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MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

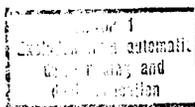
**SUBJECT: CIA Support of ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation,
Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council)**

1. During the 1971 Headquarters review of Project QRDYNAMIC, which supports the ZP/UHVR, the logical question was raised whether CIA is in fact supporting the "right group" of Ukrainian emigres in its efforts to encourage dissidence in the Soviet Ukraine. The undersigned officer has attempted to examine the present status of the world Ukrainian emigre community, with the aid of QRDYNAMIC principal agents, in order to reach a conclusion in this respect.

2. The political spectrum of the profusion of Ukrainian emigre political parties in the period following World War II is broad. The Ukrainian, for historical reasons, is a political animal and a compulsive organizer with very definite and vocal political views. His arch enemy is, as it has been for centuries, Russia, whether Tsarist or Soviet. The Ukrainian emigration is nationalistic and distinctive because it has traditionally maintained close contact with the homeland. The post-war Ukrainian emigration represented a virtual government in exile whose aim was to liberate the Ukraine from Russian domination and establish an independent Ukrainian state. At present most of the former influential military and civilian emigre leaders are dead or inactively retired. Some of the numerous political parties have become little more than social groups whose members nostalgically recall more vigorous and active days. The emigres also have many social, civic and fraternal organizations which are of no interest to us.

3. At the request of the Headquarters case officer, Dr. Myroslav Prokop, Vice President of Prolog Corporation, New York, has prepared a summary report on the present situation in the Ukrainian political emigre community. This report is attached. Dr. Prokop (QRDYNAMIC/17) is in charge of publications at Prolog Corporation, the research and publishing arm of ZP/UHVR, and on the editorial board of the monthly publication Suchasnist (Contemporary), published in Munich. His report is factual, making no judgment of the

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actual effectiveness of any one political group. It supplements and brings up to date studies on the Ukrainian emigration which have been made in the past by CIA and academic institutions.

4. We have reviewed previous studies, particularly the extensive 148 page George Washington University study dated 1955, in connection with more recent information. It is evident that the number and membership of political groups is steadily declining, and many of those still in existence are moribund and characterized by internal dissent, diminishing contact with Ukrainian dissidents, and lack of a real goal. The OUN/Bandera organization is a large, amorphous group with very few intellectual adherents. In the 1950's the British SIS maintained operational contacts with this group; occasional contacts with key officials may still be maintained, but we may assume that the British have no further serious interest in the Bandera group. The OUN/Melnyk group is smaller, better organized, and might have been a useful group to support at one time. It is presently suspected of having connections, and even receiving some financial support, from the BND and/or the French. The OUNz, a small splinter group, is closely affiliated with ZP/UHVR, and some ZP/UHVR officers also hold executive positions in the OUNz. CIA indirectly supports this group by subsidizing their monthly publication, ostensibly from Prolog Corporation, through Project QRDYNAMIC.

5. The ZP/UHVR, in common with all emigre groups, had its share of internal strife in the 1940's and 1950's, but has stabilized remarkably since that time. From the days when it was an elite political advisory body to the Ukrainian underground movement fighting first the German Wehrmacht, and later the Soviet Army, its leaders have developed a political maturity which distinguishes it from other emigre political groups. Despite its title of "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council" the officers of the ZP/UHVR realistically have no illusions about promoting an internal revolt which could only result in senseless slaughter and extreme repression. Although supporting nationalist aims, they do so by promoting political liberalization and encouraging the cultural independence of the Ukraine through free literary expression in Ukrainian, a highly developed Slavic language of which they are fiercely proud. The Soviets give lip service to the development of national languages such as Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Uzbek, but information from ZP/UHVR contacts inside Ukraine, and confirmed in part by other sources, indicates that in actual practice the Soviets are discouraging the use and

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spread of non-Russian languages. This fact challenges the ZP/UHVR to exfiltrate self-published dissident Ukrainian samvydav (Russian samizdat) and exploit it to the discomfiture of the Soviets.

6. Of additional significance in the question of CIA support to ZP/UHVR is the unique fact that ZP/UHVR is active in recruiting younger people -- not only as unwitting contacts, but also as future officers of Prolog Corporation, who will become cleared, witting assets of CIA. Prolog itself is not plagued with problems of extreme old age: the president is 63, the vice presidents 58 and 45. A logical successor to President Mykola Lebed would be one of the two vice-presidents. One young person, a long time unwitting asset, will graduate from Long Island University in 1972 and plans to become an officer of Prolog.

7. It seems clear that if CIA is interested in continued support of a political group which is energetically fighting Soviet repression of national minorities in the Soviet Union, the ZP/UHVR is our most effective vehicle. This serious and dedicated group of intellectuals has shown its appreciation for CIA support over the past twenty years by rendering the type of cooperation that has contributed to our covert action as well as positive intelligence mission against the Soviet Union.

CA/B2

Attachment:

Report on Major Ukrainian Political Organizations

DDP/CA/B2/L J:pak (2 August 1971)

Distribution:

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August 3, 1971

MAJOR UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

At the beginning of the 1970's the Ukrainian political spectrum has many features of the prewar Ukrainian political groupings. The decisive political role is played by three factions of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists): OUN/B (Bandera), OUN/M (Melnyk) and OUNz (za kordonom - abroad). The first one is the largest but has few followers with an intellectual background. The centrist parties are represented by URDP (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party), UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) and UNDS (Ukrainian National State Union). The left wing is composed of the USP (Ukrainian Socialist Party), the right wing by the monarchist SHD (Union of Hetmanite Patriots) and by SVU (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine).

The OUN/M, OUNz, UNDO, UNDS and USP are members of the Ukrainska Natsionalna Rada (Ukrainian National Council). The Executive Organ of the UN Rada is viewed by the adherents of the Rada as a government-in-exile of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) which existed in Ukraine from 1917 to 1920. The Ukrainian word "rada" is the equivalent of the Russian "soviet" or council.

The major Ukrainian emigre political organizations today are the following:

OUN/B

OUN/B - Orhanizatsiya Ukrainykykh Natsionalistiv - Banderivtsi (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists - Bandera Group) has its headquarters in Munich, home of its president, Yaroslav Stetsko, who is also president of the ABN (see below). Headquarters of both organizations are located at Zeppelin Str. 67. Other principal officers in Munich are Ivan Kashuba, Stepan Lenkavskyy, Stepan Mudryk; Osyp Tiushka in Innsbruck, Austria; Hryhory Drabat and Wasyl Oleskiv in London; Wolodymyr Kosyk and Borys Witoszynskyy in Paris; Roman Malashchuk and Wasyl Bezkhlibnyk in Toronto; Mykhaylo Shegedyn in Melbourne, Australia. OUN/B is affiliated with such civic organizations as Orhanizatsia Oborony Chotyriokh Svobid Ukrainy (OOChSU - Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of Ukraine) in the USA or Liga Vyzvolennia Ukrainy (LVU - The League for Liberation of Ukraine) in Canada. The leaders of OUN/B and OOChSU in the USA are Stepan Halamay, Lev Futala, Ivan Vynnyk, Ivan Vovchuk. The leader of the OUN/B in Canada, R. Malashchuk, is president of the LVU.

The OUN/B has following publications: Shlakh Peremohy (Path To Victory), a weekly, Munich, Zeppelin St. 67, Vyzvolnyy Shlakh (Liberation Path), a monthly magazine published in London and the Ukrainian Review also in London at 200 Liverpool Rd; Homin Ukrainy (Echo from Ukraine),

a weekly in Toronto, at 140 Bathurst Street; Visnyk (The Herald), a monthly in New York.

OUN/B is the originator and a decisive factor of the Antybolshovytskyy Blok Narodiv (ABN - Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) which includes representatives of various non-Russian emigre organizations. In the USA the activities of the ABN are conducted by Pryateli ABN (PABNA - Friends of the ABN in America). Spilka Ukrainskoyi Molodi (SUM - Association of Ukrainian Youth) with branches in several Western countries is also affiliated with the OUN/B.

OUN/M

OUN/M - OUN - Melnykivtsi (Melnyk group), has its headquarters in Paris, where its leader Oleh Shtul-Zhdanovych lives. Other principal officers of the OUN/M are: Arkady Zhukovskyy in Paris; Dmytro Andrievskyy, Yakiv Makovetsky, Antin Melnyk, Ivan Zheguts in Munich; Hryhory Kostyuk in London; Yaroslav Haywas in Newark, N.J., Zenon Horodysky in Trenton, N.J., Osyp Zinkewych in Baltimore, Zynowij Knysh in Toronto, Mykola Plawiuk in Ancaster, Ont., Marko Antonowych in Montreal, Bohdan Bociurkiw in Ottawa. The official publication of the OUN/M is Ukrainske Slovo (Ukrainian Word), Paris, 6 rue du Sabot. The semi-official Novyy Shlakh (New Pathway) is published in Winnipeg, Canada, and Smoloskyp (Torch) in Baltimore, Md. Affiliated with the OUN/M are Orhanizatsia Derzhavnoho Vidrodzenniya Ukrainy (ODWU - Organization for the Rebirth of Ukraine) in the USA,

Ukrainske Natsionalne Obyednanniya (UNO - Ukrainian National Alliance) in Canada, and Ukrainska Natsionalna Yednist (UNYe - Ukrainian National Union) in France.

OUNz

OUNz - OUN-Za kordonom (abroad), has its headquarters in Munich at Dachauerstr. 9. Principal officers are Bohdan Kordiuk (chairman), Daria Rebet, Ivan Chornij, Iryna Kozak in Munich; Swiatoslaw Vasyenko in Nottingham, England, Volodymyr Vashkovich in Manchester, Oleksander Kowalysko in Bradford, Roman Ilnytskyj, Anatol Kaminsky, Roman Borkowsky in New York, Vasyl Markus in Chicago, Bohdan Pidhaynyy, Karlo Mykytchuk in Toronto, Canada. The official monthly of the OUNz is Ukrainskyy Samostijnyk (Ukrainian Independent), published in Munich.

OUNz is affiliated with ZP/UHVR (see below).

ZP/UHVR

ZP/UHVR - Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrain's'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvolnoyi Rady - (Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) was established in Ukraine in 1944 as the political leadership of the UPA - Ukrainska Povstanska Armia (Ukrainian Insurgent Army)

The ZP/UHVR president is Rev. Ivan Hryniokh, residing in Munich. Other principal officers are Joseph Beran in Bern, Switzerland, Kyrylo Mytrowych in Paris, Sviatoslaw Vasyenko in Nottingham, England, Bohdan Czajkiwskyj, Roman Ilnytskyj,

Anatol Kaminsky, Mykola Lebed, Myroslaw Prokop in New York, Pawlo Turula in Chicago, Mykhaylo Marunchak in Winnipeg, Myroslaw Maleckyj in Toronto, Bohdan Halajczuk in Buenos Aires, Argentina, Myroslaw Boluch in Glenroy, Vic., Australia. ZP/UHVR publishes Suchasnist (Contemporary), a monthly in Munich.

OUNz and ZP/UHVR are affiliated with two civic organizations: Obyednannia Prykhylnykyv Vyzvolnoyi Borotby (OPWB - Association for Free Ukraine) in the USA and Ukrainsko-Kanadijske Towarystwo (Ukrainian-Canadian Society) in Canada, which have branches in various cities in both countries, as well as with Obyednannia Kolyshnykh Voyakiv UPA (Association of Former Members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army - UPA) in the USA and Canada. In recent years many student groups and intellectuals have established close ties with ZP/UHVR and OUNz.

URDP

URDP - Ukrainska Revolutsijno Demokratychna Partiya (Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party) has its headquarters in Munich, W. Germany. It is headed by Wasyl Hryshko, who presently resides in Munich. Other leaders of the URDP are: Fedir Hayenko, Mykhaylo Romashko, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Vitaly Bender in Reading, England and Mykola Stepanenko in Washington, D.C. In 1970 a split occurred in the party

and a faction led by Mykola Stepanenko organized another group under the same name, challenging Hryshko's leadership. Stepanenko is Vice President of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) in exile. The majority of members have so far remained loyal to Hryshko, however Stepanenko enjoys support of Mykola Lewytsky, President of the UNR in exile.

The URDP publishes Ukrainsky Wisti (The Ukrainian News), a weekly in Neu Ulm, W. Germany and a monthly magazine Novi Dni (The New Days) in Toronto.

URDP is affiliated with three civic organizations: Orhanizatsia Ukraintsiv Revolutsiyno-Demokratychnykh Perekonan (OURDP - Organization of Ukrainians of Revolutionary Democratic Convictions) in the USA, Demokratyчне Obyednannia Ukraintsiv Represovanykh Sovietamy (DOBRUS - Democratic Union of The Ukrainians Persecuted by the Soviets) in the USA and Canada, Orhanizatsia Ukrainskoyi Demokratychnoyi Molodi (ODUM - Organization of Ukrainian Democratic Youth) in the USA and Canada.

UNDO

UNDO - Ukrainske Natsionalno-Demokratyчне Obyednannia (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) is composed of members of the older generation. It was set up in the Western Ukraine in the 1920's under Polish occupation. It ceased to exist at the beginning of the World War II and resumed its activities after the war. The chairman of the UNDO is

Lubomyr Makarushka in Bonn. Other principal officers are: Mykhaylo Dobriansky in Munich, Wasyl Fedoronchuk in Rome, Dmytro Kuzyk in Trenton, N.J., Dmytrol Esterniuk in Rochester, N.Y., and Oleksander Yavorsky in Toronto. Disagreements within the party caused a split in 1970. A faction led by Esterniuk and Fedoronchuk is supported in the UN Rada by Mykola Lewytsky. The UNDO under L. Makarushka, the URDP under Hryshko and the OUNz are presently in opposition to the leadership of UN Rada and to Mykola Lewytsky.

USP

USP - Ukrainska Sotsialistychna Partiya (Ukrainian Socialist Party) has no followers of the younger generation and is rent by internal disagreements. Its principal officers are: Stepan Ripecky (chairman) residing in Brooklyn, N.Y., Ivan Palyvoda in Bound Brook, N.J., Spyrydon Dowhal, Panas Fedenko, Ivan Luchyshyn in Munich, W. Germany.

UNDS

UNDS - Ukrainskyy Natsionalno-Derzhavnyy Soyuz (Ukrainian National State Union) has its headquarters in Munich, Dachauerstr. 9. It was established after the second World War in West Germany by Ukrainian emigres of the middle or older generation from Eastern Ukraine. The principal officers of the UNDS are Mykola Liwysky (chairman), Petro Beley, Ivan Tarasiuk in Munich, Ivan Kramarenko and Petro Samoyliv in New York. They publish a weekly Meta (The Aim), which

is also a semi-official spokesman of the UN Rada. Its editor is Myroslaw Styranka.

SHD

SHD - Soyuz Hetmantsiv Derzhavnykiv (Union of Hetmanite-Patriots) is a monarchist party headed by Miss Elysaveta Skoropadskyy, a daughter of the late Hetman Pavlo Skoropadskyy, who ruled in Ukraine from April to November 1918. Principal officers: Bohdan Koval and Dmytro Levchuk in New York, Myron Korolyshyn in Toronto. SHD publishes a weekly newspaper - Batkivshchyna (Fatherland) in Toronto.

SVU

SVU - Spilka Vyzvolennya Ukrainy (Alliance for the Liberation of Ukraine) is based in the USA with branches in Canada, Australia and West Germany. Its members come primarily from Eastern Ukraine. Chairman: Valentyn Koval, Brooklyn, N.Y. Other officers: Taras Bulba-Borovets, Dmytro Yarko and Oleksa Kalyunnyk. SVU's publication is Misia Ukrainy (The Mission of Ukraine), published in Brooklyn, N.Y. The SVU is affiliated with The Americans to Free Captive Nations, Inc., New York, N.Y.

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MA
for Myroslav Prokop
Vice President
Prolog Corporation