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TO : Chief, EE (Attn: Chief, SR)
FROM : Chief of Mission, Frankfurt *Attn: []*
SUBJECT: GENERAL— Operational/WEDSOX/CART/AEBATH
SPECIFIC— OUN/M Opposition to the UN RADA

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Transmitted herewith is an AECAPELIN report, dated 7 November 1953, on OUN/M opposition to the UN RADA as seen by a representative of that opposition. The matter will come to a climax in February 1954 when a plenary session of the RADA will be convoked.

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JMR

Enclosure:
AECAPELIN Report

25 February 1954

Distribution:
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ATTACHMENT TO EGMA-10017

Subject : OUN/M Opposition to the UN RADA

Date of Report : 7 December 1953

Source : AECAPELIN from:- 1) Ivan KASHUBA, Munich
2) Antin MELNYK, OUN/M member, Munich

1. On 4 December 1953 the head of the OUN/M, Colonel Andriy MELNYK, arrived in Munich from Luxemburg, where he lives. According to Antin MELNYK, head of the OUN/M territorial provid in Germany, the colonel arrived in order to help the organization shape policy for the UN RADA plenary session to take place in February 1954 and to investigate the organization of a "revolutionary center" within the Ukrainian emigration.

2. There is within the OUN/M a strong wing against further participation within the UN RADA. This opposition became so great that the OUN/M was threatened with schism. In Germany, the opposition is headed by Antin MELNYK, Vasily PAKOSH, (Captain) SULATITSKY, and Ivan ZEMLOT; in the United States, by Yaroslav KHAYVAS, (Professor) (fnu) SHUMELDA and others. In the OUN/M Provid the opposition is supported by Yuriy BOIKO-BLOKHIN and Osip BOYDUNYK. The opposition's complaints are as follows:-

a. The UN RADA was created basically in order to coordinate the activities of all emigre political parties. Representational functions as an exile government were secondary. The opposition holds that the RADA, since its creation, has not made as much as one serious step toward consolidation of emigre politics. On the contrary, it is held, the socialist and democratic fractions in the RADA did everything possible to prevent cooperation between the RADA and groups outside of it. Here the opposition has in mind RADA policy toward DOLENKO's Peasant Party (SZSU-SP), PROKOPCHUK's "Union of Constructive and Creative Forces of the Ukraine" (SKTSU), failure to reach agreement with ZPUHVR, lack of initiative in attempting to bring the ZCh/OUN into the RADA, and failure to make any effort to bring in the Hetmanites (SHD).

b. The opposition holds that the RADA has not taken cognizance of the true balance of forces in the Ukrainian emigration. The RADA follows a principle of "dividing" the emigration into three sectors, socialist, democratic, nationalist. It holds that the RADA and its Executive Organ are dominated by a coalition of the socialist and democratic sectors which represent a mere handful of emigres, whereas the nationalist sector represents the majority. All efforts of OUN/M delegates to persuade the RADA to reach decisions on the basis of friendly coordination with the nationalist sector have been unsuccessful. This state of affairs the opposition considers inadmissible, holding that its continuance cannot be countenanced by the OUN/M.

c. The RADA and its Executive Organ suffer from failure to define the competence of various offices. Although the Executive Organ has definite departments with clear objectives, the socialist-democratic coalition has paralyzed the work of those departments headed by nationalist representatives. The Minister of For-

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Foreign Affairs is Dr. Stepan VYTVYTSKY, who lives in the United States. His assistant is Dmytro ANDRIEVSKY, who lives in Germany. All RADA foreign relations belong to VYTVYTSKY's ministry, and such relations in Europe should have been in the hands of ANDRIEVSKY. However, VYTVYTSKY did not inform ANDRIEVSKY of his activities. ANDRIEVSKY had to get his information indirectly, from Mykola LIVITSKY, Spiridon DOVHAL or from general letters written to the RADA. The matter of the American Committee and Radio Liberation falls within the province of the ministry of foreign affairs, according to the opposition, and in Germany should have been handled by ANDRIEVSKY. However, the socialist-democratic monopolists gave it to Mykola LIVITSKY, who is the minister of press and propaganda. LIVITSKY behaved as though he were foreign minister, did not consult ANDRIEVSKY. At the same time, it is held that LIVITSKY ignored his legitimate duties, such as putting out Visti, the official news bulletin of the RADA. The Visti appeared irregularly, late, and when it did, it gave incorrect and erroneous information.

d. The opposition states that several years ago it was decided that the ministry of press and propaganda should publish informational books in the leading Western languages. Although finances exist, to this date, these works have not appeared. They did not appear because the socialist-democratic sector ignored this matter, and when the nationalist sector prepared such a book, the coalition exercised censorship rights and refused to approve publication. They held the works were not socialist enough, not democratic enough. Blame for this falls on Mykola LIVITSKY, it is held, who instead of taking care of his proper duties concerned himself with foreign affairs.

e. The opposition holds that the president of the Ukrainian Peoples' Republic (in exile), Andriy LIVITSKY, was influenced by the socialist-democratic coalition to violate that republic's constitution. After the death of Stepan BARAN, chairman of the Executive Organ, according to the constitution his duties devolved upon his first assistant, ANDRIEVSKY, until the convocation of a plenary session to reorganize the Executive Organ. However, the socialist-democratic coalition was perturbed because BARAN's constitutional successor happened to be a nationalist, and they demanded that President LIVITSKY issue a decree by virtue of which the office of chairman of the Executive Organ would rotate each week among all members of the Executive Organ. This flouting of the constitution created chaos in the Executive Organ and was protested by such friends of the RADA as the Ukrainian Women's League in the United States headed by Mrs. Milena RUDNITSKA. Additions to the Executive Organ, according to the constitution, take place as a result of a presidential decree, which requests that a named RADA official form a new Executive Organ (cabinet). President LIVITSKY, the opposition holds, broke the constitution by appointing a new member to the Executive Organ, the socialist Ivan DIBERT. This was done simply in order to balance that sector against the nationalist.

f. The opposition states that in large degree RADA finances are obtained by collection campaigns. Such campaigns were carried out most effectively in Europe and the New World by the OUN/M. The public which donates money wants assurance that the money is spent properly. Thus far, despite repeated requests from the

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OUN/M, the RADA has not publicized financial reports. Normally, it is held, the state budget is discussed in parliament and by the citizenry, and the RADA should do likewise. But, the opposition, holds, the RADA has not done so because such a report will displease the public by showing that almost all the money was used for administrative expenses -- payment of salaries, travel costs, entertainment costs, aid to democratic and socialist publications, not for genuine realization of a liberation policy.

g. The opposition holds that the RADA and its Executive Organ discriminate against the OUN/M with the allegation that the latter is totalitarian. In inter-party negotiations the democratic-socialist coalition openly stated that future heads of the RADA and of the Executive Organ can never be a nationalist, for such a turn would compromise the RADA in the eyes of the Western democratic world and of the Ukrainians. By this stand this coalition shows that it merely tolerates the OUN/M and does not consider the latter a serious partner.

h. Finally, it is charged that the socialist-democratic coalition is bringing about a fall in the prestige of the RADA among Ukrainians. The opposition holds that democracy permits criticism of those in power. The government, however, must not stoop to a low tone in answering its critics. The OUN/M opposition affirms, however, that Mykola LIVITSKY and his ministry of press and propaganda have overstepped the limits of decency in their polemics with ZCH/OUN and ZPUHVR.

3. Such are the basic arguments of the opposition within the OUN/M. These arguments were so convincing that the OUN/M authorized ANDRIEVSKY and General Mykola KAPUSTYANSKY, OUN/M delegates in the Executive Organ, to resign. Both ANDRIEVSKY and KAPUSTYANSKY agree that the RADA's deficiencies must be removed, they hold that the idea at the base of the RADA must be preserved if possible. The oppositionists, however, believe that the RADA can be saved only by a more equitable balance of power among the three sectors in it. This equalization, the opposition maintains, is possible only if the RADA brings into its fold the major emigre groups as yet outside (Zch/OUN, ZPUHVR, BHD, etc.). OUN/M discussions at the present time concern ways and means of broadening the RADA to make it more representative. If this proves impossible, a new "revolutionary center" is planned as a competitor to the RADA. KASHUBA, speaking for the Zch/OUN, stated it would be ready to join such a "revolutionary center".

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