happen everywhere, if in the consciousnesses of all nations there will be the understanding, that the struggle of every other people is a common fight, and in this manner also his own, then the dispersal and shifting of the masses in a revolutionary mood from their homeland into far countries will not help the bolshevics and will not break the force of the revolution, as everyone will be able to do the same everywhere.

One of the strongest bearers of victory of the liberation revolution of the people - is common action and co-operation, as between the allied liberation movements, so also among individuals, revolutionaries of all nationalities in the anti-bolshevic front.

#### THE LIBERATION CONCEPT AND REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGY

THE LEADING AIM OF THE ENTIRE ACTIVITY AND STRUGGLE OF OUN in the given phase - is the achievement of an independent united Ukrainian State. We subordinate everything to this aim, all should serve it.

Our liberation concept - is the revolutionary struggle of Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russian-bolshevic imperialism, in one



common anti-bolshevic front, . Ceaselessly, revolutionary action, constantly deepened, broadened and stepped up, carried on in various ways (forms) as a socio-political and partisan-military revolutionary struggle, should reach a general, open revolutionary uprising of the broadest possible masses of the nations enslaved by bolshevism, which will be the final confrontation with the bolshevic regime, imperialism and system.

Revolutionary strategy, is based on that, that there are deep and sharp contradictions, which stream through the whole life, between bolshevism , regime and system, the bolshevic state-prison on one hand, and the subjugated peoples, their masses and human being, on the other hand. In a ceaseless chain, constantly clashes and conflicts, are born from them, therefore the situation (condition) of inextinguishable struggle lasts. The revolutionary strategy, acts in the environment of the <sup>in</sup>impicifiable contradictions and conflicts, it is directed towards the mobilizing, organizing of the revolutionary energy of the masses, in order to centre it on such a manner and direct its action, in order that through the unceasing and systematic destruction of the positions and forces of the enemy his final annihilation (smash-up) might be achieved.

The revolutionary strategy which is directed to the exploitation and strengthening of all processes, which weaken and decompose the enemy of the internal conflicts and contradictions in his camp. Revolutionary action gradually undermines the forces and positions of the bolshevic ~~regi~~ regime, makes more difficult and all the time more impossible for them to utilize the national masses, as its forcible tool.

The final confrontation, the general revolutionary awakening (uprising) of the nations, will happen, when the revolutionary activation of the broadest masses of the nations, who are unfree in the USSR, shall reach such a degree, that with the initiatory performance - striking of the organized revolutionary force against the bolshevic regime

those masses no longer are its impassive instrument (tool), nor passive bystanders, but will form the part (side) of the active revolution. There might be many such fiery performances- outbursts, until the fire of a general uprising will reach the popular masses.

The overall (general) uprising (mobilization), as the final confrontation (reckoning) with bolshevism, can also happen, when the bolshevik regime will mobilize the masses for its own aims and shall place them under unusual pressure ( for instance, a war).

Our liberation concept - is a joint, revolutionary liberation war of all peoples unfree under bolshevism. We are counting on their active participation in the struggle, on their organized revolutionary forces and on the revolutionary potential of the broad masses of these nations. Our revolutionary political work is to a great extent directed in such a manner (thus), so as to awaken and activate the revolutionary energy of other peoples (nations)-of our natural allies , to help in the forming of their organized revolutionary forces and mobilize their popular masses for struggle.

A different, (another) , just as important moment,- is the creation of a common front, spreading the idea of struggling together, awakening the awareness among other peoples, that only through (by means of) it does the path towards their liberation lead, the strengthening (entrenching) of faith in the joint liberation front of the anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. From the great, dispersed and broken-up revolutionary energy of the peoples unfree under bolshevism, we should create one powerful, co-ordinated force, conscious of its invincibility, a force in struggle, acting planfully and unanimously.

The most important preconditions for the development of revolution and its victory in the general mobilization is the obviousness and being active of the organized revolutionary force, as the organizer and vanguard of the revolution - the revolutionary mobilization and

activation of the masses of the nations of the anti-bolshevik front; planned revolutionary strategy; a joint organized front in the current revolutionary liberation struggle ABN (anti-bolshevik bloc of nations).

Neutral forces and the international political set-up can be significant as helpful, but not decisive favourable agents (factors). We take them into consideration in such an interpretation of them and use them, but we reject any orientation on forces on the side apart, or the external set-up, that they of their own will bring liberation and that it is sufficient to limit ourselves to an awaiting and adjustment to them.

We reject concepts of an evolutionary construction, which calculate, that the USSR will evolve, under external pressure or under the pressure of internal forces, in such a manner, that the result would be freedom (liberation). From coercion from outside or within, the bolshevik regime can only employ strategic manoeuvres, temporary concessions, playing the waiting game.

We use any concessions and strategic retreats of the regime for the confirmation (strengthening) of revolutionary action. But we shall obtain liberation only by means of a revolution, by means of the total destruction of bolshevism, by our own strength of the peoples (nations) enslaved by it.

Ukraine is the centrifugal factor in the liberation revolution of nations.

PP. 18-44 CONCERNING THE PROBLEM OF POLITICAL CONSOLIDATION

"This article of Stephan Bandera, signed S.A. Siryj, was printed in the monthly journal "The politics of Liberation" (London, year I, No. 4-5, June-July 1946). One year after the Second World War, when the attention of the majority of the Ukrainian emigration was focused on external political events and matters, or on the further fate of the DP's in the refugee camps, the author of this article calls for the political unification of all Ukrainian creative forces in emigration, seeing in them a serious factor for the aid of the struggling homeland. According to the words of Stephan Bandera, the chief task was to unify these forces, to consolidate them into one force without their losing their particular differentiation. This problem occupied him from 1945. Therefore he returned to the question of political consolidation throughout the years in his articles and letters. (See: "A word to the Ukrainian Nationalists-Revolutionaries beyond the borders of the homeland" in 1948, "For a completed political structure " from 1958, "Interview for the Radio Programme of V. Sharvan in Buffalo, U.S.A." in 1959, and also the letters to Ganko from 15.12.1945, to "Krez" from 16.8.1947, and to "Nashas" from

11.1.1947). Also excerpts from the article "About the problem of political consolidation" were printed in the "Leadership's Releases"

N. 2 from August 1946.

In his articles about the subject of consolidation, S. Bandera continuously posed the unchanging precondition, that "the political groupings should be guided by one fundamental political imperative, the "striving for the realization of the chief goal; the independent united Ukrainian state and that for this goal they should subordinate all their narrower, party goals", and that they should aim at this goal in one path - the path of national liberation revolution.

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The striving for the consolidation of the entire Ukrainian political life in emigration, especially that, which occupies the broad general public of the community, has in its deepest source a healthy instinct for the great need of our being and of liberation politics. Yet in the practical political plans and attempts, which emanate from various party centres, we can notice the overbearing narrow party aims and tendencies, with which these centres strive to channel the healthy drive of the masses to consolidation into the floodwater of

party politics and into their party fields. All those, who are enthused over the concept of consolidation, without narrow party calculations, strive toward the unification, the gathering of all forces, countering the dispersal of the political energy of the Ukrainian emigration, strive toward the further definition and co-ordination of activity in all areas, and principally of political action. Yet, it is not as easy to achieve those desired effects in reality, as it might seem at a superficial analysis of the problem.

The mechanical consolidation itself, of which the great majority of its advocates is naturally thinking, - surely would not achieve seriously positive consequences. On the contrary, if we should only formally combine various political centres, yet they would like to continue on their own political paths, not only in secondary questions, but also on the principal matters of Ukrainian internal and external policy,- then the result, instead of a strengthening, should be a weakening, instead of unification - a reciprocal paralysis. A mechanical unification, without the real agreement on the main matters of our liberation policies without one common political platform, which would outline one path to one, common goal,- not only would not strengthen the whole of Ukrainian political energy on the path towards liberation,

but would also slow down the activity of the various parts of our political reality, and would neutralize the achievement by their positive efforts. The picture of such political unity of the Ukrainian emigration and its constituent political parts would only be an optical illusion, such unity would appear real only at too superficial a glance. Added to this the squalid external activity of a creation of mechanical consolidation, caused by essential internal differences, would in its external political effects be equal to the impotence of the entire Ukrainian forces in emigration.

The characteristic feature of all plans for a mechanical unification is the effort to create a collective construct - conglomerate of various , according to the potential of all political groupings, without inculcating the process of a grass-roots internal political consolidation, as the result of which all the groups , members of the federation, would accept one common political platform a common line and common principles of liberation politics. These moments of internal consolidation also are not included in such projects, but they in practice are there on deferred planning, therefore they ought to be the consequences of a foregoing, mechanical unification.

The idea of a mechanical consolidation exists also among that part

of the emigrational community, which does not sufficiently deeply understand the essence of our political problems, which strives towards unity and a uniform political action, but wants to see the same internal essence in the external outlets. They often think, that the main thing is that various political groupings create some common political organization and the rest - will come to be eventually. But in such simplified, superficial methods there is no path towards a defined goal, on the contrary, they can only hold up and increase the difficulties of the process of national unification. Should the beginning be made from creating a mechanical construct and only then consider the chief, essential problems and difficulties, then unsuccessful efforts and attempts would only uproot the ground for other efforts towards unification, which are founded on healthy foundations. The unsuccessful efforts and lifeless constructs would only in a wasteful manner absorb the energy of political centres and forces, they would create a condition of mutual paralysis and neutralization, of waste of energy in an endless pulling of the cord, still water and the inability for external action.

First of all, before answering the question, what kind of unification is possible for us and what we need, it is suitable to consider the essence of this problem in terms of a positive understanding.



We have in mind the creation of such an order and of mutual relations of Ukrainian political directions, forces, tendencies and actions, so that they all, while preserving their positive characteristics, separate goals and traits, while preserving their own path of development, should foremostly strive towards the realization of one, common national goal, should strive towards it in the most general definition - one common path in the essential questions of national being, should recognize one <sup>h</sup> hierarchical order of the chief values, similar interests of the evaluation of the fundamental questions of national politics, should respect and bring into being one chief principle of the internal national order of matters and should recognize the authority of one, highest leading agent and representative body of Ukraine.

There must be room in such a framework for the processes of internal differentiation, crystallization and growth of separate tendencies, movements and groupings, the possibility for a constant development in the arrangement and relations among these factors and national conditions for a healthy emulation and competition for influence.

Therefore, just as on one hand we do not recognize the tendency towards a mechanical, only external conglomeration of various groups, which later on would follow various conflicting paths, also, on the other hand, we do not immerse our hands in such concepts, which direct the political consolidation towards the path of a breaking of natural progress and of the development of political thought and action (by means of the petrification of an obvious constellation, and mutual relation of forces) and which (tendencies) create a petrified structure of internal Ukrainian life, which makes impossible the free, healthy development of separate movements, political directions and forces.

In the question whether there are the most important, especially neutral, preconditions for the process of the unification of Ukrainian political groups in emigration, two moments are of main significance: first, whether those Ukrainian political factors, of which we are thinking have one common goal, and secondly, whether in the present overall political situation we can march towards this goal on several different, or only <sup>102</sup> one path.

We can only count among the Ukrainian national political agents and groups those, which recognize the platform of state independence and sovereignty of Ukraine, therefore, who recognize as the chief and most important goal of Ukrainian politics and all the strivings of the

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Ukrainian people -- the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian Bolshevik oppression and the renewal of the sovereign Ukrainian state. That is the main precondition, in order to consider any group for political unification, and, in general, in order to recognize for it in any measure a place among the Ukrainian political factors. The majority of the Ukrainian political groups in emigration have ostensibly adopted such a general national political platform. It is another matter, whether, and to what extent, the various groups, ascertain, by their political activity, ~~this~~ their ostensible attitude. But we shall not consider this problem. It is necessary to pay attention for every such political agent, which in life political practice has not sunk to the opposite stand, but has ASPIRING <sup>ely</sup> elements, which, at being included in the wide setup of political forces with a correct political line, shall render it a healthy national creative content. It is necessary to allow all groups with such features a place and an opportunity to enter such a construct of consolidation.

The first and main precondition for participation in a political unification is, that the political groups should be guided by one fundamental political imperative in the struggle for the achievement of the chief goal. The Independent Ukrainian State and that, ~~is~~

to that end they should subordinate all their narrower, party interests.

The second precondition<sup>y</sup> for full political unification - is the recognition of only one path to achieve this common goal. Because, even under the ideal adhesion to the first precondition. If other than one possible policy of sovereignty, there should be room for another one or more, which would also have chances for success, then of course, some groups would pursue one path, and others would choose different paths, according to their general political orientation. Such a situation would create an unfavourable ground for a ~~real~~ full consolidation, if we should understand it not only as a recognition of common highest values and the striving to one goal, but as a unification, a uniformity of practical political activity in the most important matters, this that there should be one Ukrainian liberation policy.

It depends on various factors, first of all on the given general situation, how many possible paths confront the policy of the people. This is a complicated question, which cannot be schematically solved.

The fundamental rule, tried out and entrenched by the historical experience of peoples, commands, that even then, when several paths <sup>be</sup> open up before the policy of the nation as a whole, it should not dis-

perse itself, but should preserve its uniformity in the most important matters.

But in the life of peoples, there are sometimes extraordinary situations, when this principle cannot be adhered to and, under the pressure of the exigencies of life of the competition of the people for the foundations of its own being and development, they follow various paths at simultaneously. Sometimes the situation is such that there is, in the grass-roots questions of the being of the nation, no absolute, doubtless certainty, that only one single path and way out confronts the entire nation. In such moments the mechanism of political differentiation takes action. The result is not always a practical division of fronts. Sometimes this process does not find a practical outlet and does not go further than the sphere of opinions and moods. But in extraordinary situations, when the fundamental, grass-roots affairs of the people are at stake, in which its fate is being decided, and the chances, as well as the risks, spread out on two or several paths,- then the political instinct of the people directs the life and national politics of the people simultaneously on to various, often contradictory paths, in order to secure itself before the greatest risk, which is to stake the fate of the people on only one card.

Although this creates a complicated and contrary internal situation, and a difficult external situation for the people, yet sometimes this is a necessary and eventually a blessed revelation of the political maturity of the nation. Often in this there even is no planned division of roles, but a peculiar mechanism comes into action, so that the various political forces go different paths, which suit them.

During the past World War such a process of division of fronts took place among many European peoples in the for them crucial situations. The observation of such phenomena convince, that in some cases this was gainful for those people, and in others - detrimental. It is difficult to ascertain an absolute rule in the evaluation of the processes of the division of practical political action of the nation onto two or more paths. The general rule is that those processes are detrimental, because they spread out the forces and energy of the nation at that time, when they should be utmostly centralized. Because of such a division a nation often loses in all stakes, whereas, having concentrated all its potential on one of the possible paths, it would have reached its goal.

But there are exceptional situations, in which the policy of a nation, regarding the external forces and international constellations

and processes, must simultaneously travel various, spread out, and often contradictory paths. Whenever the situation demands a division of roles and staking on more than one card, then the imperative of the times is not a unification of policy, but its differentiation.

This type of situation exists mostly in peoples, which struggle for their sovereignty. Sometimes, for the strengthening of the external political effect of the activity of one political direction, the evidence and co-operation of other directions is yet necessary. It may happen, that the political action of along one line achieves a positive effect particularly in another direction, which can be used and turned into the good of the whole, only another political factor, which follows the respective political line.

In such historical moments, when the fate of the nation is decided, in the struggle, it is necessary to start out from the chief question, what is the possible and most suitable actual policy and what internal political constellation best suits the exigencies of the moment. Therefore, political consolidation cannot be an end in itself, but a means, a political instrument.



For the development and growth of the strength of the people the process of consolidation of various political elements can, in itself, have positive and detrimental, slowing down influences. But in such a situation, when the defense of the very foundations of the life and development of a nation is at stake, all internal political processes must be subordinated to the exigencies and needs of this struggle for survival. Also the development and the constallation of the forces of the people ought to be exactly such, as best helps to endure in that historical moment. Therefore the aspect of the struggle against offense from the outside is of dominant significance in this question.

Is there open more than one path before the Ukrainian liberation policy in the present situation?

Only a single one. This is the path of uncompromising revolutionary struggle against bolshevic Russian imperialism, on which path all the liberation forces of Ukraine have come to stand. This this path is the only one - is best shown by the fact, that there is no other concept or action for sovereignty and liberation.

This is true not only of the homeland.\*

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\* This is a term popular among the members of the UWO and CUN for the Ukrainian territories, chiefly the western part, for differentiation from the exile, where the leadership of the organization was staying.

It is not necessary to separate the political activity beyond the borders from the political reality in Ukraine. Because all emigre political conception without the support and corresponding reality in the homeland - is a branch torn off the trunk. But even among the emigre political groups themselves, after a complete bankruptcy of one orientational policy after the other, the conviction matured, that in the present situation of Ukraine the only possible and correct one is the revolutionary concept of uncompromising struggle against bolshevism, which counts on the own forces of Ukraine and on the common struggle of other peoples, who in a similiar situation struggle for their life against the very same enemy, and which attributes to the outside forces and the changing international constellations the significance of added, or helping agents.

Now no political group in emigration does not pose and effectuate another serious concept of liberation. It is necessary to state more accurately, that now the majority of emigre political groups does not effectuate any live political concept. The actual content of their existence is sporadic reacting to some events and mostly operating with theorizigg, which is far removed from reality, programatical and declaratory. But at the head of active policy there is only one

concept of sovereignty which pertains to revolutionary and liberation activity.

Thus, there exists, quite in reality, another fundamental precondition for the consolidation of Ukrainian political factors, also beyond the borders. Not only are there no objective hindrances, but on the contrary, the present political situation, the last squabbles of Ukrainian political activity and actual political reasoning - simply remind us, as a necessity, that all Ukrainian political agents and forces should uniformly strive along one path towards the liberation, unification and state sovereignty of Ukraine.

In considering the question of the consolidation of Ukrainian political forces and activity, it is necessary to pay attention to the obvious state of Ukrainian political life and the constellation of political forces in the homeland and in emigration. We must start out from this, in order to create the hoped-for Ukrainian political reality and the corresponding formulation of the entire ~~Ukrainian~~ Ukrainian political forces. We ought to accept the positive moments of that state as the foundation, the groundwork for the proposed constellation, and the negative ones it is necessary to review as well as those spots, that have to be repaired or rebuilt.

In the Ukraine there is an unceasing and ruthless struggle between two unreconcilable worlds. Against the Russian bolshevik imperialism and totalitarianism, against bolshevik oppression, violence and the entire system of the bolshevik regime stands a uniform front of Ukrainian revolutionary sovereign liberation movement. A single-handed monolithic Ukrainian sovereignty force stands in the struggle against bolshevism. In the hard conditions under bolshevism there is no place for half-way positions, for weak political creations ready for everything. There, there is no place for vegetating. Ruthless struggle or capitulation. Under such conditions all political groups which look for the possibilities of compromise, in other words for the possibility to exist and act on the middle field between the fronts of the struggle, have left the field of active action for non-being. In the Ukraine one only liberation concept has been left and has survived, the concept of the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalist movement, one political activity - the revolutionary struggle, the only active political force - the revolutionary OUN and one military force - the revolutionary UPA.

The revolutionary liberation struggle of OUN and UPA has become the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people into which all active elements striving for sovereignty have become included, never mind their party political face. The Revolutionary OUN continues to be the initiator, the motor, the leading and chief fighting force in the revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine. Such a spreading of the struggle, which embraces all elements of the entire Ukraine which are struggling for sovereignty, has found its corresponding structural political form in the creation of a general national political form of a revolutionary - statehood type.

UPA has been conceived at the initiative of OUN as a general national revolutionary army, in which all those, who want to struggle for the liberation of Ukraine from under the bolshevik Russia and for a sovereign united Ukrainian State, fight. There is no party principle, nor party politics, in UPA. As the result of a whole historical development of the liberation struggle during the last war, especially as a result of the fact that the revolutionary struggle of the independent forces in Ukraine has come to embrace the entire people and all walks of life, a whole underground system of independent state life has been formed, which exists, and acts independently and against the

occupational, first the Hitler one, and then the Bolshevic state system. IN this formation the elements of state organization and the elements for the underground system of the organizing of community life and political action are joined. To culminate the process of the creation of the Ukrainian underground state life and the revolutionary state ~~formation~~ formation, the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council has been formed - the revolutionary, highest state organ of Ukraine.

In the Ukraine two statehood formations stand each against each other. The first - the so-called USST - is the puppet of the Russian bolshevic imperialism and its instrument for the oppression and exploitation of Ukraine, which can be upheld only with the aid of ruthless terrorism. It does not stand on guard for the good of Ukraine, it does not safeguard the rights for living of the Ukrainian people, but stands in the service of the ~~foreign~~ Russian imperialist centre and of the bolshevic party. USSR does not stem from the will of the Ukraine, on the contrary, it is a reversal of it and a political creation for its oppression.

~~Against~~

Against this foreign, lawless, forcibly superimposed formation, the so-called USSR, stands the independent Ukrainian state formation, whose highest power is the UHWR. As a revolutionary, state formation, it leads in the struggle against the bolshevik system, exists and acts in Ukraine thanks to the use of the proper underground methods, against the bolshevik oppression. Although it does not fully carry out the sovereign rights and all state functions in Ukraine, even though until now the bolshevik system and regime still have not been removed from Ukraine, yet at the present time it, and not the USSR, is the embodiment of Ukrainian statehood, a Ukrainian state creation, which enacts the will of Ukraine, defends its rights and represents it before the foreign countries.

UHWR, as the revolutionary highest body of Ukraine, although it does not carry out all the functions of a normal state government, instead carries out the most important and essential role of the highest state body of a nation, ~~which~~ which is in the midst of the struggle for its existence, precisely: it heads this struggle. Although it does not have all the formal and obvious attributes, which externally characterize state bodies and their functions, yet of the greater value and significance is the fact, that the state activity of UHWR possesses

the recognition and obedience of the Ukrainian people.

This is an uncommon show of the highest moral and political authority of a national state body, the more so because it does not possess the means of a <sup>normal</sup> ~~normal~~ state executive and force, but on the contrary is persecuted with the most ruthless methods and means at the disposal of a totalitarian terrorist occupational system. The broad popular masses follow it, carry out its orders and suggestions, in spite of the fact that in this way they draw upon themselves the most cruel persecution and destruction on the part of the bolsheviks, but do not discard it even in the face of death.

Under these conditions, the truth and lawfulness of the Ukrainian independent state formation with its revolutionary, highest state body - UHWR at its lead, its moral and political authority, position and significance are revealed and constantly witnessed more than under a normal state life . The Ukrainian people again and again documents its unbreakable will to an independent life, not by means of elections, and voting, but by means of its constant struggle, full of sacrifices , and proves that mandate, that it, as the only sovereign of Ukraine, gives the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council, which heads and represents the Ukrainian independent statehood.



In Ukraine, the process of political consolidation of all national elements struggling for independence has already been enacted on the platform of the UHWR. How was this consolidation formed and how was it brought into being? There, as a counter-balance to the bolshevik regime and its system, there is only one camp striving for independence. The common liberation struggle, in which all, who are against bolshevism, and for an independent Ukrainian state, immediately or by means of delegation participate, or at least are in solidarity with it and sympathize with it, as the uniting factor. In UPA, volunteers-revolutionaries fight, disregarding their party orientation. And in UHWR there are the chief activists, leaders from various political centres.

Only the one revolutionary OUN has remained in the field of struggle in Ukraine as an organized political force. It is necessary to remark on the fact, that now in Ukraine there is no other political organization or groups striving for independence, which shows its existence by a noticeable political activity. We shall not analyse this fact broadly here, yet we shall remark, that the reason is, on one hand, the very difficult bolshevik conditions, and on the other, -the weaknesses of all other political ideas and groups. And as the result- either to be

the adherents of other political directions are not capable of conceiving an own political activity in the conditions under the bolsheviss, or the ideas and the entire political content of other political directions cannot grasp that sector, which is ready for the struggle under those conditions.

Yet numerous elements from other political directions have joined and actively participate in the liberation struggle with the revolutionary CUN has started and organized - they have joined not as political groups, but individually, as persons, who went to struggle for the freedom of Ukraine and join in the already ~~existing~~ existing, tried out and hardened revolutionary ranks. For all those patriots - fighters the narrow party matters are of secondary importance, the most important thing - is the actual struggle itself.

In evaluating and respecting such a highly patriotic attitude of the independentists of other party directions and in order to make it easier for the adherents of different party programs to participate in the revolutionary liberation struggle, - CUN gave the impetus for the creation of a general national revolutionary armed force - UPA, and eventually, with the broadening of the revolutionary struggle to the scope of an all-popular revolutionary movement, thanks to the

formation of UPA the creation of UHWR came about.

Although other than GUN, there is no other political organization struggling for independence and carrying out an activity, yet UHWR in its concept, structure and in its personal membership is not a one-party body, but as a state formation and as a state body, is founded on a supra-party principle. In UHWR many different political directions are represented, because there, there are <sup>Y</sup>activists from different political groups.

The ~~init~~initiative for that came from UPA. According to the political, ideological understanding of GUN, a one-party system in the life of the state and in the state ~~re~~formation does not correspond to the needs of a full and healthy national development. In the statehood organization of a people there must be room for political differentiation, crystallization and the free development of political groups and for a healthy, creative competition among them. The state organs themselves, in carrying out their functions, must stand on supra-party positions: first of all care for the well-being of the whole, and only further justly defend the interest of all positive members.

The present situation in Ukraine, where the foreign enemy force suppresses and paralyzes the free development of political life,-

is a normal. We are fighting for the full political freedom in a free Ukraine, and in the sovereign Ukrainian state the possibility for the existence and development of political groups should be guaranteed. The process of the organization and activation of political groups should not conflict with the concept and state formation, which is headed by UHWR, but can, at any time, come to be within its framework. If other political organizations or groups, who would really adopt the position of liberation struggle and the state independence of Ukraine, should already now carry on or start their activity in Ukraine, - they would immediately find their place within the framework of UHWR.

*enthusiasm and*

Thus in Ukraine, in the ~~enthusiasm~~ *enthusiasm and* greatest tension of the revolutionary liberation struggle simultaneously two very important historical processes have culminated: an independent revolutionary underground formation of Ukraine has been created and the political consolidation of all active elements of the Ukrainian people striving for independence has come into being. This consolidation has been born by an organic order of historical development. It is alive and enduring, because it arose in the name of the immortal, great, common to all idea and has come into being on a statehood platform - within the framework of the state formation.

It is necessary to clearly bear in mind and to expressively state, that the creation of an underground state formation and the activity of the revolutionary state government in Ukraine in the conditions under bolshevism - is such a high moral and political, and revolutionary and reorganisational achievement, which we do not find in the history of other peoples in the present ~~era~~, so rich in events,. Similar political phenomena in other peoples, even though they are significantly weaker and created not in such difficult circumstances and also with external help, have in the world the recognition and fame of the highest achievements in the struggle for independence. Not to understand and not to appreciate one's own achievements, ~~which~~ which are daily achieved at the expense of such great sacrifices - is a feature of moral degeneration and political blindness, inability to appreciate the value and ability of one's people. And to diminish or disrespect this achievement of the liberation struggle before the foreign countries, is an unforgivable national crime .

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And now let us consider the situation in emigration. Here the Ukrainian political life and the constellation of political forces is significantly different than in the homeland. Thanks to freedom there exist here numerous political groups and organizations. Here there is ~~not~~ immediate struggle with the enemy, and the political life to a significant extent is filled with the party life, minor inter-party competition and squabbles and a programist theorizing which is far removed from life and reality.

In other circumstances, in a different condition, ~~than~~ in the homeland, the process of political consolidation in emigration must proceed differently and find an appropriate form. In considering the question, as to which of the concepts of consolidation in emigration is the most correct one, it is first of all necessary to ascertain, to which moment in this matter we attribute the decisive significance.

Our position is such, that in the present situation of Ukraine in all the questions of Ukrainian politics, on the whole and in its separate parts, the chief matter is the aspect of liberation struggle itself, and the decisive criteria is its exigencies and needs. All that helps this struggle, favours it and strengthens it, everything that raises its effectiveness and success by the lines of liberation -

all that is good, is positive.

Thus the consolidation process of Ukrainian ~~pl~~ political forces and actions in emigration also must be subordinated to this general principle. Consolidation has the task of helping to include, if possible, into the liberation activity, all political forces, to co-ordinate their actions and to raise its, for the cause of liberation, positive effect, in order to create such an internal Ukrainian political constellation and such a structure, which could guarantee the maximum centering of Ukrainian forces in the immediate struggle, in other words, would create, in the action related to this struggle a uniform internally collected formation of all forces striving for liberation, which would oppose the enemy in a monolithical and co-ordinated fashion and would always act uniformly ~~and~~ in agreement before the whole world. All these chief goals of consolidation are also active in emigration. Even though here there is no immediate struggle with the enemy, as there is in the homeland, yet all political activity must be channelled as a supportive action for the struggle in the homeland. The political forces in emigration must, with co-ordination carry on such an external political activity, in order to be able to the utmost degree to help and support the liberation struggle in Ukraine, to achieve the

best external political effect of the struggle in the homeland, and to manifest and entrench before the whole world the fact, that all national ~~lib~~ liberation forces of Ukraine as in the homeland, so also in emigration, constitute a uniform front and a uniform political formation in the struggle against the Russian bolshevism and state independence of Ukraine.

In short: consolidation must effectuate an internal strengthening of the Ukrainian liberation front, a strengthening of its external positions and an increase of the external political success of the revolutionary liberation struggle. Both these moments, the internal and external one, contain all the most important goals of the plans for consolidation.

It emerges already distinctly from such a definition of the goals, what concept and what definition of consolidation could give the best effect.

The first and most important matter - is the co-ordination of the political life and actions of the emigration with the liberation struggle in the homeland. To unify the whole of the Ukrainian politics for independence in such a manner, that there would be only one line, and that all political action in emigration, of all its agents would be



connected to the liberation struggle in Ukraine. The unification of the entire emigration, of all political factors and the connection of them with the liberation movement in the homeland in a uniform national state formation, in which all elements striving for independence would find their place - political groups, organizations and other factors, in order that the entire Ukrainian ~~world~~ striving for independence should form a uniform whole of a statehood type.

The concept of consolidation, one statehood platform within the framework of an independent, acting statehood formation, with the principle of the political primacy of liberation struggle in the Ukraine gives such a solution - consolidation on the platform and within the framework of UHMR.

A Ukrainian independent state formation, headed by the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council, which embraces and unifies all the elements ~~in~~ striving for liberation in the homeland, gives the best platform and organizational forces for such a similar unification and embrace<sup>v</sup> of the entire emigration, of all its elements striving for independence. Thanks to the fact that it is not a party or inter-party body, but a state formation, all elements and factors, which constitute the whole of the Ukrainian national emigration can find their appropriate place

in it. Thus, political organizations and groups, various political factors, which represent the Ukrainian statehood tradition, which in their time have received a mandate from the people, as heads and members of governments, of the Ukrainian State, or as parliamentary representatives of the Ukrainian people or of its parts; representations of the central general community, institutions, organizations by <sup>gender</sup> ~~gender~~ (or professional ones), the Ukrainian churches, of the world of science and knowledge, generally - the entire Ukrainian emigration.

All these factors, having entered into one general state formation of UHWR, in its emigre part, shall actively participate in the state struggle, which are founded chiefly on the liberation struggle in the homeland. They shall be connected with it politically and shall ~~consti-~~ <sup>continue to</sup> ~~tute in with~~ contribute to strengthening and entrenching its external political successes and thus shall make their positive contribution to the cause of liberation. By such means they gain and strengthen (now and for the future) their place in the constellation of Ukrainian state-creative elements. Along with ~~ti/~~ this all these factors, in co-ordinating their activity along the uniform line of state liberation policy, preserve their characteristic differences and bring into being their narrower characteristic goals.

When this conception of consolidation shall become reality, then as a result the entire life of the Ukrainian emigration shall have such an internal structure, which ordinary peoples have, who have a statehood life. The respective external organs of UHWR shall carry out the functions of the highest, leading state agent, although without all the means of a <sup>moral</sup> ~~usual~~ state executive and such sanctions, but making use of the means of political and moral categories, as the authority of a generally recognized state factor having internal solidarity and self-discipline.

The present attitude of several <sup>of</sup> factors in emigration, who have a negative or indifferent attitude towards the liberation struggle in Ukraine, especially to UHWR, coming from narrow party motives - cannot have an essential decisive significance, neither on the state and development of events in the homeland, nor on the external political position ~~our~~ <sup>of</sup> our cause, as the UHWR represents it. Yet the fact, whether these factors demonstrate their solidarity and thus contribute towards the success of the cause, or whether they carry on an unfavourable and detrimental action, even if only informative, cannot be without significance. Even if their actions, unfavourable to the UHWR, should not have any immediate results, already the fact

itself, that it exists, as Ukrainian, undermines the moral positions, and that throws a shadow on the whole. On the other hand, a uniform attitude on the principal matters of Ukrainian liberation, displayed before the entire people and before the foreign ~~by~~ world, and also at this with the preservation of a healthy, internal political differentiation, must certainly and to a large extent should bring about the internal strengthening of the liberation front and the strengthening of the external political position of the Ukrainian cause.

The question, why precisely such a consolidation ~~on~~ a state platform, and not only on the basis of an inter-party agreement, <sup>is</sup> to a great extent illustrated by the preceding reflections. Foremost the exigencies of liberation policy and struggle are of decisive significance.

The state formation of UHWR provides the best platform and organisational framework for the unification of all political agents in emigration, striving towards independence. Foremost it poses important, supra-party statehood political tasks, around which all the forces of Ukrainian emigration, in that number also all political groups, shall unite in political action. The statehood platform and such an organisational framework as will best help to solve all inter-party

problems, and a common vivid activity will best gather all positive forces.

Even if consolidation on a statehood basis, then why precisely on the platform of UHNR, and not, for example, on the platform of UNR? Such, say among others, shall be the voices of opposition to this plan.

We shall immediately reply to this. With this we shall not attempt to give an exhaustive answer, especially it is not necessary here to go into an analysis of statehood-legal positions of the factors from the camp of UNR. Because the goal of all these reflections - is to put forward such positive moments, which lead to political pacification and unification, and not to sharpen conflicting and disunifying questions. Therefore, we shall use real political facts and shall touch only on that, which is necessary for illustrating the posed question, which we here have cannot omit.

First of all, the UNR as a political factor, can appear only in the role of an emigrational factor. The history of its activity, especially in the last two decades, has no obviously recognized and documented this political fact as well as for the Ukrainian, so also for the foreign political world, that there is no need to prove it, as it is also impossible to seriously deny it. IN putting forth the

~~the~~ thesis about the present so-called government UHR, as the bearer and representative of the Ukrainian ~~p~~ government, then, in keeping <sup>in</sup> silence the state-legal page of this question, one could only appeal to the past, to the history of Ukrainian statehood in the years 1918-20 and support the thought, that it preserved in emigration the mandate and competences of a legal government of Ukraine.

If there were not, in our liberation struggle and in the entire political development in Ukraine, from the beginning of the past World War, that revolutionary state life and that process of growth of the revolutionary state formation from live reality, which was culminated by the creation of UHR, then, probably, our ~~liberation~~ liberation policy now would have to rely on the past and, in counter-action to the Russian bolshevik position, the so-called government of USSR, put forward the traditional emigrational government as the representative of the Ukrainian statehood tradition. It is another matter, whether in that case the government of UHR, or for instance the UDP from 1941 should fulfill that role. But we ~~may~~ here shall not consider that question, because there is no such current need.

But the underground state formation and the highest revolutionary state body in Ukraine - UHR, which exists and acts in Ukraine as a political fact and factor, has a great supremacy over the emigrational or traditional governments as for the revolutionary struggle itself, so also for the international

position of the Ukrainian cause. It would be superfluous to prove that here more broadly.

For whom the significance and need to develop the liberation policy and the revolutionary struggle in Ukraine itself is of little importance and whom it does not convince much, should consider, what significance and meaning in the present world politics analogical factors in other peoples have, what evaluation is attributed ~~to~~ to these factors in the politics of foreign states. For before our very eyes towards the end of the war, and after its termination various emigre governments, which during the war rendered their allies significant services and gained significant positions, - met from the part of these allies with numerous acts with which their significance and role is undermined or abolished. And instead the policy of their allies-superpowers strives to gain influences and positions, at the cost of their fall (or being undermined) regarding those political processes and forces, which exist and are current in the homeland of those emigre governments. The basis for such an attitude of the Western superpowers to the emigre and homeland factors of the subjugated nations is, other than the motives of political tactics versus the USSR, a consequential and cold realism of their policy regarding those people. Calculating on that, that the subjugated peoples concerned have to play a real role in international relations as factors of power, and not only for propaganda - the policy of the superpowers is

oriented first of all on that which happens in those countries, or that development of events ~~in~~ which are taking place there, and on those forces and factors, which form the reality in the homeland. Today even weak, ~~and~~ problematic relations with the home factors concerned, then the support of the allies - the emigre governments - loyal to them have greater significance for them.

From a political point of view this is neither ~~loyalty~~ loyalty to the allies, nor ungratefulness, but simply a hard-headed political realism which considers the people as a whole, that precisely its chief part, acting on its own territory, and not the emigre ~~part~~ fragment as the chief political subject and factor.

Those Ukrainian emigre political factors, particularly those, *who have* departed too far from the grounds of political truth, that is, the truth, (that a people in its ~~is~~ liberation struggle must first of all be guided by the rationale and needs of that struggle) and rely too much on rescue from the outside world, and gazing into foreign political horizons, take foreign criteria and measurements produced for other, different political situations, for the evaluation of our political problematics, must learn such international political demonstrative lessons. We can easily become convinced by those examples, which the present world events now give in such an abundance, that also in the foreign hard-headed politics of the "high class" such political problems as we have, are judged with the same criteria and rules which also our "g home-grown" revolutionary



movement makes use of. Perhaps, on account of this, it shall also be easier to find mutual language.

In observing the positions (on one hand, those in the homeland, and on the other, of the emigre political factors of other peoples, their attitude thereas well as other Western newspapers) and the entire evolution of those relations in the last few years, it becomes so much easier to understand, of what a great political significance the existence and activity of an underground state formation and of such a revolutionary government in Ukraine is. Counterposing it to the bolshevic puppet has, on the international arena, much stronger attributes and a more convincing force, than the exhibition of the emigre government. Because the very fact of its existence and activity on the Ukrainian territory and the fact, that the bolshevics cannot destroy it, even though they use all the means of a totalitarian NKWD-s state machinery at their disposal - is such a strong and obvious testimony of its rooting in the people and its strength, that no enemy propaganda can do anything against this testimony.

Yet any emigre government, even that - which has at the same time all aspects of its lawfullness and military power, but together with this the fact that it is in emigration, that its seat is beyond the borders of the homeland, and not in the homeland itself, cannot have such a significance. Speaking of the "government of UNR", probably nobody could claim, that its weakest point is the fact

that it exists in emigration.

If the political center UHR wants to defend the thesis about the UHR as the government of Ukraine, then it is necessary to state, that during the last few years, so important and rich in far-reaching events in the history of the liberation struggle, it has not at all manifested itself in that role.

It is hard to understand, how they can have such pretenses, knowing, that the pretender to the position of government of Ukraine not only has not lead the liberation struggle of the last era, but did not even react to the events in Ukraine in such a sense, as ought to be expected from the bearer and representative of the statehood independence of Ukraine. In such a role the actual content of the "activity" of that "government" would only be ~~in~~ inactivity.

It is necessary to emphasize ~~and~~ once more at this point, that we neither want to carry on polemics, nor analyse or illustrate the positions and the role of the UHR here. Should that be necessary, then we would have to subject first of all the statehood-legal side of the question, as well as the entire political activity of the factor UHR from the beginning of its emigre history, to critical analysis. We don't do that now, because we strive towards such a political consolidation, in which all the participant political factors stand on a correct political platform, enter into an unshakeable independentist and unifying statehood construct and in it shall carry on an agreed upon and tried out correct work.

We have in mind the present liberation struggle and the perspectives for the future, then along with that it would be useless to touch on the negative moments, if there will be a guarantee, that they belong only to the past, and the given political camp moves on to the correct positions. Or that it would be different. Then it would be necessary not to let it happen, that the negative sides from the past should weigh down or make the struggle in the future ~~and~~ more difficult. Then it should be necessary to deal with these negative sides.

When ~~it~~ it was necessary to touch on the concept of the government UHR, then one cannot evade the fact, that that political factor in the last years has so obviously demonstrated before the entire Ukrainian people and before the foreign world its inability ~~to~~ an own state-liberation political activity, that moving it at the head of the Ukrainian liberation (statehood) struggle would already for this one reason, do too great a damage to the cause of liberation.

Is it possible to ~~be~~ seriously put before the Ukrainian people the leadership of the UHR, as that highest agent, which leads the revolutionary liberation struggle, which ~~is~~ represents the Ukrainian revolutionary statehood, which gives the unsilenceable dynamism and activity of the present Ukrainian revolution its statehood supremacy? Can these two elements : the highest revolutionary activism and the extreme inactivity and ~~p~~ opportunism of UHR, particularly in the most pressing moments, can be combined into such a political whole, ~~that~~ that precisely

the last one should be the leading ~~and~~ one and the banner? Or, perhaps, should the <sup>the</sup> state of the Ukrainian liberation policies be such, that the liberation revolution - is one matter, and the "government" - another matter? Can one in such a case ~~not~~ concentrate all the political energy, mobilize all the forces of the people, in a unified liberation struggle? Is it possible to create, by such means, a correspondingly strong front of independentist policies against the bolshevik totalitarian imperialism? Would perhaps then, in the opinion of the émigré UHR camp, the Ukrainian cause then appear on the international forum in its strongest form and possibly gain the best positions?

Today, Ukraine in the international constellation of forces - is like a volcano of liberation revolution, which can neither be extinguished, nor suppressed. This is a source of unending upheavals in the unnatural political structure in Eastern Europe. Ukraine - is that unconsoled force, which struggles against any oppressor, against all oppression. It acts exclusively upon its own law, has its undeviating striving to a unified sovereign Ukrainian state. In the most difficult conditions Ukraine does not only continue its struggle, but lives its own life, structured in an underground state creation. The Ukrainian people does not only carry on its own struggle, today it becomes the centre, organizer and foremost force of the common anti-bolshevik front of all peoples oppressed by this bolshevism.

Ukraine - is the historical gravedigger of the Russian bolshevik imperialism, oppression and violence, and at the same time - the leader and ~~organizational~~ crystallizing agent of a new order on the ruins of the USSR, an order of freedom and justice in the relations of free peoples and people. That is the historical mission of Ukraine, that today is its actual role, and accordingly she gains her position in the world.

But for the strongest centering and exertion of its own potential, for the highest capacity for struggle and the achievement of the greatest external political successes - the entire Ukraine striving for independence, all its forces must in addition have a proper internal structure and a proper form of leadership and an external form; all these elements of that whole should stand each in its proper place, and the most significant should head it, give the directions and appearance of the whole.

The revolutionary state form which is headed by UHNR best conforms to these demands. Because, growing organically in Ukraine out of the live reality, during the struggle, has been formed for the needs of that struggle and under the immediate influence of all these tensions and pressures, among which it must exist, act and grow. Therefore, in this formation all parts are in their natural place, corresponding to their own weight and own potential and function in the whole. Also the external forms, as in all organic creations, these are adjusted to live action, in its own environment. The Ukrainian independent state

formation must ~~show~~ itself before the external world in such a similar form.

Because such a form best emphasizes all its before-hand mentioned traits and characteristics, and in this is our chief strength, our most important gains.

The revolutionary statehood ~~is~~ formation, born in the homeland, should be the centre, the chief field and the chief trunk, it should provide the organisational state framework for including into one whole all those emigrational forces and factors striving for independence. They all can find their place in it, having joined in the appropriately built emigre part of one whole.

Regarding the statehood tradition, of ~~its~~ ~~which~~ which the circles of the UHR always remind us, we admit, that in this respect they have their historical positions. But we do not agree with the view, that the continuation of statehood traditions is indivisibly tied to persons or to a political group. We think that it is more tied to vivid political action and liberation struggle, which further brings into being these traditions and strives for their incorporation into life ~~and~~ political reality.

The preservation of statehood traditions does not consist of ~~staunchly~~ staunchly holding on to sheer formal, and even more personal "tradition", therefore in deducting from the former role and posts of some people or groups their own aging, exclusive right not only to represent the past, but also to hold in the present Ukrainian political reality such posts and personal positions, for

for which their present activity does not any more give ground. The adherents to such an interpretation of statehood tradition often pose the question, as the highest and decisive criteria - whether the various phenomena and the entire <sup>this</sup> development of live political reality and the liberation struggle fits into external, formal framework, and even more, whether they may respect their "traditional", personal "rights". If so, - then they are, in their opinion, statehood facts in agreement with tradition. If not - then they do not recognize them, denounce them, as phenomena turned against the statehood traditions, even though their exclusive content should precisely be the struggle for that, that the very essence of that statehood should not only be tradition, but actual reality ( the development of actual political reality and liberation struggle).

But one cannot treat statehood traditions as museum pieces. Everyone who wants to stand on guard for their preservation, has not so much the right, as the duty to first of all exert all possible efforts in order that the essential meaning of statehood should not descend to the role of only historical order, in order that it should not belong to the past, but that the present and future should belong to it, that it should be live reality. I am talking about the very meaning, and not about personnel, or about less important matters of formal character. To preserve statehood tradition - means not to delegate it outside of real life to museums, but to relate it to the current statehood struggle, to make possible that there

idea should be historical continuity between the present statehood struggle and the tradition from the past, and that, chiefly regarding its positive content. In all that the most important thing is the meaning itself, the essence, and not matters of formal character, such as NAMES, ETC., OR PERSONAL OR GROUP MATTERS.

In appreciating the meaning of tradition in the statehood struggle, we are in favour of making real and continuing all the most valuable, most positive regarding the meaning of tradition of our statehood, but we are against acquiring a "monopoly or tradition", against formalism and against the preservation of the tradition of ~~state~~ statehood itself as museum ~~in~~ showpieces.

In going back to UHR, we feel, that this political factor at the very beginning had, from its past, the greatest possibilities, and therefore also duties to continue the statehood traditions in the further liberation struggle and in a dependable liberation policy. But the development of the liberation struggle in the last two decades, particularly since the beginning of the second World War, that struggle, which precisely is the essential continuation of the Ukrainian statehood tradition, does not give the factors UHR such a political testimony, which could justify their ~~past~~ pretensions to an exclusive highest position in the Ukrainian political life.

The Ukrainian statehood struggle is unceasingly being continued, it had and has its heroic events and great political achievements, and they most expressively



continue the Ukrainian statehood traditions. And in the meanwhile the political camp UHR not only does not play in it that role to which it pretends, but it actually either does not show up in the chief moments of the liberation struggle of the last years, or it is on the side from which comes not help, but difficulty for the liberation struggle. Having left the position of the leading agent in the struggle for statehood, the factor UHR at the same time left the first position in the continuation of statehood tradition. On the guard of these traditions, on the guard of Ukrainian statehood now, revolutionary forces of Ukraine have come, who took upon them the greatest part of the present struggle for statehood.


In jotting down our concept of the consolidation of all elements in emigration striving for Ukrainian independence and the concept of the unification of the Ukrainian policy of striving for independence, we should clarify our attitude to these tendencies, which the group UHR puts forward, therefore, that political groups should unify around the political centre of UHR, which should be recognized by those groups as the Ukrainian emigre government.

The concept of the UHR has no foundation in the positions and role of that group in the present Ukrainian political reality, particularly in the present liberation struggle, because that concept does not correspond to the condition and needs of the present liberation struggle in Ukraine and of the entire liberation politics. Also the

politics. Also the appeal of UHR regarding their rights in the name of statehood traditions is not justified.

Yet, as we have already mentioned, we do not want here to touch on the historical role of the UHR, nor contradict that, that positive elements in that camp could now and in the future make their positive contribution in the further continuation of the struggle for the state independence of Ukraine.

There are attempts by the circles of UHR to counterpose to the revolutionary statehood formation which is headed by UHR, - the "government UHR", . As we can see, on one hand - the lack of contribution of the agent UHR ~~is~~ to the liberation ~~struggle~~ <sup>struggle</sup> of Ukraine and in all state acts and events in the Ukraine in the last years, and on the other - the attempt to counterpose itself from emigration to those facts and agents, which create ~~is~~ and form the statehood struggle and the independent state life of Ukraine in the last years and now. Such a posture of the ~~fact~~ factors UHR makes it impossible for them to find a place for themselves in the order of active forces of Ukraine striving for independence and to join the present statehood struggle and actions, if the UHR further wants to counteract the revolutionary statehood formation of Ukraine, ~~in~~ which has grown out of the struggle itself. In such a case the group UHR stays outside of the present liberation struggle and takes such a position, that active liberation politics must bypass it, therefore exclude it.

And precisely this political group UHR leads to an alternative : "either-or". This alternative is an error and is detrimental for the entire liberation cause, and even more so for the afore-mentioned group itself. In the Ukrainian internal political life there are many unnecessary conflicts and controversies coming from the fact, that political agents often pose matters in their mutual relationships thus, that there simply emerges a conflict among them there, where it actually does not exist. The reason is, ~~for~~ that there are in our midst, particularly in emigration, many political groups, but the process of political differentiation and the crystallisation of separate political directions - is immature. The separate political camps do not have a sufficiently developed and formed own, particular political content, world-view, <sup>program</sup> ~~program~~, tactics or defined direction of political work. Therefore they do not have their own political line, and in order to maintain their party-organisational distinctions, they take for the content of their group existence either the oppositional, or evidently competing stand against the active forces in Ukrainian politics. The next worst evil of the internal Ukrainian ~~at~~ political life lies precisely in the fact, that separate political groups, which already in view of their composition should have their own political face, force themselves to take the positions of another political agent. 

When there in addition there is from their part no corresponding serious action, that should be carried out on these positions, to which they pretend, but only imaginary, little, propaganda manoeuvres - then not creative struggle and competition, but a chaos of political life and uprooting, lessening of the success of positive work of active political forces emerges from this.

If every Ukrainian political factor will have a developed, crystallized and formed own political content and face, reach, direction and character of his own political work, then they shall also have a defined own place in the Ukrainian political life, shall have their own, defined function in the whole. Their mutual relation then also will be natural and matter-of-fact, and the entire order of political forces will be clear and formed. In it there will be a place for, on one hand, healthy and creative competition, for constant competition among the various political directions and forces. And that will be a factor of progress and activation, because then there shall take place a process of mutual sophistication, completion and evening out of the positive elements and at the same time a neutralization of negative elements, there will take place a political synthesis of various forces and actions - whether in an organized fashion or by a natural order, the results themselves of the activity of all parts. Then, instead of such a state of affairs, that some carry on the struggle and positive political work, and others talk, that they do the same thing and even better, and in reality only make the work for the first group more difficult - there will be

a change in that aspect, that, other than competition, every factor will carry on its own work and carry out such a function, which no other one does.

In the present Ukrainian political reality, in our present state of affairs, really there cannot be too many forces, too much work done! One and the other is constantly more and more needed. ~~There~~ There is room and work for all forces, there are various tasks in various directions, so that all factors most likely will be able to contribute their positive values and contributions. We chiefly need one thing: that all should, first of all, care for the good of Ukraine, the Ukrainian cause and then about the good of their party, that all should want to really struggle or work positively for the common cause and that all should seek their own place of work, correspondingly to their abilities, and not try to crawl under the sleeves of others and benefit by the achievement of others.

In the Ukrainian life now there is not much to be divided for ~~our~~ profit and use. Yet we can do much and gain much at the sacrifice of struggle and work. *It can only be so crowded, that one cannot get through in a political or community gutter*  
Yet on the other hand in struggle and work there is very much room for everyone, more, than those willing and of good will.

Our concept of consolidation - is a concept of grouping and unification of all national forces for the common struggle, and common work in the the common state platform and in the widest state framework. That is not a consolidation

~~and the influence of influences~~

for the division of influences and positions between allied political groups. The first and fundamental precondition for a full-fledged internal Ukrainian consolidation is that, in order that in the entire Ukrainian life, as in an entity, so also in all its constituent elements, should take the first place the principle of liberation struggle and creative work for the cause of liberation and statehood independence; that all elements and all problems of the Ukrainian internal life should be evaluated along this criteria. Then in the name of the common idea and the great national need in the evaluation of all phenomena and all factors, the unifying, common moments, which will stand before that which is conflicting and disuniting, will have the chief weight, the question, what positive contribution every element brings into the whole, will be of foremost significance. In the consolidation, instead of group exclusiveness, and a narrow partial "either-or" versus other political factors, mutual tolerance and the synthesizing principle: "both-and" should come to voice. No factor, which cannot and wants to make its positive contribution to the common whole should be rejected, but only the harmful elements should be excluded.

When speaking about that, what place each factor should occupy in the entire order, then two things should be decided on that: first, the chief direction, content, and character of the activity of the entire constellation of political forces, and the question, which political formation best corresponds to

whose actual need; second - what role each separate factor really plays in it. Not only a mechanical conglomerate of various political forces and factors, which, other than their particular tasks and separate goals, should act in one direction, according to one general line of liberation politics, is needed. Our concept of consolidation strives toward that, that the political groups and other political agents, in preserving their own existence and activity, should join one entity of a higher order which in the struggle and also regarding the outside world - as in the regularization of fundamental internal Ukrainian matters, shall exhibit itself and act as an organic whole. Such an organized entity of Ukrainian political forces should not only exist; it must carry out defined tasks, it should lend the liberation struggle and the Ukrainian politics of striving for independence its internal composition and outward form must be adapted to the given general condition, situation and needs of the entire liberation cause, particularly to the situation and liberation struggle in Ukraine. The entity of the consolidated political forces in emigration, would have an entirely different line of liberation policies, another political character and face, depending on whether this would be a consolidation on the platform and within the framework of the statehood formation UHWR, or under the guise of the emigre government UNR, or of a mechanical, faceless and concept-less inter-party alliance. In that nothing is unclear, nor are there any doubts. We are talking about the direction and content of politics of independence. And that should be decided. That has fully been culminated in the homeland, and gradually is accomplished in emigration.

If the development of political life in emigration should further proceed so, that at the time, while all active forces and elements striving for independence unify in the statehood formation UHWR, and provided that UNR the opposite opportunistic camp should gather, then it would come to an excluding contradictory "either-or".

As the result of the entire active policy striving for liberation, which is based on the struggle in the homeland, all those elements and values as a group, which have ended up in the opportunistic camp, as well as those, which could in the politics for independence have a positive role, if they would not counteract the order of active forces, but would join it, join with its corresponding elements, would be discarded as a group. With the counterposing "either-or" response - and is lost for actual positive work all that, which has joined in a negative or inferior order, even if it were a serious, positive size. Yet in the case, that all national forces should join the higher superstructure, along with continuing internal competition, but without extreme explosive contradictions, even small positive values and elements are not wasted, but together with other values of that category strengthen the corresponding positions of the whole. Precisely this was the main effect (or effort?) in considering the economics of political energy regarding the consolidation of various and differing political elements.

The reflections in this article lead to the following conclusions:  
of first order in the Ukrainian political problems is the question of liberation, liberation struggle, the foundations and the main direction of liberation politics. There is such an alternative: the revolutionary liberation struggle and the basic active liberation policy, whose chief centre and foundation this struggle is - or passive opportunism, orientation on and waiting for, the so-called conjunctive, the liberation by external factors. This means: Is it necessary to carry on the liberation struggle, is it necessary to carry on an independentist, grass-roots and active liberation policy, or no. But there can be no compromise here, nor an excuse, there can be only one decision. The Ukrainian liberation policy can proceed along only one path towards which it was directed and guided by the independentist revolutionary movement, and in one revolutionary state formation of Ukraine which is headed by UHWR. This is the



first chief principle of our liberation politics.

The second important problem in emigration - is the question of political consolidation. This, first of all, - is the question of the economics of political energy, the exigency to gather all forces into one supra-party state formation, for the sake of the common, co-ordinated political action and liberation activity, and not for the sake of mere consolidation itself.

As the struggle and political action is a path and means for state liberation, thus consolidation also should be a means for increasing the forces and strengthening the positions in the liberation struggle and in the politics of independence. That is the sense of it. Consolidation must be subordinated to the first exigency connected with it and adjusted to it in such a manner, that the actuation of it should be strengthened, added to and speeded up. Broken away from that goal, which it should serve, it would lose its essential meaning, and directed against this goal - it would be a detrimental and negative phenomenon.

The first exigency will most likely become reality in emigration also. This is guaranteed by the strength and impetus of the revolutionary liberation movement, and also by the ideologically-political posture of the healthy part of the Ukrainian emigration, which strives to make its positive contribution to the cause of liberation.

Regarding the consolidation of the emigre political group and factors which depends to a great extent upon themselves. The very good of the entire liberation cause, as well as the party rationale itself and the benefit of the groups themselves speaks in favour of their participation.

There should undeniably be a benefit from that, if those political factors, which until now do not proceed along that uniquely correct path of liberation policy, but which can contribute their positive values, should participate in the consolidation process on the platform and within the framework of UHWR. But this matter has even greater signi-

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ficance for the political factors and groups themselves, because by this means the question of foundations and perspectives of their further existence is by this means decided for them. Not just one political group, which has failed to follow the path of active, actual liberation politics and because of that has lost the rationale for its own existence, has the unusual chance to correct its sins, to join in the unique liberation front, to assume its place in that statehood formation, to which the future belongs, even though it has done nothing to create it. This opportunity to switch from now on to the correct positions, to positively participate in the unfolding of the liberation striving, and thus to achieve also for themselves a place in the building of statehood for Ukraine.

Yet, it would be erroneous to ascribe too great a significance to the posture of the different groups. The majority of them are weak and do not have influence on the development of events. The popular masses themselves, ingrained with political activism, with high political skill and a healthy instinct, actively join into the political life and by-pass those political groups, which do not go along step-by-step with the entire development of the liberation cause. These very masses now, already in emigration become the chief political factor. In the process of consolidation the political necessity and the suitable line of active political forces adjusted to it, together with the co-operating masses, experience the possible slowing down effect of the various groups. And the posture of these groups shall decide not so much the question, whether the process of consolidation shall be culminated, but rather that, whether they themselves shall find, and if, what place, in the Ukrainian internal political reality.

The liberation struggle and its politics for independence will proceed along their hard and unrestrainable march towards victory. It shall be lead by all active forces striving for independence, gathered in one

independentist, revolutionary statehood formation, headed by UHWR. All political elements must occupy their place. Who shall participate in the march- shall reach victory, whoever contradicts or doubts, himself assumes such a position, that all achievements of the liberation cause shall be his failures, its triumphs - his defeats, its victories - his fall, and its glory - his infamy. These would be his positions very close to the enemy's positions, even if not in purpose, then so in its consequences. To assume now such positions, while having the chance to assume a positive position, would, form the national point of view of one's own political benefir (good) - be unreasonable and suicidal.

It shall so occur, that each political factor, each group, must choose one or the other side. And soon.

All nationally healthy elements and all positive, sober political factors surely will find their appropriate place and their creative role in the one goal liberation front. The entire healthy Ukrainian emigration shall unite with the liberation struggle in Ukraine in uniform, liberation political activity, in a unique, independentist state formation, under the leadership of the revolutionary highest state body of Ukraine - the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council (UHWR).

THE PLANNING OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE HOMELAND

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The strengthening of revolutionary liberation actions of the armed underground in Ukraine - OUN-UPA in connection with the stronger pressure from the enemy - chiefly in the Western borderlands of the Ukrainian lands, for instance in Zakersonnia, demanded from the Ukrainians in emigration also more work and efforts in favour of the liberation struggle. In this plan, S.A. Siry's article "the planning of revolutionary struggle in the homeland" ("Liberation Policy", Munich, ed. year III, n. 1 (18), 1948) considers revolutionary strategy and tactics of Ukrainian fighters in the underground and broadly elaborates on such moments: the state of the Ukrainian people in the Soviet-occupied territories and in Zakersonnia, the task of the Ukrainian National liberation revolution, the counter-efforts of the enemy in the struggle against OUN-UPA, the excursions of the UPA units and the lack of success of the treaty between the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, formed for the destruction of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

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After the end of the 2nd World War the revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine entered into a new phase. The strategy and tactics of the politically-military revolutionary activities of OUN-UPA are selected and used in such a manner, in order to consequentially preserve and continue, in the new situation, the fundamental plan - concept of the liberation revolution.

The only path to liberation - to the national liberation anti-bolshevic revolution of the whole Ukrainian people, on a common front with other nations, subjugated by bolshevism. This revolutionary liberation struggle of the broadest popular masses, is spreading, sharpening and deepening, all the time, more and more, striving to its new unfolding in an all-national mobilization. The revolutionary process penetrates all areas of life, and its content is the contra-posing to the hostile reality (enemy's reality), the goals and efforts of bolshevism - of our

own ideas and aims of the liberation revolution, the idea of national-political, socio-economic and spiritually-cultural freedom of the people and the individual. OUN defends and uses, all the time, from the beginning of its activity, such a concept, unchangingly and stubbornly in all situations. 83

No staking on the struggle of the entire nation, its broadest masses, and not only of the organized forces, is the fundamental and essential thing in the concept of revolutionary liberation. OUN, UPA - UHWR are the centre, the motor of the revolution, the initiating and directive factor (agent) in the revolutionary process, for the liberation forces in Ukraine, and not its only carrier and manifestation. A necessary pre-condition for the success of the revolution - is the active participation of the broadest popular masses in Ukraine and other peoples of the anti-bolshevic bloc. The degree of maturing of the revolution first of all depends on the revolutionizing of the popular masses, on their enthusiasm for the cause of liberation struggle and their readiness themselves to fight actively. The organized revolutionary forces mobilize, by means of active struggle, as also their whole activity, and include into the struggle the whole Ukrainian nation and the Allies from ABN, show the national masses the path to freedom. There must be, in the long run, such a relationship between the struggle of the organized forces themselves and the degree of the spreading of revolutionary moods among the masses and their fighting spirit, that the organized forces should lead, and the national masses should follow them, and go with them.

The strategy of revolutionary struggle in the present phase is defensive as well as offensive, connecting within itself simultaneously both moments. The revolutionary struggle paralyzes the enemy's efforts to break, to suppress the revolution, its strength, action and potential, and together with this, strengthens, spreads and deepens the revolutionary process, activates the popular masses, enhancing all the time

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more elements, by means of anti-bolshevik, revolutionary moods and actions, by means of attacking all the time newer positions of the enemy. The strategy of revolutionary struggle has considerations of the general world situation, the internal relations in the USSR and the tendencies in the development of both these factors.

The internal situation in Ukraine, as also in the whole USSR, and its position with regard to foreign policy, are of very great significance for the development of the revolution, for that, how the chief foundations and dominating content of the revolutionary process will be, what methods and means to apply for its spreading, strengthening and speeding up.

The perspective of the conflict with the Western bloc and the real possibility of not-too-distant war influence decisively the whole situation, external as well as internal of the USSR. The Kremlin's entire policy is under the pressure of this central affair, all the time more and more centres around it and is led by its exigencies. Particularly all the internal policies of the bolsheviks, particularly economic, all the time more clearly are directed by one aspect - the preparation for the war. This imbues the entire internal situation in the USSR, which even without this had a constantly military character, with particular acuteness. The whole life of the broad masses of the peoples under bolshevism is placed under the constantly growing pressure of the regime, which tries to extract from them the ultimate resources, all their forces in slave labour - everything, for the increase of their military potential. This causes misery, exploitation, unheard-of exploitation, of the national masses to extreme, impossible limits. The terror of the regime increases, on this background, more and more, and also - the hatred of all nations subjugated by bolshevism to it.

This insatisfaction of the masses, their utmost hostile attitude to bolshevism, the regime, the party, the communist economic

system and the post-war totalitarian order has become very strong and assumes all the time more obvious, unsatisfied, hostile forms. There are many reasons for that. Foremost, the lies of the bolshevic propaganda that, in comparison with the USSR, a horrible poverty of the broad masses, a low standard of living, economic and cultural backwardness dominates the Western countries, and the happy, "joyful" life of the Soviet citizen and the supremacy of the USSR over the capitalist world, has lost all influence. During the war the masses of the soldiers of the Red Army had a chance to become convinced, what the real situation is and truthful informations were spread throughout the whole USSR. Now, the bolshevic propaganda has lost even that confidence of the nations, which it had thanks to its cunning, stubbornness, and exclusiveness. It already repels even those, who once believed it, educated "in the sunlight of the soviet constitution".

The national masses expected, that after the end of the war changes will occur, greater freedom will come and that there will be greater material wealth. Bolshevic propaganda during the war, particularly the unofficial one, supported such wishes of the masses, even corresponding measures in the internal policies were taken, which awakened and supported the hopes for a change - a milder course in internal policy. Immediately after the war, the returning veterans began to ruin the kolkhoz system in the entire USSR by means of a "willful" building up of private ownership. The bolshevic regime, having somehow got control of the situation, responded by a tightening of terror, a ruthless return to the previous condition, abolition and ruthless persecution of "private abuse". Instead of improvement, bitter disappointment was the result. Everything drowns in unspeakable misery in the USSR. Other than the inevitable consequences of the war, the chaos worsens the misery and incapacity of the bolshevic bureaucracy. The social inequality of the ruling bolshevic aristocracy-party, military and bureaucratic, which as compared to the poverty of the working national masses, lives in abundance,

causes particular bitterness. 86

The regime tightens the screws of terror, and exploitation to the utmost limit: a new five-year plan, new debts, new "sozsmahannia" (social competition), preparation for a new war. Everything causes extreme dissatisfaction, a desperate mood, such hatred of bolshevism, that, disregarding the terror, the Soviet citizens stop to keep everything inside, and overt manifestations of the anti-regime mood of the masses occur all the time, more often. Only that remained from the expected so-called internal evolution of bolshevism, that now the privileged situation of the party is openly admitted, of the military and bureaucratic aristocracy, when the life of the working masses is restrained to a severely communist, proletarian, therefore miserable condition. In this way, the truth becomes all the time more obvious, that the whole communism - is in reality a system of the worst state capitalism and totalitarianism, of the worst unfreedom, gaol, beggarliness and exploitation of the individual and entire nations by the imperialist state and that clique, which rules it. Communist theory, which brings about such a practice, accounts for it and defends it, is finally dishonoured in the eyes of everyone, whoever has a sense of truth and common sense.

One base and support of the bolshevich regime, state, communist doctrine and order remained - the perfected system of cruel, all-round terror and intelligence (a spy-based system). This system engulfs and penetrates throughout the whole USSR, all people and the entire life. A moral, spiritual, economic terror, spying penetrates the whole state system, production, the army, the school, the family, church, tears into the confessional. This is the most essential nature of bolshevism, its only, satanic force. The liberation revolution must first of all fight with it, conquer it. All other factors of strength in bolshevism - are only servants and means, by-products and an off-spring of the system of terror and spying, which support themselves on it and fall with it.



After the last war the hostility of Ukraine and other non-Russian peoples to bolshevism on the national political groundwork has grown. The bolshevik regime all the time, more and more, openly pursues the line of favouring Russian chauvinism, raises the "superiority" of the Russian people, of "Russian culture, etc. over other peoples, . All the time more explicitly, it practises the course of brutal russification of other peoples, of all their lives.

The main reason for that lies not so much in the Russian patriotism of the bolshevik ruling clique, as only in its imperialistic attitude, and in their becoming aware of the fact, that the strongest and most secure support for bolshevik imperialism - is Russian imperialism.

It became clearly obvious in the last war, that as Ukraine, so also all other non-Russian peoples in their mass have a hostile attitude to bolshevism. They, fighting for life or death with Hitlerite Germany, did not want to go in one front together with bolshevik Russia, and, wherever they could, carried on a struggle on two fronts simultaneously.

Yet the Russian people connected its fate with bolshevism. The decisive thing in that was Russian national imperialism, which got into the blood of the whole Russian nation, and not sympathies to bolshevism itself. On the contrary, there is alive in the masses of the Russian people a strong hatred for communism and the desire to get rid of it. Yet imperialist tendencies, and the consciousness, that precisely bolshevism, as a doctrine, system and regimen makes real the goals of Russian imperialism with the greatest energy, more radical and ruthless than any other Russian regime, prevailed. In the political thinking and wishes of the circles of the Russian people who have an imperialist disposition the concept, that they must serve bolshevism in the making real of Russian imperialist aims, and in the favourable moment to get rid of the bolshevik system by an evolutionary order, or by means of a coup d'etat, is alive. Yet the Russian empire, defended and strengthened by bolshevism, shall

remain, as its heir.

Thus, the Russian national imperialism and bolshevic imperialism, along with hostility and contradictions, which exist between them in matters of the internal order, form and content of the national life in many sectors - there is always unanimity in one matter, fundamental for both. They both try to preserve, strengthen and widen the Russian empire, to continue the expansion of Russia in the whole world. Both factors treat each other as a means, one wants to use the other, and later destroy it, but in practice there is co-operation, mutual support between them.

After the experiences of the last war, now preparing for a new one, bolshevism all the time more strongly and openly strengthens Russian imperialism, refers to it and makes it his own. With respect to Ukraine, as also all other non-Russian peoples, the cause of Russification is strengthened in all walks of life. Centralism and the colonial system in state-political and economic life, the arrestation and primitivization of the national cultural development, the destruction of any manifestations of national differences is carried on ruthlessly and quite unconcealed. To this background, the elements of national hostility, grow stronger all the time, the instinct of national self-preservation, put to sleep by communism, is strengthened also in these elements in the Ukrainian people, which have have lost it under the influence of communist up-bringing (education).

As in Ukraine, so also in the whole USSR there exist countless sharp contradictions, hostility and conflicts between bolshevism and whole nations, the national masses and the human being - the individual. The hatred for the bolshevic regime and system is so great, that it does not have to be created, nor induced, the bolshevics themselves do that. This condition of deep and general hostility of the peoples for the bolshevic reality - is the natural breeding-ground for the development of the national liberation revolution.

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But hatred itself and passive hostility are not yet enough for liberation. The chief aim of revolutionary strategy - is to initiate and direct the process of active resistance to the bolshevic attempts, the confrontation of the bolshevics with our own, national strivings in all sectors of life, to include the broad national masses into the process of struggle, to transform their passive hatred for bolshevism into an active revolutionary posture, into conscious, planned action with the aim of destroying bolshevism and the prison of nations - the USSR. For that purpose we must imbue the broad national masses with the consciousness, that the only path towards freedom- is the liberation revolution of nations, to show taht way, to broaden our concept, to confirm the fáith in the possibility of a general anti-bolshevic revolution, to teach by example, what must be done and how, and to imbue them with the necessary revolutionary enthusiasm. The whole hostility to the existing sub-bolshevic reality, should become arranged, as a conscious revolutionary attitude, as an orientation on revolution, as a recognition of the concept and programme of liberation revolution, for its political credo, conviction, for its own path, on which all peoples (nations) and everybody from the sub-bolshevic prison can reach freedom, for human, free life and development.

The essential problem of the revolution lies in that, to break the influences of bolshevic terror and propaganda, and to make the national masses aware, of the failing of their strength. They hate bolshevism and await its fall, and yet, along with that, they subordiante themselves to it and bring great sacrifices for it. If they only for a minute, would stop putting pressure on each other and themselves under the dictation of the bolshevic regime and system, and, on the other hand, would hit it, soon there would be not a trace left from it.

The strategy of the OUN-UFA struggle is, in the first order, channelled towards the revolutionizing and activation of the popular masses. Inculcating the development of the internal and external situation, the revolutionary activity is carried on in such a manner, that the accomplishment<sup>s</sup> of the preceding stages, should in all their aspects be utilized in the broadest possible way, confirmed and further extended (built up). Towards the end of the war and in the first post-war year UPA's revolutionary insurgent activity rose to very broad proportions. Thanks to this, the idea of liberation revolution became very widely spread among the masses of various sub-bolshevik peoples (nations), particularly among the soldiers of the Red Army, which was dealing with UFA. Bolshevism was then triumphing after Germany's fall, bolshevik propaganda overwhelmed the soviet citizens with its screams about the power, indivisibility and inviolability of the USSR and the bolshevik system. And UPA, precisely at that time unfolded the partisan struggle to the broadest extent. The bolsheviks wanted then to break the Ukrainian revolutionary forces by means of one broad hit by the Soviet army, "to clear the territory". Yet they did not succeed in this. UPA was capable of exiting victoriously by means of partisan strategy, from great war campaigns against itself. Moreover, a significant part of the soldiers of the Red Army, having immediately encountered the Ukrainian liberation movement, the heroic struggle of the partisans, our ideas - did not want to fight UPA in the manner of special NKWD armies. The mass of the soldiers of the Red Army to a great extent became involved with the ideas of revolution. At that time at the end of the war and in the first post-war months great human masses, mobilized or moved by the war, passed through the Ukrainian lands, reached by broad revolutionary-partisan actions. They immediately encountered revolutionary activity, its ideas and slogans, they witnessed, that OUN and UPA exist and are fighting successfully, without any foreign aid, became convinced, that revolutionary struggle against the bolshevik system is also possible.

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With the masses of the soldiers from the Red Army the ideas of liberation revolution of the peoples together, against bolshevic imperialism, informations about UPA were spread throughout the whole USSR. The heroical struggle of Ukraine sowed the seeds of liberation revolution all over the USSR. Such a strong and broad propaganda effect was possible only thanks to the fact, that precisely that time, in such circumstances, such intense partisan and revolutionary propaganda activity was carried on. The activity and struggle at that period have a very great significance for the desenvolving of a common anti-bolshevic liberation front of all nations unfree under bolshevism.

When someone becomes aware, that this is the basis for the entire liberation concept, then the planning of this struggle, aim and success of such a broad development of it at that time is clearly understood. The cause of liberation revolution has to be seen as a deep, long-lasting process, which develops and gains strength by ceaseless and consequential continuation and spreading. The national liberation revolution - is the cause of the whole Ukrainian people and other nations, of the broad masses, and not only of the organized revolutionary forces. In 1945-46 the international political situation entered the stage of a "peaceful" break, and this also influenced the internal relations in the USSR. At that time the armed force of the Ukrainian revolution reached the acute stage inits mobilization. The leadership of the revolution was facing the question: "should we proceed to a quick, general insurgent uprising, or broaden and deepen the revolutionary process in a concealed form for a long-term aim?"

The condition of the active revolutionary forces of OUN-UPA gave the leadership of the liberation struggle a chance to follow the line of speeding up oartisan actions, to boraden overt partisan action and make it a mass concern. The acceptance of such a plan would be useful, if the mass revolutionary uprising which had been undertaken, should spread quickly, and engulf all the time further territories, entire

countries. Yet in the contemporary situation one would not count on that, that the fire of a general revolutionary uprising - a revolution shall, from the Ukrainian lands which were revolutionarily mature, spread not only to the whole of Ukraine, but also to other nations under the bolsheviks, that the greater part of the soldiers of the Soviet army shall follow the voice of its sympathies and shall take up the part of the revolution actively. The masses in the Soviet camp, disregarding the hatred for bolshevism, and sympathy with the liberation struggle, as yet were not mature for an own, active revolutionary act in such a situation, when the USSR had a sufficiently strong and stabilized situation in the foreign policy sector without great external or internal upheavals. The influence of bolshevik terror was still too strong, thanks to which the Soviet person was convinced of the strength of the bolshevik regime and the futility of any resistance and uprising in the USSR; the conviction, that a revolution is possible only in time of war, or some internal cataclism in the regime, and not in conditions of peace, was still too prevalent in the minds. This psychological state of mind in the human being and the masses, planfully created and maintained by bolshevik terror and propaganda - is the greatest hindrance on the path to liberation. It suppresses internal protest in the person himself and turns it into helpless passivity. This condition cannot be broken by one blow, for this a longer, deeper and consuquential revolutionary activity is needed.

The question of an anti-bolshevik revolution - is first of all a question of the sub-soviet person, his such internal rebirth, that faith in the possibility of the destruction of bolshevism should take the place of lack of faith. Following that, instead of the suppression of internal protest and passive submission to the terror, the wish for active struggle, readiness for it and the conviction about the final victory of truth over evil should take hold of an individual. We are

here not so much concerned with the spreading of hatred for bolshevism; it exists everywhere, the regime itself and the communist system cultivate it best. But the terror of the regime simultaneously induces fear, illiteracy, faithlessness, a feeling of loneliness (isolation) of every individual, passivity, and submission. All this must be overcome, an organized revolutionary force must do that. The chief means in that is not loud, mistressing propaganda, but only live action - struggle, the obvious proof, an example.

Therefore the leadership of the liberation struggle in Ukraine accepted a plan, which was calculated for a longer period of time. First of all be confirmed, deepened and broadened that, which until that time in the sowing of the seeds of revolution in the entire USSR, and an revolutionary activation of the national masses had been done. With the end of the war the masses of the soldiers of the Red Army brought with them from the territory of UPA's activity not only the concept, idea, and slogans of anti-bolshevic revolution, but also maturity in that, that also in the sub-bolshevic reality revolutionary struggle can exist and be carried on successfully, that an underground revolutionary force can maintain itself and act, an Insurgent army. Yet in the soul of every mature person, who in his emotions and wishes already took the part of the revolution, a great doubt - question - remained simultaneously: "Will you maintain yourself in a time of peace, will you be able to resist bolshevic destructive pressure, and how long? Such doubt easily can turn off the light of a free person - revolutionary and return it to the darkness of passive slavery. This is a cardinal matter. The strengthening or undermining of the seed of revolution all over the USSR, depends on that, what answer live reality shall give.

It is necessary to disperse the doubts in those individuals, who recently became acquainted with it, so as to be able to strengthen that, which had been accomplished by grandiose insurgent actions for the

spreading of the concept of a mass revolution of nations. It was necessary to prove to them, that in spite of all the enemy's efforts, our revolution is not falling, but continues and develops. Therefore, to create great faith in it in them, to convince them that it can and will continue, not only in a temporary war situation, but also in "peaceful conditions". That bolshevik "almightiness" is unable to stop it. Having proved that, we gain many of those undecided sympathizers as active fighters.

In the transition stage, towards the end of the war, great partisan actions and politically-revolutionary actions which were connected with them established the foundations for the growth of a mass revolution of nations on a common anti-bolshevik front. In the following stage the chief imperative of this same concept, the basic tasks in the making real of this same plan - is the following: to hold on, ensure and continue revolutionary activity, to use such methods and such a strategy, as to ensure the continuity of struggle.

The information that UPA-OUN and UHWR are acting, despite all their efforts the bolsheviks do not succeed in destroying revolutionary struggle - confirm the revolutionary attitude of all neophytes not only in Ukraine, but in the whole USSR. Concerned here are not only the extent of the concrete revolutionary actions, as the effect of every action depends, in the consciousness of the masses, not only on their absolute size, force and pressure, but first of all on their proportionate relationship to the general situation. With great and shocking events of war-time, everything that is average gets lost, passes without a trace, unusual, great standards are applied to everything. Only correspondingly great events and actions have influence. It is different during peace, in this normal set-up. Then, in a quieter case, also lesser events, proportionately, are seen, the effect of various actions becomes greater among the masses. And in our concept of mass



revolution, as also in other sociological phenomena, we measure the effect of action by its influence on the masses, on their awareness and attitude, and do not measure them just by their material consequences (effect).

The chief task consist in the continuation of revolutionary struggle itself. Its very manifestations, even lesser, of which the masses hear, has its revolutionary influence on them. Particularly, if masses far from the terrain of revolutionary actions of OUN-UPA, other, allied peoples are concerned - the first impression, the first views about the Ukrainian revolution dominate when they become acquainted with the broad partisan actions of UPA. Now the question, whether their force does at all still exist and act, stands. If yes, the faith that the revolution is alive, is confirmed in them. The information about the existence and activity of the main force of the anti-bolshevic revolution of peoples - OUN-UPA - becomes a political orientation for all peoples, who are oppressed by bolshevism.

The chief significance is constituted in the continuation of revolutionary struggle itself. Every, even if a lesser, manifestation of it, of which the masses learn, has its revolutionizing influence with them. Particularly, if masses far from the terrain of the OUN-UPA revolutionary actions other allied peoples, are concerned - there the first impression, the first information about the Ukrainian revolution dominates with them, when they become acquainted with UPA's broad partisan actions, the question, whether this force still exists at all, is bothering them. If yes, then the faith that the revolution is still alive, is confirmed in them. The information about the existence and action of the chief force of the anti-bolshevic revolution of the peoples (nations) - becomes a political orientation for all nations (peoples) who are oppressed by bolshevism.

The gradual making real of one and the same plan of revolutionary

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tactics in two stages can be illustrated indivisibly by the following comparison: when cooking some meal, we usually at the beginning turn on higher heat, in order to make the water boil. Then there can be a lower heat, but constant, in order to make the boiling last. During boiling the temperature of what is cooking is not raised, and the food cooks all the time, so it becomes good! So also in revolution. At the beginning, a high heat - as the first stage of broad revolutionary-partisan actions and the dissemination of the ideas of liberation revolution among the peoples. A steady lower heat after the boiling - are the revolutionary actions of the present stage in time of peace.

The strategy of struggle in the new stage is adjusted to the "peaceful" conditions of life in the USSR and to the general situation. It is understood, that one cannot write about it in greater detail, only touch generally on some moments. In comparison with the previous stage it is remarkable, with its use of tactics of deep partisanship and greater dispersal. Further, both forms of revolutionary action are continued: socio-political and military. OUN and UPA carry on their activity, co-operating very tightly (closely). The unity, co-ordination of struggle is fully preserved. Corresponding to the overall general situation, in the present stage the growth of socio-political revolutionary action is strengthened more, as well as the military-partisan struggle which is conducted in such a manner, in order that, other than special tasks, every action might have the utmost success, politically as well as in propaganda. The whole struggle passes unchangingly along the line of the making real of OUN's concept of liberation and the formed ideas of the whole Ukrainian people. The struggle proceeds under UHWR banners, which represents Ukraine's aspirations to become an independent state and represents it to the external world as a contra-position to the Russian version - "the USSR government".

The following chief moments, as always, occupy the dominating significance in the liberation concept: staking on subjective struggle, relying on our own forces (strength), the only path

relying on our own forces (strength); the only path to liberation - is anti-bolshevic revolution; a revolution of the broad national masses, with their active participation, and not just only of the organized forces; a common anti-bolshevic front, liberation revolution of the peoples for the ABN concept, in which Ukraine is the leading nation.

Coupled with the strategy of offensive, directed at the aim of spreading the revolution to all nations and all sectors in life, a defensive strategy versus the enemy's efforts to destroy our movement, is carried on. The defense of the organized revolutionary force itself, the grounds and means for its existence and actions, as well as the defense of the whole people (nation), particularly the elements with a revolutionary disposition towards (facing) the bolshevic destruction.

The bolshevic attempt to destroy the Ukrainian revolution follow two paths: to break up the forces of OUN and UPA by strokes into the front ranks, by broadly designed military-police operations, long-lasting ambushes-blockades; by means of various "appeals", statements by the regime concerning their readiness to unite and make peace, declarations of "amnesty" coupled with broad propaganda campaigns telling about the futility of further struggle - to extract moods of capitulation, to sow disenchantment and detract as many weak elements away from the revolution as possible; to tear into the revolutionary ranks by means of provocation and diversive action, to corrode morally, to destroy the leading units and empty the ranks in various parts of OUN and UPA, to measure off the revolutionary underground away from the popular masses and their life, to destroy the <sup>elements</sup> which stand closest to the underground; to isolate territories which have become drained with revolutionary moods. The bolshevics apply these methods in combinations reinforcing either, these, or those, changing their strategy.

But none of these methods supplied the enemy with the wished-for result. The bolshevics could not destroy the revolution. The following

example testifies to the extent of the bolshevic actions directed against the Ukrainian underground: in 1946 they applied blockade to the Western lands, for several months, using for that purpose 132 000 soldiers. The enemy, dealt heavy blows, the revolutionary underground had quite a few sarifices, but did not break down, did not loose its <sup>basic</sup> strength and ability to fight.

The defensuve strategy is designed for the defense not only of the organized revolutionary force itself, but also of the entire population. In that, dfense from the threat of mass resettlement occupies the first place.

The strength of the revolutionary underground and the uniform revolutionary posture of the whole population did not permit the bolshevics to apply mass annihilation and <sup>re</sup>settlement of whole regions, which were dominated by revolutionary action and also such moods. The bolshevics had to incalculat, that this would cause a general partisan uprising in those regions, which would be too dangerous for the position of the regime internally as well as in confrontation with the external world. In such a manner the strength of the revolutionary underground and the readiness of the pppulation to fight for life or death constitute surest defense from the threat of mass resettlement which the bolshevics wanted to apply there just as in the Crimea and in the Caucasus.

The PEOPLE understands well, that the existence and action of UPA and OUN - are the surest defense, (assecuration), and that their absence increases the threat. The revolutionary underground in response to the enemy's strategy applies counter-measures. New methods of struggle were used against mass military operations and long-lasting mass blockade. Politically-revolutionary, and particularly propaganda activity was strengthened, the emphasis was transferred to it and acts of partisan struggle were adjusted to it - against the enemy's attempts to limit the revolution in the "woods". The planning of revolutionary, politically-propaganda acts among a fresh element which as yet had not been reached

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by our movement, the extension of this work to all the time newer territories and centres (groups), particularly among other nations (peoples) - most successfully brings to naught the bolshevic attempts to limit in a regional way, to localize the process of revolution.

The own native country (as a force or factor) already had answered clearly and unambiguously - yes, to the question, whether the liberation struggle shall maintain itself in the conceivably most difficult conditions in soviet reality! The revolutionary forces had already gone through the stage, the most difficult period on transition, from broad obvious partisan activity in the time of war to the methods of the deeper underground and resistance to the concentrated onslaught of the enemy. We ought to be aware, that the bolshevics so far had exerted all efforts, had used all methods, so as to only be able to break the Ukrainian revolution, to destroy the underground of OUN and UPA, to make their existence impossible. The previous attempts by the enemy - were not beginners' attempts, only actions of aggression from outside and efforts to penetrate within, but in a general and methodical, prepared combination, the application of tightest and most ruthless blockade for several months.

OUN and UPA had invented a new strategy, new forms and methods of revolutionary struggle, having assimilated all the previous experience and having only considered the methods of the enemy. This guarantees, that the underground will continue to lightly endure the pressure by the enemy, and that there will be fewer sacrifices. Obviously, the bolshevics will also look for new methods and strategy, will "perfect" their method of struggle. But their capacity and inventiveness in this respect - are limited. What they had so far applied against the Ukrainian revolution, was not improvisation, experimenting, but planned use of all experience and knowledge of bolshevism from all times, particularly from the last war and from the bolshevics' own partisan struggle, methodically arranged and prepared. Precisely the most experienced bolshevic, partisan commanders and units constituted the essence of the bolshevic manoeuvres,

against our underground. When, further changes and "perfections" by the bolshevics can no more be so effective, as constant adjustment and counter-efforts on the part of the revolutionary forces.

Where material resources are concerned, other than support from the sympathetic population, which is trying with admirable self-sacrifice to help as it can, OUN and UPA are constantly carrying on respective offensive actions, to seize from the enemy, what is necessary.

Concerning the threat of mass resettlement of the territories, which were involved in the strongest action, then in the future, just as in the past, the surest assurance - was the maintaining of a high revolutionary potential in these territories. Not only in acting, active form, but foremostly the state of constant readiness for revolutionary struggle. The practical mass resettlement would not be so easy for the bolshevics, not only for the reason, that small territories are concerned, but great stretches of land which were embroiled in the revolutionary movement, great masses of people, at least several millions. In addition, territories important for war economy and strategic combinations were important. These are territories closest to the front of the Soviet Army in Eastern Europe, from whence information reaches the external world the fastest. Since a rather strong underground of OUN and UPA exists in these territories, and the population is in a revolutionary mood, ready for courageous struggle, even though there were no hard obvious revolutionary acts, only a potential situation, then the bolshevics must reckon with that, that mass deportations would evolve a general insurgent uprising of the revolutionary force, and of the whole population. This would have bad consequences for bolshevism, internal as well as external, political, economic and military.

The tense international situation is of serious significance in this respect for the population which is threatened. The Kremlin would like to destroy in its roots not only the active revolutionary forces, but all those elements in the Ukrainian people and other nations, which might be dangerous for it. If he had a free hand (a free situation) of the situation of the bolshevics, internal as well as external, it would not be threatened so much, they would try to put through mass resettlement, even though that would turn a great part of Ukraine into a desert. Yet the situation itself does not guarantee, just as it did not protect the Crimean Tatars, Chechenzi and others from such a fate. Only a high revolutionary potential, alertness and readiness for struggle of the underground and the whole people (nation) and counter-efforts on the part of the revolutionary forces.

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The situation and revolutionary activity in the Western borderlands under Poland must be considered separately. The struggle in these territories has the same political line and analogical forms, as in the motherlands, but also has its own aspect, particular forms and manifestations.

The whole struggle west of the so-called Cherson line is carried on foremostly under the aspect of the defense and protection of the entire Ukrainian population from forcible resettlement and from the terror by the Polish bolshevik regime, robbery and murder of the Ukrainian population. The defense of the very existence of the Ukrainians in these lands, the struggle for the preservation of the ancestral



lands, the resistance to the Polish-bolshevic attempts to liquidate the Ukrainians in these lands completely, was on the first order in the plan of the contemporary activity of OUN and UPA in the Western borderlands.

In coping with the growth of the enemy's terror and attempts at re-settlement, which dominates the territories of the Western borderlands more and more, the self-defensive partisan (insurgent) struggle grows stronger all the time. This year (the article was written back in 1947 - D. Ch. (Danylo Chajkowskyj)) it reached its highest intensity, developed into total revolutionary struggle, having grasped the whole population, without the rest. The partisan struggle in defense of this sector of the Ukrainian people stretched to an open war, in which the USSR and its satellites Poland and the Czecho-Slovak Republic not only, actually, joined their military forces and carry on joint military operations against UPA, but even concluded a formal treaty with this aim.\* The events and development of the war of the UPA units west of the Cherson line on three fronts - are known.

The subservient Warsaw government, inacting upon the Kremlin's directives and in direct practical co-operation with the bolshevics, still back in 1945 had adopted a plan for the complete re-settlement of the Ukrainians to the USSR. Since that time huge attempts, terror and ruin along the example of Tatar attacks are carried on. Great stretches of territories have become transformed into desert and wasteland. If it had not been for such strong defensive action by UPA, the Polish-bolshevic plan would have become reality a long time ago. The population by its own passive resistance would not have been able to defend itself against such a terror. Only thanks to the joint heroical struggle of the whole Ukrainian population and the revolutionary forces of OUN and UPA the enemy's attempts were unsuccessful, for such a long time, the re-settlement into the USSR did not succeed to become reality even to 50%. The attempts

to settle Poles there instead of Ukrainians, were completely unsuccessful, as only burnt-out desert remained, and the enemy could only in the middle of this year (1947) remove a part of the Ukrainian population from there and disperse it into the German territories.

The struggle of the Ukrainian borderlands is a striking counter-example to how easy and fast this same sovietized Poland succeeded in resettling far greater territories and a much more numerous compact mass of the German population from the areas annexed to Poland, who formerly belonged to Germany. In this summing-up the Ukrainian character of the Western borderlands, the connection of the borderland part of the Ukrainian people with this ancestral land, its authenticity in this land, is best reflected, the readiness of its every part for struggle for life or death for the foundations of the being and development of the nation - the native land.

The defense of the population of the Western borderlands from forcible resettlement by means of revolutionary, armed struggle - is simultaneously in defense of the Ukrainian masses of their lands from such a threat. In the whole Russian imperialist tradition one of the chief means to subdue freedom-loving countries - is a forcible mass re-settlement of freedom-loving peoples (nations) from their own country, dispersing them over far territories and settling obedient ones instead of them. Bolshevism in its anti-national policy concerning non-Russian peoples has brought this practice to a most refined system, as the chief means. After the war the bolsheviks had resettled the Crimean Tatars, Chechenzi and other peoples from the Northern Caucasus, to Siberia, as they in the war turned out to be unyielding enemies of Russian bolshevik imperialism.

Naturally, bolshevism has similar plans concerning Ukraine, particularly those provinces, where the anti-bolshevik attitude of the masses

had manifested itself in the strongest way. But it is far more difficult to put these Russian ideas into practice, considering the numerousness of the Ukrainian element dispersed, hostile to bolshevism, as well as on account of its fighting spirit. Therefore the bolshevik regime accepted the plan to act slowly, in order not to arouse a general uprising. First they implanted numerous deportations, tearing out from among the masses the element which was most dangerous for them. And concerning a mass de-settlement of greater territories, Russia decided to first make a probe. It chose, the, so it seemed, easiest territory, - the Western borderlands under Poland, separated from the Ukrainian motherland by the border, which had remained isolated along the unfavourable, even hostile disposed Polish population. The ripping out of the Ukrainian population from the Western borderlands should have been a practice field, give the bolsheviks experience, how to act during the mass overall re-settlement of the masses of the Ukrainian population from entire provinces, to show what the reaction on our part would be. Other than that, the bolsheviks wanted, once and for all time to remove the existence of a compact part of the Ukrainian people outside of the territory of the USSR and in such a manner they obviously showed, that the so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR only cares for that, and not for the unity of all the Ukrainian lands. The de-settlement should have been put on Poland's political bill, and according to the Russian plan, should have sown the seeds of, heat up Ukrainian-Polish hostility, to make impossible the cementing of a joint Ukrainian-Polish front in the struggle against Russian imperialism. Such were the Kremlin's plans.

But the heroic struggle of a whole sector of the Ukrainian people, in the Western borderlands, which - so it had seemed, were in the least capable of such a unified combatant resistance - drew a line through them. Russia must draw conclusions from this: what would happen in the Ukrainian motherland, if the whole people would leave? This already is a concern of millions, of huge territories, and not of the border-

lands, with hundreds of thousands of population. This would not any more be a case like that of the Crimea, only a question of a great, enduring struggle, the uprising of Ukraine, which might have incalculable consequences in the whole USSR and for the general situation.

In this fashion, the heroic struggle of a part of the Ukrainian nation in the Western borderlands gave a lot in the defense of the whole Ukrainian nation, particularly of the threatened Western borderlands. Even though the success of this revolutionary struggle does not have any material considerations, yet this does not lessen its significance.

The lasting effect of the revolutionary struggle west of the Cherson line - as a revolutionizing of that sector of the Ukrainian nation, a full annexation of it to the active participation in the liberation struggle. The successes of the activity of OUN and UPA in this respect are obviously too great, if we consider, that they were, until recently, villages little conscious, "dark", more than once "usophile", giving into bolshevik influences, which became transformed into national fortresses, into centres of the very fighters for freedom and land, for the national life. If such a condition of national-political consciousness (awareness) and revolutionary activation were reached in the whole of Ukraine and other countries subjugated by bolshevism, then the bolshevik imperialism, regime and system soon would be destroyed in a short struggle, in a general uprising of the peoples subjugated by it. And the whole population of Lemkivshchyna, Posiannia, Nadbuzzhia, Cholmshchyna and Pidliasshia, once they have become fighters for the Ukrainian truth, from old to young (little), men, women and children - shall not cease to be such. Equally, those, who remained in the ancestral land, as also those, who were forcibly removed from it.

The struggle of UPA and OUN in the Western borderlands and excursions from this base west is particularly significant, for the raising of the cause of the liberation of Ukraine in the West, for

making known our liberation struggle outside of the borders of the USSR, particularly in the Western lands. The Western nations, as the whole outside world, have very weak and only sporadic information about what is happening in the USSR. Information about the liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations, reach them chiefly from our sources. Such informations from those, who speak about their own cause, are naturally treated as a biased picture of reality, are accepted only with reservations. Instead, such information, which is compiled by their own informers, on the basis of their own observations, diplomatic representatives, journalists, the members of various embassies, travellers, spies, etc., have far greater significance for the neutral world. There are few such visitors in Ukraine, and those, who penetrate there, don't have the chance to see what the bolsheviks are trying to hide, to conceal, yet in the territories under Poland, in Poland itself, in Czechoslovakia, etc., there are greater possibilities in this aspect, and from there information, even though scarce, reaches the outside world, and are accepted with greater trust and interest.

These, the foreign travellers, encounter, face-to-face, or very closely, the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle, which is being waged there, and hand on this information to their own countries. Then, this perception of that small part of our struggle gives the basis for the truth and learning about the whole Ukrainian cause, particularly the revolutionary struggle with a consideration for the proper proportions, between the Western borderlands and the Ukrainian motherland. such a struggle west of the Cherson line, even though it constitutes a secondary front, occupies the first place in the sector of raising, activating the cause of the Ukrainian liberation struggle on the international forum. In this respect it has its greatest achievements, and the most. In this also lies the great contribution of all fighters on this front to the cause of liberation. The language of the facts of the struggle -

is the strongest argument on the international scene. And that, by which the struggle in the Western borderlands addresses the world, and the excursions West from this base, reaches the broader world and speaks, testifies to it for the whole liberation struggle of Ukraine.

The spreading of the concept of revolutionary liberation struggle in a solid anti-bolshevic front of the neighbours of Ukraine, as a very important and serious effect of the revolutionary actions of UPA and OUN beyond the Cherson line. Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Hungarians, immediately became acquainted with UPA's actions, with the concept of liberation, OUN's revolutionary slogans and the joint revolutionary front mobilized by it, along the line of the anti-bolshevic bloc of nations.

The activity of OUN and UPA behind the Cherson line is particularly directed towards such a spreading of the idea of a joint anti-bolshevic front of the Western and north-western neighbours of Ukraine. They are concerned with the injecting into and confirming among those nations (peoples) of the idea of an uncompromising, revolutionary struggle for independence, and the idea of a joint front of ABN. These peoples (nations) are going through <sup>an</sup> internal political crisis - a search for a solution for the situation of a persistent, progressing subjugation of them by bolshevic imperialism. To a great extent they err, lost, along political crossroads, waste their time and energy in trying easier paths which Russia had already destroyed, or cunningly had directed into its nets. Only a part of these nations, has decisively stepped onto <sup>a</sup> path of uncompromising revolutionary struggle, which is uniquely correct, and the rest is wavering, afraid of its difficulties. These nations (peoples), their broad masses, need obvious, live, encouraging examples and proofs, that revolutionary struggle with bolshevism is possible, real.

Similarly, concerning the idea of a common revolution - the leading circles and masses of our Western neighbours, confused, more than once disenchanted, or sceptical, need to encounter face-to-face

the activity along that line, to see the central force, which is carrying on the work of making reality the concepts of a joint, revolutionary anti-bolshevic bloc of nations.

The previous activity of OUN and UPA in this direction has had considerable results. Ukraine's neighbours and our natural allies in the anti-bolshevic struggle have become acquainted with our actions, our concept, strategy and tactics. This becomes the pattern for them - an example to be followed and a path for orientation. The actions of OUN and UPA are fully co-ordinated along this line. Other than continuous action of political propaganda, UPA's excursions into foreign territories, which, have revolutionary-political tasks and in which, other than partisan operations, broad actions of propaganda are carried on, give the best results. Such excursions from Ukraine are conducted in all four directions, to the neighbouring territories, for instance, to Byelorusia, Roumania, . Similarly, from the Western borderlands excursions into Poland, Slovakia, the Czech lands, Hungary, lately also in the Austrian territories under bolshevic occupation, are happening. The success of these UPA excursions in the spreading of revolutionary struggle and a joint anti-bolshevic front of nations - are great.

Many false rumours and news in the press had spread to the West concerning the latest great raids (excursions). First of all, it is a completely false interpretation, that UPA is leaving the native lands. Here we are dealing with raids, and manoeuvres of several units of UPA which had been active west of the Cherson line; and not in the motherland. such raids to the territories of the Western neighbours happen all the time, every year. This summer they had become particularly stronger in connection with the strengthening of the struggle in the Western borderlands.

As is known, Russia really had planned to destroy the Ukrainian population in the Western borderlands under Poland with all its strength, and to breakup the Ukrainian revolutionary forces acting there. The

previous efforts of the subservient Warsaw government and the bolshevi<sub>ed</sub> Polish Army in this direction, with the disguised leadership of bolshevic officers and such co-operation of NKWD units -revealed themselves to be ineffective. Russia must overtly take over into its hands the leadership of the operations against UPA in the territories under Poland, throw into that large military units and use, under its leadership, the mobilized armies of Poland and Czechoslovakia. That can no longer be done quietly, the enemy is constrained to act overtly, deisregarding the harmful results for his foreign policy. The USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia conclude a formal treaty for joint military action against UPA.

At the beginning of the summer, this year, the enemy had begun a general offensive on 3 fronts. Such was his plan: to create large and dense front lines from the south, north and west, with the armies of the USSR, Poland and Czechoslovakia, to engulf (close in) the UPA units and the OUN revolutionary underground of the Western borderlands in this triangle, to annihilate and liquidate them, having compressed them by three walls, from all sides.

But the enemy did not succeed in reaching the planned aim of the shole offensive. Other than an unequal relationship of forces, the heroism of the Ukrainian revolutionaris and UPa's perfect partisan strategy were superior to the enemy's efforts. UPA's strategic plan - to bring to naught the enemy's offensive, consisted of not letting itself be enslaved and suppressed in a triangle of three fronts, only to break through it and to develop offensive partisan actions not where the enemy would like to wage a battle, where he had centred his forces, but, where hé is weaker, less prepared. The perfection of partisan tactics, excellence in it of well -trained and experienced UPA units, unexcelled bravery in combat, the flexibility in the most difficult situations, lightening-speed flexibility, surprising the enemy there and then, where he did not expect it - made possible a successful practice of the, seemingly, fantastci plan of the leaders of the revolutionary struggle in the Western

borderlands



borderlands.

During the enemy's offensive behind the Cherson line, the UPA units - west began a stronger partisan activity in the passage east of the Cherson line. By means of such actions they tied the bolshevic forces to a considerable extent, as these were destined to attack and supply, in this manner they relieved UPA behind the Cherson line, having weakened the bolshevic southern front. Considerable UPA forces, and the fighting OUN underground, behind the Cherson line, broke through the enemy's front in many spots, and, according to plan, carried on raids. They undertook broad partisan actions, operating with quick flexibility, in the territories beyond the lines of concentration within the enemy's forces. Because of this, they forced the enemy to disperse his strength in broad territories, where the UPA units made raids and can do so. Having far greater resources of technique and communication, the bolshevic units and even less the Polish and Czechoslovakian, cannot measure up to the raiding UPA units in flexibility. Thus, they cannot apply the tactics of speedy chase. And the attempts at encircling and enclosing the raiders have no prospects for success, if these units were able to break through the triangle of three fronts. Therefore, the enemy had to switch to stationing lesser dispersed military units all over the territories "endangered" by the UPA raids, in order to at least a little fight the UPA units, wherever they appeared, in order not to disgrace themselves before the population, by that, that the Ukrainian revolutionaries appear freely and carry on their military and propaganda work, and the pro-Russian official armies of the countries concerned don't even appear. In this fashion the raids all over the deep terrain of the enemy's fronts detracted considerable forces of the pro-bolshevic Polish and Czechoslovakian armies, weakened the enemy's pressure on the Western borderlands and made the great offensive of the three-fold alliance a futile act.

The raids progressed in the direction of the north and north-east, from the broken triangle behind the Chersson line - into Poland and Byelorrussia, west and south-west, into Czechoslovakia, Slovakia, Hungary, Austria, Austria. The main part of the raiding units does not fully tear away from the base of the revolutionary movement in the homeland, relies on them, making nearer, or farther excursions. Some units departed into far raids, having torn away from the raid base and the chief forces. They reach the Western borders of the zone under the bolsheviks in Central Europe. A part of those units, and separate groups as a result of the war actions, transfer into neutral territory.

Other than military and fighting tasks, the UPA raids in the foreign countries have aims of political propaganda, which, now occupy the first rank (in importance). The successes in spreading the anti-bolshevik struggle and the concept of a common ABN front among other nations - are lasting successes of our struggle, a further, serious step towards victory. And the last UPA raids, particularly west, accomplished a lot in that direction.

In such a manner the broad counter-offensive actions of UPA - great raids, which not only preserved the revolutionary-partisan forces from annihilation, but also brought serious successes for the Ukrainian revolution - were born from the great offensive, by means of which the USSR and its satellites Poland and Czechoslovakia wanted to destroy and annihilate the Ukrainian revolutionary forces in the Western borderlands.

As we can see, the entire revolutionary, political and military struggle of UPA and OUN is carried on planfully, in every situation, in all territories. It is pursued stubbornly along the line of making real our concept of liberation. Knowing this concept, we can see, in all actions, a persistent pursuit of our plan.

In all actions, the concern was not only a direct material effect, but first of all the continuation, spreading of revolutionary struggle, the mobilizing of all the time greater new forces, all the time broader masses, and the attracting of other nations (peoples) to the joint

anti-bolshevic front. All exertions, efforts and sacrifices, which contribute to such a development and growth of liberation revolutions, made for a good cause, are justified, as they lead up to the victory by one unique correct path.

This article is directed against the hostile attempts by those opponents of Ukrainian nationalism, who in the decade 1950 - wanted to undermine, or to bring to naught the Ukrainian liberation movement. At that time some Ukrainian socialists and members of URDP - the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party, founded in emigration by Ivan Bahrianyj, tried to spread the concept of national communism, and to establish the slogan "for a democratic order in Ukraine," and not the slogan "for an independent national state of the Ukrainian nation" as the leading slogan. Pointing out the danger of the slogan "of only anti-regime struggle", Stepan Bandera illustrated also the hypocrisy of Russian-bolshevik democratic slogans.

The article was signed with the full name of the author, the last name as well as the first name, and was first printed in the Munich weekly "Ukrainskyj Samostinyk", year I, nn. 4,5,7,8,10-13 and 15 in 1950, later was reprinted with an abbreviated title (without the word "only") in the monthly "Visnyk", New York, ed. OOCHSU, year III, nn. 2/37 - 12/47, February-December 1950, and eventually in the collection "Ukraine versus Russia", ed. ZCH OUN, Munich, Library of the Ukrainian Partisan, n.2, 1955, pp. 338-388.

Excerpts or chapters of this article were printed in: under the title "Our liberation concept" in "Voyacka Vatra", on the page of the Society of Veterans of UPA in Canada and the USA, year VIII, n.5/35, an addition to the weekly "Homin Ukrainy", year XVI, n.43/805 from October 17, 1964; with the title "Our attitude (position) towards Russia" in the weekly "Schliach Peremohy", Munich, year XV, n.41/746 from October 13 1968 and in "Homin Ukrainy" Toronto, year XXI, nn. 23/1046 and 24/1047 from May 31 and June 7 1969.

The Ukrainian liberation movement, whose maker is the ideology and concept of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, is the only one in our entire political life of the last two decades, which continues ~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ to pursue its path, keeps growing, continues and widens (broadens) its struggle, through all the huge shocks and changes, which our native land is experiencing. It is fighting all the efforts of Ukraine's enemies to destroy it.

Bolshevic Russia rightly sees in the Ukrainian nationalist, revolutionary liberation movement the most unappeasable, most dangerous enemy, who unceasingly carries on the struggle with it on all fronts and in all sectors, which always attacks, not only supports anti-bolshevic liberation revolution, but also successfully spreads it. Our struggle with Russia is carried on everywhere, in Ukraine, among other nations oppressed by bolshevism, and in emigration (territories beyond the borders of Ukraine). Along with our aggression on to the positions of Russian imperialism and communism, the bolsheviks are undertaking strong efforts, in order to destroy our movement everywhere, with its roots. The chief front of the struggle is happening in the Ukrainian territories. It is continued in territories beyond the borders of Ukraine, the nationalist movement is active everywhere, as a uniform force, and action.

All Russian attempts to destroy the Ukrainian nationalist, revolutionary liberation movement OUN-UPA physically, by a total attack from the front, - revealed themselves to be in vain (ineffective). Regardless of the most difficult conditions of the struggle and great sacrifices, our movement continues the struggle, continues to develop. The great, clear idea of the Ukrainian nation, struggle (striving) for Ukraine's freedom and the truth of God in the Ukrainian land - is an inexhaustible source of ~~strong~~ strength of our movement, and the character of a high quality of the nationalist-revolutionary which was created (formed) in the struggle, perfect methods of organization and means of action give him unbreakable spirit, strength and endurance. God is blessing and helping our struggle

for truth against the Red kingdom of Satan.

The enemy understands, that by sheer physical destruction, he will not break the Ukrainian revolution, the Ukrainian nationalism. Therefore he exerts all efforts, in order to attack the very sources themselves and the main internal supports of its strength, of necessity tries to destroy the idea of Ukrainian nationalism itself.

The bolshevics, in Ukraine as well as in foreign countries, carry on stubborn attempts to destroy, decompose the nationalist movement. But direct attack on it from the bolshevik positions is unsuccessful. Therefore, the enemy is attempting to reach his aim with the help of those anti-nationalist factors and phenomena, which exist in Ukrainian political life in emigration. He is trying by various methods to exploit them for his own purpose, to force and direct them on a path which is useful only to him. The chief directive of bolshevik degeneration - is to beat the nationalist movement still with Ukrainian hands.

All tendencies of approximation towards the Communist positions, the construction of bridges - passages on them, lead up to the same results, which are of benefit to the

All tendencies in the ideological and political sector of approximation towards the Communists' positions, the construction of bridges-passages on them, lead up to the same results, which are of benefit to the bolshevics' wishes. The first aim of the enemy's efforts along the line of the ideological demobilization of Ukrainian, independentist aims, is to erase the clear-cut border between the independentist, liberation movement and Russia or communism, to build a bridge between them. Every such phenomenon, which creates a break in the hatred towards the enemy and his positions - is harmful for the cause of liberation, disregarding, from what motives it stems.

There are many such phenomena in Ukrainian political life in emigration which help the bolshevik attempts to destroy the nationalist movement and

to uproot its actions for liberation. There are various reasons for that in the ranks of its sympathizers and robots (performers), there often is a lack of sufficient awareness and understanding of how harmful the work, which they do, concerning the anti-Russian liberation struggle, is. But such lack of understanding does not in the least diminish the harm which such phenomena do. In their essence, they are useful for the enemy's attempts. On the contrary, this often increases that harmfulness and is equal to bolshevik Russia's chief tendency - tendency - to attack, undermine, and destroy the independentist nationalist movement from the so-called Ukrainian position, by means of Ukrainian hands to harness to this and exploit Ukrainian forces for that purpose. In the evaluation of and treating of such phenomena we should, first of all, look at their activity and its results, and not only on the lure and intentions of their originators.

The struggle on the ideologically-political front against all types of Russian aggression and deceit has importance of the first order in the entire liberation struggle. The nationalist movement should step out completely clean and in a revolutionary-uncompromising manner against anything, which is derived from Russian bolshevism, or leads up to it, even though ~~with~~ further, immediately invisible consequences. All questions of an ideological and political nature must be examined, above all, from the viewpoint of struggle with Russian imperialism and its form-instrument - communism. Everything (anything) that weakens our positions in that respect, which dulls, diminishes -obscures the being diametrically opposed, revolutionarily impacifiable, idealistically-moral and programmatically-conceptual superiority of Ukrainian nationalism in relation to Russian bolshevism - must be exposed and removed from our political life. In this plan we also must consider that, which is happening on the international forum, and decipher the real, deeply hidden sense of all that,

~~WHICH HAPPENING~~ to which the bolshevics apply their hands, the bolshevik tactics (strategy) on the ideological forum, in world standards.

We pose ourselves the task to illustrate more precisely several attempts on the part of open, as well as concealed opponents of Ukrainian nationalism to detract the liberation movement from its real path, to ascribe to it incorrect and harmful positions. Here we are not concerning ourselves with that, which the revolutionary liberation movement openly fights, rejects. We want to reveal the real nature of such phenomena, which ~~th~~ do so in circumstances of an obviously favourable relationship (attitude) to it. The leading line, common to all efforts ~~x~~ of that kind, consists of that, to detract the present liberation struggle from its nationalist path, the path of complete Ukrainian National Revolution - onto the path of only anti-regime resistance-opposition. This line is common also for those, who from various reasons abandoned Ukrainian nationalism or are not able to accept it, and would like to drag after themselves the whole liberation movement on to anti-nationalist erring, as well as for those, who consider such a line a passing (temporary), now necessary stage stage in the undermining and full destruction of the liberation movement.

The adversaries of the liberation movement, in trying to detract ~~if~~ it from its nationalist revolutionary path, often resort to the method of falsely depicting and explaining the real position of the contemporary liberation struggle in Ukraine, as well as grounding such attempts by a false illustrating of the needs (requirements) and conditions of the development of the liberation struggle. The following combination of theses and conclusions, is one of such false suggestions, which are trying to join our movement and influence its further development.

In the years 1941-43 it appeared, so to speak, that the ideology and program of Ukrainian nationalism and its concept of Ukrainian national revolution are unacceptable in the Central and Eastern Ukrainian lands. In twenty years of the ruling of bolshevism in Ukraine, such changes occur-



ed in the socio-political thinking of the broad masses of the Ukrainian people, that the ideology, ideologically-programmatic aims of marxism bolshevism were in theory generally (widely) accepted, were accepted as correct, the most progressive, and the entire best, most active element of the middle-aged and younger generation, educated (raised) in bolshevik ideology, recognizes the ideology of communism. All the discontent - the ground for the mobilization of the masses for revolutionary struggle - among the prevailing majority of the nation follows, with the line of principled denial (contradiction) of communism, its aims and basic principles, not along the line of the contradiction only of the current practice of the bolshevik regime, which is in complete contradiction to the "acceptable, noble" ideas of theoretical communism. Now, on the level of national-political consciousness (awareness) and such strivings in the masses of the Ukrainian people there is no principled, deep, denial (contradiction) of the very essence of the imperialism and spirit of Russia, which is trying to suppress the spiritual culture, national-statehood and socio-economic independence (self-sufficiency) of the Ukrainian nation. The feeling and awareness of that, the national instinct are, so to speak, apparently already dulled. Only the denial of the socio-economic exploitation, the economic persecution of Ukraine, and the terrorist totalism of the bolshevik regime exists.

Therefore, the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, in order to induce the broad masses to participate in it, and above all, the dynamic, young element, which is capable of revolution, - must, so to speak, be, in the entire set-up, therefore also in the programmatically-conceptual, adjusted to these conditions, must sway, from the nationalist path, to the path of only anti-regime struggle. It is hardly possible to support the struggle for the fall of the bolshevik oppression of Ukraine, basically, in the nationally-conscious, decisively anti-Russian and anti-bolshevik revolutionary element, for there is, so to speak, very little of that in Ukraine. It must be rested on everything, which is directed

against the regime itself, against the existing state of affairs. And therefore, we must reckon not only with those, who in principle are opposed to Russian imperialism and communism, but also with those, who are for communism, for its realization, yet have a hostile attitude to the regime and its practices, for "betrayal of communism". Instead of the "unpopular" denial of the whole of bolshevism, it is necessary to consider the "accomplishments of the October ( therefore bolshevik) revolution" as positive, and to face the regime, which has betrayed them, in the role of their defenders.

~~Therefore, the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine, in order to~~

All this, is presented not as helping, tactical means for the strengthening or relief of our chief front, but on the contrary, - as the basic concept of the liberation revolution. Therefore, there are no more problems of political strategy (tactics) ~~in~~ in separate (diverse) sectors, in the work of several ~~sectors~~ sectors, but only a question of our own, fundamental program. <sup>So</sup> ~~to~~ to speak, we should accept precisely such basic situations as the main lines and construct everything on them. Corresponding to this, it is necessary to reject previous "already outdated" principles of Ukrainian nationalism, to outroot them in the own ranks, to change the ideology and program.

What does this mean ?

The diagnosis itself of the political ground in the borderlands of Eastern Ukraine, which had served as the start for such a concept, is based on a false evaluation of the ~~ground~~ ground, of national consciousness, the political attitude of the national masses and the revolutionary, dynamic elements. It denies (contradicts) the nationalist concept of liberation, the sufficient vitality and dynamics of the natural nationalist potential within the Ukrainian nation and the capacity of the ideology of the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism to enthuse the nation (people) to raise it to the struggle for its "to be or not to be". It raises the concept of only anti-regime struggle, instead of nationalist

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revolution in the full sense, following the self-deception, that program-  
matic minimalism - the removal of the regime itself and the correction,  
and not change, also in the roots - of the socio-political order, the slogan  
of the <sup>saving</sup> ~~saving~~ of the "achievements" of the October revolution, and not  
the full distancing of its theory and practice, - will lead the national  
masses to struggle, quicker (sooner) than the maximal program of our  
revolution. Such a concept denies the capacity of the Ukrainian, and other  
nations oppressed by Russia, as well, to liberate themselves by means of a  
joint revolutionary struggle, it stakes on all the elements with which  
are dissatisfied with the regime, in the same measure on communist  
and Russian, as on the decided anti-Russian, and anti-communist forces.

The entire revolutionary liberation struggle is marked by two  
fundamental processes: the building up of the own strength of the  
liberation front and fighting the enemy, the destruction of his forces and  
positions. Within this framework there is a broad scale of temporary  
and passing processes, like, for instance, the winning of the co-opera-  
tion or friendship of various impartial, foreign forces; pulling them  
away from the enemy; causing him differences with a third factor, the demo-  
bilization, neutralizing of various elements within the hostile camp;  
transforming the entire set-up of clashes with the enemy into circum-  
stances most favourable to us, and difficult for the enemy; the acti-  
vation, reinforcing of some levels and sectors of the struggle, and  
diminishing of others - structured to the relationship of forces and the  
significance of both for both sides. Many such questions from the realm  
of the strategy and the tactics of the liberation revolution are very  
significant. For their suitable, most advantageous solution methods  
always corresponding to the circumstances, are applied, and various  
political actions are performed, various processes in the foreign, enemy's  
community are started and reinforced.

The crystallization, perfection and dissemination (spreading) of the nationalist ideology, program, liberation concept, and the selection of education (training), and on this basis, the forming of an own force, its basis - cadres of unshakeable supporters and fighters, - should be kept in the central place in the process of organizing the liberation revolution. It is inevitable, (necessary, indispensable) to study in-depth that which is alive and troublesome in the people (nation), not only on the surface. Which has already manifested itself, not to a no lesser extent, that, which often is hidden, in the subsoil. As the consequences of that, the content of the nationalist ideology, which in its essence is unchanging, will develop into concrete situations (circumstances), which are most eloquent in its current stage. Such forces, as in their deep natural essence are nationalistic and revolutionary, are selected annexed (added) and are being formed. Again, in a unilateral trend of the work in only current actions and the mobilization for them of the utmost number of participants, tactical considerations absorb the foremost attention. Both processes always must be regulated in a harmonious agreement, in a correct posing of our revolutionary work: a basic training of the starters and the main force of the revolution on a broad scale, consistently, in various stages of and the carrying of the current revolutionary struggle in the guise of various actions, which imbue the enemy with blows and mobilize the masses.

Some people (there are people who) don't grasp and disregard the importance of the phenomena of the fundamental formation of the constituents of our own force, reduces revolutionary activity only to current passing actions, and therefore, sees everything from one angle - to mobilize, for these actions, with such methods and slogans, as to obtain the fastest and greatest effect (response). It is on account of such a unilateral angle of view, that the direction of the development of the national revolution on a long-term basis can be easily lost, it is also easy on account of that to take the specific exigencies of the tactics of one stage in the

activity instead of the basic concept, the, for the personal line. (the basic concept, precisely). 123

The process of the gathering, cultivating, forming and growing of the own force of the liberation revolution must be done along correct principles of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, on its ideological, programmatic principles (truths). Therefore, our aims (goals), our ideology and program, our liberation concept in its full essence fully must be sufficiently disseminated (spread) and illuminated, towards our own cadres, to the Ukrainian people. Our basic principles ought not only to be preserved and developed, but also explained in full neatness, in our own community (centre), without any deformations, under the influence of various strategic (tactical) considerations.

Only on such a basis, in this spirit, can the cadres of fighters for independence, who do not give in to any attacks by the enemy, be formed. Only having confronted the Ukrainian nation with completely clear, clean uncompromising aims of national liberation revolution, can it be lead on to the path of the gravest struggle, which requires incomparable sacrifices and which is the only one which can bring the nation freedom.

Any accomodation of our own ideological and programmatic principles to external influences, the disfiguration of them, or minimization corresponding to strategical exigencies in the sectors of our activity in a foreign or enemy community (centre) undermines the foundations themselves of liberation struggle. By means of ideologically-programmatic opportunism, by retreating (receding) from the fullness and cleanness of our own aims, the blurring of them in the eyes of the national masses the successfullness and usefullness of the liberation revolution is questioned, doubts are implanted, whether such a struggle for diminished, half-way aims is possible and useful, aims which do not at all correspond to the spirit and requirements (needs) of Ukraine.

Our liberation concept, ideology and program of Ukrainian nationalism

should clearly (precisely) reflect the most substantial requirements of the Ukrainian people, in the cleanest form, without partial and hostile suggestions and deformations, and simultaneously it should form the national and political awareness (consciousness).

Yet, in all work of a political or propagandist nature, on foreign ground, and concerning the foreign community, are decisive regarding the approach we accept, what sectors and aims of the Ukrainian liberation struggle ought to be raised, and in what aspect. Only a part of the aims of our liberation struggle suits the aspirations of neutral factors (agents), of foreign nations and of some elements, which -willy or nilly - are a constituent part of or an instrument of the hostile power. We show and propagate such elements of universal significance within our program equally everywhere, in all sectors. On the other hand, some of the programmatic postulates, of basic significance within the entire nationalist ideology, reflecting the peculiar strivings and requirements (needs) of the Ukrainian people are insignificant, of no concern to some impartial factors (agents), at whom our activity is also directed. Emphasizing precisely those aims and slogans to the audience of such impartial factors would be useless and unsuccessful. In order to obtain the sympathy and co-operation of foreign powers (forces) and also, precisely for the ideological and moral disarmaments in the hostile camp, such from among our slogans, which seem attractive and convincing to these foreign elements, must be selected and utilized. On the other hand, if only these slogans, were established as the programmatic aims for our own camp, for the Ukrainian nation, if we should constrict ourselves only to them - that, instead of becoming a stimulus, would only create confusion.

Corresponding to the all the time broader unfolding of the activity of the Ukrainian National liberation revolution, corresponding to the

activation and strengthening of, all the time, newer sectors of the struggle in broad proportions, with influence not only within the Ukrainian people, but in the transforming of our offensive revolutionary political activity to the territories of other nationalities and into the hostile arena (enemy's arena), coupled with, as the Ukrainian national revolution is becoming the vanguard and organizer of the joint (common) anti-bolshevik liberation revolution of many nations - we must manifest a very broad range of political resources. The differentiation between the actual, full program, on the basis of which we, our own forces are mobilized and formed, and the politically-propagandative strategy in various sectors, assumes a great significance. The organization, in the process of the desenvolving of the revolutionary activity, has evolved high quality political skill in the practicing of a manifold political strategy, appropriately and successfully selects (chooses) methods and slogans suitable to the community, area and the entire concrete (actual) set-up. The present stage of the revolutionary liberation movement in Ukraine are characterized by a broad repertoire of political work and, appropriately, a broad range of strategic know-how.

The liberation struggle, in the concept of revolution, is carried on in all walks of life, on a broad front, in different ways, as a constantly active and constantly growing process, till full final victory.

← The revolutionary struggle - is a national struggle on the spiritual, cultural, levels, socio-political and military struggles, for the complete destruction of the existing state of affairs and its content, and for the construction of a completely new state of affairs, better in every aspect, which suits the needs (requirements or exigencies) and wishes of the Ukrainian nation. The armed struggle constitutes an essential constituent part of the whole revolution. An all-national uprising, an armed uprising of the entire nation and the final destruction of the physical basis and strength of the enemy at the appropriate moment, should

become the climax of the liberation struggle, secure the building of an independent state, order, national and social freedom.

Partisan activity and any armed struggle of the military sector (force or body) of the revolution, has the task to resist the enemy, and to assist the nation, to create (constitute) support and protection for the moving forces (factors) of the revolution, to reinforce (strengthen) and increase the entire revolutionary process, to cultivate, form and develop the armed force of the revolution, in order to mobilize all forces of revolution in a partisan army at the appropriate moment (stage). The size, forms of organization, extent and the methods of action of the armed forces, in the entire (whole) development of revolutionary struggle, can change, they are planfully regulated, in their application in practice, to the entire revolutionary process.

Unity and the existence of a plan should exist, within the diversity and complexity of the revolutionary activity. It is secured by ideological unity, one program, and one strategic concept (political, and organizationally-operative co-ordination. Ideologically-political and organizationally-operative unity is obtained (secured), from the very beginning, by organic unity of the entire movement.

Some people, consider the sense of military liberation struggle, disregarding all other sectors and forms of revolutionary action. The disenchantment with the possibility of and success of broad, lengthy revolutionary struggle had incited some individuals into making the cause of liberation struggle dependent on the development of the international situation and the attitude of neutral forces. Such people treat the entire revolutionary struggle in Ukraine not as the actual path towards liberation, but only as a factor, which attracts the attention of the external world to the Ukrainian cause, attracts sympathizers to it, and helps our work on the foreign policy sector. Considering the struggle in the homeland from this unique angle, such an opinion attributes merit to the military actions of UPA only, because they



are those who most loudly and to the greatest extent, among all, attract the attention of foreign factors. But the actual revolutionary process, the involvement of all the time broader national masses to the liberation struggle is not very significant in the eyes of those people, who do not believe in their own strength and the possibility of anti-bolshevik liberation revolution. Such an opinion can seem to be justified, only, when matters of revolutionary action are considered from the surface only, from their external manifestations and their external effect, and not from their internal needs in their development and reach.

The overall (general) political situation, which arose after the war, made impossible the greater spreading of military activity, the unfolding of partisan operations. The period of an all-round and deep revolutionary process, in which the military aspect serves above all for the reinforcement of the socio-political sectors of the revolution, arrived. The narrowing down of military resources and its activity, in the entire strategy (tactics) of revolution, are in no way synonymous with the weakening, lessening, of the force of revolution, of the entire revolutionary process. For the partisan army and military actions - are a constituent part, one of the functions and forms of revolutionary struggle and not the only factor which is closed in on itself. UPA's military actions are fully capitalized for the benefit of the growth of the revolution even then, when they themselves do not grow and do not significantly increase UPA's strength. They are capitalized in that, that the revolutionary process, grows, is strengthened in other guises, by means of the dispersing of the idea of liberation revolution, the growth of socio-political revolutionary actions, when (if) considering the overall (general) situation and the exigencies of internal development, the overall (general) plan requires (demands) the narrowing down of the military sector, - then the forces (strength) of this sector are not demobilized, but carried over into other sectors, for their reinforcement, and there they continue that same struggle in other ways (in other forms). The growth

of the forces of revolution in other guises always impends such a potential, which at the appropriate time, will make their appearance in a military guise. The creation and brilliant development of UPA as a result of the entire previous activity of UWO-CUN, best supports this truth. The uniformity and planfullness of the entire liberation movement and, in any conditions, the most appropriate constallation of separate forces of revolutionary force and activity from the very beginning was secured in closest co-operation and the ideologically-political unity of CUN and UPA.

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The ideology, program and concept of liberation and revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian nationalist movement constitute an entity, a harmonious structure, based on the accomplished Ukrainian ideology (worldview). This architectural uniformity and harmony gives the movement internal strength, dynamics of action, and resistance to all the enemy's attacks and blows.

On the other hand, any harmful, incorrect and unsuccessful concepts and actions (commitments) in Ukrainian political life are rooted in foreign ideology opposed to the Ukrainian mentality, ideology, worldview, or in ideological rootlessness, or are the result of divergencies between the theoretically recognized ideological principles, and the <sup>live</sup> political, living, reality. Whoever is counting on ideological foundations uncharacteristic of our basis (our roots) even with the show of goodwill and the best efforts, will not be able to construct anything enduring, will only multiply the ruins. And, whoever, in political practical reality (or activity), does not consider (pay attention to) the necessity for strengthening the basic threads in an unshakeable ground, his conjunctural projections (constructs) and moves (activity) are shaking whichever way the wind blows, bending and tumbling from changing or stronger winds.

With the help of deeper meditation, one can become convinced, that,

most of the evil in Ukrainian political life, most of their internal conflicts and harm for the liberation struggle is derived from the materialistic ideology, from foreign, socialist ideologies and concepts, and the faults in character of individuals and entire groups. The Ukrainian nationalist movement does not accept any of the philosophical systems which were created by foreign thinkers, does not concern itself with them. Yet, the Ukrainian world-view is typical of Ukrainian nationalism, it is a creation of the Ukrainian spirit, nature and the entire (whole) Ukrainian people, it emerges on the basis of the overall Christian ideology. It is not created by one thinker or some intellectual current, it is not arranged scientifically into a philosophical system, but is clearly reflected and active in the entire life and creativity of the Ukrainian nation and the Ukrainian person, as an ordered, harmonious and completed system of values, which has grown organically. The Ukrainian world-view is a Christian one.

Yet the materialistic ideology - is the creation of an entirely different, foreign spirit, on a different foundation in its principles and conclusions it does not at all agree with the Ukrainian world-view, with the Ukrainian spirituality, is opposed to them. The materialistic world-view, has been brought partly by the enemies' rule in Ukraine, partly by socialism, into Ukrainian life and during the last quarter of a century bolshevism imposes it upon the Ukrainian people (nation) with all the violence and terrorist means (methods) which it has at its disposal. Today, it is not only one of the ideological doctrines existing in the world, but it is the main, basic factor - means at the disposal of the enemy, in order to destroy the spirit, being, self-sufficiency of the Ukrainian nation, to transform the Ukrainian nation, the Ukrainian person (individual) into an object which is at the disposal of Russia's aims. Therefore, the attitude of any organization to the materialistic ideology has, in the aspect of liberation struggle against bolshevism, a merely political significance.

Socialism, which made the greatest contribution, in an evil manner, to the ideological, political and military demobilization of Ukraine in the struggle against bolshevism, brought the greatest harm in the liberation struggle of Ukraine against bolshevic Russia. This same bacteria is, also now, active in Ukrainian political life in emigration. But, today, it has no access to the Ukrainian masses in an open form, obvious socialists, <sup>o</sup>ocialist parties are living it out till the end. <sup>slowly expiring</sup> On the other hand, the disguised, hidden socialist tendencies, which manifest their existence in various ways, infiltrate everywhere, even try to grow roots in the revolutionary liberation movement, to cause it to desintegrate ideologically, <sup>they</sup> are causing great harm.

Some people, ascribing to socialism (attributing to socialism) the monopoly of the defense of the social situation of the workers, identifying them with its program of social justice and progress, are making attempts to disseminate confusion in this respect, to paralyze the sensitivity to all the <sup>d</sup>estructive elements in socialist doctrines. New party constructs appear, joined with their own name, and disguised, which are abusing the name of the revolutionary liberation forces. These, as well as the others, are creeping into revolutionary anti-liberation costumes, and try to disseminate tendencies, which are opportunistic regarding communism. They recognize the achievements of marxism-communism, and speak about their preservation in the Ukrainian state. They are particularly opposed to the absolute rejection of collectivization, they look for positive aspects in it, for <sup>its contributions to</sup> the national economy. Some advocate the preservation (maintenance) of the collectivized economy along with private land ownership, and others, proceed still further and defend the preservation of the collectivization of the entire (whole) agrarian economy.

All these socialist and pro-communist tendencies display the attitude, as though the struggle of the Ukrainian people, which is waged also for the purpose of social liberation, were dealing not with a

socialist, communist order, but a communist one. In identifying themselves with the bolshevic ideology, they treat that social order, which had ben existing in Ukraine under the Russian domination until 1917 (Russian occupation) and in Western Ukraine under Poland until 1939, or which is existing in other countries - ~~As~~ a still active factor. They concern themselves with it and its various institutions in such a manner, as though they were struggling against capitalism, and not against communism. They treat the communist, socialist order, which was forcibly imposed by bolshevism, as though it were progressive. Following the example of bolshevic propaganda, in the treatment of social problems, (questions or matters), they are <sup>-creating</sup> remaking the phantom of Feudal lords, capitalists, etc., former factors and phenomena, now non-existent in Ukraine, in the same manner, with the same procedure, as bolshevic demagogues and socialist agitation, woe to say it, from the times of the liberation struggle 1917-20 does.

It is understandable, that the bolshevics do that, in order to make the impression on the national masses of being their defenders from the capitalistically-Feudal mishaps, and in order to present the bolshevic total serf-system as a paradise. On the other hand, the attempt to channell the liberation movement in social questions on to such channells, which the bolshevic propaganda is pursuing, in its consequences, is synonymous with the enemy's pursuit of intrigues. The channelling of the independentist energy on to false channells of struggle with the enemy? diverts the attention from the actual most horrible and currently only enemy and enslaver, nationally, as well as socialistically - away from the Russian communist bolshevism. The new masters in socialism define the socialist program 1917-20, as progressive principles, which should ~~from~~ be the basis of the socio-economic program of the liberation movement. And the bolshevic October revolution, in their interpretation, brought progressive, positive achievements, which must not be rejected, but preserved and confirmed, having been <sup>entrenched</sup> cleansed of the deformations and abuse by the regime. Such positions in their entire foundation are

false and harmful.

We are struggling against Russian bolshevism, in all its aspects (manifestations) in all areas. Our struggle is revolutionary, uncompromising, therefore we contradict, reject and fight all that is just bolshevic, what bolshevism has brought and imposed on the Ukrainian nation, we reject it in principle <sup>and</sup> fully. It is wrong and harmful, from the point of view of revolutionary strategy, to search for (look for) to differentiate positive aspects, in the bolshevic system. It cannot be, in any way, attributed in favour of bolshevism, should there be, in the bolshevic reality, separate phenomena or processes, which are valuable <sup>on</sup> their own account, positive. For, in spite of all its totalitarian ruthlessness, not even bolshevism is that almighty, so that all activity, all life would be formed only according to its will and plans. On the contrary! Resistance to bolshevism, the attempt to form life in various sectors along the line of the natural development of the nations unfree in it, and according to the needs of the person, manifests itself in various forms, and in all walks of life, disregarding bolshevic terror. Bolshevism is not capable of fully controlling everything and to make a full break-through, it is forced, here and there, to make concessions.

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The bolshevics depict the natural growth and development, and even forcibly obtained concessions as their own achievements, as the realization of the programmed aims of communism, in order to utilize them <sup>own</sup> for propagandative purposes and as well, to raise their authority, concerning the masses. Russian bolshevism, attempts in the last resort to gain from all the real achievements of the healthy drives of the nations, to use them for anti-national purposes. But it only has negative significance in all its symptoms (manifestations of existence), and consequences, in all sectors (areas) concerning the Ukrainian people. It would <sup>be</sup>

naive show a lack of a realistic perspective, or a prohibited irresponsible reaction to the enemies' suggestions (acceptance of the enemy's suggestions?) - if one would discuss the negative aspects and achievements of the October bolshevic revolution, to give them credit for those positive aspects, which were enforced and became reality by means of the invincible forces of the life of the people (nation) and which the bolshevic revolution is trying to use for the purpose of the perdition of the nation. It would be just as <sup>within</sup> <sup>(channel)</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>harmful</sup> and detrimental to blurr the differences, the disparity concerning the 1917-20 Ukrainian liberation revolution, and such like national revolutions of other nations, - on the one hand, and the October bolshevic one- on the other hand.

In the perspective of the national liberation revolution, whose actual task is to ~~out~~root the Russian bolshevic domination and total system of serfdom, everything, which in its content or derivation is bolshevic, reactionary, anti-revolutionary - every tendency whose self-imposed task is to justify, preserve any manifestations and remnants (remains) of the bolshevic order, is reactionary, anti-national.

The bolshevic propganda is trying to impose on someone the view, that any struggle against bolshevism and its order is striving to review the state of affairs, particularly the social situation, which existed until 1917. Thus, so to speak, there are only 2 possibilities: either the bolshevic order or such, as was imposed by Tsarist Russia and other occupants in Ukraine. In this fashion the bolshevics are trying to exploit the still alive in the mind of the nation, healthy hatred for the situation as it was in the old regime, to humiliate the liberation movement and to create the feeling of hopelessness., of a situation, which has no solution.

Ukrainian nationalism, in the same way, completely rejects and fights Russian bolshevism-communism as also any attempt to make return the state of affairs of the nationally-political and socio-economic unfreedom under white or any other Russia, or under any other invaders. Those social conditions, which previous invaders (occupants) had imposed on Ukraine, and any attempt to renew them, have their impeacable enemy in the Ukrainian

nationalism. Its aim - to construct a Ukrainian state and in it, its own social order, corresponding to the needs and desires of the entire (whole) Ukrainian nation (people), which will guarantee (safeguard) the best development for (of) the Ukrainian nation (people) and for all the citizens of Ukraine - allround freedom, justice and wealth. From here on Ukrainian nationalism pursues its own paths, its foundations and decisive criteria: the Ukrainian people (nation), the Ukrainian family, a natural environment, natural conditions, the situation in life and the needs of Ukraine. He (it) grasps for its foundations, those values and principles from the past, which the Ukrainian people has created itself (on its own), in its free development, which corresponds to the contemporary life on its present levels. Rejected is all that, which had been imposed on it by foreign domination, contrary to its will and aims, in the course of its entire historical development, as formerly, so also in the last quarter of a century.

In now carrying on the struggle against bolshevic Russia, we must direct all attention, all energy towards that pursuit. And in the sector of the struggle for social liberation, which is impossible without national liberation, the contradiction of the struggle against the existing enemies' bolshevic order must occupy the one centre of our attention. The total destruction and collapse of the bolshevic totalitarian enslavement (serf-system) of the people and the person should, in the attitude of the national masses and in their consciousness, in the overall scale of social problems, function as the chief essence and exigency (requirement or demand). And the revolutionary liberation movement must do that (this), must achieve it by means of its entire political activity. A real, independentist cannot speak about the "achievements" (accomplishments) of the october revolution, about some positive aspects of communism, that the socialist programs are correct, he must not divert the attention of the masses from the struggle with communism ~~into~~ onto the path of the phantoms of the private capitalism, non-existent in our country. For such a posing of social problems pursues the path of uprooting the anti-bolshevic revolution, the hostile attitude to bolshevism and "all its actions".

Such tendencies, within the process of the development of Ukrainian political thought and political forces, are a remainder of those socialist illnesses, which had undermined and exhausted the nationally-political rebirth and the liberation struggle 1917-20.



With their entire internal content, spirit, ~~most~~ methods and the background, against which they had arisen, keep repeating the same thing, which the socialist parties had then been doing. Both, one, as well as the other - is the end-product of ideological opportunism concerning the enemy, opportunism, which would like to assume the guise of being revolutionary. It is the activity of such elements, ~~thw~~ which in the course of total struggle for national liberation and the self-assertion (self-determination) of nations have come together (assembled) within the struggling national camp, but, spiritually, as yet, have not liberated themselves from the ideological pressure by the enemy, or have anew succumbed to it and would wish, that national struggle should be directed ~~at~~ onto the paths of some kind of compromise, with "the values and achievements", of the enemy (by the enemy). ~~As~~ Just as in 1917-20, just like that, the contemporary obvious and capricious socialism wants to perform the part of the political leadership in the liberationist camp, to shine with the light of whatever ~~ea~~ it takes over ready-made from the foreign sector of - from the enemy, and to channel the liberation movement onto such paths.

These phenomena, when we take into consideration the extent, actual influence and their significance in contemporary political life, are an insignificant miniature copy of what the socialist parties were in 1917-20. Yet, the very fact of the appearance of such a remnant, such a socialist-opportunistic tendency at the present time, is a detrimental phenomenon, which actually Ukrainian political life should be relieved of completely.

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There is still another reason for, and also, an utterly harmful aspect to the fact, that the slogan "For a democratic order in Ukraine" instead of the slogan "For an independent national state" , is raised to first-rank importance within the program of the liberation ~~struggle~~ struggle. The idea of a "struggle only against the regime is put forward in a scheme, to present the contemporary ~~liber~~ liberation struggle as a struggle for the constitution of the Ukrainian state, and not the reaching for an independent state. This idea was crystallized in the emigre situation and stubbornly held on to, at the time, when the Ukrainian SSR was accepted by the United Nations. That fact evoked quite an enthusiasm within some people, as well as strengthening their views, to correspondingly change the approach to our policy for liberation.

Let us trace the course of thoughts and arguments which lie at the roots of this concept; it is very difficult to conduct Ukrainian foreign policy, on an international forum, with the status of a nation without a state, which is only in the stage of striving to create its state. In such circumstances, we cannot perform as an independent political factor, as, <sup>confirming</sup> ~~conforming~~ to the principles of international policy, Ukraine did not exist as an independent political factor. By ~~means~~ means of being accepted into the United Nations, the Ukrainian SSR received international recognition as the Ukrainian state, and now Ukraine is a factor in international life. Even though she cannot pursue her own independent policies, and actually is a colony of Russia, an instrument of Russian policy, the benefit is such, that the world in principle has recognized (or accepted) the Ukrainian state, is becoming used to the fact of its existence, the status of a Ukrainian factor in international relations. This facilitates international recognition of the Ukrainian state in the future (an independent), so assures it beforehand. Thus the Ukrainian state would have a status of continuity in international law, the future, independent, real Ukrainian state in this context automatically becomes an heir to the Ukrainian SSR. The construction of an Independent United Ukrainian State, from the point of view of international legality (or international law) would be a coup d'etat, a change in regime and constitution. From now on, it should be much easier to carry on independent activity in the foreign policy sector, as Ukraine has become a lawful citizen on the international forum (in the international sense). Accordingly - the spokesman of ~~this~~ ~~this~~ ~~concept~~ maintain - we should in the activity on the foreign policy sector interpret the present liberation struggle as a struggle for the change of the state order and the regime in the USSR, and not as a struggle for the very state itself, for its existence. We should not represent the ~~new~~ view, particularly to the foreign world, that the Ukrainian SSR is not a Ukrainian state. Now, so to speak, the interpretation should be such, that the Ukrainian SSR does not possess full sovereignty, but we are struggling for that sovereignty, for full separation from the USSR, from Russia, and as well, for the change of the regime, and the ~~constitutional~~ constitutional order of the state to a democratic one, for the removal of the communist dictatorship. Such an interpretation is necessary in order not to undermine the benefits accruing to the cause of Ukrainian statehood on the

international forum,  
nition of the Ukrainian SSR.

which accrue to it from the fact of the international recog-

Such views were voiced most strongly in the first two post-war years. Yet the obvious error in such speculations, has by now become all too apparent, and their spokesmen also have cooled down in their enthusiasm and rosy expectations, that the presence of the Ukrainian SSR on the international chessboard, acting in the role of a figure in the Kremlin's game, would help the independentist work in the foreign policy sector. Yet, such speculations (principles), (foundations) in essence have remained the opportunistic perspective concept in Ukrainian political life in emigration. The concept of the struggle against the regime for the change of the system is continued to be dragged into the same dead end, as well as a clear avoidance, (or refusal) to see clearly and stubbornly, that the so-called Ukrainian SSR is not a Ukrainian state at all.

And that is the uniting factor of all anti-nationalist tendencies in emigration, starting from the obviously socialist, as if, so to speak, anti-bolshevik revolutionary, reaching in the pseudo-nationalist. They are trying to enter the political arena with the tide of fashion, they are forcing themselves to speak out against the nationalist line, in Ukrainian independentist politics, with their own, "progressive" view -point. Yet in fact, they are treading the old treadmill of opportunism concerning the enemy, accepting the disguised aims of his game in a newer, "progressive" edition.

This current is harmful in many ways. Above all it creates complete confusion in Ukrainian independentist policy, in which, actually, the attitude toward the Ukrainian SSR and the whole bolshevik game in this respect should have uniform principles, as well as be pursued consistently. The uniquely correct position, is that, which suits the real situation (state of affairs) and stems from our fundamental aims. Thus, the Ukrainian SSR is not a Ukrainian state, at all, it is only a showcard, a trick, by means of which bolshevik Russia is trying to disguise the imperialist oppression and colonial exploitation of Ukraine from the external observing world. Russia is attempting to humiliate, to depreciate the concept of Ukrainian statehood in the eyes of the Ukrainian people itself having combined in the worst oppression and exploitation in the name and form of the Ukrainian SSR. In this way, bolshevism is attempting to undermine, to ideologically disarm

ting to undermine, to ideologically disarm the struggle for a Ukrainian state. Any opportunism, compromises, lack of clarity in this problem, in the independentist movement, are inadmissible, as they create confusion and demobilize, they serve the enemy's purpose.

Certainly, the steadfastness of the struggle of the Ukrainian people for state independence has forced Russia to embark on such a path. Too weak to break it, bolshevism resorted to deceit, to vile uprooting. Yet, once this was done, the enemy attempts to obtain gain from that strategy.

Bolshevic Russia, in introducing the Ukrainian SSR on the international forum, is attempting to obtain several benefits for itself: to bring the struggle of Ukraine for full sovereignty to naught, to confuse it, as well as to deceive the world concerning the real situation (state of affairs) of the so-called Union Republics of the USSR. The bolshevics in international life, in world opinion, are trying to join Ukraine's name with the entire Russian policies, and they are playing this game in such a manner, as though the concern here were not unfreedom, but, as if, the independent Ukrainian SSR in everything is faithful to its playmate USSR; in that way, on the international forum, to neutralize, suppress the truth, that Ukraine is the chief revolutionary force, against Russian imperialism, that it is aiming for the full destruction of the USSR; finally, the bolshevics attempt to have yet another one, a very comfortable position in their games on the international forum. These are the benefits accruing to Russia.

Is there any benefit for the cause of Ukrainian statehood from Manuilsky representing Ukraine, that world opinion is saturated with such fixations about Ukraine, as an echo of Russia! Is it not preferable, that Ukraine's name not stand as one of the bolshevic figures, but exclusively be a synonym and symbol of anti-bolshevic and anti-Russian revolution, which is preparing the fall of the USSR, & the breakdown of Russian imperialism, the death of bolshevism. That is preferable; that Ukraine's name resound in the world only with uncompromising liberation struggle, that Russia fears the very mention of Ukraine in the world,

or that some Manuilsky, introduced the world to a ~~xxxxxxx~~ saddled (bridled) obedient Ukraine, which the bolshevics by now can already calmly exhibit? What is harder to achieve on the international forum, in world opinion: to win recognition for real revolution, a confrontation with Russia, - and there is no other way, - or to correct, to renew all that, which the so-called Ukrainian SSR is imposing on the name of Ukraine.

Can the so-called continuity of Ukrainian statehood from the Ukrainian SSR as the last stage in it have serious significance for the cause of the building of a Ukrainian United Independent state.

For whose cause, in the process of history, after the Ukrainian SSR will there be more useful a substance for making up, in the sense of international law (legality): for the cause of the sovereignty and unity of the Ukrainian state, or for the new Russian usurpative imperialism. Yet, generally, when, and which nation, had achieved or secured its statehood independence, by the objective reason for the existence of its cause to international law? Why send independentist thought wandering in the woods?

And, finally, is it of avail and permissible to state, that the Ukrainian state should voluntarily take upon itself the debts left by the Ukrainian SSR, all those obligations, duties of various kinds, which the bolshevics are doing, and doing it more and more all the time, under the authorship of the Ukrainian SSR? All the obligations of the internal and external sort, and among them, other than what was already done, there can be various treaties (agreements), a state of war of the Ukrainian SSR against other states, etc.

What kind of independentist, and even revolutionary policy is this, which is ready to change, so soon and so easily, the general line concerning the the enemy, according to the change of the political decoration of the enemy. And that, only because perhaps (may be), some day they will succeed in benefiting in some way from that.

The attempt to explicate the present liberation struggle according to this concept to the external world leads to its own depreciation. If we consider the Ukrainian revolution to be only a struggle against the regime, a coup d'etat, and not the historical struggle of Ukraine with Russia - signifies (means), that it is being edited, in the opinion of international politics, to the quality of such anti-communist forces, like, for instance, the Russian anti-bolshevik movement.

The many-faceted conflict between the USSR and the rest of the world dominates in international life. This conflict consists of two chief elements: struggle with communism, which is striving to dominate the whole world and the expanding oppressive imperialism of Russia. These two factors are intertwined into one entity, they act along one line, reinforcing one another (each other, strengthening one another). Yet, in the further development, they can exist and act separately, and such a separation, does not, as yet, abolish either of them. Therefore (thus) the removal of bolshevism from Russia does not as yet annihilate Russian imperialism, which easily can exist and perform also in a different guise, but still be the same threat for the external world. And communism will not at all die with its fall in Russia, it can continue to exist in different countries. According to this, the contemporary anti-bolshevik forces, are classified, in international politics, from the perspective of the development in the long run. They are evaluated according to, along what line they oppose bolshevism, either, as only expanding communism, or also as a form of Russian imperialism, and particularly - will they in the same manner resist any aggressive Russian imperialism, disregarding what guise it should assume. Those forces, which aim for the complete destruction of Russian imperialism, to make it impossible for it to be reborn, have a still different solution.

If the world should interpret the Ukrainian liberation policies only as a struggle aiming at a coup d'etat in the Ukrainian SSR, at a change in the order, the removal of bolshevism itself, it will include it in the number of such factors, which actively bolshevism, struggle for its destruction, but the role in the long-term development has as yet not been determined, it can ~~be~~ turn out in different ways. It is important for our policies of liberation, that the Ukrainian liberation revolution should be fully considered a continuity of the historical struggle of Ukraine with Russia, with the Russian imperialism, of any kind, not only the bolshevic one. This struggle does not stop, until the full achievement of our aim, which is the full (complete) break between Ukraine and Russia, the reconstruction of the united independent Ukrainian state, the dismemberment of independent, national states in Soviet Europe and Asia, a full destruction of Russian imperialism and the creation of such a system of states around Russia (geographically), which could be closed in in its own borders, that it would no longer longer be able to resort to imperialist aggression. And further, so that the world would know, that Ukraine will continue to struggle against any forces, which would like to oppress it, to destroy its state independence and sovereignty, or who would reach for the Ukrainian lands.

With such a correct interpretation of its own role, Ukraine will be considered, in international politics, not only as a source of strength in the struggle against bolshevism, but as a constant factor which opposes any kind of Russian imperialism, as an adversary of any kind of aggression, as an active factor and foundation for the ~~entire~~ entire (whole) order in Eastern Europe and that part of Asia which is dominated by bolshevism. In this framework of reference, the Ukrainian revolution becomes the initiator of far-reaching and lasting changes within that space, the results will be an entirely new system of balance. In order to enhance such an appropriate evaluation (opinion) of the Ukrainian cause within international politics, it is necessary, that the world should see that the Ukrainian national liberation revolution is correspondingly (appropriately) strong and has the approach, the readiness, the decision of the

Ukrainian people to if fight (struggle) along that line till the end itself, till victory at any price. The entire revolutionary struggle, which is now happening, gives sufficient proof that that is the way it is. Also, it constitutes the best foundation for the appropriate work in the foreign policy sector.

The Ukrainian emigre political activity must be able to cope with this (~~its~~). In this, it is very important, for the organizing of emigre activity, for the representation of the general line of liberation policy, to maintain the necessary clarity and continuity. To place utmost emphasis on the fact, that our struggle is a struggle of Ukraine with Russia, a struggle which is as uncompromising, uninterrupted in its historical continuity. The conduct of our foreign policy requires such an uncompromising show and decisiveness, such a general line of liberation policy, to maintain the necessary clarity and continuity. To place utmost emphasis on the fact, that our struggle - is a struggle of Ukraine with Russia, a struggle which is uncompromising, uninterrupted in its historical continuity. The conduct of our foreign policy requires such an uncompromising show and decisiveness,

A false evaluation of various moments in international relations is one of the reasons for the posing of false concepts in Ukrainian politics. Some people still hold the conviction, that foreign policy of state nations (peoples) is guided (led) by ideological motives, that the concern (question of) the either friendly or hostile attitude of any state to other nations (peoples) is decided, above all, to a large extent, by similiarity or the differences of state-doctrines, systems, and social orders which dominate them. It would be naive to think that wars, competitions, antagonisms, alliances, coalitions and all the other most important (significant) relations between states and nations (peoples) which are (were) taken up with ideological banners and slogans, really stem from those motives, and strive towards (are aiming at) those ends (aims) which are made manifest (are made a show of). Some people have



ceased to be able to understand what is really happening (going on) in the world. They don't understand, that the main (chief) motivating forces (driving forces) in all international relations, are, above all, the concern of every nation for the satisfaction of his own interests, for the achievement of and securing for itself of space where to live, land, all kinds of material goods, required for (necessary for) a balanced development and wealth (high standard of living), for the achievement of a, possibly, great, political, economic and military security and power (potential). With imperialist nations the chief motivation would be the competition to rule other peoples (nations) in various ways, in order to employ their forces and resources (wealth) in their own service.

The struggle of one or other state-constitutional and socio-political system for domination in the world, for this or other order in other states, in other (different) nations, is in reality a struggle, above all, for their own, selfish aims of their state, which poses as the disinterested defender of the system concerned. This camouflages the attempt to impose their will on nations, which are "converted" to their particular orders, to "progress", justice etc., to remove, for their own interests, the internal order (constitutional order) of the nation concerned, to break down its forces, which are most inconvenient, most hostile, to make sure of a chance to interfere in internal affairs, to bring about such a state-political or socio-economic order, which most facilitates their own projects (plans) regarding the nation concerned, or, intermittently, strengthens their own positions, their own system. In some cases (in several instances), the intervention against one system and introduction of another one, is only a cover for ordinary military aggression, political and economic exploitation. The competition for the changeover from one system to another one in foreign nations, as a rule, serves the own interests of the nation concerned, and, if it is not only deceit and a cover-up, it is a means, a way to

achieve one's own aims, it brings indirect benefit.

History obviously proves this. Particularly the latest international development, during the war and in the post-war period, concerning this, is filled with examples, which are hurting very much. Above all, bolshevism is a typical example. The world communist revolution, the dissemination of communism among all nations, communist activity on a world-wide scale - bolshevism inspires, organizes, and exploits all this, as a tool in the service of Russian imperialism. But we can find, also beyond bolshevism, among its opponents, quite a few examples of the exploitation of ideological and altruistic cover-ups for the disguise of selfish aims.

In our time, the broad national masses are playing all the time, more and more, an active role in political life, the wars become all the time more total, enhance all life, and international relations are connected and joined so closely, that all changes and gains, to touch on, other than the direct participants, many other nations. Along with that, in all political life, therefore also in international life, the significance (importance) of propaganda, which acquires huge dimensions and proportions, is growing (expanding), becomes not only a means, but also an important factor, a separate sector of politics (political activity). Today, more than before, they are trying to conduct politics with such slogans, in such a guise, so that it, independently of its real content and aims, would appear in agreement with the dominating opinions (views), attitudes and wishes of the broad masses not only of one's own nation, but also of other nations (peoples).

And it is precisely now, contrary to the most careful propagandative secrecy concerning the real situation, that it became clearly apparent, that all great slogans, with which the world war was waged and post-war politics were carried on, and which were exhibited to the masses as the only correct ones, and for which so many sacrifices had been brought -

are treated as tactical means (measures). If this were necessary (required) for naked (bare) politics of interests, such measures (steps) are taken, as become a nullification (denial) of those high-brow slogans and aims. The Western democracies conducted the war against Germany, with the slogans of the Atlantic Charter, in defense of freedom, humanity (humanitarianism) and democracy, against totalitarianism, dictatorship, violence and enslavement (oppression). In the war, the USSR, -where all evil, -- oppression, poverty, enslavement, terror, totalitarianism, the dictatorship of an oligarchy, the destruction of whole nations (entire peoples), the destruction of religion, the destruction of the freedom of thought, the uprooting of the human and national "ego" and many other symptoms of utter barbarianism and unfreedom - are escalated to the highest degree - become their ally. The USSR was the chief fortress, the sample (example) and bacillus of all that evil, against which the war had been started. The help of the Allies had put it on its feet, made it a conqueror over its younger brother, and pupil in the aggression against the freedom of nations and the individual - Hitler's Germany. The alliance with bolshevic Russia led up to that, that it was made a force, which endangers the whole world,. Moreover - already after the war, when the Hitlerite danger had already passed (was over), the bolshevics sat as judges on the international tribunal to condemn for the crimes against humanity, and against peace, they received a decisive voice (or veto) in all international life, in the highest inter-state institutions, they are (expected) to decide on all international questions (matters). How to reconcile this with the slogans, guided by which the Western democracies waged war and conduct their entire policy.

A "solution" was found: the bolshevics took these democratic slogans for their own, in order to disguise, most cynically, their contrary character in this way, to beat the Western democracy with them, and simultaneously to completely degrade their slogans, to disarm it

ideologically in the further confrontation. The Western states, within their own policies, in the beginning of the situation created by the war-time alliance with Russia, for this situation found no other solution, that to smile politely along with the evil and shameless game, to close their eyes to the truth about bolshevic Russia and to fall, to their people and to the whole world, that they don't see the terrible contradictions between their own slogans and the alliance (or chance) with the bolshevic USSR. Only later on the Western democracies began to retreat slowly from these erroneous ways. This is happening, to a great degree, under the influence of the further bolshevic attack on the positions of the Western nations, and the obvious further preparations by the aggression of the USSR.

Or, the Western democracies' policies concerning the Yugoslavia of Tito, the clear-cut preparations, particularly, in the economic sector, of its bolshevic regime - is also a classical example, what practical significance is attributed to that, what is pronounced to the whole world. The Western democracies cannot in any way, grasp the real state of affairs in Tito's Yugoslavia, as they recently only, were making a lot of noise about that (speaking about that loudly). Every citizen of the Western states knows well, that Tito's regime is an exact copy of the bolshevic one, that it is - typically bolshevic; Tito's communism in Yugoslavia, in the political, socio-economic and every other aspect, does exactly the same, as is happening in the USSR. The same terror, totalitarianism, mono-party-ism, communist collectivization - socialization of the entire economy, - the persecution of religion, forcible imposition of the marxist, materialistic world view, in short - the commune - which is competing with the brotherly Stalinist one in "achievements" (functioning) and orthodoxy.

Thus, it would suffice, that Tito quarrell with Stalin, in order that, he himself reveal himself to be disobedient concerning Russia, on questions of autonomy and evoke its rage against himself - and already the Western states - democracies forget yesterday's great rage and condemnation of Tito's criminal bolshevic regime, grant him full absolution coupled with material assistance. In the name of what, which high ideas (or ideals) or principles? For, should it occur (happen), that Tito continue on the path of disobedience and willfulness regarding (concerning) Russia, and if Stalin should like to "pacify" nationally-communist Yugoslavia, she might return the compliment with armed resistance. All this is clearly "the cart pushes the oxen", and there is still a huge question mark above the seriousness (degree of seriousness) and durability of such a family fight between two totalitarian brotherly - communist regimes. Yet, the Western states help Tito in any case, expecting, that perhaps they just might have their way, when it happens. (that when it happens, they might just have their way).

But the matter has another more realistic aspect - reality. Tito uses all the aid, which he receives from the West, will, for the strengthening of the communist system, the communist regime inside the country. Everything is happening for the sake of internal strengthening, as though hardening on the outside, against Russian pressure. The only real effect is really the strengthening of bolshevism-communism in these countries, which are glued together into one little USSR - Yugoslavia. Strengthening for whose disadvantage? It is not even necessary to say out loud that, above all, at the cost of the greater oppression of, extermination of all independentist, anti-communist forces of those peoples (nations) who are oppressed by Titoite bolshevism, other than the very Tito's regime itself, world communism gains (benefits) at that,

as in Serbia, Croatia, and Slovenia communism is strengthened against (versus) the national, anti-communist struggle of those nations, and that at that, thanks to (owing to) material assistance from the Western democracies, in any event (case) not for the first time; History is repeating itself, one learns and the other -are trying all the time, over and over again, hoping that the next time might turn out to be different.

It is unnecessary to contemplate the riddle, whether Tito's conflict with Russia is real, or whether this is only a clever, tactical manoeuvre. First of all it is necessary to consider the facts and the consequences. Even though there be, between Russia and Tito, between Russia and the regime in Yugoslavia, the strongest hostility, as can happen, between brothers, yet, beyond all this, the real facts remain, as well as the visible results of the entire development of such a situation. First of all the following: the Western states displayed a favourable attitude to Tito's regime, they aided (helped) it. Communism and the bolshevik system in Yugoslavia have changed, the anti-communist struggle suffered a disruptive blow; the ideological positions of the Western democracies, concerning totalitarianism, dictatorship, violence etc. were once more humiliated almost beyond end. Tito takes care, to be faithful to the communist line, and there really are no ideological divergencies between the USSR and Yugoslavia, they can unite at any time and it would be more natural than the union of communist Yugoslavia with the anti-communist states. The conflict over the autonomy and the subordination in a serious situation loses significance (meaning), the construction of (the building of) more serious politically - strategic plans with the calculation on Yugoslavia's participation in the war on the side of the USSR's adversaries (enemies) - is too risky.

Do the responsible politicians of the Western states not see all that, don't they understand it? It would be funny to suppose that. Such policies are unaccounted for only in our eyes. But it is practiced, and so, quite consciously, purposefully, and in their view - rationally. Precisely this their position is what we are considering. For it is simple. All that, for them, is an irrelevant sector, secondary matters. For they have thus "written off" Yugoslavia to bolshevism, and the fate of those nations, who had been thrown to communism to be devoured by it, interests them just as much as Ukraine's fate, as our struggle. All the concerns of the countries under bolshevism in the policies of the Western states are at the far rear end. More attention is paid to those loans and deliveries, which are a waste, anyway. But, comparatively, these are not such huge sums, with them it can be paid for, so that in the so-called cold war with Russia to cause a little chess-mate, to give the public opinion within their own countries some tranquilizer. So to speak, the West is coming (is acting, is advancing), he is breaking through the lines of the adversary (opponent, enemy). When Tito from his frontal position became an opponent of Russian imperialism and wants aid from the West, that means (signifies) that also, Western democracy is progressing! The Western politicians, particularly in a strategic (tactical) sense, do not put great stakes on Tito. For them that is a thing on the side, a very small stake. They are in the position of cold war with the USSR, but, they treat it entirely differently, than the bolsheviks, "colder". For the USSR - that is a stage of preparation for the final confrontation, a struggle with smaller weapons, for more comfortable positions in the war. The cold war for the Western states - are various manoeuvres, moves aiming to occupy more comfortable positions for parleying with the adversary.

And, precisely, at that time, when international events render such showy lessons of "real" unscrupulous politics, our opportunists of the older and younger political generation, each in his own way, pose the

denial of Ukrainian nationalism and the re-coloring of the liberation movement as the most essential matter in activity in the foreign policy sector. Some of them really believe that, while others simply are speculating, convincing others, that the policy of the Western states will be favourably disposed towards the liberation struggle of Ukraine, if we can convince the world, that we are supporters of a democratic political order. In the meantime, such questions (matters) have very little importance, while the attitude of neutral forces towards the cause of the liberation of Ukraine and towards our struggle depends, above all, on their current policy versus (concerning) Russia, on their plans for the future. If, in their opinion, there is a concurrence of interests - agreement between the aims of our liberation struggle and their plans, of their policies, between the results (consequences) and influences of our struggle and their wishes concerning the development of the situation within our living space - then there are in existence, realistic foundations for a positive, friendly attitude of these factors towards our struggle (striving). We can support on this, not only the proper (corresponding measures for the activation and political use for these possibilities (for this potential) and a broader concept of our foreign policy as well.

The entire activity in the foreign policy sector along the line of the independentist struggle should, above all, sufficiently illustrate to the external world the struggle of Ukraine for liberation, its contemporary significance (meaning) for the overall situation, its restraining influence on the growth of the bolshevik force and its expansion, its energy, channelled on to the dismemberment of the Russian bolshevik empire - the prison of nations. To create awareness in the world, how significant the realization of the aims of our revolution will be - the dismemberment of the USSR, the building of an 'Independent United Ukrainian State' and other independent national states - for the



fundamental change in the political, economic and all other relations in Eastern Europe and in Asia. To bring all this to the worthy notice and understanding of other nations (peoples), to awaken interest, sympathy in them; to search for (look for) communication and co-operation with such forces, whose aims and political line meets with our aims, with our struggle; to unfold measures, in order that, on the basis of such a realistically-political foundation to bring about an active mutual relationship between us and the given factors, which will be beneficial (useful) will aid in the struggle now and in the future.

The transferring of the centre of gravity of independentist foreign policy from a realistic base (foundation) to to the search for sympathies (sympathizers) by means of agreement in democratic ideas and attitudes - is simply harmful. It deprives our cause of its actual significance for the external world, its imbuent actual weight and its subjectively-active role. Such work in the foreign policy sector, which only appeals to ideological similarities, which wants to construct, on the foundation of sympathies in the name of democratic principles, when (while) democratic allies from the war-time (Poland, Czechoslovakia, China and others) are given up for abuse to bolshevic Russia, is useless. Such a policy appears to be naive and only humiliates itself to the foreign world, brings confusion and desintegration to our ranks. It is a manifestation of opportunism and political naivete.

The adversaries of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, in their attacks on it, like to refer to arguments of foreign policy. They established and spread the thesis, as though the nationalist face of the liberation struggle causes many difficulties in work of foreign policy and reduces its effectiveness. In following moods of and superficial opinion, which had been dominating after the war, various (conjuncturalists?) thought, that all nationalist movements must collapse under the overwhelming pressure of conflincing currents ~~must collapse~~, that the tendency towards socialism is in all the world. Opportunism of various backgrounds in Ukrainian political life beyond the borders of Ukraine began to raise its head to that background. Other than old directions, constructed on socialist

and treaty-like foundations, their new trivial compromises were born, who wanted, simultaneously, to speculate on momentary political concurrence, as well as lick up to the revolutionary liberation movement, and even to pull it with its figures. They are trying to implant the concept, that our movement should abandon its own positions and acclimatize to the new political wind, to suit foreign tastes, to acquire for themselves various slogans, posters and phraseology, which they had borrowed from foreign ground, even though all that in our contemporary situation, is meaningless.

The opponents of Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism, in their denunciation of it, like to use (refer to) arguments of foreign policy. They uphold and disperse (spread) the thesis, as though the nationalist image (face) of the liberation movement causes many difficulties in the work in the foreign policy sector and as though it reduces its effectiveness. In following moods (considering moods) and superficial opinions, which had been dominating in the post-war period (after the end of the war), various currents were there, that all nationalist movements must desintegrate under the engulfing pressure of diverging ways, that the tendency towards socialism is in all the world. It was on this background, that in Ukrainian political life in emigration (beyond the border of Ukraine) opportunism of various derivances began to become aggressive. Other than old directions, which were founded on principles of socialism and alliance, their new travel companions who would have liked to simultaneously speculate on temporary political circumstances, as well as lick up to the revolutionary liberation movement, and even to pull the trigger for them with their writing, were there. They are trying to inject the concept, that our movement should abandon its own positions and adjust to a new political breeze, to suit a new taste, to acquire various slogans, posters and phraseology, which were borrowed from foreign ground, even though, in our present situation (condition) all this has no purpose (no use, no reasons).

The throwing out of (elimination of) from our ideological, political treasure-chest of such values, as have grown on our own ground and suit our situation and our needs, and the substitution of foreign values for them, which for other circumstances might be sometimes correct, but for us now are not contemporary - could only have a weakening, disorganizing effect on our internal life. The very fact of the unaccounted for, by our condition, acclimatization of our political content and force to the taste of lateral forces, disturbs the process of internal growth, the confidence in our own strength (forces), the respect for our own values and our fundamental principle - to base liberation only on our own struggle. Whatever old and new opportunists are trying to inject into the liberation movement to replace the revolutionary, nationalistic characteristics, is, in our contemporary circumstances, devoid of revolutionary content and is reduced to empty, pseudo-democratic phraseology. It is not at all suitable for the organization of and carrying on of revolutionary liberation struggle, which alone can bring about the liberation of Ukraine.

Other than being useless, and having a negative influence on the process of internal growth, these tendencies to replace the nationalistic, revolutionary principles and characteristics by others, which are in style, have still other harmful aspects. By their wording and phraseology they often rather remind us of bolshevic "democracy", rather than the Western, they coincide with the new bolshevic style to wear democratic feathers, to make-believe, that the content of the entire bolshevic system and policy are symbols of democracy. Bolshevism, in all ways, utilizes the brand-name of anti-fascism and democracy, with the addition of being national, thus naming the USSR, its entire order and the imperialistic advance of bolshevism on the whole world.

After the end of the war with Germany and the fall of Hitlerism, the Western states as well as the USSR, equally define themselves as democratic. Moreover, the Western states for some time even didn't dispute

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the democratism of the USSR, but treated it seriously, only reminding us, that their interpretation of democracy is different. Since the end of the war, in the world political arena, there is a race in democracy, between the democracy of the Western type and bolshevic "national democracy". It is obvious for everyone, who considers matters in an abstaining manner, that that is only bolshevic propagandative tactics (strategy), with the calculation to fool and gain the sympathy of world public opinion.

We can only abhor bolshevic shamelessness, when the USSR acts in the guise of democratism, as the spokesman and defender of the "truest democracy". But neither can we agree with that, when the powerful Western states accepted bolshevic lies for truth, knowing well, how it is in fact, and treated that as the basis of their relations with the USSR and attributed to it one of the chief roles in the deciding of all international affairs. It is hard to imagine a more humilitating concept of democracy, than that, as had been done with the "democratism" of the USSR, and by means of that, that states, who are the spokesmen of Western democracy, by means of their silent approval and their entire policy versus the USSR have led it to bolshevism, that is - into the community of democratic forces and in such a manner have "authorized", made the democratism of the USSR credible. History will appropriately evaluate, what harm there was done for the deterring of the bolshevic aggression (advance) on the whole world. The Western states themselves, all the time more and more, themselves feel the unpleasant consequences of such a policy.

It is also easy to become aware of that, how negative the influence of all that international development was for the cause of the dissemination of the anti-bolshevic struggle in bolshevic countries. We should

keep in mind not the present state of affairs, which has already changed, but the state of affairs at that time, of "sincere friendship in democracy" between the USSR and the Western states at the end of the war and immediately after its end.

The Ukrainian liberation movement immediately correctly evaluated the nature of bolshevic "democratic" propoganda and competition in "democratism" between the USSR and the Western states. This has weighed upon the instructions by the Executive of CUN in Ukraine, which render (give) a whole evaluation of the overall political situation and the direction of activity for the entire revolutionary liberation movement. There it is pointed out, that the slogans of democracy become the subject of political strategy and the instrument of both competing sides, in order to have public opinion and the sympathy of nations on to their side.

At the same time, starting from 1945, various conjuncturalists, posing as spokesmen of "democratism", are trying to draw Ukrainian independentists politics into such a sample or frame of democratism, as is going on on the international forum, in which the USSR is one of the first violinists. The real reason for that nose about democracy were not the real needs of the Ukrainian liberation movement, but the uncritical reaction (response) and lack of understanding, of what is essentially happening (going on) in international life, the shallow imitation of and its wish to become like the surrounding world, the current style.

Such a worn out being democratic, does not contain real content, which could (might) bring a healthy solution for the essential problems of the liberation struggle and the entire current Ukrainian political life. It is besides the point, in which it touches on the theoretical questions of the socio-political order in one's own state, for this "being democratic" often bears the charcater of empty-worded, devoid of declarations, similiarities and in in more than one thing -

demagogy. Because of (on account of) such internal emptiness and artifice, being removed from actual political reality and aiming for an effect in the realm of foreign policy, the pseudo-democratic phraseology of our opportunists has a character and expression similar to soviet "democratism". Such a similar terminology culminates this similarity, "national democracy". In this fashion, even though the race for external manifestations of democratic fashion flows from the desire to become like Western democracy and to please it, yet, the internal reality (essence) of this assimilation carries to the surface, and there appears an analogy to bolshevik "democratization", and not to Western democracy.

From these motives stem the various attempts (efforts) to make the slogan: "for democracy", "for a democratic order in Ukraine" the banner of the Ukrainian liberation revolutionary anti-bolshevik struggle. It might even be to the taste of some neutral (lateral) political factors (agents) who are not very well aware of the historical problems of the liberation struggle of the peoples (nations) of soviet Europe and Asia, and who evaluate everything on the basis of external affiches and names. It is possible, that the calculation on a chief effect, in order to please such factors, seems valid for some people. But this, however, lies in the sphere of empty phrases, low statements in words and sympathies, and not real politics of action. It would be to deceive oneself to build (construct) on such factors.

Yet, on the other hand, the change of flags, the change of the guiding idea of the liberation struggle, is of, very, essentially, negative importance (significance), for the development and success of these struggles. Precisely this moment we must take into account. As well, every serious neutral factor (factor on the side, lateral factor) who looks for (to) the essence, and not the surface impression, who displays (shows) understanding for our situation.

As was already mentioned before, starting from the 2nd World War, the bolsheviks took democracy, national (popular) democracy for their screen, for their leading affiche, their chief slogan. They carry on their imperialistic aggression (advance) on on a world-wide scale, for the defeat of all opposition, for the domination of the world, under (with) this slogan. Every bolshevik campaign, every action along this line, directed towards non-bolshevik lateral forces, is carried on with this slogan. All means (resources) of bolshevik propaganda are saturated with the term democracy, democratic in that sense, that there is real democracy in the USSR and its satellites, that only the bolshevik order is democratic, that only the USSR is striving (aiming) at democracy in the whole world, for real, national (popular) democracy. This suffices, that in the entire soviet world, in all peoples (nations), in every soviet person (individual) these slogans from bolshevik lips, which always resound in their ears, become empty, devoid of meaning, or even unbearable, from this bolshevik taste, which sticks to them.

Simultaneously (at the same time) in the emigrational territories, attempts to impose on the liberation struggle the slogan "for democracy" as the leading slogan, to carry on the revolution with it, to mobilize the masses, with it, for the hardest struggle for life or death, against bolshevism. This is synonymous with depriving the liberation revolution of its own, clear-cut ideological facade (image, visage), its particular frontal slogans, banners (flags) and to cover them with such, as the enemy had taken for his own. This means, on the ideological front, to proceed to such a condition (situation, state of affairs), which is in existence, for instance (for example), between the Western democracies and the USSR, when both sides use the slogan of democracy, one side, as well as the other, mention, in their propaganda, their own, actual (real) democracy and the false one of the opponent. Or, as it is with socialism and communism: both are real, both are - for socialism, etc.

Who is looking for such a blurring of the fronts? Of course, the

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bolsheviks. For, they are concerned with the neutralization of ideas, the slogans of their opponents, with that in mind, they take them over and acquire them for themselves, just as is done with weapons in a war. On the other hand, they have, other than that, their own, typical only of themselves, ideas, slogans, concepts, which are their actual (real) marching weapons. It is very important, on the ideological front, which is of first-rate importance in revolutionary struggle, to appropriately space out the demonstrating of various kinds of weapons. Every weapon useful for fighting the enemy, and available to us, must be utilized. But one should know and incalculates the action of each and use it accordingly. We should differentiate, which serves for purposes of defense, which paralyzes the enemy's aggression as well as his defense, which prepares our own advance (aggression) and which constitutes the chief instrument of the advance itself. We should (must) differentiate (distinguish) between ideas and slogans, such as are of universal significance (importance), which we take over (accept) and use them, just as we do with other forces. Here is the place for slogans of democracy and various, generally, human ideas, slogans. We distinguish such slogans from them, as portray the most essential and quite tangible meaning (content) of our own aims, and on this account, ~~these are our~~ are our typical, flag-bearing ones. They constitute (form) the clear-cut ideological form (image, face) and the tangible content of our struggle, our own kind as well as foreigners recognize us by them, the masses, the entire (whole people) should pursue them (apply them, follow them), particularly in this ideological whirl-pool (mix-up), which bolshevik propaganda on purpose creates (causes) around the universal ideas, particularly around slogans of democracy.

Our guiding slogans are unchanged: the overall slogan: - "freedom for nations, freedom for the individual", is combined with the quite tangible: "for an Independent United Ukrainian State", "for the full destruction of bolshevism, communism, and any Russian imperialism", for the dismemberment of the USSR and for independent national states in its



place". Further proceed such programmatic slogans, as make the meaning of independent state life, in all sectors, more tangible, outline the principles of the state order of the socio-political and economic order, the principles of the development and organization of (ordering of) the various sectors of life (needs to be edited here). The principles of Ukrainian legislation, or rather of democracy, are contained in these programmatic principles - slogans of Ukrainian nationalism - as the essential meaning (content) in the basic (essential), rather than showy - propagandative significance of this word. But they follow, in their order, after the main aim - the reconstruction of the Independent United Ukrainian state, and they ought always to be placed in such an order.

Various opponents of the Ukrainian nationalist movement are attempting not only to monopolize the slogans of democracy for themselves, which they treat (regard as) an instrument (method) for their momentary speculations, but simultaneously (at the same time) to portray our movement as contrary to democracy, to soil it with accusations, that it is related to totalitarian systems. The groundless thesis, that, there the principles of Ukrainian nationalism, as OUN considers them all the time, on one hand, it also interprets and makes them real - and the principles of democracy in their correct, healthy sense, on the other hand, are opposed to each other, constitutes such a demagogical, tendenciously false rendition (version). In this it is ignored on purpose, that the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalist movement in its entire being is an all-national movement, that its basic (essential) aims - are the attainment of freedom for the entire Ukrainian people, freedom in every aspect (respect), nationally-state, social, to guarantee a free all-round development, to make the Ukrainian people master on its own soil, as he can hold the power himself and decide on all his own affairs. The whole (the entire) Ukrainian nation (people) is the subject and the signified object to attain, of Ukrainian nationalism. The best, all-round development of all forces and parts of the Ukrainian nation, freedom, and

real (true) justice, for all the citizens of Ukraine - are the fundamental outlines of its program. The essential aims of the struggle of the nationalist movement, contained in a short, main slogan, - is - an independent, united Ukrainian State, freedom for nations and the person -

Some, among the many points in the program, which are the conclusion from the basic direction of the nationalist movement, in order that the order of freedom and justice, a high standard of living, and the blossoming of all the forces of the nation, of all citizens who might exist in an independent Ukrainian State - are: free development, the manifestation of thought and creativeness (creativity) in all sectors, freedom, for individual and collective, organized activity, the free existence and activity of diversified (various) organizations, particularly social, professional unions and political parties, the equality before the law of all citizens of Ukraine, the assuring of an appropriate standard of living and wealth for all, the assuming for every individual of an equal start in life, all-round development and an outlet for their talents (abilities), access to all schools and professions.

But the Ukrainian nationalist movement is above all a liberation movement. Its main aim (destination) and meaning (significance) is to bring about liberation, state sovereignty and unity of Ukraine by means of its own revolutionary struggle. In accordance with this (that) various moments are considered in our ideology, and program, exposed and emphasized, from the viewpoint of liberation struggle, and not just theoretical, bare-worded declarations or declamations, or simply - of speculations on the current situation, as all kinds of parties are wont to practice. Our concept of liberation is a concept of action, struggle, therefore, also the program reflects, not only the importance, but also the applied gradation (line-up) of our aims. Without its own state, without liberation, therefore also without the liberation struggle, Ukraine can have neither freedom, nor opulence (a high standard of living), nor even any shadow of democracy. Therefore (thus) any shifting of this order of

things in the theoretical sphere leads up to confusion, and in the sphere of political action to the disruption of the liberation struggle of the nation. 161

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Only <sup>if</sup> we consider more deeply the nature, aim and consequences of phenomena, which stem from bolshevism, and are accepted by other nations, can we perceive and appropriately evaluate the unusually cunning and well disguised manoeuvres of bolshevic propaganda, its successes, the penetration into politics and the public opinion of various nations (peoples), the application of these policies and opinions by superficial suggestions. In order to illustrate such bolshevic methods, the vulnerability to them of the Western democracies and some Ukrainian communities, and in order to show, how sometimes very serious matters are hidden under minor phenomena, let us consider more in detail one of such countless facts. Let us take, for instance, a true and deeply significant fact, even though at first sight insignificant, that Hitlerism is called not by its actual name - national-socialism, only it calls Hitlerism nazism or fascism. For, bolshevism realizes socialism at home, it cannot beat it. The bolshheviks, and socialists of various brand-names, want to conceal the fact, that Hitlerism was called and was national socialism. Why? In order that the shame and damnation, which national socialism has brought upon itself by its practice, should not fall upon socialism, but fall on every nationalism, regardless of its internal content, essence and nature. Our social opportunists do that, as well as that part of Western opinion, which is saturated with socialism and communism, without criticism taking up bolshevic suggestions.

Hitlerism showed two basic elements: Germanic racism - imperialist and national socialism. The attitude of national-socialism to all other nations was defined by imperialist racism, the theory about the superiority of the Germanic race, its right and natural destiny to rule over other nations, to force them into its service, take away their land from

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them, their property, strength and creativeness, to destroy other races. Should someone want to find analogies, he better do so with those nations, whose history, past and present, aggression into other nations (peoples), building of multinational empires, colonies etc.- are a sufficient basis for that. We can see many similarities in Russian imperialism. It does take bolshevic slandering, as well as shamelessness, in order to speak about the similarities between Hitlerite national-socialism and Ukrainian nationalism, which is striving for the destruction of imperialism, the liberation of Ukraine and other peoples (nations), for an independent life and a free development of the Ukrainian nation, which places the ethnic principle and the principle of the free statehood self-determination of nations, as one of the fundamental principles in international relations.

Another fundamental element of Hitlerism - is national socialism, as a system of the internal order within the German nation, the German Reich. In its spirit as well as in practice, he followed bolshevic footsteps in many aspects. National socialism took over live from bolshevism - the totalitarian system, dictatorship and the willful state bureaucracy, full disregard of the person, a system of ruthless terror, such methods, like concentration camps, mass destruction of unsubmitive elements - all that. Both apply the same practices, one realizes socialism-marxism in this way, the other one - national socialism. Similarly in religion, in the spiritually-cultural sector, in the field of education - in practice, there is very much similarity, with national socialism, in practice, even though each one, in their respective theories, in many points occupy a diametrically opposed position.

Hitlerism pronounced its imperialism distinctly, in the shape of a racist theory. Bolshevism, disguises its Russian imperialism under the form of internationalism, class proletarian solidarity, world communist revolution. In their essence, all contradictions between them, starting from the ideological field, till (as far as) the armed confrontation, was

a competitive struggle of two similiar imperialisms, for the control of the same territory, and not the struggle of two contrary ideologies, world-views, socio-political systems. 163

We arrive at the conclusion, having considered the history and essence of German national socialism and Russian socio-communism, juxtaposed side by side, that socialism, of both the international, as well as the national guise, once having found favourable sub-soil in a nation, brings about totalitarianism with all its methods and results (consequences). The other conclusion could be such, that socialism is not contrary to imperialist aggression, violence, protects neither nations nor the person, and can be a very good instrument of imperialism, oppression, tyranny, exploitation, the destruction of nations and the person. And thirdly - socialism is not a contradiction of any capitalism, it only fights the private capitalist system. But it leads up to state capitalism, which exploits the most, oppresses and enslaves the people (nation) and above all, oppresses the workers and the peasantry. In this fashion, capitalism, in the long run puts those, whom he intends to protect, to the most terrible gallows.

The example of Titoite Yugoslavia shows us (demonstrates) obviously, to us, that Serbian national-communism, is not very different from Russian bolshevism, in its internal policies. Just as in Hitlerism, in both, similiarly, there is total unfreedom, terror, exploitation, and slavery of nations (peoples) and the human individual, persecution of religion, of all those roots, national, spiritual, cultural, political and social, which refuse to let themselves be subdued, will not serve and give in to the dominating, oppressive system. National communism brings about exactly what international communism does.

There was one phenomenon in Ukrainian political life, which clearly indicates, that the national-communist concept was a point of rapprochement between Russian bolshevism and Hitlerite national-socialism. 164  
The anonymous initiative of the "Ukrainian National - Communist Army" a new political edition, so-to speak, underground, which had appeared among the Ukrainian population in the Western part and in emigration, in the so-called Chief Gubernia, in the years 1940-41, when the question "was a place?!!!" between Hitlerite Germany and the USSR was being decided, and both sides were preparing, in all sectors, for the confrontation. Few people were aware, that, that this was a Hitlerite attempt, carried out by Ukrainian hands, yet inspired by Hitlerism. Several individuals, ready to serve the stronger, also such among them who before had performed significant parts in Ukrainian political life, directed this activity. It is very interesting (most interesting), that even the bolshevics, other than the Nazis, contributed to the forming of the (UNKA) - "Ukrainian National Communist Army", several Ukrainian initiators of UNKA (of it), had for long been in the bolshevik intelligence service and upheld (maintained) secret relations with the bolshevik consulate in Berlin. Berlin and Moscow, both would profit, at that time, from the attempt to establish a Ukrainian National Communist Movement. For the Nazis it would have been most convenient, to dominate Ukraine, having preserved the Communist system, repainted it a bit, having added the affiche "Ukrainian National Communism", and claiming all the profit from the perfect Communist exploitation to the Reich's advantage, for the eternal unfreedom of Ukraine. Yet, Russia's wish was, in the event of the bolshevik retreat from Ukraine, there to preserve the Communist system even under German control, to make the people see its "unsubstitutability", naturally - naturally with the thought in mind - to be easily able to regain control of it, for the bolshevics. Policy, which had foresight for also the worst likelihood. The attempt with UNKA remained still-born, thus received no echo, its creators remained in the shadow,

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preserved their anonymity and continued to work quietly in Rosenberg's 165  
"ministry of the East" (ostministerium) in the Gestapo and simultaneously  
in the bolshevik service.

The UNKA episode was very educational, on one hand, it reveals the bolshevik mechanism, and on the other - the actual relationship between the bolsheviks and national-socialism, the line of their differences (at the crossroads). The bolsheviks are continuing this direction of the work of their intelligence agencies and plots within other nations. We can see this very clearly in the emigre political life, where the attempts to inject Communist tendencies, moods, sympathies in disguise of a national, or even anti-bolshevik stance, are repeated and reinforced. The same is happening with other nations. Particularly, their great manoeuvre to imbue the policies of the Western democracies with and inject into them the concept of relying on "Titoism" - "national communism". Communism should encounter lesser resistance, or, even, support, on the part of the Western democracies, in this manner. The rest will eventually follow. Russia can evaluate the ideological trends in the life of nations, she attributes to the Communist ideology and system an appropriate significance, she expects that the nations which will be eventually dominated (controlled) by Communism, the communist states in the final confrontation of two worlds - the communist and anti-communist, must take the side of the USSR. The bolsheviks, for that matter, will take care, that the future war bears a clear ideological visage, on their part. This will imprint it with the character of ideological warfare, even, if the second side would not display a clear, uniform ideological front.

National socialism, fully humiliated, having fallen as a consequence of the war, was expected to draw in its floodwater its older brother and master - bolshevism. The entire materialistic socialism, which brought to naught the healthy aims of nations and their forces, to the labyrinth of class struggle, the deterioration of nations in speculating on the elevated, healthy concept of social justice, a free and complete

development of all the capacities of the nation: freedom, dignity and wealth of the person, equality and brotherhood, therefore speculating on Christian ideals, and undermined the entire European spirituality, should fall with it.

The waging of the war by the Western Allies took such a path, that Hitlerism fell and bolshevism was victorious (won) and became an even greater threat to the whole world, precisely, because of this desintegration of Christianity, ideological purity, clarity and foresight of political thought, the feeling of a great historical responsibility on one hand, and the threat of an alliance (or union) of Stalin with Hitler, on the other hand. Such a half-way solution of the problem, that bolshevism has stayed, having drawn reinforcement from the population growth (second generation) of those parts of the potential which Hitlerism had at its disposal, - is not a positive solution (judgment) of the history of the struggle of our period (era). This confrontation is continuing, until it might develop into another World War.

Bolshevism, in the meantime, took the initiative, being in the advancing position, and above all, having at its disposal helpers, an obvious and secret, conscious and unaware one, in the Western world, managed to sow such confusion into the shallow world public opinion, that it profited from the ideological bankruptcy of national socialism, which essentially, is an indirect historical condemnation of the bolshevic system itself. Bolshevic propaganda in co-operation with socialist influences, exerted all efforts within its capacity, in order to create from bolshevism, the pressure of the moral and political advance of the whole world against national socialism. Bolshevic Russia on the ideological front, succeeded to a great extent in this great manoeuvre. A significant part of the political energy and opinion mobilized by the war, for some time, persecuted the shadows of national socialism in a wrong direction. In the meantime bolshevism - another, even greater criminal, cynically continued its profession and prepared further aggres-



sions from the position of judge and the maker of the world peace. The political thought and energy of the nations, got lost in the distance of the field, became exhausted. Today, anew it is being attempted to mobilize it and to channell it against the now, chief, only enemy, but with difficulty and an expenditure of time and many (strategie) positions. In the meantime bolshevism is on the advance, and gaining (seizing). The events in China, for that matter, no less significant and far-reaching in their consequences, from the events of the Second World War, contribute significantly to strengthen the mutual relationship of forces in the favour of the USSR, on both sides of the scale balance. Even though in various ways, but really so, the war of bolshevism against the whole world is being continued.

<sup>Among</sup> the nations which are unfree under, or directly attached, by bolshevism, Ukraine occupies the first rank, among them, are pursuing their defensive or liberation struggle. There is no peace, and will not be, until the final confrontation of two worlds - Russian bolshevism and the freedom-loving nations. The contemporary (present) state of affairs - is an intermission, a calm on the great front, a preparation for a great battle, on both sides. The attention of public opinion (thought), is centred on episodic confrontations, or various strategic tests, conflicts. In the meantime, unobviously, disguised, covered by them, great movements, shifting, are happening, which will be decisive for the future great battles. To make sure of the most suitable, ideologically - political positions and of such arms, to put the opponent into an uncomfortable position, to gain allies, make obvious or potential opponents less harmful, - all this occupies the first place in importance in the present stage, along with military preparations for the war.

The concept of only resistance to the regime, which is opposed to the nationalist concept of liberation, has still another fundamental, incorrect and harmful basis. The adherents of only anti-regime resistance fight only against bolshevism and its imperialism, and not against Russia,

moreover, as, so help God, not against the Russian people. For, so to speak, bolshevism and Russian imperialism, are, so to speak, separated from the Russian people (nation), which is not responsible for his imperialism, does not want it, does not support it, and, on the contrary, wants to bring it to a fall. Such a line should be drawn in all political work among the Ukrainian people, and represented to the outside world.

On the contrary, the general line of our liberation policies is based on that actual state of affairs, that the struggle for the statehood independence of Ukraine is a struggle against Russia, not only against bolshevism, but against every usurping (oppressive) Russian imperialism, which is characteristic of the Russian people (nation) in all history and now. If, tomorrow, another form of Russian imperialism will replace bolshevism, it will, in the same way, first of all, turn against the independence of Ukraine with all its forces, for its oppression. The Russian people, as until now, will carry that imperialism, will do everything, in order to keep Ukraine unfree (subjugated) - the state of affairs with the political thought and attitude of the Russian masses, all Russian political centres, so communist, as well as anti-bolshevik, clearly points to that. There is alive in all of them, an extreme hostility against the idea of a separate statehood sovereignty of Ukraine. Vlasovshchyna, in itself, renders the utter example of that, with which post-bolshevik Russia will confront Ukraine. Thus (therefore) the struggle of Ukraine for its freedom, for statehood independence, is above all, a struggle against the aggression of imperialist Russia. And, as (because) the Russian people unchangingly carries and continues this usurpative (oppressive) imperialism, - our struggle is and will be a struggle of Ukraine against Russia.

The liberation movement, in its politically-propagandative work among the Russians, among the Russian people (nation), among the Soviet Army, is attempting to paralyze, to dull the hostility and aggressiveness of the Russian masses against the Ukrainian independentist movement,

is trying to bring about a political demobilization into the enemy's camp, to awaken, strengthen anti-bolshevik moods, forces and actions in the Russian camp, to strengthen such anti-imperialist tendencies, if such, such as might, exist. Naturally, (of course), in turning to the enemy's centres, we speak in such a manner, in order to awaken the readiness to listen, to accept our arguments, and not to cause a negative mood. 169

Essentially, there is no conflict between the line of our propaganda and policies in the Russian sector, between that, of what we speak to the Russians, and that, what we realize in our struggle, in internal activity, and what we defend in the face of the outside (external) world. In all that, we stand on the grounds of reality. We present, in the form of statements, what actually is in existence, in existence in action. We point out all the negative aspects of bolshevism, and imperialism, for the people itself, the common unhappiness and suffering, which bolshevism brings, not only to bolshevism and the oppressed nations (subjugated nations, peoples), but also to the Russian nation (people). And all that, where it is spoken about the negative relationship of the masses of the Russian nation (people) to bolshevism and Russian imperialism, about their struggle with it, about a joint front and good neighbourly relations between the Ukrainian nation and the Russian nation - all this bears the character of wishes, appeals, propositions to the Russian centre.

The opposed concept, wants, in the politically-educational work among the Ukrainian people, to maintain the line of only anti-bolshevik struggle, to direct all attention and revolutionary attitude of the Ukrainian masses, exclusively against the regime itself, and against the current form of Russian imperialism - bolshevism. The assertion is spread, that the Russian nation (people) itself, also is fighting against bolshevism, suffers from it, and, with the exception of a small imperialist bolshevik clique, is not our enemy, but our friend, our ally. Such a direction leads to the strengthening, by means of Ukrainian hands, of that,

which Russian bolshevism is attempting in the first case - to kill the national instinct, the correct interpretation (understanding) of the content of events, in the Ukrainian nation (people), to kill the self-defensive, unappeasable relationship to Russia - to make political little-Russianness come back, only in a new, "Ukrainian" guise.

It seems to some people, that a concentration, and, because of that, a greater strengthening of the hatred, hostility against the currently most fearful manifestation of Russian imperialism - against bolshevism, can be achieved in that way, yet it is not so. If the sensitivity, to recognize the enemy everywhere, where he is, is dulled, if one sees him only from one side, in one appearance, in such a manner his advance from other sides, in other clothes, is facilitated. Oppressive Russia proceeds with (carries on) that aggression (advance) on the Ukrainian essence in very different guises, not only in the bolshevistic one.

If the bolsheviks were really able to inject into the Ukrainian people a relationship to the Russian nation (people) as to an "older brother", the theory about a mutual historical root, about related spirituality (culture), the faith in the goodness (kindness), sincerity of the Russian nation (people) towards Ukraine, enthusiasm for the Russian culture, conviction of its superiority, perfection, the wish to take over everything from Russia, to become like it, and other weaknesses of that sort, that would chain Ukraine more strongly and lastingly to Russia, than the strongest political connection, stronger than any terror. A continuing, total connection, stronger all the time, of the national economy of Ukraine with the Russian one, is added to that, the placing of such a principle of the basis of the entire soviet economic system. It is guided, not by economic, but more (or sure) political considerations, in order that, with time passing, the economic separation of Ukraine from Russia might become impossible, in the economic aspect, or very difficult, if it be so, in order that the Ukrainian economy deteriorate automatically, should Russia stop the circulation of blood in the

appropriate arteries, or if they were disconnected by the separation of Ukraine from Russia. 171

The bolsheviks are trying to drug (tranquilize) the political thinking of the Ukrainian person with the illusion, that by means of union with Russia, the Ukrainian nation (people), the Ukrainian person have open to themselves all chances for a broad growth, that they are benefiting from the acquisitions and power of the entire empire (whole empire). By means of such illusions, created by means of propaganda, they want to exterminate the feeling of (sensitivity) and understanding of this reality, that Ukraine is only a colony of Russia, that the Ukrainian people (nation) for Russia is its slave, a supplier of human resources, force, brain, hands and goods, that the Ukrainian culture - is robbed of all its acquisitions and deprived of chance for growth, that the Ukrainian resources (forces) - are bridled to creative work for Russia, or destroyed, that the Ukrainian individual is totally a serf (enslaved). The door is open to those, "who sells his national ego", his honour, his knowledge, abilities, his work and his blood in the service of the Russian empire. Russia is exerting all possible efforts, in order to kill in our nation (people) the sensitivity (reaction) to this reality itself, and to inject soviet thinking, soviet patriotism.

Russia wants to construct a lasting submission of Ukraine to Russia, in this, moreover - its external Russification. All attempts of violence, terror, are directed at that, that a subdued Ukraine should lie at Russia's feet. Russia's chief aim - is the annexation of Ukraine, in order that the Ukrainian nation (people), once having lost its national character, its "ego", should not consider unfreedom unfreedom, oppression, but only should accept it as its natural condition, should love it. Such are Russia's final plans of any make, the bolsheviks are practicing them all the time, with greatest stubbornness and consistency. Here is the main front of the historical competition (confrontation) between Ukraine and Russia, and a break in it is most dangerous.

There is dedicated struggle on the Ukrainian side - resistance. On this front the most sacrifices are made, the most valuable creative forces (resources) of Ukraine. The fighters fir the Ukrainian spirit, for the Ukrainian content of the various sectors in life and creativity, who cultivate, raise, preserve and disseminate (spread) the values of the Ukrainian nation, confront the impositions of Russianism - sovietism with it, - give away great services for the preservation of the independence and further development of the Ukrainian nation.

In political struggle, in which the entity of the Ukrainian striving (forces) is centred, it is indispensible to direct particular attention to this front. In liberation revolution, all struggle and all activity in the internal, Ukrainian sector must be organized, established in such a fashion, in order to most strongly reinforce, sharpen, in all sectors, the front line between Ukraine and Russia, between Ukrainianism, the Ukrainian spirit and content - and Russianism. The Ukrainian nationalist movement must (should) mobilize, organize, ideologically fill the content and direct, and actively strengthen all forms of defensive struggle against the Russian aggression (advance) in all forms. He must (should) most precisely (clearly) show (manifest) , realize, an uncompromising attitude in total struggle with Russia, in the resistance to its total advance (aggression). Particularly, the nationalist movement should strongly act, awaken national sensitivity and resistance there, where it is weakening (desintegrating, deteriorating), where the enemy has succeeded in putting it to sleep, or suppress it, where are at play important considerations (questions) of the struggle of Ukraine with Russia, essential matters of the independent life and development of the nation.

The concurrent opportunistic concept - to bring liberation struggle on to such a platform, that not Russian not the Russian nation (people) is the enemy of the independence of Ukraine, that the distanced from it, bolshevic imperialism proceeds precisely in the opposite direction.

Such aims, by means of an analogical political line, has already once "served" the cause of liberation (the liberation cause). The Ukrainian nationalist movement, having assumed the leadership of that liberation struggle, should correct all preceeding mistakes (errors), (weaknesses) and conquer the remainder of historical weaknesses and confusion.

A clean, Ukrainian nationalism, unsoiled with lies (falsehoods, evasions) and compromises with evil, will emerge victorious, (will conquer) from the difficult, hard, but great competition (confrontation with) against Satanic bolshevic Russia. It will conquer, because in it, there is the great truth of the Ukrainian nation, in accordance with Divine commandments (God's laws), the life of nations (of peoples) and persons in freedom and justice. The Ukrainian nation (people) is fighting in the entire course of its history, for this truth. From generation to generation the best sons and daughters of the Ukrainian people (nation) consecrate their life to service for this truth, give away their life in struggle for it!

Now, the historical struggle of Ukraine for truth is reaching the highest peak, the greatest tension (pressure) and dimensions. The struggle enhances the whole life, the entire nation (people) is fighting.

The Ukrainian nationalists are sure of Ukrainian victory. Faith - faith in God, faith in the Ukrainian nation, in its truth, give us unshakeable certainty. Loyalty to the ideas of Ukrainian nationalism - is the greatest strength of the Ukrainian liberation revolution, which no such enemy, even the bolshevic Russia, can, by no means, break.

THE WAR IN KOREA AND POLITICS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

This article was written in connection with (at the occasion of) a conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) held 12-14 June 1950 in Edingurgh, patronized by the Scottish League for European Freedom. Using the example of the Korean War (1951-53) as a remarkable manifestation of Russian imperialism, the author once more explains and specifies the foundations of Ukrainina national liberation politics, its strategy, tactics of struggle, as well as the importance of a common (joint) anti-bolshevik front of the nations (peoples) oppressed by Russia.

The article "War in Korea and Politics of National Liberation" was not signed by the author (the authorship of Stephan Bandera was asserted by the editor as "SURMA" Stephan Lenkowskyj) was printed in the journal "SURMA", Munich, n. 21, July 1950.



The contemporary (present) war in Korea is only one of many incidents, which arose as a result of the competition (rivalry) of two world powers for the strengthening of gained positions, achieved as a result of the Second World War. The ~~the~~ wrong, unprincipled and imperialist, in its roots, policy of the majority of the Western states concerning the Asian nations (peoples) objectively paves the way for Russian imperialist aggression by means of hypocritical external support by it of the national struggle of these nations (peoples), with a concurrent internal penetration of communism, and the communist party, who really from the inside to the outside are destroying the national content of the struggle of these nations. 175

We We deeply sympathize with the tragedy of the Korean nation (people), who became the object of inspired, organized, from the outside saturated internal civil war, in which brother kills brother, Russian imperialism is at fault here, which is the first and real cause of the war which is raging against the Korean nation (people). But those states, who, after the end of the 2nd World War, divided the land and the people of Korea, who neither cause this war, nor participated in it, as they are an oppressed nation (people), into two parts, northern and southern, in this way laid the foundations for war against the Korean nation (people) - actually supported the plans of Russian imperialism against Korea.

The Korean war, as one of the contemporary current eyelets in the one chain of the a all-encompassing aggression of Russian imperialism, is an occasion to verify once more, to explain and specify, on the basis of the experience of the past years, the foundations for Ukrainian politics of national liberation, its strategy, as well as the tactics of its struggle, to make it an active instrument of our all-time (constant) activity, as well as save it from erring in foreign waters, and as a result remove the danger, that Ukrainian policy is engulfed by (immersed in) the role of a satellite for foreign policies, and the

revolutionary struggle of the nation for its state, to prevent it from becoming manure for someone else's field. 176

I

The unique path towards the liberation of Ukraine and the renewal of the Ukrainian independent United state - is a war of national liberation of the (by the) Ukrainian nation (people) against the Russian empire which today shows its name to be USSR, revolutionary liberation struggle with our own strength, under any (all) conditions, disregarding the international situation. The Ukrainian nationalist movement constantly carries on a struggle for the liberation of the nation along this path.

The following factors make up the successful unfolding of the revolutionary liberation struggle: a) the growth of the revolutionary potential, awareness and readiness of the nation's liberation forces, for a full unfolding of the struggle into an uprising and a war of revolutionary national liberation. b) the dissemination of revolutionary anti-bolshevic and anti-Russian struggle among other peoples & nations, the strengthening of the liberation front of nations oppressed by Russian imperialism; c) the internal situation in the USSR, particularly the consequences of the anti-bolshevic actions (activity) of the revolutionary forces, the reaction of the national masses to social oppression, breakdowns and crisis in the bolshevic system.

These are catalyzing factors: the international situation, the relationship of the USSR to external forces, in as much as (so far as) they connect (tie) and hold the bolshevic forces in a tense mood, the favourable posture (attitude) of external forces to the liberation struggle of nations (peoples) unfree under bolshevism.

The obviousness, strength, breadth and depth and revolutionary tension of the three basic factors, on the basis of which the process of national liberation struggle is formed, decide on its final out-

come. Even the most difficult situation of the USSR in the foreign policy sector and even its full military blow-up in an external war, and even with the friendliest attitude of external forces towards the idea of nationally-statehood liberation of Ukraine, will not bring Ukrainian freedom without a sovereignly organized and appropriately active own force. 177

## II

The contemporary international posture should be considered to be a breakthrough phase in the blackest period of modern history - the highest use and development of Russian imperialism and the greatest activity of its instrument - communism - bolshevism. The war of Germany in 1941 with the USSR led the Soviet Union out of the condition of a world arbitrator and liberator of the whole world, which it, had been able to show at the beginning of the World War, and the USSR, not from its own will, ended up in the ranks of "allies" - opponents (enemies) of Germany; instead of continuing to be the only "liberator of the world", the USSR became one of the "great 3".

The Western world powers, motivated at that time real and concrete self-interest; when facing (confronted with) the direct danger of Germany, accepted and co-operated with this "ally", and in the course of the war and after its termination, were looking for (searching for) a lasting relationship and co-operation with the USSR on that basis, that, so to speak, it will stake on its "maximum program" and will enter into some scheme of a world political system, which is constructed on the principles of the "sphere of influence", the co-existence of geo-political complexes, etc. Those nations, which until that time become the victims of Russian imperialism, should be price to be paid for such a peace of the USSR with the Western states.

Thanks to such a policy of the Western states, the bolsheviks after the termination (end) of the 2nd World War had no external opponent, and they channelled (directed) their entire energy, above all,

on the fighting of those liberation movements of those nations which were unfree under them (oppressed by them) as these liberation movements had been broadly developing during the war, for the enslavement of newly conquered countries and the preparation for further expansion (acquisitions, gains, conquests). Along with that Russian imperialism began to unfold its aggression (advance) in various (different) directions, on various peoples (nations) using methods of internal desintegration, undermining and direct aggression as well. In Eastern Asia the Russian expansion achieved particularly great gains.

This led up to a terminal (final) breakdown of the system of the politics of the "great three" and showed its superfluousness (wasting away". The state of affairs, illusions of equilibrium, was shaken, direct military clashes eventually happened in various lands of the world. A new era in the relationship of the USSR and its "allies" is begun in this way. The new facets in this era, that one of the great states - the USA, took up military counteroffensive directly with its own strength. Yet, here, not fundamental aims of this policy, but rather the methods of policy versus bolshevism, are the object of the change in character of the relations.

The aims of these policies of the Western states concerning the USSR, which today is accomplished by means of new methods - the use of arms, remain just like the old (former): to bring back and preserve the conditions of the division of the sphere of influences between the Western bloc of states, and the USSR, and as a result, to bring about (achieve) a stabilization within the relationship and co-existence with the Soviet Union. Here is firmly positioned, a basic agreement for the existence of Russian imperialist bolshevism, in these policies, the agreement to the entire essence of it and its practices concerning the nations (peoples) oppressed by it, a passive lack of interest for and the fate and struggle of these nations.

In the policies of these Western states, the slogans of the defense of nations (peoples) from bolshevic oppression and destruction, the slogans of the defense of democratic freedoms and forms of life, with which the Western states shield themselves in their opposition to bolshevism, continue to to those countries, which is of particular concern to the Western states, they want to prevent a bolshevic overturning of them. The Western states, when we take those for an example, in Korea's case, they support "the idea of freedom" only for the southern part of the Korean nation, they continue to be prepared to leave the northern part of Korea to the tactics of bolshevism, (to make northern Korea a playground for bolshevism), thus to split the Korean people (nation) into two parts, even though international agreements acts of the United Nations warrant the statehood independence of the united and whole country. Thus, the preservation of the division of the spheres of "influence" by means of live national organisms is at stake here.

### III

The contemporary political situation in the world is formed not only by the confrontation of two strong blocs of great states - the USSR and its satellites, and the states of the West. The liberation struggle of oppressed nations, in the whole world, for their independence and statehood sovereignty, which constitute a complex as the third force and along with the two opposed blocs form the international constellation of forces, play a no lesser, and in the final outcome, a decisive role.

Concurrently, processes of deep upheavals in the spheres of the mentality, internal political and socio-economic relations which in their entity take the shape of the national idea and nationalism, as a universal political system, as the basic factor (agent) of the world organization of all humanity, are affecting many nations.

The Western states do not appreciate or deny the significance

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and the moving force of the national idea and the liberation movements of the oppressed nations. They don't present a solution for the independentist struggle of nations (peoples) colonies and don't want to take an active <sup>and</sup> friendly (sympathetic) attitude (stance) towards the liberation movements of the nations (peoples) in bolshevik Europe and Asia, as is required (needed) by the cause of struggle against Russian imperialism and its international instrument (tool) bolshevism, which is common to all nations. On the other hand, bolshevism in its nature is completely hostile towards the national idea. It ruthlessly destroys the struggle for national independence and the forces of the peoples (nations) oppressed by Russia (even though it is trying to masquerade or conceal) this by means of propaganda, see the, so to speak, independent states -satellites and the Union national republics within the USSR, it acts beyond its borders as the spokesman of the national idea, supports and reinforces the struggle for independence of colonial and semi-dependent states and peoples (nations), in order to strengthen their struggle against the Western states and is trying to channel (direct) this struggle on to communist rails, with the aim to drive the Western states out from those countries, and by means of a system of communist internal organization of the life of these peoples (nations) to force them into domination by themselves.

Ukraine's struggle of revolutionary liberation, and of the entire anti-bolshevik bloc of nations (peoples) is carried on in isolation, by the own strength of our nations, without any aid on the part of the Western states. This struggle was, is and will be the most certain, unchanging, and every situation, is an active force (factor, agent) in the world front against bolshevism and the oppressive Russian imperialism in all its forms. The liberation anti-bolshevik front of oppressed nations in the world struggle of two competing blocs constitutes a third force, which differs in its aims, qualities and methods of action, from them.

In the previous (up till now) policies of the Western states, and particularly the USA, there are no serious manifestations of a positive attitude towards our national liberation, anti-Russian (anti-bolshevik) struggle and its aims - the destruction of bolshevism and any oppressive Russian imperialism, the dismemberment of the USSR and the establishing of independent national states of the previously oppressed nations. Could such a state of affairs as existed until now, justify itself (verify itself) by the desire for peaceful co-existence and "allied" co-operation with the USSR "at any cost", regarding (concerning), as the "cold war" is growing into a hot one, the continuation of these policies would obviously prove, that the factors (agents) who direct the policies of the Western states, particularly the USA, Great Britain and France, basically have different aims concerning the USSR, and the establishment of national states.

There are no reasons, prospects for the coming <sup>181</sup>ture of the wishes of the Western states, precisely, that the armed clash (conflict) in Korea and the entire tension of the situation be ended by the return of the previous state of affairs of the distribution of the spheres of influence, and in order that, as a result of their decisive posture (attitude) a stabilization of relations would be brought about, a broader and more lasting understanding with the USSR, The bolsheviks don't want any real stabilization, no peace and don't intend to stop the further advance of their imperialism.....They are exerting all their strength in order to make a war of the Western states with the independentist and communist movements of the nations of Eastern -Southern (South-East Asia), in the Malayas, in Korea and with Communist China, start and spread. Having incensed a war of the Western states with the Asian peoples, Russia will support it, reinforce it and spread it by any means, with that aim, that the Western states might lose a lot of strength and as well lose any confidence in them, of the broad masses of the Asian nations. The military-political prestige of the USSR should immeasurably grow on to this

background, as a force (power) which has so far not said, what it wanted to say and which will decide the whole struggle in that way, that at a most convenient for it moment, it will start open war, or, should the development be unfavourable for it, or will look for a different, temporary compromise - solution in the guise of "go-between" on the part of China with the USSR, etc.

The calculation, in their policy, of the Western states, that the conflict in Korea, on account of their decisive posture in it, as well as their military reaction, will set a clear border for the further advance of Russian imperialism and will bring about a peaceful stabilizaation and co-operation of the West with the USSR, as incorrect. It contains the wish to make peace with bolshevism at the expense of all those nations, who have already become its victim. Such a current in the policies of the Western states is harmful for all those nations, who are striving to free themselves from Russian subjugation (oppression, domination). But it is just as harmful for the cause of the defense of the rest of the world from Russian imperialism, in that number also the Western states themselves are included.

In reviewing, in its entity, the policy of the Western states concerning Russia, in the Korean conflict, we must be able to evaluate the method of action itself positively - a decisive militaty rebuff, even though the basic aim itself of this policy be incorrect. Yet we can suppose, that, following corrections of the method in one sector, under the influence of the factor of the nations and the possible (likely)' transference of the conflict on~~y~~ to other territories, also the aims of the policies of the West will be corrected.



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The revolutionary liberation struggle of Ukraine and other nations against the bolshevic bloc by its aims (with its aims), its uninter-rupted (unceasing) activity (action) and its potential in the direction of destroying bolshevism with its roots, and Russian imperialism as well, is the most enduring (most lasting) and most radical factor in the anti-bolshevic front. Anti-bolshevic actions, and even the military show-ups (appearances) of various states, even though they might have a tension of great force, if the aim of their activity is not the destruction of Russian imperialism, yet only to force some concessions, will not be as significant for the maintenance of law and order in the world, as have its national liberation revolutions of the unfree nations.

Along with the degree of the deepening, broadening of the political and military conflicts between the USSR and other states, and the degree of the unfolding of a new war, the process of the approximation and equalization of the attitude of these states to the basic posture of the Anti-Bolshevic Bloc of Nations should occur. Until the Western states will not advocate the full destruction of bolshevism and of Russian imperialism, the dismemberment of the USSR, and on its ruins, the rebirth of the national states of the today oppressed nations, and are only striving for the cessation (stopping) of bolshevic aggression and expansion (even though they, with that pressure, might carry on open warfare) until then, there is no basis to connect our liberation struggle with their policies and their conflicts.

We can, and we will use occasions and situations which are favourable to our struggle. In this way, also our liberation struggle, from an objective viewpoint, is a useful factor for foreign policy and activity (actions), which are directed against the USSR. The liberation struggle of Ukraine and of other nations (peoples) can only be linked with the anti-bolshevic struggle of foreign states on the platform of an alliance relationship, along with a binding (obliging) agreement upon (on) the aims and a sufficient (relevant) assecuration

of our lands and the requirements (needs) of our front of struggle in the overall waging of the war.

In every international situation, disregarding the posture (attitude) towards us and our struggle of external forces, with our struggle against Russian imperialism and bolshevism, we contribute in an objective manner to the defense of the whole world. The struggle of Ukraine and of all nations which are united (joined) in ABN, constantly fulfills this mission. Every Ukrainian and every Ukrainian community beyond the borders of Ukraine in accomplishing its obligation (duty) towards the native country (land), in this way also serves the cause of the defense of the freedom of nations (peoples) and the defense of the highest human values. - The truth of God, on earth, from bolshevism, disregarding, whether foreigners (strangers) understand this and appreciate it or not.

Every effort (exertion of effort) and every sacrifice of the Ukrainian forces (strength), of Ukrainian blood in the struggle against bolshevism have the greatest value and effect, as for Ukraine, so also for all mankind, then, when they are made (given) on the Ukrainian liberation front or for it. All Ukrainian political and military exertions beyond the border of Ukraine should, in all ways, in various methods, and from all parts of the world be directed towards the reinforcement of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the homeland. All emigre Ukrainian factors (agents) and each Ukrainian should, by their overall stance (posture, attitude) and their work as well, clearly represent the position of the Ukrainian liberation movement and act in accordance with them. All efforts must be exerted, in order that the free world, all nations (all peoples), the leading state factors, and the broad masses as well, should know and correctly see our situation: how we are fighting, and for what, what kind of policy and method of struggle with bolshevism are useful (are of purport) and successful, and which are a waste of time. In this way we will

(shall) contribute, in order that, the policy and posture of various states, concerning bolshevism, step onto the right path.

Every beginnning (start) along the line of unprincipled assimilation and minimalism, in matters of relations with the USSR, beginnings, which are not in agreement with these principles of national policy, which causes confusion concerning the position of the national liberation movement, and which also is calculated, for a momentary (temporary) effect along a fundamentally incorrect path - has no value for the cause of the liberation of Ukraine and for the overcoming of bolshevism.

AT THE OCCASION OF THE 10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CREATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY EXECUTIVE OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)

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(10. 2. 1940)

"The clarification of yesterday's events helps (serves) the clarification of today's and throws some light on the germs of tomorrow's events in Ukrainian political life". - these last words of the article "At the occasion of the 10th anniversary..." also explain the reasons, for which it was written. After 10 years had passed, the right time had arrived, to clarify, not only to the members of OUN, but also the Ukrainian community (population), why the division in two of the Ukrainian nationalists had come about (had happened), why the Revolutionary Executive of OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) had been created, and what path, in the subsequent years, the work and struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists had pursued. Stephan Bandera, in uncovering many facts which had been unknown until then (that time) also presented the public with directives (indications) for the future.

The article "At the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the creation of the Revolutionary Executive of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)" was printed, with the signature of Stephan Bandera, in the magazine (journal) "SURMA", Munich, n. 18-19, February-March 1950, as well as in the bi-weekly "Homin Ukrainy", Toronto, year III, nn. 21/56 - 23/58, for June 1950.

February 10, 10 years had passed since the breakthrough event in <sup>187</sup> the development of OUN and the entire revolutionary liberation movement. At the meeting of the leading members of OUN the Revolutionary Executive of OUN was brought into being, and it was entrusted with the temporary directing of the organizations. By this deed (in this way) the knot of deep ideological, political and organizational divergencies between the overwhelming majority of the Organization was cut, above all (particularly) its revolutionary active members from Ukraine (from the native land) - on one hand, and the Executive (PUN) of Andriy Melnyk - and the supporters of his policy - on the other hand.

The 2nd Great Convention of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in the spring of 1941, ratified the Act of (from) February 2nd 1940, stated that it is indispensable and correct, approved of the activity of the <sup>t</sup>emporary Revolutionary Executive, called into being a new Executive of OUN, stated, that the so-called Great Assembly of 1939 and the appointment of Andriy Melnyk to the head of OUN (OUN Executive) was not lawful. The Second Great Convention of OUN condemned the further activity and performances of Andriy Melnyk under the name of OUN, as misleading.

The Act of February 10 1940 and the 2nd Great Convention of OUN culminated the process of the internal crystallization of the Organization, asserted the nationalist, revolutionary character of the liberation movement and the line of wholly (completely) independent policies, free from orientation on external factors. Those elements, who (which) by the force of various circumstances belonged to the Organization, but essentially (fundamentally) opposed the nationalist and revolutionary line, and attempted to lead the movement (to direct the movement) along winding paths (roads) of various orientations, of opportunistic combinations, as a result, found themselves beyond its organized ranks. The fact, that the group of Andriy Melnyk continues to perform with the name OUN, essentially, does not at all change the fact, that, from

considerations of its guiding concepts and activity, it stayed in the <sup>188</sup> camp of adversaries of CUN, the whole (entire) nationalist, revolutionary liberation movement, in the camp socialistically-appeasing, having followed its own nature and not its political ancestry and name.

The Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary liberation movement, which had been formed by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, was born and grew in an organic order (system) from two basic elements: from nationalist ideology and revolutionary action, uncompromising armed struggle for the statehood independence on the part of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UWO). In the beginning, these two elements did not coincide fully. The armed revolutionary struggle of UWO (Ukrainian Military Organization) at first was only the continuation, in different forms, of the military struggle with the invaders of Ukraine. The same, various elements, which were often opposed to each other, as in 1917-1920, were reflected in it, and from the ideological, politically-conceptual, aspect, and lived in it. But such a state of affairs could not last long. The very nature of revolutionary struggle, categorically required that the liberation movement, create an active force, monolithic in every aspect, unfold revolutionary struggle as a uniform, allround, spiritual, socio-political and active, military process, which is led by one all-round (all-encompassing) ideology, politically -strategic liberation concept and a uniform organizational system. Otherwise, there would be no perspective at all for the maintaining and continuation of revolutionary struggle.

On the other hand, deeper political reflections, the analysis of internal reasons, which brought about the break-up of statehood independence, led up to these same conclusions and those axioms (statements), the maturation of nationally-political consciousness, and the crystallization of Ukrainian nationalism. In this process, the Ukrainian independentist liberation movement in Ukraine (in the native land) became crystallized into a nationalist revolutionary movement. The nationalist

ideology, the political concept, nationalist direction and content of the struggle became incorporated into the organizationally-activist system of the militarily-revolutionary organization. This process happened quickly and deeply, in Ukraine (in the native land), under the pressure of the exigencies of life and a sharpened political instinct in the nation (people).

The creator and leader of the revolutionary liberation movement, Yewhen Konovalec, had complete understanding (completely understood) the nature and importance of that process, directed (led) that process. Beyond the border, this process was going on not with such great speed and not as deeply, is in the native land (in Ukraine). There was not any more the direct influence of life - struggle itself, and of that national direction, which is occurring in it. After Yewhen Konovalec's death, such tendencies and elements arose among the extra-territorial circles of the organization, also in PUN itself, who had subordinated themselves to the nationalist direction of the late leader of the movement, but did not accept them internally, really. From the ideologically-programmatic and political aspect, these were not the same kind of people, there was no one crystallized facsimile. Their common trait was, that they had ended up in the nationalist movement (some even in leadership positions) having by chance joined it, within the circle of those various (different) groups, who had joined it, but themselves had not passed through that organic process of ideological and political crystallization, melting, which the movement as a whole had gone through. They had remained in the movement as a mechanical addition.

Such categories can be differentiated among them: the tendency to limit the revolutionary liberation movement to just the technical, revolutionary-military activity, as this was in the beginning of UWO (Ukrainian Military Organization), and to leave politics to other factors. The spokesmen of other tendencies, who themselves were disposed towards political action (activity), who were not politicians, and not fighters, but along with that leaned towards the existing political group (in-

stitution) oriented themselves on them and had clear (obvious) or concealed intentions to pull the "depoliticized" revolutionary movement, which had been narrowed down to military-technical functions, into the political leadership of their own orientation. The most numerous, in this category, and politically the most active in the extra-territorial circles of the Organization, were the supporters of the UNR (Ukrainian National Council) group, similarly, as formerly (earlier) in the Western part of Ukraine there manifested themselves in UWO (Ukrainian Military Organization) strong efforts to bring it under the political leadership of the Galician parties, UNDO and the radicals, tendencies which had been completely overcome towards the thirties. The supporters of the UNR (Ukrainian National Council) group within OUN did not openly (overtly) appear (proceed) with these tendencies, in view of the fact, that in the native land, the UNR - socialist camp, then was fully humiliated and the most unacceptable.

These elements, who adhered to the revolutionary liberation movement, as a dynamic, active, and the strongest factor in the Ukrainian world, and who were disposed towards different (various) combinations and stratagems (play) in foreign policy, were guided by similar motives. Matters of the internal ideological and political content of our movement were irrelevant or secondary to them. Above all, they treated the revolutionary force and struggle as that factor, with which the external world can reckon, on behalf of which something can be said, and they concluded agreements with external factors. They staked on the card of foreign policy, on the agreement with external forces, on the inclusion of our struggle into international political and military confrontations and conflicts, on all-round support for our struggle by lateral forces.

Foreign policy work, in the establishment of our movement, is significant in that way, that it attracts friends, and support and sympathy for the liberation & struggle of Ukraine by other nations. Yet, still, it is a secondary, (occupies the 2nd rank), after our own struggle and the building up of our own force. The nationalists, who were active in the



external sector, referring to (recognizing) one concept - our own forces, had taken that stand. Yet, for several such politicians (activists) the own struggle was only a platform, an instrument in foreign political activity. Having such a tendency, it was inconvenient for its supporters, that the liberation movement has its own crystallized ideology and political concept, which outline the hard line of the whole (entire) policy, included in that is foreign policy. It seemed to them, that it is more faulty to speak on behalf only of the military-revolutionary movement, without a distinct political face, as this provides broader possibility to manoeuvre and to adjust to external forces and circumstances.

Finally, there were also those, who lived with completely different from the nationalistic, ideological and programmatic concepts. Particularly those socialistic in content, even though without a distinct name. These were people who couldn't, or did not want to, or did not know how to get rid of the formerly accepted ideological, political principles from the repertoire of socialist, marxist circles. They were typified by the attempt to impose their convictions on the entire movement.

Thus, all those circles and individuals of that sort, disregarding their diversity, had something in common, which joined them in one distinct, which united them in a mutual effort, that common factor was: their dissatisfaction with that, that the revolutionary liberation movement had crystallized as a nationalist, clearly so defined, ideologically and politically, direction.

After the enemy's blow in Rotterdam into the heart of the Ukrainian nationalist liberation movement, all these tendencies, in the emigre leading circles of the Organization revived, became once more active (more active), raised their head. They rose to the top in the Executive (PUN) of Andrij Melnyk. Their common tendency was to bring about a retroactive action (reaction) in the Organization. Some attempted (tried) to change over the movement from the framework of OUN, back to the initial framework of UWO (Ukrainian Military Organization), and others

took it upon themselves to change over the movement to other, non-nationalist ideological and political positions. 192

But this was already useless. The entire revolutionary liberation movement and OUN were already fully one and the same thing. OUN had already, a nationalist content which had been hardened in such a manner, which had entered the blood of its revolutionary fighting cadres, and the entire (whole) activity, that it was not possible (impossible) to change that without a fundamental upheaval. Any attempts in a direct form had to bring about an explosion and the removal of it from the framework of the movement. Also secret attempts with that purpose (in that direction) had no perspectives of success, as, within the organization, in the process of ideologically-political crystallization and striving towards this a too sharp corresponding instinct had been formed. The nationalist idea was not only the moving factor (force), but also the leading force of the movement. Thus (therefore) also its leadership could only be one - nationalist. No substitute could maintain itself in that place. Andriy Melnyk and his PUN were facing the historical exigency to lead OUN, its life, development, its activity, policies, and struggle according to its principles, along its characteristic line. Were this missing (if this (that) should be missing), this anomaly had to be removed, or corrected, in this, or other order.

The creation of the Revolutionary Executive of OUN, which had taken over the directing (leadership) of its activity, and afterwards by means of the resolutions of the 2nd Great Assembly of OUN, had to put down the ideological content and political direction of the revolutionary liberation movement, had removed from among its ranks those tendencies and elements, which had tried to direct it onto other paths - to impose on it a process of retroactive development.

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Now, at the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Act of February 2 1940 we don't any more explain and prove, that the removal from

the OUN ranks of the Melnyk group flowed (stemmed) from deep and essential ideological and political differences, that not questions of secondary importance, but questions of first-hand importance, of the internal content of the liberation movement and the paths of its struggle in an important historical moment were concerned, only, at the beginning in 1940-41, there was a lack of clarity in Ukrainian political life and among the population in this matter (concern). It was created, above all, by the circumstance, that the group of <sup>Andrij</sup> Melnyk continued to act with the name OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), in this way disguising its real ideological and political tendency (direction).

On the other hand, also the fact (circumstance) , that the community (population) was presented only with several reasons, in the explanation of this event, obscured the situation. Concerned here were ideological divergencies (differences), which were properly evaluated only within the Organization, which seemed to the broader public to be theoretical matters (questions) and not questions of the direction of live political action. Also, matters of trust and internal moral in the Organization, questions of that category, were secondary in importance, for the broader community. On the other hand (yet), fundamental matters (basic questions) of the policies of the Organization in the overall situation which was then maturing, which had decided beforehand on such a radical solution, precisely at that time and in that form (such a form), remained unknown to the population (community) and in the Organization as well. Only a small number of members knew more precisely about the details.

This was happening (going on), because (as) the sharpest divisions concerned the plans of a further development of the revolutionary struggle in a new political situation, and questions of the policy of the Organization concerning the then obvious and maturing international events. As the possibility of the realization of the plans of the Organization would ~~be~~ endangered to a great extent, they could not be brought into the open in this respect. Such plans could not be

disclosed, in the face of the enemy - the bolshevics, nor in the face of Hitlerite Germany, which at that time was still concealing its plans concerning the "East" but was already trying to influence the development of internally-Ukrainian relations and forces in a desired direction. Because of that (on account of that) the currently most basic (fundamental) differences (divergencies) and the sense of accomplished facts temporarily had to be disguised (concealed) from our own community. It was necessary to rely on that, that the real essence, content and causes (reasons) for the conflict (of the conflict) will be shown in the upcoming events, and that it will be shown in the hard test of life, where the OUN, the real OUN stands, what it is like, and where it is heading, as well as its double organization in name, and contrary in essence, is heading.

It was necessary to wait a long time for that. Since 1941 until today the paths of OUN and Melnyk's group not only diverged, but were completely opposed in the most significant (most important) breakthrough moments in this historical sector, and in fundamental questions (matters) of Ukrainian politics as well. Let us recall only some, the most significant of them.

OUN took upon itself the initiative and chief (main) responsibility on June 30 1941, in order to testify the, and to realize the will of the Ukrainian nation to reconstruct (rebuild) a sovereign Ukrainian state, to be an independent host on its own soil and to institute its relationship, its relations with other nations only on that platform - relations, be they friendly or hostile - depending on, whether, on what their attitude is towards the statehood independence and sovereignty of the nation. The proclamation on June 30 1941, of the renewal of the Ukrainian state by the National Assembly in Lviv, the creation (formation) of a temporary State Administration, the national plebiscite which was conducted in that year in all Ukrainian lands, which had been freed from bolshevik occupation, the creation of a Ukrainian state

autonomous administration and the reconstruction of Ukrainian life in all sectors of life - all these were acts, which had been accomplished by the own sovereign will and strength (forces) of the Ukrainian nation (people), disregarding the attitude (stance) of the Hitler regime, against his will, wishes (desires) and plans. OUN was the initiator and organizer of those political acts, it had taken upon itself the responsibility for them with the awareness that it is bound (obligated) to do so by its role in the contemporary liberation struggle of Ukraine, the recognition of such its role and trust for it by the Ukrainian nation, and in the conviction, that such a decisive manifestation of the will of the Ukrainian nation as at this point (at that time) correct and necessary, to the testimony of our own history, the whole world and Germany, whose armies were invading the Ukrainian lands.

In such a historical moment only the Organization of Andrij Melnyk did not only distance itself from, but was clearly negative towards these state-political acts. Why? One Ukrainian newspaper in Berlin in July 1941 immediately presented the answer to that question, it was a spokesman of their opinion. So to speak, how can one proclaim state independence and build (construct) state life without the agreement of the German state at that time, when it is waging war with the bolshevics and when its armies are occupying the Ukrainian lands. Commentaries would be out of place here. This was, also, the most clearcut answer, in language of facts, of live politics, which had been posed the question: what was concerned, in the conflict between OUN and the so-called OUN led by Andrij Melnyk, what was the difference between OUN and by Andrij Melnyk. Here it was important, whether the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement should pursue the path along which OUN had led it, or the path which had been taken by the Organization of Andrij Melnyk.

This question concerned not only the events in the summer of 1941, but also the entire further development, which was a direct continuation of the direction chosen, along both sides, in general lines of policy, of fundamental (basic) ideological and political attitude (disposition) and the political nature of both opposed organizations.

After the initial surprise and disorientation of Hitlerite politics, with such unexpected (surprise) actions and the attitude of Ukraine, the Hitlerite answer came quickly - the abolition of the independent national life, which had been built up, the imprisonment of the head and members of the State Administration, ruthless struggle against OUN, the attempt to destroy it by means of terror, the institution of the Reichskommissariat, the dismemberment of the Ukrainian lands; the General Gubernia for Galicia, Zakarpattia for Hungary, Transdnistria - for Roumania. OUN responded to this by means of underground revolutionary struggle, which was intensified and spread continuously, having reached such proportions that the Hitlerite administrative, police and military agents (factors, institutions) lost control of the great, compact territories, in which all life was guided (led) by the underground forces of OUN, and later UPA.

And in this phase the differences between OUN and the Organization of Melnyk did not lessen, but deepened, when Melnyk's Organization actively fought against OUN, which was fighting against Hitlerite oppression and itself continued the "policy of memorandums" to Hitler, a polite waiting game for the independence of ~~the~~ after the Hitlerite victory in the war. Added to this, political controversy, were added such pain-causing phenomena, that, at the time of (during) the imprisonment of members of OUN, Gestapo could use the help of various members of the Organization of Melnyk.

also in the new period of one anti-bolshevic front, the Organization of Andrij Melnyk did not cease to adopt an opposing stance to OUN and the entire revolutionary liberation front. True, this is limited to the emigre territory, where it is active, but in its content it concerns the whole line of the nationalist liberation movement in Ukraine. The ~~the~~ attitude of the malnykivzi is most clearly explicated in this pamphlet "The forest in a true light", in which UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the waging of armed political struggle with the bolshevics, is evaluated completely negatively, in such circumstances, and with such proportions in the contemporary political situation. To speak out against UPA so clearly (obviously) became too unpopular today, and A. Melnyk's Organization, as also other similiar (analogical) groups, concealed their real relationship by a superficial recognition of UPA, but in reality they tried to create a fog of cloudy interpretations around it.

In ideological questions concerning the program and internally-Ukrainian arrangement of forces, Melnyk's Organization all the time more clearly and strongly placed itself there, where the attitude of leading members pulled it - in the UNR-socialist, anti-nationalist camp. It even became the chief (main) moving and organizing factor in it.

Thus (in this way), the Organization of Andrij Melnyk in the course of a whole decade, pregnant with important and hard events, actively played the role in Ukrainian life, of an opposing pole to OUN and the revolutionary liberation movement organized by it. along with that, it used and is using the same name OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). This political paradox cannot upset anyone, who is acquainted with (familiar with) Ukrainian political life in the last decade. No name, no external cover can conceal the reality which is revealed by such clear facts.

This development eloquently considers the obviousness of the fact, 198  
that two different, opposed ideological and political potentials, di-  
rections, two opp<sup>o</sup>sed concepts, in which people with opposing attitudes  
gathered, existed in OUN until 1940. The state of affairs of the mecha-  
nical joining of them in one organization could exist with the unequal  
conditions of life and the activity of the two parts of the Organization.  
In the native country, indirect revolutionary struggle, among (amidst)  
its exigencies and conditions the process of the crystallization, making  
it uniform and natural sele<sup>c</sup>tion, were accomplished, and (yet) in the  
emigre conditions, diverse elements could cling to the Organization, who  
were joined to it in a mechanical relationship, and those as well, who  
had their aims, interests, concerning the revolutionary liberation move-  
ment, and along with that had the possibility to evade the necessity, so  
they would not have to sacrifice themselves with their entire life, their  
whole being, by incorporating themselves into its framework.

Yet (but) such a state of affairs could last only as long as such  
conditions existed. It would not cope with the internal high-spirited  
exitement of the momemnt, when elements and tendencies who were opposed  
to the active revolutionary membership body, attempted (tried) to lead  
(channell) the Organization on to another direction, which was not ty-  
pical (characteristic) of it. Then, an explosion had to happen, the tea-  
ring apart of one, and not a whole (entire, entity), a tearing apart  
along the line of an already existing aperture. In the same way, such  
a state of affairs of the mechanical liason (unification) then endured  
the high pressure from outside, when the whole Organization, with its  
parts (its parts), both, the one in the native country (Ukraine), and  
the emigre Executive, - had to face one and the same struggle. Then, a  
division had to happen (occurr) between the active revolutionary  
members, who were ready, and decided for such a struggle, and those ele-  
ments, who wanted to evade it, to pursue a different path and to pull  
the Organization in their tail. Both (these two) these moments met at  
the time of a breakthrough, in the Second World War.



Some people might think (have the idea) that the whole policy and activity of the Organization of Andrij Melnyk took paths which were opposed to OUN's activity, chiefly (mainly) under the influence of the force of resistance, after (subsequent to) the internal conflict and division; that in it, there were, and now are, also such elements, such tendencies and people, who are rather disposed to pursue the path of revolutionary liberation struggle, the nationalist path, just as (like) OUN. But the fact of the division (cleft) repels them, and because of that, the elements and tendencies whose attitude is opposed, rose to the surface.

This might be so in different circumstances. For instance, in questions of (matters of) the relations (relationship) of both organizations, so-to-speak, eye-to-eye, or also in matters of (questions of) internal politics. There, the force of resistance, (repulsion) can win, the overcoming of the dominating, own, ideologically-political attitude. But not in fundamental questions (matters) of the ways of the liberation struggle and independentist politics, as for instance (for example) in these matters (questions): to support the endeavour of the (for the) renewal of the independent state against the will of the foreign power, or to speak out against it when this foreign power is abolishing it. To conduct the revolutionary struggle during the war on two fronts (should they), against the bolshevics and against Hitlerite oppression, when Hitlerism had already shown (manifested) its relation towards Ukraine to be no different that that of the bolshevics,- or to await the result of the war, to maintain the anti-bolshevics front, and to manoeuvre versus the Germans, to combine into one, the politics of memorandums (the memorandum politics), co-operation in some sectors, and passive absence in others? Or in the question: to support, or to condemn and fight the waging of revolutionary armed struggle of UPA in the situation after the termination of the 2nd "orld War. All these matters (questions) are fundamental, the benefit of the liberation movement is decisive in them.

This is already a matter of (question of) the relations with the enemies (relationship towards the enemies), not of such, or other relations (relationships) between two organizations.

It is possible, that such elements have still remained in the Organization of A. Melnyk, whose place should be in the revolutionary liberation front, and they are kept there by other connections, or elements who are trying to direct (channell) the whole (entire) Organization onto this direction (path). If so, they are in the minority, an appropriate influence and a say is lacking, opposite tendencies and people are doing the say and decide. Therefore, the three-fold, since 1946, palavres (negotiations) between both organizations on this account could not produce a satisfactory result, in order to achieve (reach) an agreement (understanding) and to continue on a common path. Such an understanding and agreement could be possible on the basis, that the organization of A. Melnyk actually step onto the path of OUN, and not just bear its name, include itself, into the revolutionary liberation front, from which it separated and had turned against it. But those tendencies, in the Organization of A. Melnyk, who consider a communication (agreement) as an act of recognition, that the organization of Melnyk is nationalist, a force of revolutionary liberation, that its path is correct, always rise to the top, and try to channell OUN on to their own path. One should expect, in the further development of events, a political crystallization along the line of the division of diverse elements, in the Organization of Melnyk, or that it will completely assimilate, ideologically and politically.

The content, reasons and consequences of the exit from OUN of Andriy Melnyk's group have revealed themselves sufficiently. What has remained unexplained, even a riddle for the Ukrainian community, is how this separation itself was accomplished. Why did it happen just then and in that way? The Ukrainian community (population) had seen (saw) and went through the shock of the process of the separation and reacted painfully

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to the fact, that if happened precisely in such hard and (weighty) responsible times. The question, was this necessary, could that affair not be solved in a different way, at another time, which would be more suitable for internal reorganization, not in times of such far-reaching events all around us, loomed everywhere. This question has historical character and a right to be answered (for an answer)

Such would (could) be a short answer: The act of February 10 1940 was not only an inevitable solution of a deeper process occurring within OUN, but it predetermined, in the main outline, the directions and concrete plan of the revolutionary liberation struggle and independentist policies of OUN during the war. Two opposed concepts were confronting each other. The Executive (PUN) of Andrij Melnyk directed one; it constituted the basis of (for) the entire policies of his organization during the war. The second concept, instituted by the leading revolutionary members, which the Revolutionary Leadership of OUN afterwards had created, outlined the direction and policies of OUN in the whole development of events during (in the course of) the Second World War. The question: either or, one path or the other, loomed very pregnantly.

In one European country, which was then still participating in the war, in the first half of January 1940, Tymych-Lopatynskyj, who was then the national head of OUN in Ukraine (at home) and the author of these lines, as well, presented Andrij Melnyk, as the head of PUN, from OUN in Ukraine with several suggestions (propositions) from the leading revolutionary members; the subject of these suggestions, in one part, outlined the plan for liberation struggle and the independentist activity of OUN in the new situation, and in the other part, touched on organizationally-private matters of PUN, which it was necessary to deal with in order to rebuild the organization's confidence (trust) in its Executive (leadership).

Poland, the long winter silence in the second world war

Let us recall the contemporary situation: Germany destroyed and occupied Poland, the long winter silence in the Second World War between the Polish, and the Western campaign by Hitler, the German-soviet agreement (treaty) of friendship of the division of the spheres of influence exists and is active; the war of the USSR with Finland, the Western states take Finland's side, support for it is being prepared, this war is not to Hitler's liking, he is trying to suppress it, he obstructs the delivery of, among other things, supplies from Italy to Finland; the bolsheviks, having occupied Galicia and Wolhynia, are starting "to take them into their hands". The representatives of the revolutionary leading members suggest (present), in this situation, among other things, principles and projects of the plan for further struggle.

The development of the war, so far, did not create a particularly advantageous, for our cause, external situation. The Ukrainian independentist movement is not interested in the war between Germany and the Western states, cannot, in any way, line up on one or the other side, nor let Ukrainian forces immerse themselves in that war. The relationship of neutral forces to our liberation struggle and our enemy the USSR concerns us, above all. We can consider only such nations as our allies, who display a friendly attitude, to the political independence and unity of Ukraine. We cannot really consider an ally of the USSR to be an ally or friend of Ukraine. The war between the USSR and Finland is of utmost significance for us, in the contemporary international situation. The American liberation movement should most forcefully manifest its full solidarity with Finland, which is defending its independence from the imperialist aggression by our greatest enemy. We should line up on Finland's side with active help, according to our strength and possibilities, and declare solidarity with all those international forces and actions which support Finland, with arms, politically and materially. The world war is only unfolding, we must reckon with the eventuality, that it will engulf also the so far neutral states. The USSR will try to manoeuvre as long as possible, to keep up the war, yet not join it itself, only towards the end, when both

fighting sides are exhausted, in order to bring both sides to a fall, or at least uproot them as much as possible. To suppress the vanquished one with the foot of the conqueror, and to undermine the other one, which is exhausted by the war, and to desintegrate it with communism. We can incalcate, in the constallation of fordes in the war fronts, various changes. We should treat this war as not ours, on the basis of the preceeding development of the war and the revelation of the aims of both fighting sides.

OUN should carry on the revolutionary liberation struggle from aspects of exclusively of the support of considerations for our internal conditions, possiblities and needs, the condition of our forces, the situation of the bolshevics and the entire internal situation within the USSR. There is no basis for including the calculaation of external forces into our plans, and to orchestrate our struggle in harmony with these (its) policies. In this way, also, to attempt to carry on foreign policy everywhere in the same manner, completely independently.

To suit such general statements, roots (principles) and directions (directives) the leaders of the revolutionary membership and the Organization in Ukraine (in the homeland, or native country) confronted (presented) projects of a practical nature. The more important of them were such:

After the stretching out of the bolshevic occupation in Western Ukraine, to strengthen (reinforce) activity in the native country, organizationally, politically and military, paritcularly in the borderlands of Western Ukraine, in order to achieve, in all parts of Ukraine, a like strenthening of revolutionary potential and an organized underground movement, compared to that in Western Ukraine, special attention should be accorded to the required militarization of the movement and the preparation for the unfolding of broad partisan endeavours (activity). Should there be (in the eventuality of attempts) by the bolshevics to liquidate (get rid of) the entire nationally conscious element by means of mass deportations and re-settlement, OUN is

organizing broad partisan action (activity) and mobilizes the whole able-bodied (which is able to fight) and sure (certain) element for it, and will unfold underground partisan struggle in defense of the de-settled areas (stricken areas). The begun partisan activity (action) should eventually become the seat of broad partisan action. This should be done in the eventuality, as the internal situation in the homeland (Ukraine) would so require, particularly, when we are faced with the threat of the annihilation (destruction) of the main basis for the movement, disregarding (regardless) of what the international situation is, in spite of (regardless of) the development of the war from there on.

We should, above all, put first, as our main action in our activity in emigration (beyond the borders of Ukraine) the active participation in the Finnish-Soviet war. Concerning this, to make use of the fact (circumstance) that the Western states took (had taken) Finland's side, and are helping it, France, in particular, is proposing to send one of its military units to the Finnish front. At the same time, since fall 1939 (autumn 1939) in France, a forcible conscription of the Ukrainians in Western Ukraine is going on, supported by the argument, that they are Polish citizens. We should most strongly oppose this plan. To join both movements into one and to exert as best, our efforts to organize a Ukrainian military unit, as an independentist national legion of volunteers, whose aim is to fight in defense of Finland's freedom against the bolsheviks. To include this endeavour into the plan of French military aid for Finland, and to assure ourselves of support in its practical realization. In this way the forcible inclusion of Ukrainians into the Polish army would be paralyzed, and a Ukrainian legion, beyond the borders of Ukraine, would be created, for struggle with bolshevik Russia.

Independently of the further development of events, such action should, after the legion will be formed, should benefit the cause of Ukraine's liberation in the following ways: the transformation of the Finnish front into a front of freedom-loving nations, who together (jointly)

ly) are struggling for independence, are struggling against Russian imperialism; politically-propagandative anti-bolshevik influence on the soldiers of the Red Army, particularly on the Ukrainians; a manifestation to the knowledge ( for the information) of the whole world, that the Ukrainians are everywhere fighting against Russian exploitative imperialism, everywhere, where they have the chance, and that Ukraine has taken that side, where defense of the independence of nations against that imperialism is implanted.

Such (the following) immediate preparations should be made for the preservation of the independence and diversity of the foreign policy and emigre activity of the nationalist movement: Andrij Melnyk, as the Head of PUN, should, with a part of the OUN Executive, remain (live) in Switzerland during the war, or in another neutral country, which is maintaining a hard line in preserving its neutrality in the war of Germany and the Western states. The main emigre centre of the liberation movement, which will represent it on the international forum and in as much as it is possible during the war - direct (channell) its entire emigre activity, tie both ends of the action must be created (and positioned????) there. Simultaneously, no time should be wasted to create immediately two emigre centres, which would be politically operative (functioning), which should organize our activity and direct political action, in agreement with the general line of the Organization, within the complexity of both fighting sides (within the fighting complex of both sides), one such centre should be in Germany, which also, there, should reach all those countries (emcompass all those countries), which are situated in its political orbit. The second centre, within the reach (sphere) of the Western states, should be created and located outside of Europe, where there is a larger Ukrainian emigration, in Canada, or the USA. These two centres (both these centres) are trying (attempting) to maintain political and organizational ties with the main centre on neutral ground, yet, in the eventuality (possi-

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bility) that this become impossible for either of them - each should do its work independently.

In concurrence with these projects, A. Melnyk was confronted (presented) with the demand, in PUN itself to regulate (put matters in order, to clean up his house) its affairs, so that PUN might preserve and guarantee the independentist national line and keep the confidence (trust) of the members of the Organization. To especially, remove such persons (individuals) from PUN, for the accusations of treason of whom real grounds did exist, as well as those (individuals) who had uprooted confidence in them and in the Executive as well, by their deviance in terms of internally- organizational principles, deviating from the political line of the Organization.

Concurrently, concerning the preservation (maintaining), in internal policies, of the nationalist line, particularly the interruption (cessation) of flirtations with the political opponents, demands were made. The polonophile UNR (Ukrainian National Council) group on one hand it even then reduced the Ukrainian cause to being an accessory of the Polish cause. With a group, which had then decisively adapted the position of orientation on Germany, the Paliev group, yet by the imitating of Hitlerism and the abuse of the name of Ukrainian nationalism had obscured it and made it questionable, on the other hand.

Andrij Melnyk as the head of PUN, in approving some of our projects and requirements (demands) with which Tymchij-Lopatynskyj and I had confronted him, this was how he treated them, rejected precisely those most urgent, which were the rallying point of the entire plan. Concerning the unfolding of activity and struggle in Ukraine (in the homeland), Andrij Melnyk refused to consider the possibility of the probability of broader armed struggle, partisan underground activity in the contemporary international situation, although the internal situation in the homeland might be calling for that very much. He confronted this problem with such a perspective: the war is only starting. "e must



take into account the certainty of war of Germany with the USSR. We should await the right moment and include our struggle in participating in the war against bolshevism. This should leave us enough time to build up, prepare and preserve our forces, (our strength). Even at the risk of ours losing many of our existing forces and positions by the (in the) mass depopulation of the Western parts of Ukraine in the contemporary existing situation we should not start partisan warfare (struggle) should there be the possibility of ours being isolated in it, for, in this way we might lose the chance and resources (potential) for struggle in a later, more favourable situation. We treat Germany as our ally, we should adjust our struggle to the international development of events, as it pursues a direction which is beneficial (useful) for us, a circumstance which is not obscured by a temporary tactical agreement of Germany with the USSR.

In a similiar manner A. Melnyk rejected the suggestion (proposition) concerning actions (activity) in the Finnish-Russian war. So to speak, let us consider this an incident without greater significance or implications. Finland and we are far from each other, and it would be useless for us to waste our resources on its front, as we will need our strength, we should preserve our forces till later on. Such action might involve us in unwanted international repercussions (complications), we would precipitate a conflict with Germany, which is attempting to abort the war in Finland by means of action which is joined to the activity of the Western Allies. And there is no probability, that they should enter into a serious military conflict with the USSR on account of (because of) Finland.

Andrij Melnyk rejected also the following: the plan for the inception of independent emigre activity, rejected it in its main points, declared the need for him to live in another, neutral country null and void, as well as saying, that the creation of two other centres of a secondary degree, in both parts of the world, which were separated by a Western

front, is unnecessary. So to speak, he drew attention to the situation, that until that time PUN - had been successful in maintaining (preserving) connections everywhere and directly lead our activity on 3 continents, for all that from one centre, thus we should succeed in being able to continue also in the further development of the war.

There was no such policy, was the categorical response to the demands for the solution of questions of internal politics, we were served such an explanation. Col. A. Melnyk refused to implant changes in internal matters of the Organization.

The national leader Lopatynskyj and I travelled to see A. Melnyk, in order to confront him, as the head of PUN (Executive) and to present him with such projects - demands from the revolutionary membership of the Organization, which would a) lastingly agree on the general line of revolutionary liberation struggle and independentist policies in the onslaught of coming events, b) regulate affairs of PUN itself in that way, that it be the warrantor of the realization of such a concept, c) institute an arrangement of personell (forces) and leadership which would suit the plan, and the situation as well. It revealed itself in the negotiations, very obviously, that two opposing concepts, two differing interpretattions of the situation are contradicting each other.

Andrij Melnyk and PUN emphasized the necessity to lead the liberation struggle within the plan-framework of the development of the international constallation of forces in the plan of the war development. They counted on the war of other states with the USSR, on Germany, which will be obliged to enter such a war (join such a war). Thus (therefore), they treated Germany as an ally. The inclusion of the cause of Ukraine, s liberation into the Germano-soviet conflict, which is being precipitated, and such an adjustment of our policies, to avoid evoking a conflict and an unfriendly attitude by Germany - that basis, foundation, attitude was also the source of (from) which all conclusions

were drawn. The postulate: In whatever followed that line, activity and perseverance (stubbornness), and whatever was uncertain, doubtful, in this respect, precipitated passivity, containment and postponement. Equally important it was to treat matters of the struggle in Ukraine (in the homeland), particularly their reinforcement (its reinforcement), form and malleability concerning our plans, from the angle of their implantation in the war conflict (war-time situation).

The active revolutionary members of OUN, on the other hand, pursued their own line of their own revolutionary struggle. The regulation of it according to their exigencies (demands, requirements) and needs (necessities), rather than adjustment to the external situation. We considered (evaluated) the overall situation and the lateral forces, from our point of view, corresponding to their relationship with the cause of the liberation struggle of Ukraine. Rather than making our struggle dependent on the policies of any state, rather than that, utmostly protruded containment, until a positive attitude to the liberation struggle of Ukraine clearly and realistically will be manifested. The application, in any situation, of a policy of principles and liberation activity, nevertheless the international situation and posture of foreign forces.

OUN could not abandon its path, could not pursue the line chosen by the PUN of A. Melnyk. Tymchij-Lopatynskyj and I clearly declared to Andrij Melnyk, that OUN will pursue its own path.

A session of the leading members of OUN on February 10 called into being (brought into being) the Revolutionary Executive of OUN, with S. Bandera leading them, who embraced the leadership of the entire organization. The PUN of A. Melnyk and a part of the members of OUN went their own, separate and opposed path.

The previously outline plan was realized by OUN in its letser activity, in as much as the circumstances permitted. The Revolutionary Executive placed all bearing on the unfolding of activity in the homeland. The national leader Tymchij-Lopatynskyj with other members of the

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National Executive immediately after February 10 travelled to Ukraine. The National leader Lopatynskyj, with Mr. Opryshko-Medwediv and Miss Zenia Lewycka were surprised by an NKWD unit, died in battle, having been torn apart by grenades. But immediately more groups and several members of the Revolutionary Executive of OUN were sent to Ukraine and the work in Ukraine was commenced as had been planned.

In the emigre countries (territories) a significant part of the Organizational network remained in the hands of and on the side of A. Melnyk, particularly on the American continent. The Revolutionary Executive took the line, to raise the affair of the conflict with and breaking with the PUN of A. Melnyk only in those territories where the affair can be sufficiently illuminated and where the activity of the Organization can be established by people whom the Organization had sent there. It was impossible in the war-time conditions, to get this done by means of correspondence (the post office). Provisions were made to send a member of the Revolutionary Executive to the USA, with the purpose to carry on a special activity of OUN in the countries of the West. But these efforts were paralyzed by the people from the Melnyk group, and therefore, the territories other than Europe remained under Melnyk's influence during the war. Also, similarly, all OUN external affairs posts in Europe, other than Germany, remained in A. Melnyk's hands. The Revolutionary Executive did not want to paralyze that, which it was unable to take over and establish. Finally (eventually) all the European posts, which had been dominated by A. Melnyk, ended up in the German sack. A. Melnyk himself also travelled to Germany and made representatives from other countries join him there partly.

The Revolutionary Executive immediately started preparations concerning the problem of the organizing of a military unit for Finland. There was no possibility to do this, in France, as the local post of the Organization there had taken Melnyk's side. Yet members of OUN were sent to Finland and there attempts to organize activity with the help of the

Finnish foreign connections were begun. But these attempts were interrupted by the end of the Finnish-German war. 211

Revolutionary OUN directed (channelled) its entire attention and energy in the direction of the preparation and organization of the struggle in the homeland. Its development and the A.Melnyk's group's opposition are known.

Today we are explaining the main reasons of the Act of February 10 1940 which had decided, that the revolutionary liberation movement during the 2nd "orld War until today pursue such a path, along which the Revolutionary OUN it actually led, and not the line which the Organization of A.Melnyk had taken. This is a matter of historical significance and the time which required an explanation has come. The time has now come.

Until now, we left these chief, decisive moments of that process in the shadow, the affair of two opposing concepts of liberation politics. As was clearly once said, in the beginning these things could not be brought into the open, as they then were very contemporary. After the war, when they had ceased to be current, we continued to maintain our silence, as (for, because) in order that the explanation not be exploited and interpreted in the sense of a political denunciation. We consider every such step, by means of which the matters of Ukrainian policy are transferred onto such a level, that they become the subject of intervention by foreign factors (agents) to be harmful ~~in~~ for the national cause. At that time, when in Western Europe the wave of attacks on collaborators with Hitlerite Germany had started, there was a danger, that also those Ukrainian political directions or activists who were guided by their own interpretation of the Ukrainian cause, their own evaluation (opinion) of the situation and the expediency of such an, or other political line, might be brought under this category. The question of the correctness or harmfulness of such directions - is an internally-Ukrainian question, which should be conside-

red in such circumstances and in such a manner, in order that (lateral) <sup>L/L</sup> foreign agents (factors) not interfere in it. This is a matter of the honesty and sovereignty of Ukrainian politics, who rises against it, uproots it very significantly. From such considerations we had postponed these explanations for an appropriate time, at the cost, that in public opinion there will continue to exist various cloudy views and news.

Now we feel, the time has come to explain. The sober view, that concerning Ukraine, and other nations, who were oppressed by Russia before the soviet-German war, the question of collaboration (?) cannot in any case be applied, already is prevalent in the political thought of the Western world. In the view of the external world, there wasn't and couldn't have been there, anything, in Ukrainian political life, which should be treated as such. We, the entire Ukrainian political world, have nothing of that sort, from the times of the 2nd World War, which would qualify for the judgment of foreigners. And all Ukrainians at all times, should take such a stand immediately. For we had two fronts, simultaneously two enemies and not one friend - in a foreign state. That surrounding (external) world, with which Ukraine was dealing during the war, were only enemies, who fought among themselves for its skin. And there wasn't, among us, such a political direction, such a centre, which, essentially, speaking, would enter into collaboration with Germany, like others did, who agreed with Hitler, and bought their calm from him at the cost of other nations. Yet, if some Ukrainian factors, who were in a desperate situation, felt, that, the most important thing is to save themselves from that enemy who is older, historical, "eternal", and that in such a situation it is impossible to fight (struggle) on two fronts, or who counted on the existence, in German policies, at the time of the war with the USSR, at least a little political sense concerning these nations, who are having a war with that very same enemy, - then, which nation has any moral right to judge that, to consider this

collaboration? Where in the world is there such a people (nation), such a state, who, having such a situation, or even a much easier situation and did not soil their policies by agreeing with the great evil, - the threat for the whole world, be it Hitlerism or with its older brother and master- bolshevism? We must reject with disgust (rage) every such (any such) attempt by lateral forces to judge any Ukrainian political currents as a collaborating one.

But now, that wave of confusion in the Western world has passed already, and there cannot be in Ukrainian political life an emigration (beyond the borders of Ukraine) the psychosis, which had been caused by it, that something must be hidden, concealed. We didn't have that and don't have it (now). Now, finally, we can in peace reconsider all phenomena of our political life of the recent past, among ourselves, and us for ourselves. Foreign factors have nothing to do with this, we did not search for (ask for) foreign neighbours and should not be searching for them. But we also have nothing to hide, nothing to bury in silence. We feel that it is necessary and of benefit for the development of Ukrainian political life to illuminate (explain) such questions, as we here touched upon. The people (nation) can only then extract the proper conclusions, from past experience, for the future, when this past ~~was~~ is illustrated (explained) in its most significant, historical moments, and not obscured by a fog of silence and falsehood. Secondly, all that is a still very recent past, therefore, still in the present, those same motors, these same forces, directions and concepts are still active and alive, as had then been active. And still in the closest future those of them which will remain, will continue to be active. Therefore, the explanation of yesterday's <sup>serve</sup> ~~serve~~ the explanation of today's and illustrates (sheds light on) the germs of tomorrow's events in Ukrainian political life.

like a compass, outline our path, in every situation, and which it is necessary to keep in mind always, when the question of the correctness of our policy arises, must be referred to.

I

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (revolutionaries) - is a political liberation organization, which in its nature, with its aims, its ideological content and its activity is fundamentally different from all Ukrainian political parties. It is not becoming the spokesman for the interests of one separate part of the nation, it is not deducing its aims, its program from an abstract,

theoretical socio-political program. Its fundamental task and sacrifice - is the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine; the striving for an independent, united Ukrainian State, which alone can guarantee the Ukrainian nation full freedom and, an all-round free development, prosperity, social justice and real legitimacy. Should this aim be reached, then the raison d'etre and content of the activity of OUN shall be the further dedicated service to Ukraine by dedicated work and a creative competition for the best development and accomplishments (achievements) of the Ukrainian people in all sectors of life, for the blossoming and greatness of the Ukrainian State, struggle with all, which is in its way. OUN is struggling for the well-being of the entire Ukrainian nation, and all the citizens of Ukraine, and not of a part of it, a social class or like, OUN deduces its program from the needs of the whole Ukrainian nation (people), from its character and historical development, the present condition, the aims in its life and attitudes, in the striving towards the highest all-round development, prosperity and self-realization of the nation - the entity and all its parts, the community, and the Ukrainian person. The independent life and the development of the Ukrainian nation combine in harmony with the overall-human progress as its constituent, creative part.



WORD TO THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS-REVOLUTIONARIES BEYOND THE BORDERS OF UKRAINE

This article, signed "Stephan A. Bandera", was published as a whole brochure, published by the ZCH OUN, on July 1948, with 69 pages. Excerpts from the "Word" were published with the following titles: "Stephan Bandera about the Ukrainian National Council (UNR) in the weekly "Chas" (Time), ~~Quert~~, in 1948, in the numbers 10, 11 and 13 of the socio-political bi-weekly "Vyzvolnyj Schliach" (The liberation path) , London ed. year I for October, November and December 1948; an excerpt with the title

"The only real liberation "concept" in the bi-weekly Homin Ukrainy", Toronto, ed. year . XII n. 42/596 of 15.10.1960; with the title "First - independence and sovereignty" in the journal "Liberation Path", ed. year XI/XVII; book 10/240 for October 1964; in the book by Jaroslaw Stezko "June 30 1941", Political Library of the Canadian League for UKraine's Liberation n. 26, Toronto, Canada, 1967, pp. 327-329.

Comrades Nationalists-Revolutionaries!

Our entire political activity beyond the borders of Ukraine ought to be a planned and persevering making real of our concept of revolutionary liberation in UKraine, which is leading us to the unique goal. We should examine the correctness of the ways and methods of our policy all the time, on the basis of the results, repair and perfect them. The successfulness of the entire activity of the nationalist movement in the foreign policy sector depends a great deal on, whether its component parts will be directed towards one aim in a uniform manner with the one plan, whether all its participants will have a similiar attitude, a similiar concept of the main questions.

In keeping this in mind, I am addressing you with this "Word" in order to share with you my ideas and in order to contribute, so that the fundamental problems of Ukrainian policy should be clear. , that there should be awareness of them in our ranks, that our positions, principles and main line of our political reality in exile (emigration) should become clearly crystallized. It is not my aim to explicate the wholeness of our political activity in emigration, I am only touching on individual questions, such, as now require full clarity, or those, around which conflicting or ambiguous views emerge. With that it arrives, that fundamental aims and principles of our movement , which

The Ukrainian nation will only then have a chance to live freely, and to develop, when it will liberate itself from the oppression and exploitation of Russian bolshevic imperialism, when it will get rid of any oppression and will itself become the master in its land, in an independent united Ukrainian state. Liberation and an independent state - is a question for the Ukrainian nation whether to be or not to be, to live freely and develop, to make the contribution to the development of humanity with its creative treasures (values), or whether to become the manure for the further growth of the retrograde Russian-bolshevic imperialism, which brings oppression, poverty, decadence of all humanity. The Ukrainian nationalists liberation movement plans the struggle for the renewal and strengthening of the sovereign united Ukrainian state in the crux of all Ukrainian life. Concentrating all forces and all actions on the attainment of this highest aim, it confronts the Ukrainian people with the defined content of the Ukrainian state, precisely such; that it might unite the whole nation (people), all the Ukrainian lands, in order that the sovereign will of the entire Ukrainian people rule in it, safeguarding all-round freedom, justice, equality, prosperity, a free development and free creative activity for all citizens of Ukraine, without discrimination.

Concerning the constitutional form of the Ukrainian state, OUN in the present stage is not supporting stubbornly, any finished structure, nor name, it is leaving this question for the time of statehood building, when the Ukrainian nation will be deciding it with its own free will. OUN is maintaining this from the beginning of its activity until today, also UHWR accepted this in its platform. Such an attitude is politically expedient.

At present, just the constitutional form of the state does not yet decide and reflect on its real content. It is happening before our very eyes that in some states with the same constitutional form, be it Republican-democratic, or monarchy, there is legitimacy, freedom, justice and prosperity, and in others - totalitarian, tyranny, terror, oppression,

lawlessness and the blackest exploitation. For the USSR, a state-total concentration camp, a state with the worst tyranny, dictatorships and slavery - boasts about its "most democratic" constitutional form, there is only the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". There is even no one person - head of the state - everywhere there are Councils, Collegiums, Collectives, Presidiums. And at the same time, we see the content of national legality, in some monarchies, for instance, the Scandinavian.

When now every form of the constitution of a state receives a different content, then why should the question of structure and name divide and diversify the forces of independentists, detract the attention and energy from the struggle for content?

We are not denying any constitutional form, which contains the correct content of Ukrainian statehood, and we enter into conflicts for that. Our movement writes the very content of Ukrainian statehood on its flags, which cannot be undermined by any form and not the form-structure, which could contain a different content.

We are certain about that, that the Ukrainian nation (people) will not stop its uncompromising struggle for its sovereign and unified state until this goal has been fully achieved, will not let this goal be undermined by empty forms, devoid of full content or half-way solutions, in the guise of federations, Unions etc. The misery from 1917, when the Federalist concept disturbed the building of the Ukrainian state, overwhelmed the healthy national-political institutions of the nation and disarmed it to face bolshevic contrivance and aggression, cannot be any more repeated.

Now there must not resuscitate, in its old or a new form, a similar illness in Ukrainian politics, like new anti-independentist federalist, Uniat, all-worldly tendencies. They emerge as conjunctural phenomena, as a result of the pressure to discover "new, modern" aims and tactics for Ukrainian politics, along with the inability to differentiate lasting tendencies in development in international life from contemporary, con-

junctional situations.

We don't have the intention to attack international unions, blocs or federations. They are useful and necessary in international life. Ukraine surely will enter into Unions or blocking with other states along the line of common interests and by means of its active participation in broad international Unions will be able to contribute creatively to peaceful co-existence and co-operation of the free nations of the world. When sovereign states unite, as equals, with equals, for common aims, beneficial for all participants, without the preponderance and privileges of some nations over the others, without exploitation and persecutions - this does not violate neither independence, nor free development of any nation. All states ~~states~~ united in a broader or narrower Union decide and arrange their common interests together, on a common forum. This does not violate the principles of national state sovereignty, when all nations, states, voluntarily, free and equal, enter into such a bloc, Union etc. When all are interested, in a like measure, in that, benefit equally from it, and no nation violates the sovereignty of another nation.

Such Unions are possible only among free nations, which have the status of states, and are non-imperialist, on the platform of common, like aims and interests. There can be no real union (or alliance) with such a nation, whose aim is to subdue, subjugate or exploit other nations, and with this aim deceitfully enters into "Union" or wants to use this Union for a unilateral strengthening of its positions, striving towards such aims, which are harmful or unwished-for by the other members-nations of the Union. There must be full inter-recognitions; respect of rights and interests among states who enter any unions.

International Unions, constructed on such principles, of various types and different reach, can be factors of progress in international life, positive for all nations. But only on such principles; we must differentiate correct, healthy, progressive Unions from retrograde, destructive and such as are unfit to survive.

Let us compare the union of Western European states with the Soviet Eastern European bloc. On one hand, the states of Western Europe, in a <sup>219</sup> similar geo-political condition, have a close economic structure and situation, unite, unite as equals with equals, for the mutual defense of their common interests in several sectors, political, economic, and defensively-military. The union (or alliance) is healthy and beneficial for all members. And on the other hand - the Union imposed by the bolshevik empire on the satellite would-be-states, contrary to the real will (or freedom) and interests of these peoples (nations) - is an instrument of bolshevik exploitation, oppression and employing of these nations in the further Russian imperialist-aggressive plans, or another example: what union can there be in the United Nations, between the USSR and other states, when the USSR is stubbornly aiming at the destruction of their consti-  
tution, imposing on them the communist system by means of the penetration of communism, upheavals and aggression and in their inclusion into the World Communist Union?! For the Communist program, the official state doctrine of the USSR, clearly proclaims this. Russia did not renounce this anywhere, it is stubbornly aiming at that. All know and can see that - and together they create (constitute) the "United Nations"!

Ukraine can join such inter-state constructs, which are founded on a healthy basis, in which it will be a equally legal co-member, and its rights and vital interests will be respected and aquired there. The fundamental and inseparable (inevitable) pre-condition - is the state independence of Ukraine. First - to achieve and confirm the independent united U-rainian state, and only then the fully legal, real, participation of Ukraine in international Unions will become reality. Any "concepts", that Ukraine can join international, supra-state constructs as an equal member without its own independent state and that the struggle for a state can be unnecessary - are harmful for the Ukrainian people.

The fundamental aim and chief principle of all Ukrainian policy is and ought to be the reconstruction of the independent united Ukrainian state, by means of removing the bolshevic oppression and the dissolution of the Russian empire into independent national states. Only then there can be a peace for the Union of these independent national states. Only then there can be a place for the Unions of these independent national states in blocs of Unions, according to the principles of geo-political, economic, defensive and cultural common interests on the above-mentioned basis. Concepts about the evolutionary re-building or remaking of the USSR into a Union of free states, but connected similiarly, with the same membership, with Russian supremacy, as the central states of Russia - such concepts are opposite to the idea of the liberation of Ukraine, they must be finally removed from Ukrainian politics.

The Ukrainian people can achieve an independent state only by means of its own struggle and effort. A favourable development in the international situation can contribute to a significant extent to the new unfolding and success of our liberation struggle, but it can only play the role of helper, even though very useful. Without the Ukrainian nation's own struggle, the most favourable situations will never give us independence, only the change from one unfreedom to the next oppression. Russia, with its deeply rooted, and in the contemporary era most inflamed aggressive imperialism in every situation, with all its strength, with all its enthusiasm will throw itself upon Ukraine, in order to keep it in the membership of its empire, or to oppress it anew. Just as liberation, so also the defense of the independence of Ukraine can fundamentally (essentially) be based only on the proper Ukrainian forces, in their own struggle and constant readiness for self-defense.

We need to have allies in our liberation struggle, as many as possible and the best possible, and above all, real allies. And Ukraine can have them. But only when it will itself fight and when it itself will be

strong. For an alliance is a bilateral relationship. He, who himself gives something, and gains something, can have it. Certainly we would never attain "liberators", who would obtain our freedom for us and would give it to us as a present. Our allies - are foremostly those nations, which ended up under the oppression of Russian bolshevic imperialism and are struggling against it for their own life and freedom, and are favourably disposed to Ukraine's independence and unity. And further, when a clash between the USSR and the still free nations will occur, then the latter also can be our allies. This will depend, among other things, also on, whether, to what extent our struggle, our forces will import in a military conflict.

The concept of our own struggle, our own strivings, by our own forces - is the only realistic liberation concept. Only it can be the content of Ukrainian independentist policy and the leading attitude of all political action.

## II

The internal Ukrainian policy of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is and always should be a liberation policy, and not party politics. Thus, it strives towards the forming of such internal-Ukrainian life, for the creation of such an arrangement and mutual relationship of Ukrainian forces, which are under any conditions, the most useful for the liberation struggle, and not only for the strengthening of the positions of OUN itself. Our attitude towards all other Ukrainian political tendencies, concepts and organized forces is always regulated according to, how they, consider the concept of struggle, in terms of program, as well as in political terms. Their role, which they are already acting out or can act out in the current political liberation activity, is of decisive significance. Superiority, on the ideologically-political level, the defense of their own conceptual position, the dissemination of them in the broad community, in contra-vention to the positions of other ideologically-

programmatically, should be carried on on their own terms. But 222  
the active mutual relationship of forces should be regulated respectively,  
to the policy which is continued in practice. Inter-group conflict,  
cannot decide everything, and occupy the first rank in importance, to make  
impossible the concentration of all forces on uniform liberation action.

We attribute the leading rank, in our political activity, to the  
persistent pursuit of liberation struggle, the undeviating making real  
of the basic line of the liberation concept. We never retreat from that,  
in no situation (under no conditions). simultaneously, we exert all  
efforts, in order that the entire nation might pursue this path of active  
liberation policy, as the broad national masses, as well as, possibly,  
also all organized political factors, in order that the strong libe-  
ration front might unite all. If there is the possibility to include  
everybody into the correct path towards liberation, we must exert all  
efforts in that direction and relegate secondary or less current affairs  
to a latter position (of importance), as they might impede the creation  
of one common front. The principle of the utmost strengthening of the  
liberation front and in it, the concept of all useful forces, is before  
the principle of our own political benefit.

Yet, in the following case: should other political factors - orga-  
nizations, centres, parties, all, or some their part, not like or be unable  
to pursue the most difficult path of uncompromising liberation struggle  
and policy, should they retreat from it, or assume the path of passi-  
vity, then the liberation movement, CUN, cannot look to them and ought to  
pursue its direct path without them, and even against them. We cannot,  
for the sake of mechanical unity itself, so that there be no diversity  
and divisions in the Ukrainian political life, retreat from our liberation  
concept, cease our uncompromising struggle with the enemies of Ukrai-  
nian state independence, descend to the path of those, who leave the



struggle, are looking to appease the enemy, or choose the line of passivity. Those forces, capable of it, ought to maintain the front and banner of uncompromising struggle with the enemy, in the most difficult historical moments.

Anyway, the posture (attitude) of various organized political factors does not yet reflect the attitude of the national masses. In our reality, political organizations and parties with the cadres of their members contain a very insignificant part of the nation. The broad national masses reveal their attitude by means of direct participation in political actions, by their support, unconcern or unfriendliness (disregard) towards the endeavours of the various organized political centres. At times, the overwhelming majority of the nation, the whole active compact, can support one movement, and other groups can remain isolated. Thus, (therefore) we, also in our activity as well, chiefly are paying attention to the national masses, we activate them, annex them to our actions, to the struggle, we stake on them, as only the active participation of the masses can induce the dynamics for the liberation movement, which is necessary for victory.

But in political life, the existence of political tendencies themselves, of centres, and groups, which have remained outside of the front of the struggle or oppose it, plays a role. This makes it possible for the enemy and the opponents, in averting the proportional relationship of forces, to illustrate the matter in such a manner, that the liberation front stands isolated, and that a significant part of the political forces opposes it. The external world usually is little aware of our reality, cannot survey the actual situation, only orients itself on the symbols of Ukrainian political life. It can be diverted into devious paths, it can illustrate Ukrainian reality falsely, harmfully for the liberation front.

Thus (therefore) our efforts ought to always strive for connecting to it

it all Ukrainian political factors, other than the mobilization of the actual strength in the liberation front, in order that the Ukrainian political world on the outside, in basic questions (problems, matters), of liberation, should appear as a uniform entity. One concept of independentist politics must lie at the basis of this. But the appropriate solution of the question of political representation and overall political representation is also significant.

OUN persistently worked, to make real such chief principles and directives of our policies. There were various conditions for the liberation policy in various stages of the activity of OUN, various external conditions and internal-Ukrainian mutual relationships. In these various conditions, one and the same basic political line, was made reality, from the viewpoint of necessity and utility for the liberation struggle.

But the posture and role of various Ukrainian political groups and their relationship to our persistent, direct - line of policies were not so stable, went through various evolutions. Our relationship with them and the entire internal Ukrainian political situation in various phases also presented themselves in different ways. Whoever takes the matter lightly, might obtain the impression, that we were changing our line of internal policy. This mistake does not only derive from that, that only the external picture is perceived. Some people think, that principled internal policies should be regulated by a hard, established relationship to other various political groups (centres) as (for) they do not comprehend (understand) the principles of our liberation politics.

In order to point to the practical realization of a persistent line of liberation, in our internal policies, we shall illustrate several moments from our activity from 1941, particularly those, concerning which, there are many ambiguous explanations.

The Hitlerite plans concerning Ukraine, became obvious in the spring of 1941, before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war: to deceive by means of deceitful slogans and promises, to bridle us to their imperialist cart, and then, to turn Ukraine into an area of colonization, economic exploitation, and a source of slave labour force..... First, for the time of the war, Berlin planned (plotted) to play the game of deceit - on one front, to promise statehood, and on the other hand - to manoeuvre out by means of war time conditions, the unreadiness (lack of preparation) of the Ukrainians, etc. The accusation, that the Ukrainians are unprepared, disunited, quarrell with each other, that there is no one with whom to talk, etc., was one of the chief arguments of the Hitlerite deceitful policy. And along with that, staking on playing out Ukrainians against Ukrainians, not permitting any understanding between them. Then the exigency of the time became understanding among all the Ukrainian political factors, who were situated in the Western borderlands and in emigration in Europe, to create a uniform front and a consolidated (unified) centre, representative centre. All Ukrainian political factors well understood this requirement (exigency) of the situation, and following the initiative of revolutionary OUN in Cracow, the Ukrainian National Committee (UNC), which representatives of all centres had joined, of all centres and groups with the exception of one or two, was created. OUN had taken the initiative and exerted all efforts, to make real the consolidating action, using as guidelines, first of all, the requirements of current liberation politics, and not its opposite relationship to various groups which had a different program, which OUN was combating. Also other participants had the same aim.

Concerning UNC, our organization was accused of not having been loyal to the partners of the agreement, that in the Act of June 30 it did not act on behalf of UNC, and that it continued to act separately, and the UNC was not activated. But if the essence of the matter is considered, this accusation cannot stand up to criticism. The UNC was formed along

the principle of open, legal action and already because of that could not be the agent of <sup>a</sup>revolutionary type, as it would have been immediately liquidated by the occupant, UNC was not preparing to undertake or lead revolutionary anti-German struggle. It should have arranged for and displayed uniform Ukrainian policies, be the spokesman for Ukrainian independentist strivings within the framework of normal political action, and not revolutionary steps and struggle. The Act of the renewal of the Ukrainian State from June 30 1941 and the statehood construction incited by it - were actions undertaken in a revolutionary Order, and it was known immediately that Hitler shall respond to that by means of ruthless repressions. It was useless and impossible to draw UNC into that. For only sending the radio programme about the Act of June 30 1941, by the UNCommittee, the members of UNC were imprisoned by the Gestapo.

Had there been the possibility of normal political action of independence, had Germany respected the state sovereignty of Ukraine and its non-intervention in the war of Germany against the Western states, these principles of Ukrainian independentist policies, as they were then declared to be irrevocable in such circumstances, UNC would have emerged in the lead of broad political activity and representation. Wherever possible, UNC was activated and its significance in accordance with it. The UNR (Ukrainian National Council) was created in Lviv in July 1941 in connection with the UNC; similarly, particularly the formation of UNC as a centre of all-Ukrainian political unity was celebrated at all popular mass meetings and manifestations, all over the territory. From there the development of events was such, that there was no possibility for UNC activity as a legal centre for independence activity. Obviously, in the reality of German occupation only such political creations and actions could exist, as were adjusted to this reality; yet all uncompromising elements, which wanted to act, somehow, had to go underground.

Also, concerning the Act of June 30 1941 and the further events, we must illustrate the chief moments, in order to remove various untrue

interpretations, spread consciously or unconsciously, harmful for Ukrainian politics.

The Revolutionary Executive of OUN planfully, following an all-round deliberation, ventured to place the cause of liberation on such a path, in connection with the German-bolshevik war. It was clear, that Hitlerite Germany does not intend to take a passive stand towards the cause of the state independence of Ukraine, and on the other hand, does not want to evoke immediately the struggle of the Ukrainian people against itself. By means of unspecified policies, a tactic of promises, which do not last, and procrastinations, the maintaining of hope for state independence of Ukraine after the end of or after the result of the war with the USSR would be decided, the Hitlerite regime planned to prevent, and the striving of the Ukrainian people to state independence should decisively be directed against Germany. Berlin did not wish to turn Ukraine against itself, tried first of all to include it in its war against the USSR and in such a manner to tie it to its entire policy, to <sup>(deprive)</sup> it of the possibilities to carry on an independent Ukrainian policy, to exploit, and to a large measure exhaust the strength of Ukraine in the war, and as is well known what fate Hitler prepared for Ukraine from there on.

It was clear, that concerning Hitlerite Germany, we could not expect the successful outcome of the negotiations, the posing of demands, convincing them, etc. Such attempts were immediately destined to be unsuccessful, and could only be considered to be tactical manouevres, in order to have such assets, and in order to mascerade preparations along another line. The real independentist policy had to be carried on along the path of accomplished facts, our own initiative, not looking back to the German policy, and when necessary, clearly against it. The Ukrainian nation, at the beginning of the new situation, created by the war-time events in his lands, had to clearly and decisively speak up, to create his own life according to his own will, his own decisions. And it did happen this way. The proclamation of the renewal of the Ukrainian State by the National Assembly in Lviv, the

creation of the Temporary State Administration, the implanting of an all-national plebiscite in the form of the expression of the will of the people in open mass manifestations, meetings-demonstrations all over the entire Ukrainian territory, free from bolshevic occupation, the unfolding of statehood building in all sectors - all this was accomplished by means of the own will and the own forces of the Ukrainian people, disregarding the Germans' wishes and their attitude, against their will.

We are deeply convinced, that the honour of the nation, historical and political necessity required such an action. We had no hopes, that such accomplished facts and the decisive will of the Ukrainian nation manifested in such a manner, will have an influence on the possible changes of Hitler's political plans concerning Ukraine. Nothing whatever could change them. But only decisive and accomplished actions on our part would create a clear situation, would draw a line through the vile H<sup>it</sup>lerite plans, which were most dangerous for Ukraine, and preserve an open, clear path for further independentist liberation policy. Such actions were, above all, the clearly expressed will of the Ukrainian nation, that he himself decides on the questions of his life, always strives towards the renewal of his sovereign state, and that he places the relationship between Ukraine and other forces in dependence on their respect for the sovereign rights of the Ukrainian nation, the liberation of his sovereign state. Ukraine never retreats from these positions, in no situation, and does not resign from its natural rights to sovereign statehood, not even under the pressure of the most powerful forces on the side.

Accomplished state-creative actions were of decisive significance for the directing and crystallization of the fundamental, internal political processes, which were occurring in the entire Ukrainian nation since the summer of 1941. They were clearly aimed at state sovereignty. The cause of Ukrainian statehood could have become lost, quieted at a

time of great (huge) confrontations of the world's powers. June 1941, prevented this and placed it in the centre of the political development amidst the storm of war in Eastern Europe.

Thus, there was a line drawn through Hitler's deceitfully-vile policy concerning Ukraine. At first the Germans still tried to return and maintain it, expecting very much from its success. Therefore they did not immediately act with their particular ruthlessness, they tried to get rid of the matter quietly, to calm it down, to push it off. Yet, when it became obvious, that this does not succeed because of the decisive and clear-cut posture of the Ukrainians, then the German policy was forced to uncover its deck of cards, to show the real relationship and their plans. The German repressions and their cause of overt, hostile, occupational policy opened everybody's eyes, bared the nature of the German "Eastern policy" (Ostpolitik), and created clear-cut fronts.

Some people have reproaches, that phrases and gestures in a tone unfriendly towards Germany were used during the Act of June 30 1941. It is about time to speak openly in this matter, as our truth is clear and clean, and the false picturing of reality must be stopped. We always defend the independence of Ukrainian policy, which is guided only by the Ukrainian *raison d'etre*, and not by flirtation (unsuccessfully) with forces on the side. There is the question of the basic line of Ukrainian policy during the last war, particularly towards Germany. The war of Germany with other states, as long as it did not entangle Ukraine, required a full neutrality on our part. Ukraine, oppressed by bolshevic Russia, and in a state of war with it, for its own independent existence, for state sovereignty, had neither a chance, nor a reason to interfere in any fashion in the matter of a foreign war. Yet, when in the years 1939-40 attempts from the German side were shown, in the Western borderlands and in Poland, to draw Ukrainians into the war in the West and to recruit

them for special military units, which were destined for the Western front, the Organization and all Ukrainians displayed a decisively negative attitude to this. This passed, as if unnoticed, as the affair was not loud, but an important political decision was affected by it.

When Germany did declare war on Russia, our enemy, Ukraine could not react unfavourably to this fact. But the problem of the relationship of Ukraine to Germany in such a fashion was not as yet solved. It had to depend on only one thing: how will Germany regard Ukrainian statehood independence, will it respect Ukrainian sovereignty, Ukrainian interests, or will it look to Ukraine as an ally against bolshevic Russia - or will it treat Ukraine as a war loot and the object of its aims. Ukrainian policies for independence could not be <sup>(quite)</sup> guided in terms of H<sup>it</sup>lerite Germany being such or other, therefore we are immediately hostile to it. We had to take the stand, and really we did take the position of the independent realization of our national aims, the defense of our rights and interests, And from there on Germany would have to say a word. When such a deep decision, agreement, or struggle between Ukraine and Germany, had to be made, only essential, great questions were important here, and not secondary moments, or moments far from us. And another thing: When, in such a situation, there was to be struggle between us, it was necessary, that Germany cause it, unprovoked and clearly, by its stepping on the rights and freedom of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, our line was clear: consistent defense of the cause of statehood independence, and should this be honoured - readiness for friendly relations and a common war against bolshevic Russia, and only against it.

We consider such a political line as the only one which is correct, we accepted it, realized it and defended it with heavy sacrifices - and we always admit that. We believe, that history will fully approve of



it. And the foreign political world also must objectively admit that we were right and honour our posture.

And we encounter yet another reproach: Why did OUN so obviously take the role of first importance in the renewal of statehood in 1941, why did it clearly point out its own initiative and move its members to first-rank positions in the renewed (reborn) state life? Those, who are looking for material for accusations, see in that ambitions, lust for power; competition, in order that someone else should not be there before us etc., and do not want to see that, which became obviously clear in live reality. Thus, three questions were decisive here: the question of carrying out the plan in practice itself, the question of responsibility, and the question of maintaining the positions, which had been obtained. Everything, which had been done in June-July 1941, had to be done only in a revolutionary manner, by surprising the Germans with a shock, by very quick and decisive action. Only OUN itself could and had to prepare and organize this. Had the matter been channelled into common (mutual), inter-<sup>or</sup>rganizational action, Gestapo would have paralyzed it right away.

It was foreseen beforehand, that the Germans will be hostile, will use ruthless repressions, will try to force us to retreat, recall everything, etc. And this did happen. From the very beginning of the imprisonment of the members of the State Administration and a part of the OUN Executive representatives of the German government tried by various methods to force either to abolish or to self-dissolve the State Administration. Rosenberg's representatives, assured, that the German government does not oppose state independence, but they must wait with that, and first of all concentrate everything on the defeat of the USSR, suggested broad co-operation with the Ukrainians, gave a deadline - two years for the gradual introducing of state independence of Ukraine etc. Yet, when such promises could not induce the abolitions of the

Acts, then there came in their place ultimatums, demands, with threats of repressions against the Organization and the whole nation, as just like in an enemy country. And finally, as is well-known, these threats were made reality.

Such a development was foreseen at the time of the preparation of the renewal of an independent Ukrainian state against Germany's will, and German repressions were incalculated. Therefore, the concern here was, who, which political factor will assume the position of the responsible one, with all the consequences thereof. It was necessary to appear with an open helmet. When, in the given situation, there was no possibility to defend Ukrainian statehood by means of arms, it was necessary, that those who were leading it, should not hide by any means, and should not renounce it, under whatever pressure. Revolutionary OUN felt, that it must take upon itself the responsibility and the duty to defend, in the face of the world and of the enemy, the right and freedom of the Ukrainian nation. Therefore, in the Act of June 30 itself, OUN's initiative was clearly mentioned, and a member of the OUN Executive headed the State Administration. Everything was done in such a manner, that the responsibility should fall upon the Organization, and consequently, also all repressions by the enemy, which were directed against the Ukrainian state, fell upon OUN, which was hardened and prepared for struggle, and not on other Ukrainian political factors.

In that era OUN had to emerge to lead. Other political factors were ready to go along this path, until the inevitable, open conflict with Germany would finally break out. They tended to use different political tactics, not to place the matter on the tip of the sword - rather tended towards passive resistance, than active decisive action in this situation, at the beginning of the German-bolshevic war. At the beginning of the struggle on two fronts OUN could not count on the participation of other organized political centres. The situation was such, that there was no possibility for any obvious legal action of

such factors and organizations, who wanted to represent the position of state independence for Ukraine. And underground revolutionary methods of action, other than the nationalist movement, did not suit other groups. They progressively ceased to manifest themselves as active political factors. The "de-politicized" community and social life, in those forms, which the German occupation permitted and into which many forces were poured into, remained on the surface. And independentist political life concentrated in the nationalist underground, which stood in a struggle simultaneously against Germans as well as bolshevic Russia.

The Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council (UHWR) was created at that time, when the revolutionary liberation struggle, which OUN had developed (initiated) and organized, grew to the broadest proportions, as the struggle of the whole people. All, who, disregarding their programmatically-political convictions were really for armed liberation struggle against the enemies-invaders, joined the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. At that time, political parties did not manifest their existence. Thus there was nobody to agree with. The independentist revolutionary actions in the areas with the greatest activity reached far beyond the borders of the political and military operations of the organized revolutionary forces of UPA and OUN as such. They, with their content and forms developed in reality into an underground state life, which enhanced various sectors, on the territories which it controlled, from the politically-administrative, socio-economic, to even, and including, education. The broadest national masses, the whole population, participated in it, and the system of the enemy's occupational administration was to a significant extent paralyzed, isolated, constricted to the military and administrative centres, from where the enemy only left for excursions, into the area. Not only the revolutionary liberation struggle, but an acting, independent underground

state form, which expressed and incorporated the will (or freedom) of the Ukrainian nation and its liberation army - UPA, withstood the enemy's occupational state system. UHWR arose as the highest organ of this formation and the leading centre of the overall national liberation struggle.

UHWR's chief role in the entire Ukrainian liberation policy consists of that, that UHWR was created, remains and acts in the Ukrainian lands as the highest (supreme) revolutionary leading organ in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, in contrast to the creations of the invaders and intelligence systems - the "Reichskommissariat", the "district of the General Gubernia" and the "government of the Ukrainian SS". It is precisely in this contrast to the enemies' agencies in the Ukrainian lands in which the essence lies. In this manner, in the founding documents of UHWR the rule, that UHWR remains in Ukraine, is clearly specified. Acting in the native country as the supreme organ, of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the nation, UHWR gives it an overall national capacity, not only the revolutionary liberation organized forces of OUN and UPA carry it on, but together with them the whole nation with one general national revolutionary organ leading it.

In order that UHWR have such a capacity, the principle of representation of all independentist political centres, their unification and the co-ordination of their actions was placed at the basis of its composition. These principles of the unification of all independentist forces, the concentration and co-ordination of the entire independentist action - are the foundations, without which UHWR would not be able to justify <sup>its</sup> destination. They remain unchanging and must be applied, in any situation, in such a manner, in order to be able to find, possibly, the fullest realization. In the contemporary situation, when only the nationalist revolutionary centre was active, and other political groups did not manifest any activity, the principle of individual selection to the composition of UHWR was accepted, in order that,

other than the acting revolutionary forces, also other directions should be represented, at least by their individual connoisseurs. In those circumstances, this was the only method of making this principle come real, and its application involves the maximum effort to make real as fully as possible the principle of the application of all forces and all groups. Naturally, in conditions, where also other political groups exist, who honour the concept of revolution, in the emigre situation, their unification in UHWR ought to proceed by means of a normal and complete order - by means of the participation and their representation in UHWR, according to the principle of organization (being organized). The making real of the essential character of the basic acts of UHWR, maximal in any situation, consists of this.

During the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, as in every revolution, all independentist groups must have two main, closely connected aims: the destruction of the existing state of oppression and the creation of a new one - the reconstruction of the sovereign Ukrainian state. The basis of the division into different political currents, is, on one hand, the difference in various paths towards liberation, and on the other hand - differences in questions of content and the constitution of the Ukrainian state. If several political groups agree, that the revolutionary path is the only path to liberation, then, disregarding their differences in opinions concerning the future forms and systems of state life, their participation and co-operation in the leading community centre of the revolutionary struggle becomes necessary.

The creation of UHWR arose from the needs of the liberation struggle and was culminated for the sake of the broader, fuller posing of liberation policy and the struggle with the enemies, and not from motives of internal Ukrainian policy. It would be particularly improper to ascribe to the UHWR formation the tendencies to gain power for itself or the attempt to decide beforehand in every direction, the composition and inter-relations of the Ukrainian political forces. In the

process of revolutionary liberation struggle UHWR plays the role of the Ukrainian revolutionary authority in Ukraine. This stems from the very revolutionary process itself and corresponds to the contemporary needs of Ukrainian independentist policy. But this (that) is not an end in itself, and there is no tendency, fundamentally, to re-make UHWR into a normal state body. When the renewal of the sovereign Ukrainian state will be accomplished and the Ukrainian people will bring into being a regular state authority - UHWR's destination will be accomplished. UHWR was created, because there was and is a need for such a supreme organ-centre, which would act as the highest and responsible leader of <sup>(direct)</sup> immediate revolutionary liberation struggle.

UHWR in the Ukrainian lands opposes the "Ukrainian SSR government", as the puppet of the Russian bolshevik empire, and not any Ukrainian factor. There cannot be "competition" between UHWR and other Ukrainian political agents, as there was not and there is not such a centre, which would take upon itself those tasks and that responsibility which UHWR has shouldered. Concerning internal Ukrainian political life, the creation of UHWR, its platform give expression to such an attitude, that not only is the existence of various political centres incalculated, but the active independentist activity is met half-way, and there is room left for participation in the carrying on and directing of the revolutionary liberation struggle.

### III

Further, we shall remain on the general line of our current internal-Ukrainian politics in emigration (or exile, or beyond the borders of Ukraine).

In order to define the correct path for our actions in the internally-Ukrainian political life in the territories beyond the borders, we must keep in mind first of all clearly defined - the chief tasks concerning the cause of liberation, which not only our Organization must solve, but also the entire Ukrainian politically active emigra-

tion. And further there is the question - in what composition (order) of forces and in what internal order in the current situation is it the easiest to carry out the basic tasks.

Our era - is the era of the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for the very life, for freedom and the foundations for further development. In Ukraine, there is a struggle of the entire nation, in all sectors of life. The uniform, national liberation front of all forces, all parts of the unsatisfied Ukrainian nation, confronts Russian bolshevik imperialist oppression. The active revolutionary struggle, socio-political and military, directed by UPA and CUN in closest co-operation with each other, is leading. The front of the struggle involves all sectors of life, all levels of the nation. Every individual, who in everyday life, in the totalitarian soviet system consciously acts in such a manner, in order to support and strengthen Ukrainian independent life, the Ukrainian force, participates in it, bringing to naught the hostile, anti-national designs and plans of Russian bolshevism. The Ukrainian independentist front is held up by the revolutionary-partisan and the partisan. but along with them also by the Ukrainian priest, academic, artist, member of the intelligentsia, worker and farmer - everyone, who in his area, in his sector defends the Ukrainian content, the Ukrainian idea, the Ukrainian interest against the all-engulfing total Russian sovietization of life in the country, the individual and the people. The Ukrainian nation, made numerous sacrifices, her best children, in all sectors of national struggle, in all its forms. But not in vain. So far they were able to defend the spirit of the Ukrainian nation, the Ukrainian content, against the attempts by the enemy to saturate the Ukrainian forms with a soviet content. Bolshevich Russia is forced to make concessions, at least in appearance

and in the state-political sector. Ukraine had become only the material loot of bolshevic imperialism. But it did not cease to be its most inflamed, toughest enemy, irreconcilable and unsubdued. In all countries oppressed by the Russian bolshevic yoke, the process of liberation revolution of the oppressed nations is developing irreversibly, with Ukraine in its vanguard.

The organized politically-military struggle which is presided by UHWR, and carried on by (FUA and OUN. With the active participation in it and support of the whole nation, carries out the role of the first frontal line and chief stalwart in the entire independentist, anti-bolshevic front. It most succinctly placed the Ukrainian liberation struggle to face the external world and other sub-soviet peoples (nations), It contributes the most to the growth of the common (mutual) anti-bolshevic liberation front of nations and also raises the significance of the Ukrainian struggle for the international development. The present active struggle creates a realistic, hard basis for the entire Ukrainian independentist policy. This happens - with the greatest sacrifice at every moment, but that which it brings for the cause of the liberation of Ukraine, is no lesser - it is necessary. The matter is, that these valuable acquisitions of the present struggle should not be wasted, they should be confirmed (strengthened), used as best possible in affairs of foreign policy.

Here we are approaching the necessity to define the basic tasks of all Ukrainian essence in the Ukrainians cause, in emigration (beyond the borders of Ukraine). It is an entity, particularly all the politically active individuals, should be spokesmen to the external world. The chief task - to disseminate among all nations, truthful information about Ukraine's struggle, about its ideological positions and its role in the defense of all mankind, its oppression and freedom from bolshevism. To spread an appropriate understanding and a correct evaluation of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, so as to find, in all nations, sympathy for the real Ukrainian cause and to encourage them to evaluate its real



significance for the international development. As a result - to gain the real and active allies and helpers, who will support the Ukrainian liberation struggle in various ways - morally, politically on the international forum, as well as practically. To achieve that, that Ukraine's struggle and the struggle of other nations in a common liberation front against Russian-bolshevic imperialism should, in international relations, play an important active role, corresponding to its actual, but not sufficiently revealed, significance.

When the uniform active Ukrainian political emigration will sufficiently contribute to such a capital in foreign policy of the liberation struggle back home, to a correct raising of the Ukrainian cause in international politics and the relations of forces on the side to our struggle - actively-useful - in this manner they will best fulfill their duty to the native country.

Naturally, the emigration also has other tasks. To practice, develop Ukrainian values in various sectors of society, particularly those, for which there is no place in the reality under bolshevism. To educate and prepare beyond the borders of the native land, cadres for complete participation in the liberation struggle and in statehood building. To prepare professional personell for armed struggle and political liberation work. And there also are many other tasks facing the emigration. But, here we shall only touch upon one complex of the basic task concerning the struggle in the native land - in foreign policy, whose significance for the success of the liberation struggle is significant, which can only be carried out by Ukrainians beyond the borders of the homeland. These are the most essential tasks of the emigration, all Ukraine expects them to be accomplished.

There are objective grounds and quite favourable conditions for this. First of all, there are quite a few things to show the world. The present liberation struggle of Ukraine against bolshevism, particularly the existence and actions of UPA, give the best stuff, in order to

explicate Ukraine's role in the present world and to convince foreigners of its significance. Further - the threat to the world from Russian bolshevic imperialism and the ever greater awareness of it in all nations renders a favourable ground for our activity. All the emigration, really has significant forces for the accomplishment of its mission with foreign policy. The former forces, which are already acquainted with the foreign ground, were gained by new, fresh forces from the fatherland, who can give the all-round politically-informative activity in the foreign world a complete content, a content corresponding to the present state and level of Ukrainian life and the Ukrainian struggle. The activity of those revolutionary nationalist activists, their direct participation in work in the foreign policy sector, should act as the stimulus, bring the entire Ukrainian emigre political activity great impetus and dynamics. Finally, the material side of the story.

The emigration in the American lands, settled there for a long time, and economically strong, easily might finance foreign policy actions, broad and on a high level. If only those means, which the trans-oceanic emigration gives for national purposes, were directed at that, appropriate work could be done at this cost. These resources are spent on minor matters, without planned economy, are wasted without effect, and the most important matters of the necessary independentist foreign policy work remains in unsatisfactory negligence, among other things, because of the lack of material means and affordability. Thus in summing this up, even though they remain on the side, we arrive at the statement, that favourable circumstances do exist, capacity for a broad unfolding and appropriate presentation of the basic independentist political activity beyond the borders.

And now we shall answer the question: what was done so far? What, in a period of 3 years, have we done, has the whole emigration done? In what proportion, for that period of time, are the accomplishments of the Ukrainian independentist action to the struggle in the fatherland, for

this time? Not only its results, but the efforts themselves, the attempts, endeavours?

We must state, with bitterness, with a feeling of insufficient accomplishment of our duties, that all too little was done. The foreign policy actions remained far behind, and with great debt to the present struggle in Ukraine. It does not justify itself, when we consider that sum of capacities for its appropriate placing, which all the Ukrainian emigration has at its disposal, or might have at its disposal. It is little - to take recourse to the grandiose revolutionary struggle of the whole nation, the heroic UPA deeds, to boast about them, to be representatives. All this imports an obligation. We actually, must report on what everyone has done, in emigration, for the cause of liberation. Where are those great political actions, of all the Ukrainian entity, beyond the border, to face the external world, which should speak on behalf of fighting Ukraine? Where are our political representations in various states, missions, delegations, information offices, what is their activity, how many are there, how many performances? How many publications do we have, publications in foreign languages, who would tell the world the truth about Ukraine, about its struggle. How many of our memorials, were there, appeals to foreign political circles?

In the native country, the fighters and the whole nation expect, that the present emigration, particularly the nationalist activists, having exerted all their efforts, having exerted all their strength, have unfolded, beyond the border, a corresponding political action for liberation, measuring up to the struggle in the fatherland. They expect there, that the whole world knows well of Ukraine's struggle, and that the friendship of many nations was gained.

It will not help, to justify insufficient activity and few successes by hindrances, to enumerate them, to fall back on one's good will and efforts, or to point out someone else's fault. It will

not in the least be easier for the Ukrainian cause, when it will be shown, who is guilty and how much, or when all, in a feeling of common guilt, <sup>it</sup> will stay silent in solidarity, or in one tone complain of the difficulties. We cannot, in any way, conceal or pause over in silence over the actual state, that, in such a difficult and important time, in a time of such a struggle of Ukraine, without precedent in the present world, the political emigration, numerous and able to carry out its tasks, all factors acting in it, have not been able to unfold in the necessary way, a corresponding foreign policy activity. It remains a fact, that there is great need for such action, the emigration as an entity might endeavour it, there are people to do this, there might be means and ways, and yet it was not done. The responsibility and fault falls on all Ukrainians in emigration. The responsibility falls on every factor, to that extent, to which he places himself in such a role from which flows the obligation for initiative, leadership and active work. And further - to what extent everyone has the actual chance and the necessary means at his disposal. And for whom does it have greater significance, that the foreign policy action should best be performed, - corresponding to the struggle in the homeland, whom should the neglect of it cause greater pain, who should actually feel the greatest real responsibility, disregarding the formal aspect of the matter, if not the nationalist revolutionary movement, more precisely, the emigre part of it? Let all justify themselves, as they wish, but for OUN, for its members and all those, who feel an indestructible link with the liberation struggle in Ukraine, and its fighters - for them there cannot be any formal excuse, until all possible was done, or in order that the cause fare well, we must exert all our forces, use all means, try all methods and paths, to subordinate all secondary matters to the important cause, or subordinate now insignificant moments. Only then can it be said: "We have done everything possible, and what was within our strength."

What is the sense of such language? Such sense, that the feeling of duty towards the cause of liberation, towards the comrades-fighters in the fatherland, must speak (resound) with the strongest voice. The duty to act, to change. Having become conscious, that the independentist political action beyond the borders of Ukraine, particularly internally-political, is of serious significance for the liberation struggle and that this sector is facing serious difficulties, we must decisively tell our members: it must not go on this way. There is need for change, the matter needs correction. Those chief reasons, which bring about such a weakening of the Ukrainian independentist political action beyond the border, reasons, which root in the internal political life of the Ukrainian emigration, must be removed.

The first fundamental problem, consists of that, that in our life, it is seen as a whole, internal fronts, hostilities, mutual conflicts between various political groups consume too much energy, strength, attention, and time. If this were happening in different times, in other circumstances - in our own state, we would not have to see this as a tragic phenomenon. Or, if internal hostility were a passing fight with the enemy, would stem from an unequal, contradictory attitude towards him. If the internal squabbles and disagreements were about the fundamental concepts of Ukrainian policies. And in the meantime, the major part of the contemporary internal struggle in emigration, in its essence is group competition, content-less competition, the continuation of old conflicts, which in the past did have an actual political content, but now already are outdated, in the defense of wilted abstract socio-political doctrines, which are removed from live political activity. So much energy, enthusiasm and bitterness in emigration now is placed into mutual competition. Very often it removes the essential matters of Ukrainian liberation and the struggle itself with the enemy, to a second plan, conceals it. If this energy, this enthusiasm and those means were channelled into the anti-bolshevic front, into uniform

independentist emigre activity, then surely there would be concrete substance to recognize the role of the contemporary emigration.

[The following text is extremely faint and illegible, appearing to be a series of lines of typed or printed text.]

The main illness of Ukrainian political activity in emigration is, that all the negative aspects of the internally-Ukrainian divisions and hostility are transferred onto foreign policy action and imbue it with its spirit. In this action uniformity is lacking, several centres act, often one factor discredits others, to the witnessing of external factors. The work in foreign policy, instead of concentrating on one aim, in order to gain the best positions for the entire Ukrainian cause, often is carried on under the angle, in order to gain the best positions for oneself, to undermine the positions of other Ukrainian factors, even paralyze their activity, disregarding the concern for the whole. The competition among Ukrainian political centres, groups and places beyond the borders, in the eyes of the external world, their mutual repetition and corrections of themselves, contradictions, in the end result disqualify Ukrainian politics and cause great harm. In such a manner, in the external sector, great acquisitions of difficult foreign policy activity are commercialized, the Ukrainian emigration, which should be the spokesman of Ukraine beyond its borders, represents internal conflicts to the external world, as well as the irresponsible placing of a group interests above overall-national interests.

A solution must be found. Inter-group struggle in the Ukrainian political life in emigration must cease to dominate. Political energy attention and activity must be conditioned on essential matters of liberation - in the struggle against the enemy of Ukraine and in independent foreign policy activity. In this, there should be unity, solidarity and co-operation of all forces, all political factors. Internal political differences and conflicts must be kept within such boundaries, in order not to harm uniform struggle and external action. The whole life, all the activity of the Ukrainian emigration must remain under the guise of what the liberation cause now requires; the concrete action of all forces, all energy in the independentist, liberation front and unity in activity for independence.

The previous development has visibly shown, that no political factor, dispersed, torn away, can in emigration, appropriately develop and establish foreign policy independentist action in such a way, as the state of the liberation struggle requires. And our camp also, could not and cannot adequately solve this chief task. It suffices to look over the results of the whole activity of the Foreign Representation of UHWR, not any more mentioning the sporadic attempts of other factors, who involved far lesser efforts. The summing up of the previous activity establishes, that in such a constellation, in such a manner, that cannot be done, which objectively can be done and ought to be done. It is necessary to streamline into one channel all so far separately carried on, and even contradictory actions, and centre them in one common action with the greatest strength.

When we are speaking about the need for political consolidation, in emigration, we have in mind not mechanical consolidation, which is exhausted by the creation of an inter-group or supra-group centre, without agreement on its tasks and a fundamental political line. Only mechanical consolidation creations, usually show themselves incapable of serious actions, and when they do endeavour such, then all the internal political differences come to have a voice. Real value, only such a consolidation can have, which possesses basically only one chief political concept and strives towards the accomplishment of agreed upon principal tasks. A purely mechanical union can be a stage to complete active consolidation, yet it is better, that the fundamental political agreement from the very beginning, should constitute the foundation for the emerging of the consolidation product. But that is a question of method and it should not become a hindrance to agreement.

OUN since the end of the war, in its activity beyond the borders of Ukraine, maintained the concept of organic consolidation of the Ukrainian political forces in emigration. We used the principle of the consolidation on the UHWR platform, as this immediately gives the consoli-



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dation action a clear political face and active direction. The UHWR platform an organizational basis would more clearly express, that all consolidated forces take the position of that concept of liberation, which rests on the own liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation and is realized by means of this struggle, as the entire Ukrainian policy is based on the primacy of struggle in the native country. In accepting such a concept of consolidation, on our side corresponding projects of a political and constitutional nature adjusted to Ukrainian political life beyond the border, were drawn up. According to such plans the corresponding UHWR body beyond the borders of Ukraine should be constructed on the principle of unification, active participation and group representation of the acting independentist political groups. In the emigre UHWR construct the fact, that in emigration various political groups exist, that there exists the possibility for freer political activity, should be incalculated and treated in a positive manner. The principle of group participation, of the representation of organized political and community factors makes the participation and co-responsibility for acting political and community centres quite possible. The highest factors in UHWR and OUN in the native country approved of such a concept.

Yet, these plans and this concept of consolidation were not made reality in emigration, disregarding our constant endeavours during the last two years. Here we shall not elaborate on the development of this matter. The fact remains, that other political centres, which act or exist in emigration, did not react positively to UHWR, do not participate in it, do not support it, in the majority oppose it, as in the internal, so also in the external sector. This state of affairs has harmful effects on our independentist action in emigration. The reality in emigration serves as an illustration and argument for the tendenciously false assertion, as though the positions and struggle of the revolutionary liberation movement are distant, isolated in Ukrainian

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political life. This uncovers, diminishes the real state of affairs in the liberation cause. Our adversaries try to depict Ukrainian political reality beyond the borders of the homeland, by means of that superficial picture, a picture, that revolutionary OUN is the only one from among many political groups, which recognizes UHWR and defends its position as a leading and representative centre, at a time, when all others are outside of it and against it (oppose it). From there the argument for the accusations about the mono-party, totalitarian tendencies of OUN and the whole movement, is derived. Regardless, that this is untrue and that OUN all the time defends the concept of participation in UHWR of other acting independentist groups.

Our concept of the full consolidation of the acting independentist political forces beyond the borders of Ukraine on the UHWR platform does not have greater perspectives for realization, in the present reality, than in the previous, more favourable internal situation. Yet the real possibility exists, to unite, on the basis of UHWR, with those independentist political organizations, which declare, that they maintain the positions of revolutionary liberation struggle, particularly with the OUN-solidarists led by Andrij Melnyk. In such a way it might be brought about, that in emigration all active political organizations who recognize the revolutionary liberation concept, will accept the positions of the unique revolutionary liberation centre and will uniformly defend liberation politics, at the basis of which is revolutionary struggle in the native country. This would bring about a significant strengthening of the positions of the revolutionary liberation front beyond the borders of Ukraine, the strengthening of and success of its activity and could give it the seal for the entire development of Ukrainian political life beyond the border. It would be easy to opionate, to what extent the emigre activity of the revolutionary liberation camp

would be strengthened, if those, who so far have manifested the most energy and activity in the fighting of our political activity, would participate in it. On the part of the Organization, efforts were made to bring about an understanding in this sector and to strengthen, in such a manner, the foreign policy actions of the liberation front, corresponding to the state and requirements of the struggle in the native country. It will depend on the other side, and to a great extent on the Foreign Representation of UHWR, whether a successful conclusion of this initiative will be brought about.

the reformed, renewed and extended State Centre

The initiative of consolidation on the platform of the newly created National Council began to be active during the past year. This concept was recognized by the majority of the political organizations and parties in emigration, who took up its realization. The Executive of the OUN Emigre Cadres decided to send a delegation of the Organization to participate in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the creation of the Ukrainian National Council. The Executive of the Emigre Cadres in its resolution from April 5 this year accepted the platform, on which OUN(r) is ready to join the National Council. The following is the content of the resolution from April 5:

"1. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists states its readiness to join the Ukrainian National Council in emigration, disregarding, that so far the agreement on Ukrainian liberation policy between OUN and other political groups, who belong to the Ukrainian National Council, did not occur. OUN will strive for the correctness of this liberation policy and its realization, on the forum of the Ukrainian National Council.

2. OUN(r) will recognize the reformed, renewed and extended State Centre of the Ukrainian National Republic, on a broad political and community basis, corresponding to contemporary exigencies (demands) of Ukrainian liberation, unique in emigration, with all the prerogatives, which stem from that recognition.

3. The decision of OUN(r) mentioned in points 1 & 2 of this resolution, are based on that, that the State Centre, the Ukrainian National Republic, recognizes the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council (UHWR), as the leading Revolutionary Organ, which was created in the process of struggle with German and Russian invaders in 1944 in the native country, at UPA's initiative, and that UHWR retains, in its capacity, these tasks of the leading organ of struggle for the full attainment of the aim - the creation of the Independent United Ukrainian State.

4. The question of regularizing the inter-relations between the Centre of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian Chief Liberation Council belongs to the competent organs on both sides.

This platform is realized by the OUN(r) delegation in the Ukrainian National Council or in the Preparatory Commission.

The Organization's approach to the matter of consolidation on the platform of the National Council and, generally, to questions of Ukrainian policy significantly differs from the approach to it of other Ukrainian political factors. Those often look, foremostly, to the legally-formal aspect, look for the essence in the formal constructs themselves, as though the matter of Ukrainian liberation would be solved in such a manner. Yet we, having the aim of the real renewal of the sovereign Ukrainian State, know, that it is possible only by means of uninterrupted, concentrated struggle of the entire Ukrainian nation (people). Therefore, we treat all creations, constructs in the Ukrainian political life, from the point of view of active liberation policy, in as much as they can be its useful factors (agents), movers, in as much as they contribute to the concentration of forces in independentist activity, direct it onto the correct path. When there is a positive opinion in this respect, matters of a formal order occupy the second rank.

In our opinion, independentist political action in the sector of foreign policy in emigration needs it, that immediately, a clear concept of

liberation be at the basis of consolidation, and this should be reflected in the construction itself of an emigre centre. But we must draw conclusions from that, that our concept of consolidation beyond the border could so far not be made reality, and the National Council can play a positive role in independentist politics beyond the border of Ukraine, if it is appropriately constructed and if its activity is channelled correctly. It is necessary to evaluate positively and support the efforts of those factors, who are striving with the aim, that the National Council should become the active agent of serious and correct independentist political action beyond the borders. Even though there <sup>also</sup> very negative tendencies manifest their existence, narrow party doctrines and egotism with a sad reputation, many of the same evils which had caused the fall of the Ukrainian statehood in 18-20 of this century, are often represented by these same party groups. On the whole, the construction of the National Council in the present stage - is still only a construct of mechanical consolidation, in which the striving for the direction and the defined content of political action is still only developing. This, so far, is only the creation of a form, which should be filled up with active content. Either there can come benefit for independentist politics from it, or, on the contrary, depending on what the content of its work will be.

OUN takes its position corresponding to this state of affairs. Its chief direction is the following: to actively participate, exert all efforts in order to direct the National Council onto the path of such a development and such activity, which will turn it into a healthy, positive factor in the liberation struggle, not to let it take the path of an incorrect path, which would be harmful for the liberation cause. We join the National Council with the consciousness, that our refusal to join it would push the development of the affair in a direction, which would be harmful for independentist action beyond the borders of Ukraine, and could deprive us of the possibility to fight for the determination of a correct political content of that political centre, Our efforts in that

direction must incalculable constant and purposeful action.

If we would not participate in the National Council, the development of internally-Ukrainian life in emigration, would finally take the route of division into two opposite camps. Not having in its membership a sufficient representation from the revolutionary-liberation movement, nor a relationship to the liberation struggle, being in the position of the opposite camp, such a National Council, by the force of its reaction, would embark on the path of negating them, diminishing their role and significance in the cause of the liberation of Ukraine. *By means of* such a constallation, the action of two separate, opposite emigre actions, harmful for the whole would be determined. The actions of such a National Council and the whole camp always would be competition with the revolutionary liberation camp, its negation, or the operating with political fictions, or simulation, that still other revolutionary forces are active, standing on the positions of the State Centre UNR, which also has its own revolutionary front. It would be unnecessary, that we by means of our non-participation, should contribute to such a development, not beneficial for the entire independentist politics.

We are joining the National Council with the aim, to bring about uniformity in the entire Ukrainian independentist politics. The National Council arises as an emigre political centre, its activity will manifest itself in foreign policy actions, particularly foreign policy actions beyond the border. We must take care, that this action should follow the line of independentist liberation policy; that it should be uniform with respect to liberation struggle in Ukraine, that it should be a source of support, its significance should be raised and there should be efforts made to obtain support for it. The principle of the legality of its activity was accepted as the foundation for the creation of the National Council. But, not leaving aside this principle, the National Council clearly can have a positive attitude to the struggle, which is carried on in the native land, with its own order and impetus, it can

base its policies on the fact of the existence of this struggle, it can serve it. There are no contradictions in that. But, in order that this might come about, there must be the right spokesmen in the National Council. And even more important, there should be no conflict and hostility between the revolutionary liberation movement and the National Council, in principle they should be united by one and the same politics for independence.

As far as the relationship between UHWR and the Ukrainian National Council is concerned, there are no difficulties in their simultaneous existence and activity. The National Council cannot take upon *itself* the role and destiny of UHWR, the revolutionary centre in the native country, nor perform those functions, which are characteristic of UHWR - to lead, in Ukraine, the revolutionary liberation struggle, as its leading and representative organ. The National Council, and the whole exile State Centre, having adopted the position of liberation politics, do not hinder UHWR in any way. UHWR, in its turn, did not take upon *itself* the role of traditional State Centre, which derives its legitimacy from the legal State Acts 1918-20, does not act in that sense and on that level, and did not contradict by any Act the possibility of the functioning of such an agent, supported on state legitimacy. There are two formations of a different type, based on different foundations, their activity is different. There cannot be any clashes in action between them. On the other hand, the activity of one, as well as the other factor, should be mutually complementary, reinforce each other, in pursuing the same general line of Ukrainian liberation policies, to constitute a harmonious whole together. We feel, that there can be a formal connection between them, and in the right stage of the liberation struggle the matter of full unification might be current. But now that is not important, and there will be conflicts in that matter. The main thing, both centres should claim equal basic positions of independentist politics, both should make it reality in

their activity, on both sides there should be understanding of the usefulness of the activity of the other factor, mutual recognition, readiness for mutual support and co-operation.

If, on the part of the National Council, there should be a denying of the *raison d'etre* of the existence and activity of UHWR, a negative relationship with it - in spite of the doubtless necessity and purposefulness of liberation struggle - this would be a manifestation of the disregard for the liberation cause and would condemn the National Council to the face of the Ukrainian nation. The confrontation cannot have a political basis, if the National Council will stick to the path of correct independentist liberation policy. We want to believe that so it will be, and we shall take care of that.

But, there is the danger of conflict between the National Council and the foreign Representation of UHWR on account of empty, devoid of content, rivalry from motives of "struggle for power", and above all, for purely theoretical questions of priority, prerogatives etc. This threat is quite real, it is derived from that chronic illness of Ukrainian life, that various Ukrainian factors on paper determine their character, their positions and prerogatives, and then, instead of carrying on any real activity, to which they are bound by these their own self-definitions, - "in principle" fight for their place, for abstract prerogatives, with other Ukrainian factors, who kid them, or carry on such activity. This illness eats up Ukrainian political life, and the lack of serious independentist political activity, is replaced by the clamour of internal struggle for unessential matters. We are sorry to say, that conflicts between the Foreign Representation of UHWR and the Commission of the National Council for "prerogatives", for "seniority", have already commenced to manifest their existence. No matter how unpleasant that is, yet such unhealthy phenomena we of necessity evaluate explicitly, as they are in their essence, in order to stop further development along this line. For, this is a harmful and humiliating phenomenon in Ukrainian political life,



in emigration, in such a difficult situation, we must call, Gentlemen, control yourselves! Let us struggle for a sovereign state, let us exert all efforts for that purpose, and not quarrell, who is "the most sovereign". In the Ukrainian State the Ukrainian nation itself will be the sovereign and will institute its form, name and government. And now we must fight with the enemy - the Russian bolshevic oppression, confront it with all our strength, in all sectors, in all possible forms. Everything must be placed in the service of the liberation cause; the revolutionary struggle in the native country, - as the main front, the basis for liberation, and legitimacy as well, the action of the exile State Centre. If we shall channell all our attention on our own independentist action, we shall see, that there is room not only for some, but for all, we shall feel the need for filling up all fronts, we shall see, that the activity of the other factor, who is now considered a competitor, - also is necessary, indispensable.

It is a sad phenomenon, that among a part of Ukrainian politicians, the struggle for power continues to reign supreme, the struggle for prerogatives, for ministerial etc. titles and portfolios, even though they are empty. But we can in no way permit, that this same illness creep into our community. It is one thing - to defend the sovereignty of the Ukrainian independentist factor, in contra-position to the enemy's projections, to act as a fully legal spokesman of Ukraine to the world, and use accepted state forms and names for that purpose, to defend their lawfullness to the enemy, and it is another matter to carry on, on that background, internally-Ukrainian struggle, to make co-operation and any work at all, impossible. There are no active contradictions between UHWR, or ZP UHWR and the National Council, in the Acting Organ of the exile State Centre and UHWR, or its Foreign Representation. But they will not occur, if both factors will carry on one and the same independentist policy and will be guided by the exigencies of the liberation cause.

The fundamental line of foreign policy of both factors should be one and the same. The unsimiliar nature of both institutions will regulate the distribution in its practical realization. The activity in foreign policy by the National Council, or the Acting Organ, cannot from considerations of this legality, perform as a factor, which would be responsible for the revolutionary liberation struggle in the homeland, and speak directly on its behalf, even though it can refer to it, speak about it. The legally acting centre will not have a chance for some foreign policy actions and performances beyond the borders of Ukraine, which are necessary for Ukrainian independentist politics, but are possible for a factor, which assumes on its shoulders the responsibility for revolutionary liberation struggle in Ukraine, performs directly in its name and is not constricted by those limitations, which stem from the rules of legal activity. The activity of the Foreign Representation of UHWR should precisely be outstanding in that respect. On the other hand, there is no need for the UHWR Foreign Representation to carry on such activity, involve itself in such affairs and actions, which the National Council places well, or the Acting Organ of the State Centre. In concentrating on its particular tasks, the Foreign Representation can solve them, so much better.

The question of competence, prerogatives, can cause conflicts and collision only in an abstract, theoretical placing of the matter. On the level of political action, it, in every concrete case, is solved, simply, by the difference in the political nature of both institutions, the unsimiliar quality and their possibilities for activity. Above all, everything depends on good will, regardless of the formal relationship. There must be communication and co-operation. The question of sovereignty, cannot, at all, be the subject of conflicts. Sovereignty only belongs to the Ukrainian nation, and not to any centre. Activity in its name, has only conditional value: that corresponds to the will of the

Ukrainian people, which most surely leads up to the realization of its chief aim - the sovereign united State, all that will be accepted by the Ukrainian nation and lawful. All, which is contrary to that, shall be rejected, condemned. "What", and not "who" occupies the first rank. "What action, what content, what result - has greater significance than the question, what factor is acting. In such a situation, as ours is, at a time of total struggle for the "to be or not to be" of the nation, the correctness of political action determines its legality. That, which usually is called (has the name of) the legal mandate (lawfulness) of any factor for leadership and decisions, in essence binds it to act, and act correctly, for that matter. It can never sanction actions harmful for the nation. "What is not realized - loses force.

Should there be the question of the legal authority to take upon oneself responsibility, in the name of Ukraine, none of the existing political factors has it in its hands, in the normal way. Every political factor should decide, impose and accept obligations, only within the framework of such a circle of those organized communities, that part of the nation, from whom he directly and unquestionably has received authority to do so. Yet, should the real necessity, for the liberation cause, arise, to agree upon temporary decisions or obligations in the name of the whole nation, then, in every such case, this should be a joint decision of the authorized representations from the broadest possible organized groups.

CUN, in joining the National Council, does not in any way change its relationship with UHWR. It continues to recognize that position and role, which UHWR enacts in Ukrainian independentist politics and in the liberation struggle, supports it fully, knowing, that there is no active conflict between UHWR and the National Council, as the exile State Centre, the organization recognized the need for and usefulness of the mutual recognition, communication and co-ordination of activity between

the two centres in the name of the liberation cause. On both sides, there must be not only formally manifested readiness, but also real good will. The raison d'etre of liberation policies, that, which unites and is beneficial for the cause, must occupy the first rank. The unification of all independentist forces, the co-ordination of all political activity, for liberation - are the basic principles, which lie at the foundations of the creation of UHWR. UHWR accepted the realization of that, as one of its chief tasks, but not as its monopoly. The negative attitude to the cause of consolidation - is strange, to UHWR's spirit and UHWR's basic principles. It is erroneous and harmful for the UHWR and the entire revolutionary liberation formation to place UHWR in such a light, as though UHWR is fighting for the so-called prerogatives, as though it monopolizes for itself the right to be a political representative or hinders the consolidation of political forces in emigration.

Our internal policies cannot be exhausted in declarations and be satisfied with that, as though, so to speak, everything is all right, when, in the meantime, everything remains, as it was before, all energy is wasted on internal struggle, when there is neither time, nor strength left for struggle with the enemy and independentist political activity. We must really do all that is possible, reject unessential matters, concede on more than one thing, which concerns only our own positions, and does not harm the cause of liberation, in order to control the situation, in order to free Ukrainian energy in emigration from internal exhaustion, and channel it there, where it can serve Ukraine, its liberation. This must hurt us the most, we must take care of that most of all. We are responsible to those who are carrying on a difficult struggle. We can only then be justified, if if we really do not succeed in doing anything. It is no good to decide beforehand, that the matter cannot be corrected. We must bring this about. For that, we must use our capacities, our influence. For the matter of the liqui-

dition of internal fronts, the unification of all forces for independentist action and liberation struggle - is correct and necessary. The whole nation designates it, and the whole of the emigration has a healthy sense of needing it. We must address the general public, the Ukrainian patriot. To stand on guard for this cause, to serve it sincerely. To point out the correct path, not permit it to be led astray, to be deformed or exploited for selfish group aims. If someone wants to do that, - we must fight him. We are calculating not only on ourselves, on our activity, but on the situation of the healthy general public, of the emigration, and all those, who are politically active. Its decisive attitude will make impossible all speculation and harm, if such phenomena <sup>(arise)</sup> arise as is need, and if we address the public. Thus, there are the means, there is the force, the force of the community opinion, in order to force all to act clearly and sincerely in the matter of consolidation.

We don't have the intention to remain passive and cover up with silence, any misleading of the cause of consolidation, whoever would do so. And there is already much of that, which disfigures the matter in its very foundations. We notice with bitterness, on the forum of the National Council, on the Preparatory Commission, the attempt to turn it into an arena for group-personal combinations, the instrument of personal political aspirations of various individuals. The attempt of those factors, who took over the initiative and leadership of the matter, to solve the question of the construction of the National Council from the angle of the interests of their own party, and not from the viewpoint of practicability and the exigencies of independentist politics, disturbs us. For that, a strange constitution of the sectors, contradictory to the democratic principles and the exigencies of practicability, are invented and imposed. It is revealed obviously, what the aim of that is: the socialist unification - the weakest of all emigre political creations, which has no influence in the community, did not carry

on and does not carry on any political activity - should take the first rank in the National Council, have the greatest number of seats!

We do not at all agree with the anti-democratic principles of the construction of the National Council, which does not at all pay attention to, ignores the opinion and will of the general community and leaves no place for it. In the opinion of the initiators of the National Council, the mediators and spokesmen of the state-political strivings of the Ukrainian nation in emigration are only political organizations and parties, only they have the right to decide on Ukrainian politics. And that, all to the same extent, with an equal voice, as much as those, whose positions, activity and opinions are shared by a large part of the Ukrainian community as well as those, who don't have the least following (support). The position and opinion of the broad community in emigration can in no way be represented in the National Council. Several individuals, who proclaim themselves as some kind of, for instance socialist with something added, party, without any obligations, without any activity, in referring to the former existence of such a party, should be represented in the National Council by a high percentage of members. And thousands of active citizens cannot have any, not even indirect, representation. All that is done only with the purpose, to assure peace for oneself, from our party grounds, and from the fear, that the community should not have a voice. For what other reason?

We don't agree with such principles and such a practice in the creation of the National Council in emigration. We defend the construction of a centre of consolidation on healthy principles, and on the principles of national law. The whole politically active emigration beyond the border is a spokesman of the strivings of the Ukrainian nation and realizes them. Only an insignificant part of it is centred in political organizations and parties, and the broad general public participates in political actions. It represents the will of the nation

(people), it must have an outlet, it must be reckoned with. We oppose group lack of control and dictatorship. We maintain the opinion, that the members of the National Council should be chosen (elected) by the entire political emigration. We know, that with good will such elections can be handled in all the areas of settlement of the emigration, if not in direct, then in indirect form, and political organizations can everywhere show their candidates and gain the votes of the communities for them. Yet, when the initiators feel, that this would be too complicated a way to form the National Council and that such a procedure would consume too much time, then a temporary establishment of delegations from the political organizations and the central community institutions would be accepted (acceptable). The representations of political organizations and parties should at least be in some approximate numerical proportion to their activity and to that, to what extent they have influence on and the approval of the broad general public. The distancing of the parties from the community, their closing in on themselves and the absence of any their influence on the community and the control of them by the community - are the symptoms of an unhealthy state of affairs, and to construct the National Council on that is a system of oligarchy, and not democracy. We are opposed to such a system. Political organizations and parties must remain controlled by the general community in such a manner, that they carry on their activity in it, clarify their position to it, and the community, the national masses - approve of it or reject it, by their participation in their activity, support, greater or lesser in political and community life, and above all, in the most direct form - by means of elections.

In the present state of affairs the most correct principle is, of the creation of a leading and representative political centre in emigration, that the entire politically active emigration is an emigre repre-

sentation, factor in the struggle and will of the Ukrainian nation, and it, as an entity constitutes such a centre and gives it the mandates.

Not agreeing with that anomaly, and those selfish party combinations, which manifest themselves in the very foundation of the creation of the National Council, the organization is trying to bring about a change and a correction. Yet it does not put the matter in such a way, that if its position in the present stage does not pass, she refuses to participate. We don't do that, above all, so that the National Council should not pursue the line of incorrect activity and opposition to the policy of the liberation movement. In the same way, it is inexpedient for the Organization to evoke hatred towards itself, for that reason, that on account of its refusal consolidation cannot be accomplished. It is inexpedient to expose the Organization to accusations, that it is fighting for its own positions, for mandates, and if its demands are not met, it rejects the whole institution. Therefore, OUN joins the National Council, disregarding the mentioned incorrect principles of its construction in the present stage. Instead, she will consistently strive towards the change and reconstruction of the National Council on the healthy principles of national law. She will do so on the forum of the National Council, appealing to the community opinion and the attitude of the whole community, and with all the decisiveness of which she is capable, will insist, so that healthy principles for the construction of a state-political centre in emigration will be introduced.

But we must put matters of independentist policy in the first rank, apply all our efforts that the National Council might be in correct positions, and carry on such emigre political work, which corresponds to the contemporary exigencies of the liberation struggle, which is most beneficial for the struggle in the native country, propagates it suitably and uses it on the international forum. We shall make all necessary steps for the correct channelling of such a political acti-



vity of the National Council. Our relations with the National Council and the Acting Organ in this or another moment will depend on it. When its activity will be correct, beneficial for liberation, GUN will support it fully, disregarding matters of an internal order. When the question of the political concept and activity of the National Council will be considered and decided, we must apply all our efforts, use all means, in order that it follow the correct path. We will actively and decisively fight for that on its forum and everywhere, if this should be expedient. If the National Council, or its subordinate organs should step on the path of incorrect policy, contradictory to the aims or requirements of the liberation struggle, we could decisively oppose this and we would fight such a state of affairs. If any factor perform a role harmful for independentist politics, we would be forced to take care, that it should be removed from Ukrainian political life.

But as long as, as yet, there is no such situation, we ought to, by our positive attitude, contribute, that the cause not take such a direction. It would be incorrect to assert, that the construction of the National Council itself, its very composition, beforehand define the already known political attitude of the majority of its members as opportunistic, and not liberation policy. In political life we must stand on the ground of real facts, and not assumptions or hunches, and the political line of any formation must be regarded as the resulting from the activity of many factors, and not only as flowing from the subjective attitude of the acting persons.

The political line of the National Council will be forming not only under the influence of political thinking, orientation, sympathies, destination, etc. and such like subjective attributes of the arithmetic majority of its members. A number of political factors, independent of the composition of the National Council, and stronger than they, will influence it significantly, even decisively. These will be factors in Ukrainian political reality and external ones. Thus: the

state of the liberation struggle in the native country, the explicit ideologically-political attitude of the majority of the Ukrainian nation, the overall situation in the emigration, its political development and actuality, the crystallized attitude of the active members and the broad masses of the emigration on current political problems, political actions among the emigration, the activity and influence of our movement and other political centres, and many other facts in Ukrainian reality. And along with that, the general international political situation, the position of the Ukrainian cause in international politics, the relations of the individual forces with Ukraine, with separate Ukrainian forces, actions, etc. All this will have an influence on the National Council, on its policies. And when our chances to influence it are concerned, we must incalculately use, accordingly, all paths to which we have access: With indirect influence by means of the masses, and by means of our activity outside of the National Council, particularly by means of the strength of influence of the struggle in the native country, and not only by means of the voice of our representatives in the National Council itself.

As was already said before, the National Council is only being created, and its political exterior will continue to be formed. So that now, in essence, as yet there is nothing to which to reveal one's attitude, only to the fact itself of the emerging of a consolidating political centre, which only will gain political content. Our evaluation and conclusions are already sufficiently explained. Our practical attitude to the National Council, therefore, the position of our representation on its forum and to it to the whole community, will always be regulated with respect to its policies and activity.

Other than the consolidation of the political forces and their concentration in the independentist action, there is the need for one responsible centre. We consider the creation of it as a phenomenon positive for the whole life in emigration. It takes upon itself not only

the right to lead and represent, but first of all the duty to be responsible for the state, development and activity of the whole emigration. This responsibility and duty of the leadership will not any more "be suspended in mid-air" and by the force of circumstances, fall on the shoulders of the most active group (centre), but will be concentrated in the Acting Organ of the National Council. And there it will be distributed on all participants, to every group in such a proportion, as is numerically represented there.

We will insist decisively and ruthlessly on that, that the National Council and its Acting Organ should well solve their tasks and make use of those prerogatives, for which they have started the fight still before they were formally created, as well as on that, that all groups concerned, particularly those, who rise towards the first rank, occupy more place and leading positions - should also produce a proportional work input. The participation in the Acting Organ of the National Council cannot any more be that, which so far the ministerial portfolios of the emigre government UNR were. This must be real re-organization and renewal of the work in its content, in its membership, and not only in its form. And the activity shall be visible to the whole community, will be under its control.

We have the sincere intention not only to take upon ourselves the responsibility and to fulfill it accordingly, but also to look closely and say to the community about every group, how it is in its competition for mandates, jobs and titles, and how in its work. This right is mutual, and also all others in this manner can form an opinion about our work. Various political centres and individuals, who were not noticed in any work, nor in any independentist activity assume such a position, that either they will really work, and do this correctly, then there will be a benefit from that for the general cause - or their deceit will be revealed in the process, and they will finally become humiliated in the eyes of the Ukrainian community.

We do not intend to step on the feet of those, who, having the pre-conditions for that, takes upon himself the responsibility and wants to work sincerely and honestly and serve a good cause. In our life, particularly in the political activity beyond the border, very much work has to be done and there are always too few heads and hands. But we do not intend to admit the previous state of affairs and to pass over in silence lack of responsibility and idleness. And competition in work will best make our life healthier, will create a natural choice of forces, will reveal visibly, who is worth what.

We differentiate, participation in the National Council, - an institution with more durable personnell, and participation in the Acting Organ, which has to carry on practical political activity, and which, naturally, more often changes its structure, its composition. Its task is to organize all activity, to lead it and be responsible for it. Thus, its structure and composition should be fully adjusted to today's exigencies of the liberation struggle, to the current task of independentist foreign policy, to the factual relationship of political forces beyond the border, and reflect the political will and opinion of the whole politically active emigration. Only, in such preconditions can this organ perform its tasks as they should be performed, and not to be diminished to the role of an only nominally existing factor, which distributes ministerial titles, as was the case so far with the UNR exile government.

The platform on which OUN(r) joined the National Council, in its 2nd point quite clearly defines the conditions of our recognition of the State Centre in emigration; which is, if it will be really re-structured, renewed and extended on a broad political and community basis, corresponding to the contemporary exigencies of the liberation of Ukraine. This is also the precondition of our positive attitude to its Acting Organ. Our organization can join it only, if its composition and structure correspond to those demands and if it will have

a chance to take upon itself co-responsibility for its activity - proportionally to its capabilities, its role in the contemporary liberation struggle, its strength and influence in the community.

I am sorry to say, that on the part of those factors, who have the initiative in their hands and also decide, already before the creation of the Acting Organ, dangerous tendencies to carry on the matter along the old route, the old system, which already proved itself fully wrong. Instead of being guided exclusively by that, to secure, necessary for the today's needs of liberation, the required intense activity, in order to gain the strongest political basis, for work of the State Centre in the foreign policy sector - support in that movement, which is carrying on a struggle in Ukraine and has the strongest position in emigration - instead of that, narrow party combinations have a voice. Concerning our Organization, a tendency to ignore its role in contemporary liberation struggle, its input in the socio-political life of the contemporary emigration in Europe, its greatest possibilities, in the respect of its organized cadres, to develop activity, is visible. There is a tendency to disregard our readiness to work, and to reduce us to a decorative role of by-standers, or to subordinate forces, which act without influence on the policies of the Acting Organ.

We don't intend to put ourselves into that guise, as that would not benefit the cause in this situation at all, would not cause any real improvement, and would only create a faulty impression on the outside. We shall not compete for ranks, for titles, and if it should continue to be so, we shall not apply our hands to a harmful development (process). The composition of the Acting Organ is expected to render a clear view of the responsibility of the political groups (centres) and individuals for the policies and activity of the State Centre in emigration. There, really, fundamental renewal, reform and correction is necessary, as only that can transform it into an active factor. Changes in personell will not help, as there were already too many

of them. The whole essence of the creation of the National Council lies in that, that, in referring to state legal traditions, to create a really new political centre in emigration, which shall suit the contemporary exigencies of independentist political action in emigration, as well as the contemporary arrangement within the Ukrainian political forces.

Serious correct solution must be expected from those factors, who have initiative, force of decision and the chief responsibility. Yet, if things should remain as they are, there will be need for mobilization and the show of a decisive picture of the whole Ukrainian community beyond the border. The affair of an emigre State Centre - is a matter of the entire politically active emigration, and not of a group of people or factors. The will and opinion of the broad general public in the emigration, which also is responsible to the native country for that, which is done with its forces, must be respected and considered appropriately. If this happens, not with the usual order, as is current in political life, in the system of national law, decisive manifestations of the will of the general public ought to have a voice. The emigre state political centre - is a treasure of the whole nation, which is in the hands of and is the responsibility of the entire emigration, and not of a group of people.

We are joining the National Council with a clear aim: to exert all efforts, that it and the whole emigre State Centre be really such, and in such a role and occupy themselves with such political activity, to which they are bound by their position, which they hold. We will fight for that, for correct liberation activity consistently, and stubbornly, as on the forum of the National Council, so also in our broad political activity in the overall whole emigration. We shall not let ourselves be led astray from that, and we will not retreat, until we will achieve a full cure and the channelling of the whole centre onto the path of correct independentist activity. Should our efforts on the closed forum of the National Council be unsuccessful, because of an artificial

numerical proportion of the representations of the individual groups, which is not in proportion to the real relationship of forces, we would be forced to directly address the overall community in emigration, and to implant the relative actions for cure and correction. We shall not abandon our active relationships after joining the National Council.

Should the absence (lack) of a sufficient (relative) consideration for the real state of affairs, and requirements (exigencies) of the contemporary liberation struggle, on the part of factors who are responsible for the forming of the Acting Organ of the State Centre in emigration make our participation in its present composition impossible, then our principled position concerning the National Council and the whole centre, as is described in the platform from April 5 1948 (this year - note Danylo Chajkowsky) does not change in any respect. If the present structure and composition of the Acting Organ were adjusted to the party combinations (manipulations) behind the scenes, rather than, to the exigencies of independentist political activity, should there be in it, individuals, who were degraded by activity which was contrary to the liberation struggle, as well as the aims and independentist policy of the liberation struggle, or those, or such people, as have already obviously revealed their inability to solve such tasks accordingly, - we remove ourselves from the Acting Organ, shall not participate in it and shall attempt to change it into a different composition of personnell. Our attitude towards such activity of such an unacceptable composition of the Acting Organ shall always be matter-of-fact and constructive. Should its activity and policy be correct, (in the future), useful for the cause of liberation, our attitude will be a positive one, if need be, we will support correct, independentist actions. Yet, were their policy, activity, or various efforts, harmful, incorrect - we will oppose them decisively.

Such a development in the cause is very important and significant for the activity (work) of the Organization in emigration in that, that

it makes it easier for it to concentrate its forces and attention on the most important tasks (which it is facing).

Attempts to realize the fundamental posture of emigre activity in the Emigre Part of OUN are carried on all the time; to concentrate their forces and their work on the tasks of revolutionary liberation which are most characteristic of and essential for OUN. Those, who are in direct contact with the struggle in the native country, or their support and their manifestation in territories beyond the borders of Ukraine, help it or serve for its preparation and continuation. Here, struggle with the enemy's activity and spying activity among the emigration, particularly the bolshevic action, is necessary, work along the line of anti-bolshevic revolutionary liberation movements of other nations, as well as work in the foreign policy sector along the line of aid for the struggle in the homeland. A particular emphasis is always placed on this in the guide-lines by the Executive, in conferences, in the planning of the work. Yet, in spite of these attempts by the Executive, too little was done in this direction, not at all enough. It was not possible to find (encounter) a sufficient echo, readiness and channeling of the forces and attention to its significance on the part of the organizational network beyond the borders of Ukraine.

The reason for this lies not only in the absence of or the dulling of the revolutionary awareness (readiness) of the members, but in that, that the whole Organization in the territories of emigration (or beyond the borders of Ukraine) particularly the leading channels, in their activity, are overburdened with various routine emigre activity. The attempts to tear them away from that, in which they had become involved, with what they had tied their forces, had very little success. The force of the penetration of the emigre work acted too intensely. A superficial opinion of such a phenomenon, as though our cadres took up this work, as it is easier, and for the sake of power and comfort they competed for the leading positions, had become widely spread.



Actually that reason was at work here, that the obligation to organize all community life, with the absence of another factor with initiative, a disciplinary factor, fell on our cadres, in the territories of the most intense emigre work (activity) as the element with the most initiative as well as the greatest flexibility. Having become involved in this work locally, the organizational cadres involved the entire organizational system more and more, and it was always difficult to cut ties (break relations).

The creation of the National Council and the Acting Organ of the state-political centre, which takes upon itself the responsibility for the whole of emigre life and activity, removes a significant part of the responsibility from the units of our organization, which they have become burdened with as a fait accompli. In this way that which had burdened the organization's capacities in the chief sector of direct political struggle, will be removed. The Organization, beyond the borders of Ukraine, ought to devote itself, with all its energy and attention (concentration) to those main matters, its essential affairs of struggle with the enemy, in which no one intends to substitute for it.

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In this "Word" we dedicate a lot of attention to problems, which we are confronting in connection with the creation of the Ukrainian National Council. Yet, here, not only the National Council itself is concerned, as it has not been completed yet, the basic political questions have not yet crystallized in it, the matter has as yet not emerged from the chaos of various combinations; it has, as yet, not become an active (acting) political factor, so that we might place it in the centre of our attention. Yet, much unclarity, doubts, different ideas and conflicts have emerged in the interior, to that background. The question concerning our attitude to the National Council, has become the background, on which very clearly, several fundamental questions on policy, particularly the internal, have become outlined, questions

of the hierarchic ordering of various partial aims of our activity, questions of the varying evaluation of separate phenomena in Ukrainian political reality, and in connection with all that - question of our tactics. The matter is not only, how we should act towards the National Council, but it is deeper, a fundamental question, how are we to be from now on, in our activity in emigration.

The Emigre Cadres of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists must be internally capable of clearly drawn up and dynamic political work in the internal Ukrainian political sector as well. For that purpose, they must have a uniform, able approach to basic questions, a doubtless general line. In order to be capable of applying the most suitable tactics in any situation, the Organization must have full ideologically-political cohesion. All inclarities, doubts, must be clarified, divergencies must be removed, and, chiefly, less important aims must be subordinated to the more significant, everywhere, in all cells, in all members.

All inequalities in the political thinking and attitude in our ranks, to a great extent are derived from an insufficient exchange of opinions and clarification of the problems to their very foundations. The aim of this letter - to give all nationalists-revolutionaries in emigration, in the territories beyond the borders of Ukraine, an explanation. In order not to speak abstractly, we are taking the live political phenomena, and give the necessary explanation to this background. It is necessary to speak quite openly and clearly, because such a state, when unsolved or unexplained political questions bring confusion, paralyzê ability to act, finally creep out with unco-ordinated, conflicting steps, is the worst. Therefore, in our ranks, the fundamental problems of our policies, to the background of which conflicts arise, must be illustrated.

We must be careful (on guard) that such symptoms, which, as a result of the confusion of aims with means, or because of the application of unsuitable principles and rules to the individual problems,

not creep into our emigre ranks, which can mislead our actions from striving to the main goal, astray. The front of the liberation struggle against the real enemy must never be undermined in our midst, or weakened by internally-Ukrainian contradictions. One should not make principles, political rules from that, which is important in only one, defined situation or is a question of tactics. Principles politics relies on that, that we consistently strive to one fundamental aim, by means of the most successful, surest paths in all situations, along with all changes, not leaving it, in realizing that same fundamental principle.

We now have one basic principle, one chief aim - the sovereign united Ukrainian state. We aim towards it unbendingly. And our path - is the path of revolutionary liberation struggle. It is unique for us, it is uniquely certain, and uniquely possible. Thus everything proceeds: our own history and foreign experience, all the reality, in which we are living. That does not mean, that we would reject another path, if the sovereign united State might be achieved easier by it. But there is no such thing. And this already is no more a question of principles, but a straightforward question of political realism.

Some people think, that the tactics in internal affairs of policy which the Organization had applied in one period of its activity, - has gained the force of principle, is obligatory in any situation and does not permit any change. It is incorrect, if someone, thinking, that such a change is harmful, instead of posing arguments of political expediency for this, prove it, uses phrases of principledness and opportunism. And all questions of internal politics are solved in such a manner, as is most expedient in the given situation, from the point of view of the liberation struggle. To make a principle from a tactic which had once been accepted, and as a result of that, had become hardened, instead of constant (continuous) adjustment to the current political expediency, would reduce us to that, that for the sake of

mistakenly understood straightforwardness, applied in the improper place, we would become distanced from the striving to the fundamental aims.

The manipulation with the term "opportunism" must be based on the lack of understanding among us of this concept and its particular usage. In our internal life a lighthearted or purposefully demagogical attachment of this accusation to such or other our political tactic cannot have a place in our life. We understand, that the term "political opportunism" in that negative sense which it has acquired in our vocabulary is acclimatizing oneself, one's being and activity to the action of factors on the side, at the cost of receding from one's fundamental aims and values. And this retreat, precisely, imbues the acclimatization with a negative content. On the other hand, that negative opportunism is not there in such an adjustment of the ways of being and activity to other factors or to such a situation, whose aim precisely is the realization of its fundamental aims, the preservation of values, and it really brings this about. Therefore, we remain loyal to our fundamental principle when we adjust the line of our internal policies to the current situation and the entire internally-Ukrainian composition in emigration in such a way, that in that way we assure or make easier the strengthening of correct independentist action, and when the liberation cause does not suffer any loss in that, on the contrary, it only wins. And, if along with that, it sometimes happens, that we abandon this or another position, which is not of decisive significance from the point of view of the liberation cause, - this is completely comprehensible and normal. In any struggle and in any wise policy the essence is, by means of sacrificing small, partial positions and values, to attain the chief aim. Any victory, conquest relies on that. And the sacrificed, lost values - is the price of victory. The greater the aim, the harder the struggle - the greater are the sacrifices. Yet, sorrow and ridicule for, who takes up a

struggle, a fight for a great aim, and blinded in the very struggle, it loses strength for the acquiring or preservation of some partial, unnecessary position and loses on account of that. It is a task of a great artistic game to lure the opponent into this, to chain his attention and strength in the struggle for little, partial positions and to finish him in this. But it is the role and fate of incompetent losers to be caught in such foolhardiness.

We, in our struggle, should proceed step by step towards the great aim, from achievement to achievement, from one stage to the next. Our entire progression consists of a constant gaining and realization of partial aims. But in order not to get lost in the process, their systematic order must be clearly arranged, what is the higher aim, to which is subordinated, and if need be, also another partial aim of a lesser order, sacrificed. One thing always serves as the standard, the guideline (rule): the evaluation, what is the value of the matter concerned, for the liberation of Ukraine, to what extent it strengthens, or makes easier, the liberation struggle and raises its success. It is sometimes not easy to decide, what is the better path, if there is the choice of several paths possible. But if we continue to survey with the one same basic guideline (rule of thumb), there will always be the least danger that mistakes might occur.

We must be on guard the most concerning that partial aims - means not become an end in themselves. This always causes mistakes, retreat from the main aim. Here it follows to draw attention particularly to one dangerous phenomenon, which is being felt in our emigre activity, which should be confronted energetically. When our movement, organization or its parts fill up the respective positions with its members or create the respective institutions, the performing of the planned work - all this has a purpose and aim, as a means for the accomplishment of the tasks which had been set out. The preservation of such

a state of affairs is justified, as long as it serves this aim. If the same unity of purpose requires to bring in necessary changes, they must be made. Yet, if, what was planned and performed for the accomplishment of the defined functions, begins to become an end in itself, that is already a harmful process. Thus comes about the process, such phenomena, like struggle for "power" for the sake of "power" itself, the distancing of the institutions created from their particular tasks and the channelling of them onto other roads, most frequently along the line of personal desires, plans or interests of the personnell entrusted with such tasks, or are delegated to those functions, and subsequently proceed to make them their own domain. Such pathological phenomena, other than cases of ordinary abuse, are rooted in , that people, in embracing some positions or in creating institutions as means for a planned aim, act in such a manner, as though they had forgotten, that they pursue different aims, benefits which await them there, and become disenchanted. In the same way, when individuals or entire institutions become disloyal and start to pursue their own private goals, on their own path, in a similiar manner a whole political roganization can become unfaithful to its own aim, when it takes up treating ist group positions as an end in itself, is satisfied with only their establishement, defense and exploitation, and defers for later on "the aiming for the essential aim, the struggle.

We will once more return to the matters of our internally Ukraian emigre politics, in order that there might be a uniform understanding of its basic principles and same tactical enter prises (undertakings).

Other organized political communities - parties, centres etc. - are active in emigration. This is a normal state of affairs in freer circumstances, where there is no direct pressure by the enemy. There is no forcible intervention by the enemy, no partial factors (forces)

to this or another attitude (approach) and forming of emigre Ukrainian political life. Therefore, it develops and forms, in as much as that is possible in a foreign country, authentic, relatively freely.

Such is the basic question of this our concept: should we conduct our political activity in emigration in differentiation (separately), with an existing division into two groups along with that, - there will be the action of other groups, other than our action - or do we pursue the path of uniformity, the co-ordination of emigre work, by means of unification? Our answer: if only this is possible - we are moving towards uniformity, the co-ordination of the entire Ukrainian emigre foreign policy action along the line of the contemporary exigencies of the liberation struggle, along the path of the creation of a consolidating political centre with the realization of the acting political independentist organizations, agreement on its forum of the general line and the main guidelines of independentist political action in emigration, : : respective to the condition of and the exigencies of the whole of the struggle for state sovereignty and unity of Ukraine. We are not embarking, from our own initiative, on to the path of two-fold division and the distancing of our political activity. We would be forced to chose it in that case, if we would not succeed in realizing a healthy political consolidation on the platform of liberation, if a political concept which is contrary to the exigencies of the liberation struggle, ~~to~~ contrary to the principles of independence and unity would : rise to the top, or if the end-product of consolidation would not carry on the required independentist political work on account of inability or carelessness.

Therefore, we reckon with distancing and as a result of it division, only as the second possibility in case of necessity. In principle, we want consolidation, cooperation with a clear-cut aim:

to channell the entire Ukrainian politics in emigrations on to the correct path, such, as corresponds to the exigencies of the liberation struggle, therefore, on to the path which we ourselves want to pursue. If all Ukrainian political groups in emigration shall pursue it,- that would surely be a greater success, than,if we alone should pursue it with the harmonizing with us of the broad masses, and if simultaneously other factors would step out against us. The question - is that possible? Concerned here is emigre political activity, which in the present situation does not threaten its participants with extraordinary changes, nor persecutions, and if it proceeds along the line of the liberation struggle, particularly if it is kept within the so-called legal (lawful) framework. And political benefit from participation in it, even if in the internal Ukrainian community - is obvious. Therefore, there are realistic political grounds (preconditions) for the possibility that others can embark on this path. That must be brought about. The following question emerges: what will happen in a different situation, when it will be necessary to defend independentist policies s steadfastly, if there should be pressure, repressions etc. and other consolidated factors, with whom we have become involved and have related the cause to them, will not go there, where it is necessary for independence and sovereignty? Then they would be eliminated , they would not drag the cause after themselves, as we would not permit that. We will always proceed further along the correct path, the <sup>people</sup> and the entire active independentist active forces of Ukrainians shall go with us

Consolidation, standardization of the activity, the unification of forces in it don't have to entail mutual involvement, assimilation, annihilation. That depends on the strength, ideological pressure, political concepts, on a conscious, planned action of the partners, Who is stronger with his ideas, concepts, his system, his activity and his manpower (cadres of people) - has the preconditions, to



assimilate in the ideologically-political aspect, to a certain extent, make others like himself, if he only would take care of that.

When the ideological crystallization and the growth of a political movement is concerned, the question, whether it should distance itself, or co-operate with the others, must have various solutions, depending on the stage of development and strength. A movement, which is in the stage of beginning ideological crystallization, exposes itself to the danger, that it might become confused, when it approaches more closely, already developed, mature and dynamic other movements. Therefore, political instinct tells every movement in such a stage to strongly distance itself from other currents, to emphasize, as strongly as possible, the difference between its own positions and foreign positions, in order to define itself clearly and to culminate the process of crystallization. Weakened, degenerating political groups, even though they are it, ideologically crystallized, have the tendency, if they come into contact with dynamic ones, to overflow or to merge with them.

Is our movement, . . . threatened by such a danger? Usually, no. It has the healthiest, strongest ideological positions in the entire Ukrainian life. . . <sup>There is</sup> (active dynamics, the most idealistic and most active human potential in it. The nationalist ideology, the concept of revolutionary liberation, the present struggle, initiated, organized present struggle, made idealistically meaningful by revolutionary OUN - made its imprint on the independentist activity of the whole nation. The ideologically-political values of OUN and its revolutionary action together with UPA constitute the core of the entire contemporary struggle of the Ukrainian nation, and such an enemy as bolshevism, can neither destroy them, nor decompose them. Having such a test of the strength of our movement, our ideology, our Organization, our type of fighter - nationalist - revolutionary -

can we doubt, whether these values will become the foundation of the entire independentist political life in emigration, the core of any healthy community, the motor of all action? Whoever thinks, that for the maintaining of the cleanness of the idea and of our concept, for the carrying of the unblemished flag, CUN(r) in emigration must distance itself from political groups, not try that, that all proceed along one liberation path, - he underestimates the force of life in our Organization, visible proof of which we have in the native country. Such fear is ungrounded.

When we say, that it is necessary to unite with others and go along in joint action together, we believe, that we are stepping on to the path of idealistic penetration and the control of all political life. Precisely for that approximation in activity is necessary. Because <sup>e</sup>in that the penetration of others by our ideas, our concept, our independentist idea can be realized. Because of that (by means of that), they can stand on our position in the most important matters. For that it is necessary to diminish, to remove the hindering walls of principled separation, which stands between us and others; let only the ideologically-conceptual and organizational walls remain. Once these walls were required (necessary) for the defense of our movement, now they, yet, stand, as a hindrance for the spreading of its influence.

Our aim is - we speak clearly about that - the organic, ideologically-political penetration and making meaningful of the entire Ukrainian life, as in the native country, so also beyond its border (in emigration). The movement always must have this aim, strive towards it, never refuse it, (never deny it). This goes along the line of our liberation struggle, as this is an annexation of forces to the struggle and diminishing of internal hindrances. But the matter is, how to do that, with what method and system.

We reject totalitarian-mechanical methods, Not because they are

"not in style", as we have started to oppose them in 1940, when they, in some territories, were very much "in style". But simply, because we consider them incompatible and useless for us, for our ground. The mechanically-totalitarian method of controlling life by a centre, consists of that, that on one hand, it forcibly removes all acting political groups, violence deprives them of the possibility to exist and act. It forces every individual, who wants to occupy himself (herself) with creative, leadership-like activity, which does portend initiative in it, it forces to enter its totalitarian system or closes the door to it, forms it by means of force and places its loyal robots (people) in central, leading points (posts) in all life. Such a system in longer action always is harmful, as because of violence, a mechanical, rather than natural selection, because of the destruction of freedom it has in it the most elementary tendencies of depravation, desintegration.

Our path, our method - is organic, idealistically-political penetration and significance (meaningfulness). It has two methods, two phases, which ... act equally, in the whole process. The first, essential phase - is organic growth of the nationalist movement, constantly growing enthusiasm of the best elements for our ideas, the annexation of it to the Organization and activity, in which it develops, perfects itself and carries on creative active work. The entity of the own activity of the Organization in all sectors and the mobilization of broad masses in actions, which it initiates and organizes, belong to this phase.

The second, transitional phase - is indirect action, for the whole life, in that number and for other political groups. This - is the penetration of our ideas, our political concept, direction and method of independentist action into the whole Ukrainian world; the latter makes it all the time, more and more, its own, and they become all the time more a generally-national acquisition (good). Such

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a penetration also <sup>makes</sup> other political groups adjust their idealistically-programmatic positions in such a manner, in order to take as their own, those values, which become an inseparable part of overall-Ukrainian political thought and activity, and which also our movement has made such. It is insignificant, that also other political groups to this as of necessity, under pressure, and not from their own idealistic motives, but in order to stay (remain) on the surface of life, in order to preserve contact with this life. The most essential thing for the cause is, that this process actually should occur. It is happening all the time (always), and also then, when our movement proceeds separately, does not enter into any joint activity with other groups. Its dynamics, successes and grasping of the masses force other groups to take that, which gives the effect, from it, in as much as they are capable of that. But this process happens far sooner and <sup>more</sup> intensively, when there is some common activity, a common forum, some joint actions (activity), than <sup>if</sup> there were full separation and confrontation.

The process of the assimilation (internalization) of values and acquisitions of our movement by other political groups always is balanced in such a manner, that OUN constantly cultivates, develops and perfects the nationalist idea "in its clean form", always leads ahead in its realization, fights its disfiguration and abuse of it, and in such a manner safeguards (protects) the movement from confusion, its disappearance in the sand. The <sup>or</sup> internal struggle on the ideologically-political front must always be supported, equally along with any <sup>or</sup> installation of forces, with the distancing, so also in consolidation. The question: the distancing and the two-fold division of the front, or co-operation and ideological penetration, can be treated as an affair of current political tactics, from the point of view of the current situation, and purport (exigency), or as a question of the fundamental attitude of the movement. In the latter

(the second) case, we must have a crystallized view and a similar line, which is obligatory (binding) for all. Because one or the other solution of such a principled (principal) problem leads to (brings about) far-reaching, diverging results (effects) One and the same movement cannot proceed (walk) with one foot on one path, and the other foot on another path, when these paths diverge. When a uniform posture (attitude) will be thought out, till the end, divergencies in opinions concerning our all-time internally-political tactics (strategy) will be removed.

We decisively oppose the principle of the distancing of our movement and our political action (activity) from the rest of Ukrainian organized political life and activity, the principle of two-fold division. We recognize and realize the principle of striving towards one co-ordinated independentist political action (activity), the principle of co-operation in it of all Ukrainian independentist political groups, the principle of organic, ideologically-political penetration and making . it meaningful (significant) of all life, particularly political life, or to step on to the path of a continuous denying of all other organized forces. We consider it incorrect, that the nationalist revolutionary liberation movement should place itself into such a situation, confront such an "either-or". One, as well as the other, diverges from its ideology. The Mono-party-totalitarian system is harmful for the development of the nation, is always destructive for the dominating political mono-party and its ideology. Such a system (order), in which there is real freedom, in which ideas, political programs and concepts develop freely and compete with each other, where political organizations freely cultivate, broaden and carry on their activity, is most suitable for the whole nation, as well as for every healthy political movement. Along with that there is free competition, comparison, mutual influence,

growth, and spreading of that which best justifies itself, the disappearance of all that is unnecessary, inferior, weak or decadent. In such an order, in such an atmosphere of freedom the nationalist movement has more preconditions to strengthen the soul of the Ukrainian people and to render it its best services. And that is that, with what we are concerned here. In a system of real freedom, competition of different ideological, socio-political currents and organizations is solved by the criteria of an ideologically-moral order, and not by coercion and violence. We are fighting for such an order of real freedom and will realize it.

The tree is recognized by its fruit, and the factors in political life - by their actions. In essence there is no difference, whether some political factor clearly recognizes totalism and mono-party tendencies as only in actions such that it leads, it in that direction, even though he himself had not thought that out till the end, recognized democracy in words, defended it. So also it is not essential, whether (if) someone, according to the spirit of style and the contemporary taste is speaking about his "being democratic", or not, that is important, where his actions are leading him.

In Ukrainian emigre life we encounter quite a few examples, of how various groups, which at every step loudly proclaim their being democratic, anti-totalitarian, when they get some "power" into their hands, initiative the opportunity to make decisions, often disregard others, act impulsively. I don't intend to attach to this the label of dictatorship or totalitarianism, as is often done with a demagogic or slandering aim. We simply consider this a symptom of socio-political primitivism and selfishness of a clique. <sup>But</sup> such an attitude always causes such similar results.

The existence and activity of various political directions and

organized centres - is a natural, normal phenomenon, with which we agree, whose raison d'etre we consider and do not wish it to be done away with. We draw conclusions from this, we make our attitude into reality, we do away with such phenomena, which are not necessary and which would lead us into another direction or would portray us in a wrong light. Our system of action must be such, which would not contradict the principle of multi-party systems, order of Ukrainian political life, would give us a method to act within it, and along with that would open us the path for growth, constant spreading of our movement, penetration and making meaningful the whole life by means of our ideas. The rule of a principled distancing of oneself and one's activity from other organized forces is contrary to that.

Several practical conclusions. When we realize the direction of co-operation with others and influence on them, we include in our successes not only our direct own actions, but also the influence on other groups, if they will adopt the correct positions and will carry on struggle which is useful for the nation. On the other hand, from the point of view of multi-party or simply a narrow, group selfishness, such a conversion of other adversaries on to the correct paths is evaluated negatively, as it strengthens their positions, and makes the removal of them from political life more difficult. From this same motive (that same reason) they most sharply will oppose other organizations, who are most closely connected (related) in ideologically-programmatic resolutions and political work, as they are the closest competitors. On the contrary, from the point of view of the interests of the whole and co-operation with others, we treat those close to us as close friends, we most tightly co-operate with them, we would prefer, that they grow stronger, those adversaries who are farther from us. Party selfishness often pushes

people and groups into preferring, that no one should accomplish any action which would be beneficial for the general cause, when they themselves cannot do it.

When we analyze the internal Ukrainian political life in the free emigration circumstances ~~aside from~~ the struggle and consider it to the end, we reach the following conclusion: motives of narrow group selfishness and blindness, motives of personal careerism and the struggle of cliques for power, principled intolerance, for other political factors and a programmatic attitude of mono-partyism or exclusiveness - all these motives in practical activity bring about such similiar activity. And the second conclusion from such an analysis is, that the whole Ukrainian political life in emigration suffers from such illness ( influence???); in words, noise about democracy and the national cause, and in action - fiery group selfishness or personal selfishness and careerism. We see too many such phenomena in the entire consolidation activity, around the National Council and in individual groups. Nor is our group, in a broad sense, free from such unhealthy symptoms. Everything should be cured, and we must start from ourselves.

The liberation struggle and correct development of Ukrainian political life require such an arrangement (order) so that two processes might go on in harmony: the first process of the crystallization and victory of the healthiest national idea, the most correct concept of liberation policyy their domination in the entire political life and rivalry in uniform independentist activity and struggle. And the second process, parallel to the first - is the growth and unification of forces, with an internal mutual relationship between them, which does not permit self-destruction and mutual paralysis, that awakens, raises the potential of all, as well as their readiness to sacrifice in the work towards liberation. Such a



harmonious agreement of these two processes is realized in, by means of the intensification of one's own activity and all-round strengthening of our movement by means of co-operation with other centres in independentist activity, by means of the involvement in and making the whole meaningful by means of our ideas. This is also our concept of internal policies. And at the basis of everything - the channelling of all forces, all energy and attention of the liberation struggle towards the struggle, beyond the borders - into emigre independentist activity.

Our victory - is the victory of our idea, its full realization. It is a secondary matter, which part we ourselves realize, which - others, and which - together. Our duty - to do the most ourselves, with as much strength as we have, and simultaneously to exert all efforts, that others also do the most.

Still a few more sentences concerning the matter of the annexation of other forces to independentist emigre activity.

The Emigre Representation UHWR, the UPA unit which made a raid west, the OUN(r) Emigre Cadres and all nationalists-revolutionaries particularly have obligations towards the struggle in the native land. The first and main responsibility for that, which was done for the cause of liberation, in what shape emigre action is, what its accomplishments are, lies in everyone. All, having been directly connected with the Ukrainian (in the native country) revolutionary liberation formation UHWR-UPA-CUN, so to speak, have the main emigre representation of it. But it is necessary to treat it as the greatest obligation, as the first, main responsibility (obligation) and not as a monopoly. Today the entire Ukrainian people carries on the liberation struggle. The entire political emigration beyond the borders of Ukraine represents him himself, and his struggle (striving). As a collective representation, it has the duty, to

establish emigre independentist action (activity) worthy of the liberation struggle in Ukraine, and appropriate with respect to its exigencies. The whole emigration, all its organized factors should shoulder the joint responsibility for the emigre work. We should awaken, raise this sense of duty, mobilize all for action (to act). And above all, we ought to do all that is possible, in order that the whole emigration, all its parts feel the connection with the struggle in the native country. It is not necessary to stay silent, to erase the real state of affairs in the native country. What shape the struggle there, is in, which forces participate in it, what shape the entire (whole) formation of revolutionary liberation is in. It would be harmful to cause disorientation in this matter, or to permit it (desorientation). But the approach (position) must always be thus, that the pushing that out, which factors are lacking in this struggle, not result from this. As we here are not concerned with that, and this would not have any results. One must beware from such an interpretation (tone) which evokes the impression, that someone wants, in emigration, to monopolize the right to work for the benefit of the struggle in the native land, or to capitalize on that struggle for group aims (exploits). The hard struggle in Ukraine is the good of the whole Ukrainian nation. In emigration it is possible and necessary only to serve the cause of the liberation struggle, and all are bound (obligated) to do that, according to their strength (forces) and their capacity. - And do that correctly. Every Ukrainian and every political factor in emigration can carry on activity which is useful for the liberation cause, to serve the liberation struggle in the homeland well, either by propagating it, or in foreign policy work, or by disseminating the idea of a joint (common) front of the revolutionary liberation struggle of all anti-bolshevik nations. In such a manner it is included in the liberation struggle and has a relationship to the liberation struggle.

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And this relationship can only be one in every case: service to the liberation struggle in Ukraine.

Nationalists-Revolutionaries!

I am addressing you with this long "word", in order to explicate to you our position and to illustrate the essential content of our policies in the problems which I have touched upon (mentioned). I wanted to transmit to you the very spirit, approach and posture, and not only directives or explanations. With that purpose in mind, I ~~tried~~ to illustrate in an all-round manner, such questions, in which there is the most erring.

The struggle has already become our natural environment, the content of our life is struggle. Political activity work always was a struggle for us, not only by its content, but its forms also always were such. We always were on the front, facing the enemy. All other matters, particularly of internal policies (politics) we always treated and solved in the light of the struggle with the enemy. Who fought against him, was a comrade-brother, who took up the enemy's side - was not any more on this front. It is in this way also now in Ukraine, where our comrades, the basic part of OUN and UPA, continue the struggle, even more difficult and more important.

The irreplaceable attitude of the fighter-revolutionary was gained and hardened in our struggle. Actually, there is no centre of direct struggle in emigration, peculiar of us, there is no direct encounter with the enemy. But that enemy is also here, he is against us. Only invisible, covered. And here we must fight with him. Not only fight, but to destroy his action, his tentacles, with which he is trying (attempting) to engulf Ukrainian independentist life. In a similar manner, all those evils in Ukrainian political life must be ruthlessly outrooted, (torn out with the roots), as they give the enemy a chance to act in its interior, and which also, alone by themselves eat up the Ukrainian strength, detract them from the liberation cause. We can only lead

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the cause of liberation very much by means of work in emigration, and cause losses to the enemy. From here, we can proceed with help for the struggle in Ukraine in various ways (forms). From here it is necessary, that all go back into armed political struggle with the enemy, and must as best prepare for that (must do the appropriate preparation). These are our essential tasks, in which no one can replace us, and we must dedicate to them also the utmost attention and strength (forces). For these tasks let us preserve and develop our essential (principal) posture.

Simultaneously we ought to carry on different work, which is important and beneficial for our cause. In it, it is necessary to struggle with unjustified difficulties still in the Ukrainian community, have relations with opponents, who, I don't know why, sometimes bring about conflicts and intrigue from sheer malice. Matters emerge, in which it is not always clear, where the truth is and how one should act. There is no such clarity as in direct struggle. It is easy to become confused, lost.

But he, who directs (orients) his every step onto the main aim - the liberation of Ukraine, who in every matter, in any situation is guided by one measuring stick: what and to what extent, beneficial for the liberation cause, shall not be the lost from our path.