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4 April 1950

MEMORANDUM FOR: DS II

SUBJECT: Comments on a Meeting held with Mr. Nicolai Lebed, Foreign Minister of The ZPUHVR. ~~Saturday~~ 1 April 1950, at which were present and (OPG). (SO)

1. Inasmuch as Mr. Lebed is leaving for Germany by the end of this month, it was necessary to tell him the extent of interest that OPG has in his organization. In this meeting, therefore, he was informed that in principle we agree to give ZPUHVR/UHVR limited assistance which would permit his organization to (a) continue and intensify its anti-Soviet activities in Germany, and (b) maintain direct contact with the Resistance Forces in the Ukraine. In this connection, OPG is contemplating to implement one air-drop this summer for the purpose of providing clandestine radio equipment to the Resistance Forces.

2. We informed Mr. Lebed that in return for our assistance, we expected to exercise certain initiative and control over the activities of ZPUHVR; and we also expected his organization to observe the policy guidance which would be developed by us. Mr. Lebed concurred in these views.

3. It was outlined to Mr. Lebed that as far as our interests were concerned we felt that the whole field of ZPUHVR activities could be divided into the following two phases:

a. External

Limited assistance would be recommended to ZPUHVR to facilitate the conduct of their propaganda and psychological warfare activities in Germany. No specific monetary appropriation to cover this phase of activities was mentioned. It was felt that the extent and scope of such activities would be determined by practical considerations in the field. Therefore, it was advisable, at this time, to commit ourselves to a specific program or allocation of a specific sum of money to cover this type of activity. It was pointed out that we would be prepared to give ZPUHVR such assistance as necessary in establishing clandestine channels for distribution of propaganda; we would also be prepared to provide them with printing presses, money, and printing paper.

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b. Internal

Once clandestine radio contact is established with the Forces in the Interior, and their needs and potential could be more clearly ascertained, we would be prepared to arrange for the necessary number of air-drops. These air-drops would provide UNVR/UPA with printing presses, printing paper, medicaments, surgical instruments, penicillin, vitamin pills, and other non-military items which would be of assistance to the Resistance Forces either as a means of improving their morale, or as a means of barter for commodities which could be obtained locally. Mr. Lebed agreed that the items referred to would be of considerable help, and suggested that inasmuch as the Soviets are actively pursuing the collectivization program in Western Ukraine, we may be called upon at some future date to provide food. He also wanted to know whether it would not be possible for us to replace certain worn-out military equipment for which parts cannot be obtained in the Ukraine. As far as the printing paper is concerned, he felt that we would have to be extremely careful not to provide the type of paper which could be easily associated as coming from one of the Western Powers.

4. During the course of the conversation, it became obvious that Mr. Lebed was very much interested in the question of securing U.S. political recognition for his organization. It was pointed out to him that as far as this question is concerned we were not in a position to make any definite commitments. This question would have to be decided in the light of future events, and would have to conform to the overall U.S. policy toward the USSR. This problem would have to be approached in its logical sequence; as long as the Soviets exercised control over all the nationalities which are presently included within the USSR borders, the U. S. Government was not in a position to give any consideration to the support of any separatist movement.

5. Mr. Lebed pointed out that our VOA programs beaming to Ukraine were not doing an effective job. He felt that these programs were directed by people who were more interested in promoting Russian, rather than Ukrainian interests, and completely ignored the Nationalist aspirations of the minority groups in the USSR. This approach was not realistic in the light of the strong Nationalist sentiments which exist in the Ukraine.

6. Mr. Lebed pointed out that the Ukrainian resistance has previously maintained contact with other nationalities in the USSR. He felt that because the Ukrainian organization had so much experience in combatting the Soviet influence, it could extend its activities to

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assist Caucasian, Central Asiatic, and Baltic groups in developing passive resistance and clandestine activities.

7. Mr. Lebed's principle objective in coming to the United States was to establish either a Ukrainian newspaper or a bulletin which would serve to unite the various Ukrainian emigre groups, and to keep them informed of the political aspirations of the ZPUHVR. So far, nothing has been done in establishing such a newspaper because the necessary funds are lacking. Mr. Lebed is extremely anxious that some assistance be given to his organization to publish such a newspaper in the United States. It was suggested that perhaps the newspaper which will be published in Germany by his organization could be flown to the United States and sold here among the Ukrainian groups. Mr. Lebed felt that this was a good idea, although he considered that the cost of air transportation would probably be prohibitive. If, however, this factor could be overcome, he would have no objection to having the Ukrainian newspaper published in Germany and distributed in the United States.

8. In conclusion, it can be said that Mr. Lebed was quite satisfied with this interview, even though no specific commitments were made by OPC. It was suggested that upon his return to the United States from Germany he bring back with him a concrete plan of the type of activities and support required by his organization.

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