

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

25 March 1954

TO: SR/COP

FROM: SR 3 W2

SUBJECT: Document on US Policy toward Ukraine as contained in Paris paper L'Ukrainien (UKRAINETIS-CHAS) and reported to have been taken into the Ukraine by ZP representatives in 1951.

1. In the March 14, 1954 issue of L'Ukrainien, Paris pro-Bandera paper, there was an article titled "About One Document" which contained a document, recently brought out from the Ukraine by a Bandera courier, which is a statement of US Policy regarding the Ukraine and which is reported to have been transmitted to the Ukrainian Underground headquarters by a ZP representative in 1951. The document, along with being printed in the above mentioned newspaper, has also been disseminated in the Ukraine by the Headquarter there, and in the emigration by Bandera. Its dissemination in the emigration was primarily for the purpose of showing Bandera followers, members of the OUN, ZChOUN, the role the ZP has played in what Bandera calls "a deception of the Homeland Underground Leadership" in that it represented the Homeland a document not really issued by the "real" US Government but instead by some "other" (CIA?) government agency. Further, the dissemination of the document, which incidentally, denounces Bandera and the ZChOUN as he ran it to be unacceptable to Western Democracies, is a measure by Bandera to justify his action in rejecting the bid to serve as a member of the triumvirate according to the Homeland instruction in the re-organization of the ZChOUN in line with the Homeland political stand, and a denunciation of Matla and Rebet in the separate action they took as a "Duo" in abolishing the old ZCh and forming a new one. Bandera thus assumes that on the basis of this document, the Homeland favored the ZP and sanctioned a reorganization of the ZChOUN, but because the document is not a legitimate instrument in a sense that it was not issued by the "Real" US Government channels, the Homeland was deceived by the ZP.

2. When this document first appeared in the press, ZP representatives in Europe expressed their embarrassment over its publications. This was understandable for the commentary accompanying the printed document did portray the ZP as being the tool of the United States and the dupe of the Homeland Underground Leadership. However, after a second look into the matter, the ZP realized that more harm would come to Bandera from the printing of the document than would to the ZP, for while Bandera is attempting to gain followers by showing that the ZP has deceived the homeland, he at the same time admits to all concerned that the ZP does have support from the US Government and that certainly some of the statements contained in the document must be valid.

3. As reported in MUNI-6767, dated 12 March 1954, the document in question was given to AECASSOWARY 5 in 1951 by some member of the Agency. However, in MUNI-6818, dated 17 March, it was stated that the document was not carried by AECASSOWARY 5 but instead by CARTHAGES 12 and 13 in 1952. The question raised then are, when was the document transmitted to the Ukraine, and by whom, from the American side, was the document given to the ZP representative.

SLUNLI

~~SECRET~~

4. A check in the SR HQ files show no record of the document whatsoever. A check with CASSOWARY 2 revealed the following; he definitely did not give such a document to CARTHAGES 12 or 13 for transmittal to Homeland headquarters. (He did not state, however, whether he knew of the document prior to its being made public). In talking about the document with CASSOWARY 4, CASSOWARY 15 learned from him that the document was given to CASSOWARY 5 by some American representative none of whom were affiliated with the project, i.e., Murphy, [] He stated further that he remembered that there was a two week delay in the arrival of the document from Washington and that when it finally arrived in Germany, some American visited Cassowary 5 shortly before dispatch time and presented the document to him. This is as much as CASSOWARY 4 remembers.

5. In a discussion with [] [] affiliated with the project in 1951 as headquarters case officer, he stated that he remembers writing the document in collaboration with OPC personnel and that he thinks he himself hand carried the document to Germany in the spring of 1951. He also believes that [] [] may have been the OPC representative in Munich who gave the document to CASSOWARY 5.

6. Since it is possible that CASSOWARY 3 was not included in the meeting with CASSOWARY 5 and [] [] at the time the document could have been presented, it is possible that he would not know anything about it. It is a known fact that the CASSOWARIES do not keep accurate records of such things, however, it appears inconceivable, in view of the importance of such a document, that CASSOWARY 2 and especially 3 did not know that CASSOWARY 5 was given a policy statement to transmit to Koval. It can be assumed, too, that Bandera also must have known about the document long before he made it public knowledge for certainly, via w/t, he must have been informed about it; he definitely had it prior to the reorganization of the ZChOUN in February since the courier delivered it to him in November 1953. Why did he not capitalize on it during the reorganization talks? Was his knowledge of the contents of the document instrumental in maintaining a breach in the ZChOUN-ZP relationship? No doubt he assumed this was his ace in the hole with which he could be master of the situation in his dealings with the ZP.

~~7.~~ Since it appears almost definite that the document was delivered to Koval in 1951 or in the summer of 1952, it is a fact then that Chernets - Myron got the document at this time too--before the Lvov-Drohobuch areas were isolated by the Homeland headquarters.

8. Considering the document from the Soviet side and their control of part of the Ukrainian net in Poland and in the Ukraine, it is conceivable that they permitted the document to be carried out by the November courier to further the dissention and break in the Ukrainian emigration.

9. Since the above 8 paragraphs were written, the matter of the document was discussed with [] [] the former Aerodynamic Case officer who was located in CSOB at the time the document was allegedly given to CASSOWARY 5. [] [] vaguely remembers having received the document, he believes from [] [] and remembers having CASSOWARY 3 translate it into the Ukrainian language. He stated that CASSOWARY 3 definitely did not keep a carbon copy of the document at the time he made the translation. Prior to dispatch, [] [] read the document to the 1951 team, but did not give any member of the team a written

~~SECRET~~

copy of it. Those present when he read the document were;
 CASSOWARY 5, CASSOWARY 6, CARTHAGES 5, 9 and 14.

10. intepretation as to how the document might have come into existence, assuming, of course, that neither he nor any other American actually gave a written copy to any of the CASSOWARIES, is that it was reconstructed by CASSOWARY 3 after he had translated it for CASSOWARY 3 then might have given it to CASSOWARY 5, but because of the nature of the document and its importance to the ZP, did not say anything about giving it to CASSOWARY 5 for fear the Americans would have called him on the carpet for such an act. Thus, if this was the case, CASSOWARY 2, 3, 4 et. al, knew that the document was carried by CASSOWARY 5, for after all it definitely was an important document for the ZP as a means to show the homeland the progress the ZP was making in the West. After it was sent in, the CASSOWARIES might have agreed among themselves not to report the document's transmission to the American; which fact might have a bearing on CASSOWARY 4's account of vaguely remembering some American as having given the document to CASSOWARY 5 but who exactly, he does not know.

11. After learning this account of the document's origin from the case officer again brought up the subject of the document with CASSOWARY 15, relating to him version of how the document might have been given to CASSOWARY 5. When hearing this, CASSOWARY 15 changed his story a bit regarding what CASSOWARY 4 had told him, i.e., that he remembers some American giving the document to CASSOWARY 5. This time, CASSOWARY 15 was not too sure of CASSOWARY 4's tale but seemed to think that probably CASSOWARY 3 did reconstruct the document after translating it for and then gave a written version of it to CASSOWARY 5. To be sure, the CASSOWARIES, at that time, wanted nothing better than some policy statement from the Americans which they could present to the Homeland Headquarters (a) to show the progress the ZP was making in dealing with the West in having obtained a statement from the US Government, b) to show in what light the West considered the ZCh, and Bandera in an added attempt to gain favorable decisions regarding the foreign responsibilities of the ZP and c) to furnish the homeland a document which it could use in solidifying the Ukrainian Underground, i.e., prove to the Bandera followers there that his activities in the emigration were contrary to Homeland decisions.

SECRET

Paris, 14 March 1954

L'UKRAINIEN

ABOUT ONE DOCUMENT

How the leadership of the ZPUHVR is attempting to deceive the Homeland

L. Rebet and Z. Matla---who recently "glorified" themselves as the destroyers of the ZChOUN---even though they have great personal ambitions, characteristic of all "important people with little ability", are in fact only wretched and deplorable pawns on a political chess-board where they can play a great game for the non-Ukrainian powers. Also in this same category as obedient instruments in foreign hands are all "big operators" from the ZPUHVR who are attempting to play the role of sole authorized "representatives of the Fighting Ukraine." And even if the "Suchasna Ukraina", organ of the ZPUHVR, has the nerve to assert that the ZPUHVR does not have any interest in the separate action of the celebrated "duo" of L. Rebet and Z. Matla, this assertion is obviously not the truth. In fact, the current action and deeds of the "duo" is merely the second phase of this action; that people who today come out under the guidance of the ZPUHVR began to come out against the OUN in the emigration long ago--in 1945-46, driven to this by the power ambitions and foreign confidants and their instructions. Even then L. Rebet and others united for the purpose of carrying out their destructive work.

This action, directed for the purpose of taking over the ZChOUN, and if failing to do this, to destroy it entirely, inspired by foreign officials, deserves condemnation by all Ukrainian patriots and all Ukrainian peoples because 1) it in itself is obnoxious and villainous and 2) its cunning perpetrators are attempting by this action to deceive the Ukraine.

We know that this is a serious accusation, for every patriot and honest person the most serious, but in this we are justified and consider it imperative to make for we have ample concrete and unshatterable proof in our stand. And besides this, here is included the basic interests of our peoples--the matter of their national sovereign liberation. We consider that to keep silent any longer--impossible; we consider that the action of the "duo", its origin and wide background--all action by the ZP UHVR must at last be brought out into the light. Therefore we shall allocate an important place in and call special attention to this matter in subsequent issues of our newspaper.

Today we will begin by illustrating the wide diversionary measures of these non-Ukrainians--even though conducted (this diversionary activity) through the aid of subservient Ukrainian "lyandekmekhtiv"---hirelings in the pay of foreign powers--from the printing of one "secret" document. This document was prepared by foreign representatives and people from the ZPUHVR and sent to the Homeland (for the UHVR, Supreme Command-UPA and Provid OUN) via a special representative of the ZP UHVR in 1951.

Here is the text of this document, which speaks louder than whole volumes, about "higher politics" of the ZPUHVR and illuminates the authentic or true deeds of the schismatic action of the "duo" (L. Rebet and Z. Matla).

SECRET

SECRET

POLITICAL STAND OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

1. The USA stands on the principle of self-determination and for the free expression of the will of the majority of the Ukrainian peoples.

The Government of the United States considers as its allies all fighters for the liberation from Bolshevism.

The USA is in principle against all forms of imperialisms, but at the present time it must support those countries whose collapse would lead to occupation by bolshevism.

2. The Government of the United States strongly supports, among other ideological principles, the following principles of the Ukrainian Liberation-Revolutionary Movement:

- a) Its democratic basis
- b) Its leading social thoughts
- c) Its magnanimous attitude toward all peoples who live both in and out of the Ukraine
- d) Its position in regard to the Red Army
- e) Its concern for the question of unity in the emigration

3. The Government of the United States has complete confidence in the leadership of the ZPUHVR, in political matters as well as in the delicate problem of maintaining security in regard to the link with the Homeland.

4. Through the efforts of the ZPUHVR, the services of your heroic contact people (couriers) and the cooperation of our people, many steps forward have been made by the GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES in the direction of understanding the Eastern European problem. In a constantly growing pace, attempts are being made to improve VOA broadcasts, especially those to the Ukraine.

5. The Government of the United States with regret condemns the present policy of the ZChOUN and the directing of it by S. Bandera. This policy and leadership has alienated many positive elements in the emigration. This political stand cannot be approved by any Western Democracy.

6. The United States is certain that the present Provid of the ZChOUN has not made any serious or extensive steps in the realization of the propositions of the Provid-OUN in the Ukraine from the summer of 1950.

SECRET

-3-

WHAT DOES THIS DOCUMENT PROVE

After having read this document, people wipe their eyes and in amazement ask themselves: "What is this" Is this some sort of joke, malicious provocation or raw deception? And in fact, this document contains in it all these elements---a little jest, provocation and most of all--deception.

We have already said that from the Ukrainian side this document was exploited by people from the ZPUHVR, and specifically this affair could best be clarified, among others, by Ivan Hrinoch.

And from the non-Ukrainian side? Well, here there is mentioned the "Political stand of the top rung of the Government of the United States!" Certainly there is no one so naive here in the free world who would for one minute believe that the government of the USA did ever and to anybody express its stand regarding the Ukraine, the Ukrainian liberation--revolutionary movement, the ZPUHVR, Provid ZChOUN and Stefan Bandera. Furthermore, such words from the 4th point of the above printed document: "and in cooperation with our people many steps forward were made from the side of the Government of the USA, etc., "clearly show that from the American side no representative of the US Government took part in the preparations of the document but instead a representative of some other American "government", ---it is not difficult to figure which one... However, its no secret to anyone with which "government" the ZP UHVR has contact.

The entire document could be considered as a mockery only if at the same time it was not a clever maneuver and deception designed to confuse the leadership of the Ukrainian liberation revolutionary underground in the Ukraine.

The ZPUHVR presents itself to the free world as representatives of the Fighting Ukraine. If this is in fact so, then to fill its obligations the ZP UHVR must not only represent but must also safeguard the living interests of the Ukrainian peoples and strive for their improvement, among other things, and in an objective and truthful manner present the facts to the Homeland about what is going on in the free world, how this free world regards the Ukrainian liberation, etc.

But what in this respect is the ZP UHVR doing? The answers to these questions are contained in the above document. From it we see that in 1951, at the same time when the American "Private circles" began a love-duet with Russian imperialists in an attempt to open or create a prototype of the subsequent KTsAB, the ZP UHVR sent to the Ukraine the above document which speaks of something entirely different; as if the USA only thinks of how it can help people liberate themselves and establish an independent Ukraine. If this is not deception then what else shall we call it?

Further, the 5th and 6th points of this document--what is meant by "America will help the Ukraine but only under the stipulation that the Provid ZCh OUN, led by Bandera, be removed, for this Provid and Stefan Bandera conduct a policy which cannot be approved by any Western Democracy."

SECRET

The policy and diplomacy of the ZP UHVR is an attempt to instill into the leadership of the Fighting Ukraine the notion that the ZCh OUN and Stefan Bandera are not acceptable to the "democracies of the West" because the ZCh OUN is undemocratic even though in a democratic way they elect all their leadership organs. The conclusion in the assertion re the "undemocratic" ways of the ZCh OUN is that the ZCh and Stefan Bandera must be "democraticized". How? In this direct way: first, make Bandera play the role of a dummy and at the same time remove or abolish the elected Conference of the Provid-ZCh OUN, the Supreme Rada, Supreme court, etc., and in their places "democratically", i.e., according to the dictates of L. Rebet and Z. Matla, create a new "leadership" organ of the ZCh OUN which would obey and dance as "the master demands."

SECRET