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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

INFORMATION REPORT

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COUNTRY	USSR (Ukrainian SSR)/Germany	REPORT	
SUBJECT	Reorganization of the Foreign Section of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (ZCh/OUN)	DATE DISTR.	30 September 1954
DATE OF INFO.		NO. OF PAGES	5
PLACE ACQUIRED		REQUIREMENT NO.	RD
		REFERENCES	50X1-HUM

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Introduction

The following report was written by one of the two members of the "Collegium of the Authorized" of the newly reorganized ZCh/OUN. This report contains a brief history of the ZCh/OUN, a summary of the causes of the dispute within that organization, the stand of the parties in the dispute, the position of the Provid of the OUN in the Ukraine regarding the dispute, and the reorganization of the ZCh/OUN, its current structure and activities.

TITLE ZCh/OUN, ITS GENESIS, CHARACTER, AND TASKS

1. The ZCh/OUN (Foreign Section of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) was established in Germany in February 1946 by a conference of two categories of OUN members (OUN members used here refers to those Ukrainian nationalists who sided with Stefan Bandera at the time of his split with Andrey Melnyk in 1940), i.e., a) those who were sent abroad by the OUN Provid in the Ukraine in July 1944, and b) those who were brought to Germany from 1941 to 1944 and were confined in concentration camps until their release in 1944 and 1945.
2. Prior to, during, and after the conference there were differences of opinion among the ZCh/OUN members which ultimately led to disputes and finally the split within the ZCh/OUN itself. The most serious dispute centered around the different estimates of the past activity and character of the OUN and the current question regarding the stand of the ZCh/OUN in reference to internal changes made within the OUN in the Ukraine during the German occupation of the Ukraine. Those OUN members who actively participated in the struggle in the Ukraine, particularly in the central and eastern sections of the Ukraine, insisted that the prewar ideological, constitutional, and practical-political principles of the OUN had undergone major revisions during the years 1941-1943 and that any new formation of Ukrainian nationalists'

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- organizations abroad must be built on these new principles, which principles had been contained in the decisions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress of the OUN in August 1943. Thus, the primary subject of the dispute was the character of the OUN, i.e., its constitutional, ideological, and political positions. A lesser but still an important adjunct to the dispute was the question of what role the OUN was to play regarding other Ukrainian political forces and the Ukrainian people as a whole.
3. Those who deemed it necessary to uphold the new positions of the OUN and to further their development based their arguments on the decisions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress, which were as follows:¹
 - a. The Führer principle, once characteristic of the OUN, was abolished; and substituted for it was a system of collective leadership which democratized the internal OUN structure, making it an anti-totalitarian organization.
 - b. The ideological criteria, which were used as a basis for the admission of members into the OUN and which made the organization exclusive ideologically, were abolished.
 - c. The social-economic factor in the liberation struggle was adopted as a factor equally as important in the OUN platform as the national liberation and national sovereignty if the masses were to be mobilized against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism.
 - d. A concept of a common front of all nations enslaved by the Soviet regime was adopted, and the peaceful cooperation with all neighbors of the Ukraine, as well as the guaranteeing of equal rights to all national minorities in the Ukraine, was stressed.
 - e. The OUN was defined as being one of many political formations in the Ukraine which was, of necessity, required to cooperate with other political forces in the fight for an independent Ukraine. Consequently, the directing of the Ukrainian liberation struggle was turned over to the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation) in 1944, although the OUN remained the undisputed decisive political force in the Ukraine and in the UHVR.
 4. In the ZCh/OUN dispute, Stefan Bandera and his closest assistants and advisors, e.g., Yaroslav Stetsko and Stefan Lenkavskyy, maintained that while the changes had been adopted by the OUN in their absence during the war -- which changes did not conform with the prewar positions of orthodox nationalism -- these changes should not be considered as binding on the ZCh/OUN now. They particularly desired to revert to the Führer principle in the OUN, to reject the democratization of the OUN, and insisted that the OUN again become an exclusive organization in directing Ukrainian political life both in the emigration and in the Ukraine. One reason for this stand was perhaps because Stefan Bandera, Stetsko, and Lenkavskyy had not been elected by the Third Extraordinary Great Congress to prominent positions in the OUN.
 5. Under such circumstances, a real cooperation between these two factions i.e., those for and those against the decisions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress, seemed impossible. This breach became more apparent during the ZCh/OUN conference held in September 1947, but it was not until the ZCh/OUN conference of August 1948 (the Mittenwald Conference) that matters came to a head. To settle the dispute, the OUN Provid in the Ukraine was asked for a decision, with all the facts in the dispute being presented to it. In the Provid's reply in 1950 and again in 1953 it confirmed the Third Extraordinary Great Congress' decisions to be

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binding and valid, and at the same time it condemned the political positions of Stefan Bandera and his followers.² The OUN Provid further pointed out that the new OUN political platform was justified and accepted by the Ukrainian people and had been a factor in the mobilization of masses in the struggle against Bolshevism. However, the OUN Provid desired that both factions in the dispute remain a cohesive group, settle their differences of opinion, and work together for the good of the organization. The decision rendered by the Provid in 1953 regarding the settlement of the dispute was as follows: "The OUN Provid in the Ukraine finds that Stefan Bandera departed from the decisions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress. He is neither formally nor factually the leader of the OUN. The Provid desires that for the sake of OUN unity Bandera cease his actions which are designed to split the organization and instruct his personal emissary in the Ukraine to desist from the same type of activity there. The OUN Provid authorizes Lev Rebet, Zinoviy Matla, and Stefan Bandera to assume temporary leadership of the ZCh/OUN and to reorganize this organization after the pattern of the OUN in the Ukraine. Signed - Lemish, Chairman, OUN Provid in the Ukraine."³

6. At the same time the OUN Provid in the Ukraine dispatched its decision to the ZCh/OUN, the UHVR Presidium in the Ukraine informed the General Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the UHVR that his mandate as Secretary and the mandate for the ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation) had been confirmed. The document containing this confirmation was to be the basis for cooperation between the ZP/UHVR and the ZCh/OUN. It read as follows: "To the General Secretary of the ZP/UHVR, Mykola Lebed: We confirm your mandate and the mandate for the entire ZP/UHVR to represent abroad the UHVR and the entire Ukrainian liberation movement. The ZP/UHVR is authorized to: (1) represent abroad the UHVR, the UPA (Ukrainian Partisan Army), the Ukrainian liberation underground, and the entire Ukrainian liberation-revolutionary movement; (2) carry out abroad political-diplomatic and informational activities in conformance with the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people; (3) make decisions regarding quest of support from foreign governments; and (4) to serve as the supreme authority for ex-UPA and other underground members in the emigration. Attached to the ZP/UHVR is the UPA Mission, which is authorized to handle UPA affairs. For the UHVR Presidium, M. Lisoviy, and the Chairman of the UHVR Secretariat, Col. Vasil Koval."⁴
7. Negotiations and discussions by Lev Rebet, Zinoviy Matla, and Stefan Bandera regarding the homeland mandates began in November 1953 and ended in a deadlock in February 1954, when Bandera refused to recognize or honor the homeland's decisions. Stefan Bandera disagreed with the correctness of the OUN program in the Ukraine and sought to secure for himself dominance over the ZCh/OUN and to prevent its reorganization as directed by the OUN Provid. During the negotiations it became apparent to Bandera's opposition that Bandera's actions were becoming a damaging factor to the liberation struggle in the Ukraine in that he had taken steps to remove the OUN Provid in the Ukraine and to replace it with men of his choosing who would elevate him to the chairmanship of the OUN Provid. It was realized that such a coup, if successful, would cause irreparable damage to the liberation struggle in the Ukraine in both organizational and political matters. It was under such circumstances, and because of these findings, that the negotiations ceased, with Lev Rebet and Zinoviy Matla forming a "Collegium of the Authorized" to reform the ZCh/OUN in accordance with the OUN Provid's directives. At this break, Bandera continued, along with those sympathetic to his cause, to head an unauthorized ZCh/OUN of his own, one not representing the OUN Provid in the Ukraine.

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8. The official and reorganized ZCh/OUN presently is made up of the following operating branches: the "Collegium of the Authorized", the ZCh/OUN Political Council, and the ZCh/OUN Executive. Temporary members of these branches, pending election of permanent officers, and their duties are as follows:
- a. "Collegium of the Authorized": Its members are Lev Rebet and Zinovy Matla, who jointly are responsible for the management of the ZCh/OUN. They render decisions on current problems of the ZCh/OUN, confirm decisions made by the Political Council, and guide and control the activity of the Executive.
 - b. ZCh/OUN Political Council: The chairman of this branch is Dr. Bohdan Kondiuk and it is composed of the following other members: Irene Kozak, Daria Rebet, Ivan Butkovskyy, Dr. Ivan Hrynioch, Roman Ilnytskyy, Anatol Kaminsky, Zinovy Martsiuk, Bohdan Pidhainy, Modest Repetskyy, and Volodimir Stachiv. This branch is charged with the responsibility of weighing and rendering opinions on OUN policy matters abroad. Further, it is charged with the task of preparing programs for ZCh/OUN conferences in the field of ideological, organizational, and internal and external policy matters. To date, the Political Council has worked out a draft of the ZCh/OUN constitution and by-laws and the ZCh/OUN stand regarding the ABN, the UNR, and the ACLB.
 - c. ZCh/OUN Executive: The chairman of the Executive is Anatol Kaminsky. This branch is charged with the task of settling organizational and operational matters as directed by the "Collegium of the Authorized".
9. The current ZCh/OUN program and platform are based on the decisions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress of August 1943 as well as on subsequent official directives of the OUN Provid issued after World War II. Accordingly, it is here made known that Ukrainian nationalism is a national-liberation, democratic, and anti-totalitarian movement, with the OUN being a national-political, liberation organization, supported by the Ukrainian people, which leads the struggle for political, social, and cultural rights of the Ukrainian people in an independent Ukrainian state. The OUN stands for national solidarity, and Christian and common morality. The OUN believes that every nation has the right to complete national sovereignty, which sovereignty secures the full development of all creative forces of a nation. The Ukrainian nationalist movement is the embodiment of the idea of freedom for the nation and the individual and for the establishment of a governmental structure in which every citizen, regardless of race, background, religion, or political conviction, can be a free individual with guaranteed religious, political, cultural, social, and economic freedom.
10. Apropos the principle of national solidarity, the OUN as an organized political force does not assume to be the one and only representative of the sovereign will of the Ukrainian people. The OUN believes that all Ukrainian groups striving for an independent Ukraine have an equal right in the liberation struggle and the OUN, therefore, does not desire nor is it attempting to gain a monopoly now in the liberation struggle or later in an independent Ukrainian State. The OUN considers it necessary that other existing political parties and groups participate in the liberation struggle, in the leadership of this struggle, and in the responsibility that it involves.
11. The OUN is fighting for Ukrainian national sovereignty on Ukrainian ethnographic territories and for the introduction of an electoral system for the selection of administrative officials immediately following Ukrainian independence. The OUN believes that during the liberation struggle the central leadership of this struggle should be in the hands of

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representatives of all participants regardless of political affiliation. It was for this reason that in 1944 the OUN supported the idea of and helped create the UHVR, which it continues to support at the present time.

12. The specific functions of the ZCh/OUN are to support the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Ukraine and to spread information about it among the Ukrainians in emigration as well as throughout the Western World. In carrying out these functions, the OUN is striving to unite all Ukrainian independence forces in the emigration on the basis of the ideological and political platform of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the Ukraine. Aside from this, the OUN is combating Communist influence among the Ukrainian emigres. To carry out these functions, the ZCh/OUN has organized cell groups in those countries permitting such organizations to operate. In those countries where it is illegal for the ZCh/OUN to charter its sub-units as affiliates of the ZCh/OUN and all that this implies, it has organized sympathizer groups that are permitted to exist under certain laws of certain countries. For example, the ZCh/OUN now has cells or sympathizer groups representing it in Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Australia, and in the United States. In the United States a preparatory committee has been formed for the purpose of organizing and chartering the ZCh/OUN affiliate, "Association of Participants of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle". Members of this committee are: Kost Kononenko (chairman), Yuriy Bobrovskyy, Roman Borkovskyy, Kirilo Maslovych, Zinoviy Matla, Yuriy Macyk, Osyp Moroz, Miroslov Prokop, and Zinoviy Saliy. Some work of this group has been the publishing of the bulletin, "Materials of the Preparatory Committee of the Participants of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle".
13. Current publications of the ZCh/OUN are the weekly newspaper Ukrainskyy Samostiynik (The Ukrainian Independent) and a quarterly bulletin Dokumenti i Problemi (Documents and Problems). Both of these publications are printed in Munich, Germany.

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