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3 January 1952

MEMORANDUM FOR: []

SUBJECT: Proposed unification of CAV 3 and ZPUHVR.

REFERENCE: Memo dtd 2 Jan 52, subject: Muni 6172.

1. Reference memorandum clearly indicates that from the operational point of view, the unification of CAV 3 and ZPUHVR is not only feasible but desirable. On the basis of the agreement reached in London, both we and the British are thinking in terms of sending into the Ukraine mixed teams made up of CAV 3 and ZPUHVR. Obviously, operational exploitation of this type will be more difficult, if not impossible, unless a political understanding is reached whereby both the CAV 3 and the ZPUHVR leaders would feel that they stand to benefit from such a collaboration.

2. On the basis of previous indications, it would appear that the British would welcome unification of the two most active Ukrainian groups in order to establish a coordinated approach to the Ukrainian resistance. I am sure they must realize, as we have, that the conduct of separate operations and support of separate elements would only serve to create confusion and diffuse our final effort in achieving our objectives vis-a-vis the Ukrainian resistance. Therefore, in order to obtain maximum results, centralization of both the political and operational activities is necessary.

3. The principal objection to such centralization would appear to come from the supporters of the OKACTIVE project. Their reasoning runs along the lines that any further assistance given to the Ukrainians, particularly the CAV 3 element would only serve to remove any possibility of the principal Ukrainian groups from joining OKACTIVE. This, however, is only partially true. For the past year, we have been trying to get the major Ukrainian elements (ZPUHVR) into OKACTIVE. Our efforts so far have been unsuccessful and it is doubtful whether ZPUHVR will join OKACTIVE as it is presently organized. On the other hand, if the unification of the two most active Ukrainian groups is achieved, we can assume that through our support and direction we will be able to direct their activities in such a way that they will either cooperate with the OKACTIVE or

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at least decrease the intensity of their attacks against it. As we know, the most vehement attacks have so far come from the CAV 3 elements who consider SONR a Russian-dominated organization run for the purpose of advancing Great Russian chauvinism. Although this is not true, this criticism will continue unless we take positive measures to counteract it. The best way to achieve this would be to bring the extreme elements (as represented by CAV 3) into a more moderate atmosphere, and exercise both operational and political control over the unified organization.

4. Unless such a unification is brought about, there is always the danger that the British, on their own, may undertake the establishment of a larger Ukrainian bloc. It is their present policy to sponsor such blocs made up of the Russian ethnic minority groups. The Caucasian Federation is a very good example of what the British are trying to accomplish. Therefore, it would appear that we stand to gain a great deal both politically and operationally from bringing about the unification of the CAV 3 and the ZPUHVR elements.

FDS:MGN:jga

2 - Addressee
1 - Ops
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