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18 August 1953

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

FROM: SR/3-W2

Subject: Discussion with ZPUHVR re CIA-Ukrainian Relationship

Participants: Mykola LEBED, Col. Yuri LOPATYNSKY, Omelan ANTONOVYCH, [], [], and []

1. The subject meeting was held on 22 July 1953 at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington, D. C.

2. The six-hour discussion centered primarily around the Ukrainian emigre political scene. [] reiterated the private nature of the American Committee for the Liberation from Bolshevism and its immunity to official United States Government interference. Regarding the reception of DOLENKO and Taras BULBA-BOCROVETS by various Department of State and Defense officials. [] negated the fears of Mykola LEBED by noting that these visits were not recognition per se of these individuals or their organizations. He noted that this courtesy would be extended to the ZPUHVR delegation, if they desired an audience.

3. [] informed the Ukrainian representation that the delay in achieving an efficient degree of operational collaboration was due primarily to the lack of official homeland decision on the final solution to the KUBARK-CAWNPORE relationship.

[]

Enclosure

Pro Memoria - LEBED

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Pro Memoria - LEBED

I Political

1) During the past two years continuous attempts have been made by official and semi-official American groups to impose strange, artificial and oft-times hostile concepts and ideas upon the Ukrainian emigration, and indirectly upon the Ukrainian people. These concepts, abetted by the aforementioned groups and financed by the American taxpayer, insist on treating the Ukrainian problem as an internal Russian affair.

They have failed to accept the reality of a continuing struggle for Ukrainian independence by the Ukrainian people and have ignored the unanimity of Ukrainian emigre groups in exile in their expressions for the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian State. Instead they have created their own "UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT" manned by persons unknown to the Ukrainian emigre scene and individuals with obscure political histories. This sham federalist creation does not direct its effort toward the struggle for the Ukrainian liberation from Russian imperialism, but for inclusion in the Russian orb.

Therefore, it must be stated that the GULAI group, formed by the American Committee, has as its purposes (a) the negation of any Ukrainian liberation movement, and (b) to insult the very term "liberation movement" by applying it to the GULAI faction. This application was totally unrealistic when such titles as "Ukrainian Federalist Movement" or "The Ukrainian Section within the Russian Emigre Imperialist Front" would have been more appropriate. Ukrainians regard the so-called "general" GULAI as a traitor much in the same light as General Benedict ARNOLD is regarded by the Americans.

Subsequent to the GULAI creation, another mock group was presented to the Ukrainian emigre scene. With aid from some external sources, this group, located in New York City, was labeled as a Ukrainian federalist democratic group. It had as its external organ a publication entitled "SKHIDNIK" ("Man from the East") and was issued as a supplement to the Russian newspaper "NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO" ("New Russian Word"). As with the GULAI element previously, here also the obvious aim of the supporters was twofold: (a) to minimize the Ukrainian patriotic feeling, and (b) to forge, with the aid of the American taxpayers' money, a non-existent Ukrainian Federalist movement to retain the "indivisible Mother Russia." Such an action includes the support of direct agent-provocateurs like Petro YABLON-YAROVY.

The elected

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The elected chairman of this federalist-democratic group was a former columnist for the "HROMADSKY HOLOS" a Ukrainian-language newspaper which advocates a united Ukraine as a constituent of the Soviet Union. (Note "A" below). It is very disconcerting to think that such persons as the former columnist should enjoy a favorable position within the American Committee complex when it is obvious that the aim of such persons as the chairman of the federalist democratic element is to subordinate the Ukrainian people to the "elder Russian brothers."

(2) The next step was the invitation to the leader of the Ukrainian Lands-Peasant Party, Mr. DOLENKO, to come to the United States. Along with DOLENKO, invitations were also extended to Mr. DUBROVSKY and Mr. BOROVETS (Taras BULBA). These invitations have been regarded by the Ukrainian community in the United States as a subsequent stage in the undermining Ukrainian Unity and as a means of fighting the Ukrainian refusal to submit to the Russian emigres. The lack of results achieved by his New York convention shows that Mr. DOLENKO has not fulfilled his purpose.

It is interesting to note that at the time former fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were forced to register as agents of foreign forces, Mr. DOLENKO was able to convoke a convention of his party. This was done despite the fact that the former UPA fighters did not engage in any political activity and many of them were now members of the United States Armed Forces.

3) While the purpose of the DOLENKO-DUBROVSKY group is quite obvious to the Ukrainian community within the United States, the arrival of Mr. Borovets BULBA is shrouded with an air of mystery. One can pre-suppose that his arrival is connected with possible attempts to send diversionists into the Ukraine.

4) There is still a greater mystery in the TASS announcement concerning the capture of four Ukrainians allegedly parachuted into the Ukraine by the American Intelligence Service. Although officially denied by the State Department, there are individuals among the Ukrainian emigration who knew the captured men and the fact that they were trained by the Americans. If we were to believe these people*, we would think of this unfortunate affair as another attempt to implant "GULAYIVSHCENA", this time within the Ukraine. We are dubious whether such actions would be profitable to the Ukrainian people or to the organized Ukrainian liberation struggle.

This affair may provoke many questions concerning the attitude of the United States to the leading factors in the Ukrainian liberation

Note "A" - Yuri KOSSATCH, aka George KOSSACH
* - State Department

struggle -- to the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and its foreign representation. We would like to state the fact at this time that the positive attitudes of the Ukrainian liberation forces in the Ukraine to the idea of American-Ukrainian cooperation in the anti-Communist Russia struggle was based upon the recognition of the Supreme Liberation Council and its forces in the Ukraine in 1951.

On the other hand, separate British and American operations (dispatches) may prove detrimental to the organized Ukrainian liberation struggle. We would prefer the British to curtail any further action. If such an arrangement is impossible, what steps can we take vis-a-vis the British in order to prevent the annihilation of our liberation forces?

What is the text of the reproduction plates which according to the TASS announcement the four men had in their possession at the time of their capture?

Why is information concerning Ukrainian liberation struggle never publicized in the United States?

II American Broadcasts (Voice of America)

When attempts were being made to parachute men into the Ukraine, the official agency VOA broadcast in Ukrainian an article by Nikitov ~~SHCHERBYNA~~ (see attachment "B") in which political opposition to the Soviet regime was represented as impossible. The announcer said "Ukrainian teacher, writer, artist, or common non-party man ... can do nothing for his people as the existence of the political anti-Communist organization in the USSR is now impossible. The MVD has built its nets of agent-provocateurs in such a way that every attempt in this direction would be discovered".

How could the listener to the VOA programs in the Ukraine endorse American policies if these programs plaudit such men as Fyodor Stepanovich ~~SHTEPPA~~ from Kiev. Throughout the Ukraine Mr. SHTEPPA is known as a World War II Nazi collaborator. He was the editor of an anti-Semitic and anti-Ukrainian Nazi paper in Kiev during the Nazi occupation of that city. SHTEPPA also was reported to be a close collaborator of the Nazi General Commissar ~~MAGUNIA~~. It is therefore strange that individuals like ~~GULAI~~, ~~ZOLOTARENKO~~ and SHTEPPA have been forgiven for their Nazi affiliations and are being used to subdue the Ukrainian spirit. What can the VOA listener think in the Ukraine when he hears the name SHTEPPA? Is he to assume that an American occupation in the future will not differ from the dreaded Nazi practices? The propagation of SHTEPPA should be investigated to reveal any anti-American element utilizing the VOA channels.

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4.

It should be noted that until recently no Ukrainian-American effort has been made against Communist Russia. Both the short-term and long-term plans proposed by our organization have been neglected.

Despite the fact that the United States has invested billions of dollars to counteract Communist influences in Italy and France, Communism has gained. The French colonies have turned to the Soviet satellites. Yet, the United States has not been able to appreciate the importance of the anti-Communist struggles within the borders of the present-day USSR, struggles which have been carried on without external aid.

Now the Kremlin has receded on the Ukrainian front and has made concessions to the Ukrainian nationalism in order to win the Ukrainian people for the struggle against the West. As we had predicted, the recent change in Soviet policies toward the Ukrainian people is an initial step in the Soviet plan.

Whether the Western world, especially the United States, will adopt a passive or active attitude toward the Ukrainian problem depends on the decision of Western policy-makers.

We have offered these observations in the American-Ukrainian anti-Communist struggle despite the fact that in the past authorized members of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council have not received positive answers to many fundamental technical and political inquiries.

Clarification of the American position on the Ukrainian problem and its liberation efforts would afford moral support to the Ukrainian struggle.

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Attachment "B"

The translation of the attached Ukrainian VOA script entitled "Soviet Nationalism," dated Thursday, 23 April 1953, was brought to the attention of SR/3-W2 by Mykola LEBED, Foreign Representative of the UHVR, as being contrary to the aim and purpose of the ZP cooperation with the United States Government.

The cover sheet notes that the script (Order No. 647) was ordered and accepted by N. HRYHORIEV of the VOA staff. The actual material was prepared by Nikifor SHCHERBYNA.

According to LEBED, the reception of such broadcasts by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) within the Ukraine would tend to confuse them as to the actual policy followed by the United States Government. He stated that although we are taking an active interest in the resistance movement on the one hand, we then proceed to negate the possibility of any such resistance groups by stating, on our official media, that the omnipresence of the MVD makes resistance impossible.

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Soviet Nationalism

The Soviet daily press makes frequent use of the terms "nationalism" and "bourgeois nationalism". To whom do the communist politicians apply the term "bourgeois nationalists"? Most interestingly, they apply this term not only to citizens of foreign states but also to their own Soviet people of worker and peasant origin.

Soviet dictionaries define "bourgeois nationalist" as one who stands for a privileged position of his own nation over other nations. Is it conceivable, for example, that some zealous Ukrainian teacher, writer, artist or ordinary non-political citizen who never engaged in politics can do anything for the benefit of his nation? No, he can do nothing for his people because the appearance of any political, anti-communist organization on the territory of the USSR is not possible at this time. The MVD net is so set up that the most meager attempt to develop one would be discovered. Within the smallest grouping or section of Soviet enterprise, the kolkhoz, there are at least two MVD informers who are unknown to one another and who phone the local MVD office each day or evening to report conversations, activities or the attitude of the whole mass of workers, officials, kolkhoz members and other individuals. Ukrainians are sometimes tagged with "nationalism" merely for the purity of their Ukrainian speech. MVD agents investigate the educated Ukrainian who publicly speaks in his own national tongue. They check his work, surveil him and finally combine fictitious "proofs" accusing him of "bourgeois nationalism." After that, they discharge him from his job and then arrest him. In this manner the Communist Intelligence Service creates the fiction, the myth of "nationalism" or "bourgeois nationalism." As is evident, the territorial application of the term "nationalism" by the Soviet encyclopedias is in contradiction to the use of this term in practice in Soviet reality.

For what purpose do the Soviet rulers stress this contrived, falsely inflated, non-existent "nationalism" to such an extreme degree? It is advantageous for them to transform this fictitious nationalism into an "ogre" for the peoples of the Soviet national republics and oblasts in order to keep them obedient to the central authority. They need this to be able to arrest forcibly and recruit unpaid labor as slave labor for so-called "great constructions of socialism." In fact, the hidden resistance to the policy of the "general line of the party" in the Ukraine, i.e., the hatred of the people for the Soviet terrorist regime, has not a nationalistic but a democratic character. The Ukrainian people have suffered very

great losses as a result of two totalitarian systems - Communism and Facism. Therefore it (the Ukrainian people) dream about a democratic Ukraine and about the individual liberty of every Ukrainian who will no longer be oppressed by any mono-party terrorist power, foreign or domestic. The authorities are aware of this and in order to mask their own intentions tag the Ukrainians with nationalism.

Besides the terms "nationalism" and "bourgeois nationalism" there are other words to describe citizens of all the republics of the Soviet Union. They are: "malefactor," "adherent of decayed Europe," "spy," and "hireling of the Americans." All of these fictional names are individual parts of a single curtain with which the Communist leaders of the USSR mask their own imperialist Communist nationalism, or in other terms, red fascism. The blade of communist nationalism is directed in particular against several small nations of the USSR. In recent years the Soviet Government liquidated a number of national republics and autonomous oblasts. The theory and practice of Soviet political leaders are two mutually contradictory conceptions.

Let us recall Lenin's thoughts on the national question. Lenin in his articles "On the Rights of Nations to Self-determination," written in 1914, expressed the following thoughts concerning the right of nations to their own states: "We," wrote Lenin, "stand firmly for the Ukraine's right to such a state. We respect this right and do not support any privileges of the Great Russians over the Ukrainians; we are educating the masses in the spirit of recognition of this right and in the spirit of rejection of the national privileges of any nation."

As we can see, this is a wonderful promise. Unfortunately, this is only communist theory. But what happens in practice? Namely, that Lenin himself ordered the Red Army to destroy the democratic governments of states, which, after the fall of Russian Tsarism, began to build their own democratic state structures and did not wish to take root in the dictatorship of the communist Kremlin. One by one the democratic republics of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Kuban, and others were destroyed and their peoples accused of nationalism. The aforesaid makes it clear that communism cannot tolerate anything non-communistic. For this reason it is now expressing itself with bestial rage in matters concerning foreign democratic countries, the United States in particular.

By using the terms "nationalism" and "bourgeois nationalism" Soviet propaganda hopes to mask its own communistic aggressive nationalism.

In the event of a war, which will be provoked by the Soviet aggressors, the peoples of the USSR will know that the Red Army will be opposed not by Fascists as in World War II, but by democracies, the friends of the peoples of the USSR and the enemies of the Communist-nationalistic regime whose name is tyranny.