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3 November 1952

To: Chief, SR/3
From: SR/3-W2
Subject: CASSOWARY 2's "Pro Memoria"

Attached is a "Pro Memoria" written by CASSOWARY 2 as a representative of CAWNPORE 1 in which he undertakes to speak for all of CASSOWARY 1 and CAWNPORE 1. It should be noted that the concepts crystallized here are those which are propagated by all major Ukrainian emigre groups irrespective of party affiliation.



BMH:ghh

Attachment: 1

cc: SR/PPP

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SOURCE/METHOD/EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007



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PRO MEMORIA

The Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation, which directs the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in the Ukraine and which we have the honor to represent, has always considered that the U. S., in its own interest and in the interest of all freedom loving peoples, can greatly contribute towards the freeing of the world from the tyranny of Russian Bolshevik Imperialism. Because of this, we have always welcomed any initiative taken by Americans to give moral and material help for the peoples enslaved by the Russian Bolshevik Kremlin.

Both the UHVR and its Foreign Representation have watched with apprehension the serious errors which have been made and are being made by the Americans in regard to the help for the peoples enslaved by Russian Imperialism - the errors which often make all help illusory and as a result, become harmful to America, the mentioned peoples, and the entire free humanity.

Just as previously the incorrect evaluation of the politburo strategy by the Americans, during the period of the past war and directly after it, resulted in a tragedy for the many East European and Far Eastern peoples and necessitated the current rearmament of America and of the entire free world, so the present incorrect evaluation by the Americans of the true essence of the USSR can result in new tragedies not only for the mentioned peoples but even for America itself.

Keeping the above in mind, we wish to bring your attention to the following:

1. As can be seen from historical experience, the number of attempts made by different European powers during the last centuries to crush the Moscow center of aggression were not successful primarily as a result of the fact that these actions were in the form of foreign interventions and that the interested powers were not able to find a common ground with the peoples enslaved by the Kremlin.
2. The policy of the present Bolshevik Kremlin is, in essence, an extension of historical Muscovite Imperialism. This is considered as an undeniable truth by every inhabitant of the Soviet Union, regardless of whether he is a Ukrainian, a Caucasian, a Turkestani, a Balt, or a Russian. It is also considered as a truth by every objective observer of the life in the USSR. It is sufficient to become acquainted with the ideas of the Bolshevik press, to see the daily calls of the current masters of the Kremlin to the traditions of their Czarist predecessors, to follow the course of forced Russification of non-Russian peoples, and to study the methods of genocide, in order to see behind the Bolshevik phraseology the true essence of the historical Muscovite Imperialism and its practices.

SECRET
Security Information

- 2 -

This truth was unequivocally expressed last year by the Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, and was also underscored by General B. Smith who said: "Today's Communism is Great Russianism". The situation being what it is, only the emigre Russian imperialists or true communists can attempt to separate Bolshevism from the historical imperialism of Moscow.

3. Since, as appears from the current directions of its policy, America is attempting to befriend the enslaved peoples of the USSR, she should consider the following forces:

a. The present day USSR and the enslaved satellite countries are countries of cruel experiments by the Moscow Imperialistic clique, which keeps enslaved, under cover of the slogans of communist ideology, the multi-million masses of all nations, forcing them with the help and terror of the gigantic police apparatus to work towards the undermining of other nations and later of the entire world.

b. Along with the socio-economic enslavement of the national masses there exists in the USSR and in the satellite countries a ruthless national enslavement and the liquidation of all non-Russian nations, particularly of those which might become most dangerous to the Moscow center, that is, the Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkmen, Balts, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, and others. The history of the USSR is the history of the continuous struggle of these nations against their spiritual and physical liquidation and they will always be the Achilles Heel of the Kremlin. As is shown by the experience of the last war, it was in the Ukraine that the strength of the Muscovite Center became broken in the very first days. In the event of a future war, at a time when the economically exploited masses of the Russian nation could favor a change of the regime, they will - being inoculated with the chauvinistic Russian ideology - serve the communist regime until it begins to show definite signs of weakening; on the other hand, if a proper stand is taken by the West, the masses of the non-Russian peoples, equally because of national and social forces, could from the very first day of the war, enter an open struggle against the Kremlin.

c. Communist phraseology also serves the leaders of Russian Imperialism in exploiting the social dissatisfaction among sections of Western masses and the national aspirations of colonial peoples in order to organize among them fifth columns which in the proper time would aid in the downfall of the West from within. In the past the Russian Czarist regime in its imperialistic policy could call only upon Slavs or the Orthodox, but the present Moscow, with the help of communist slogans, is mobilizing for itself all the nations in the Western orbit without regard to race or religion.

SECRET
Security Information

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Because of this the Western tactic in its psychological warfare against Muscovite Bolshevik Imperialism should take on the characteristic of a global strategy in which - the UHVR believes - the following main ideas should be reflected:

1. The Western nations, and particularly America, are ready to give moral and material support to all the nations of the USSR and to the satellite nations in their struggle against the totalitarian Kremlin tyranny - particularly in the struggle of these nations for the freedom of development of the individual and society, for the attainment of the democratic rights of the freedom of conscience, word, association, free work and private property. In regard to the ruling people of the USSR, the Russian nation, the West should encourage it to struggle against the tyrants who suppress socially the Russian national masses and at the same time take advantage of the name of the Russian nation and its power, for the enslavement of other nations, for the shedding of blood in the interest of oligarchy, once Czarist now Stalinist. At the same time, the West should encourage the Russian national masses in their struggle for true democracy and a democratic Russian state.
2. The Western nations, particularly America, should declare their full solidarity with and support of the century old struggle of the non-Russian peoples against Russian Imperialism, assuring them that they will be recognized as independent nations (Ukrainians, Turkmen, Byelorussian, Balts, Poles, and others); these peoples from 1917, for a shorter or longer period of time, had their independent states but lost them as a result of Muscovite aggression. In addition to this, if America does not want to place upon itself, in the eyes of the citizen of the USSR, the onus of imperialism - which is a constant Bolshevik accusation - it cannot, in its international politics, stand against the factual state independence of those peoples in the USSR who today formally have their separate republics which fact is regarded by these peoples as their definite and indisputable attainment. Two of the republics, Ukraine and Byelorussia, are even members of the United Nations.
3. It is necessary to unmask the USSR before the Western society, and particularly before the existing and potential fifth columns, and to show it in its true light as a country in which not only has there been no attainment of a just rule but in which there exists a stratified class society and the exploitation of the individual by the state. In the USSR there exists a class of exploiters - "Stalinist Nobility", as it is called by the Ukrainian underground writers in their

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works - which is made up of a comparatively small circle of party members, police, etc., who lead a beautiful life and who have full rule in their hands; and on the other hand, the multi-million masses of various nationalities who not only do not have any voice or will, but often are not permitted to have even the means of mere existence.

With such a stand every Western action against Russian Bolshevik Imperialism will be able:

1. To show the socially exploited Russian masses the possibility of bettering their fate by struggling for democracy and for peaceful co-existence with the neighboring nations rather than attempting to enslave these nations. It will depend on the Russian people itself whether it will take advantage of such a possibility. Until now, the Russian people has supported its imperialistic cliques in the same manner as have the Germans; but the post-war German experience shows that in every nation there are elements which understand the value of democracy and who are ready to give up the policy of robbing other nations. Just because the Russian emigrants have not, to this time, been able to produce such elements does not mean that such elements do not exist among the Russian people in the USSR. Therefore, in its psychological war against the USSR the West should call to precisely these elements of the Russian people and to stimulate their growth in the USSR and not to attempt to foist upon the Russians the new emigre imperialistic cliques which tomorrow, having arrived in the Kremlin, will continue to support the Czarist and Stalinist Imperialistic policy.

2. To bring completely to America's support all the enslaved non-Russian peoples of the USSR, who always - and particularly in the event of war - will be the centers of the struggle against Moscow, and will organize from within the downfall of the Soviet empire. These nations cannot be convinced to support the West by general slogans of self-determination because these nations have determined themselves long ago; they have built their own free republics and have defended them from Muscovite aggression. Besides this, from 1917 on there is no Russian empire, that is to say, an "indivisible Russia". On the contrary, there exists a formal union of separate national republics which, since it is at least formally respected by the Bolsheviks, cannot be overlooked by the West if the West does not want to disaffect the non-Russian nations. In addition, proceeding towards a solution in this manner, America is not disaffecting the Russian people either, because the Russians, in the last 30 years, are used to the existence of separate republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, and others (a phenomenon to which the Russian Imperialistic emigres are not

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accustomed). Besides this, the Russian people is not interested in conquering other lands because its own lands are colossal and it understands that the enslavement of other peoples is necessary only for the Stalinist Imperialistic clique or for the Russian emigrants.

3. To isolate Moscow in the West from her fifth column, ideological communists, and fellow travelers, and from the colonial nations who will always uphold Moscow if America will declare war or struggle against the so-called "international communism", because some of them believe in this "communism" and others are awaiting support from it. On the other hand, a great part of the Western communists and the colonial nations will stop their support of Moscow if America declares before the entire world that she is struggling against Muscovite Imperialism and the tyranny of totalitarianism since they will have as little reason to support Moscow as they had to support in the past wars the Prussian militarism or Hitlerite totalitarianism. If the problem is presented in such a manner, America may win the neutrality of the numerous ideological communists throughout the whole world and even of such states as China, which is not at all interested in the growth of Russian Imperialism. The finest example of this is today's Yugoslavia which, despite the fact that it is communist, has joined the West in its struggle against Russian Imperialism.

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