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22 May 1952

To: SR/WC

From: SR/W 2

Subject: Overview of ZPUHVR-ZChOUN Relations

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
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Both factions of the Ukrainian revolutionary camp realize that their squabbles are good for no one except the Bolsheviks. For this reason they favor unification but in the way of this unification there are certain barriers.

1. Personalities

- a. Early last year BANDERA issued a declaration in his party organ Surma to the effect that he recognizes the Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the OUN. By this declaration he executed a complete about-turn since he renounced his previous totalitarian stand and accepted the democratic principles of the Resolutions. There are a few people in the ZPUHVR camp (VRECHONIA, and Lev and Daria REBID) however, who have not fully accepted BANDERA's recantation. They demand that BANDERA publicly "confess" to all his acts which had run counter to the Resolutions; after that they would like to have him resign from the Provid of the OUN and later from ZChOUN. Needless to say, BANDERA will not lower himself to that extent since he does not feel that he is particularly guilty and has already "confessed" his error for not having recognized the Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Congress before 1951.
- b. There are equally chauvinistic individuals within the BANDERA camp (STETSKO, PELENSKY and others) who apparently are more reactionary and who would like to see BANDERA the undisputed leader of all the revolutionary forces, both in the homeland and the emigration.
- c. At the present time, STETSKO is in Canada and VRECHONIA is in Switzerland. Since these leading barriers to unification are physically out of Germany both factions are striving for unification.

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2. Mutual Distrust

a. The BANDERA faction on the whole feels that any successes which have been gained by the Ukrainians have been only through the efforts of OUN/BANDERA. Since this, of course, is a fact they, therefore, feel that OUN/BANDERA should run the entire revolutionary camp. The ZPUHVR people, who in the 1940's (up to August 1948) were also OUN/BANDERA people - since BANDERA was the symbolic leader of the anti-German, anti-Soviet struggle - were in the homeland during the democratization of 1943 and 1944 so that now they are opposed to the now semi-totalitarian philosophy of the ZChOUN. They heartily distrust BANDERA and feel that he will attempt to take over ZPUHVR and later perhaps even the homeland organizations. Because of this distrust they have set up a barrier toward unification.

b. The homeland has suggested that the emigres form a Foreign Center of the OUN with BANDERA as its Chairman. Because of the mutual distrust, both parties have insisted on a majority vote in this Center. Since BANDERA is the Chairman, that would mean that if there were an equal number of ZChOUN people and ZPUHVR people then he would be in the position to break the tie in favor of the ZChOUN. This is foreseen by ZPUHVR and, therefore, they would want a voting majority. The ZChOUN on the other hand will not permit this since they feel that it would be against their interest.

From the above it should be evident that neither party is completely "lily-white". In the past, only unfavorable things were said about BANDERA and only favorable things about ZPUHVR. In actuality, however, much can be said for and against both organizations.



Attachment - 1

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Subject: Background of ZPUHVR-ZChOUN Relations

1. Introduction

a. The present conflict within the emigre revolutionary camp has not yet been solved along the lines suggested by the leadership of the OUN in the Ukraine. The following study was written to show the current picture and to indicate the political lines of the ZChOUN and ZPUHVR, as well as to highlight their differences.

b. In the 1920's, when the defeated German Reichswehr carried on its organization clandestinely, and when Fascism and Nazism began to form their cadres, KONOVALETZ and MELNYK organized the secret military society, UWO (Ukrainian Military Organization). In 1927-1929, UWO was absorbed by another semi-clandestine organization called the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The UWO became the clandestine military arm of the OUN. The ideology of the OUN was totalitarian, ultra-nationalistic, anti-Polish and anti-Soviet. The terroristic activities of the military branch of the OUN in Poland revealed the organization's violent anti-Polish and anti-Soviet character. Chief of the OUN and its military branch in Poland was Stefan BANDERA. In 1938, KONOVALETZ was assassinated in Rotterdam, and was succeeded by Col. Andrew MELNYK, whose background and philosophy were similar to his predecessors.

c. After the outbreak of the Russo-German war, the BANDERA group established, with the consent of the Wehrmacht, an Independent Ukrainian State. This, however, did not appeal to the German politicians who incarcerated BANDERA and his Premier, Y. STETSKO for this act. At the end of the war BANDERA was in the Austrian Tyrol. In the summer of 1945 he came to Southern Bavaria, where he has allegedly been to this time. In 1945 he established the Foreign Sections of the OUN (ZChOUN) and became its Providnik (Leader).

d. At this time it should be noted that BANDERA has never held any official title or membership in the UPA or the UHVR. His claim to membership in the "Council of Three" (Biuro Provodu) has been refuted by the homeland on the grounds that the Biuro Provodu ceased to exist in 1946, after the death of two of its original members (MAIVSKY and VOLOSHIN). It should also be noted that the title of Providnik OUN officially went out of existence in 1943, when it was decided that all policy matters concerning

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the party would henceforth be decided by a council of equals (the Provid) instead of by a single leader. The evolution of the Ukrainian underground in the last 9 years in the direction of decentralization of executive power has seemingly not been fully accepted by BANDERA, who dreams nostalgically of the period prior to 1941, when he held the unchallenged position of "Fuhrer" in his faction of the OUN.

e. OUN/BANDERA (properly called ZChOUN - Zakordonna Chastyny OUN)

Because of the attraction in the name "BANDERA" and because it claimed the right to exist as the foreign extension of the OUN (which is upheld by the OUN in the Ukraine), the BANDERA party grew to be one of the largest and certainly the most vocal of the Ukrainian emigre parties in the Western Zones of Germany. However, it has been the tendency of BANDERA leadership to veer away from the established platform of the OUN in the Ukraine. The following is the political platform of the OUN according to the Resolutions of the Third Extraordinary Great Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (21-25 August 1943).

- (1) The OUN (in the Ukraine) supports the right of all nations for independent life in their own states, for cultural and economic development.
- (2) The OUN is the directing force of the revolutionary liberation struggle. The OUN does not struggle for a mono-party Ukraine; it does not fight for power in the Ukraine; nor for the form of any future Ukrainian government. The government and its form will be decided by the people themselves and by its ablest representatives.
- (3) The OUN is for the destruction of Bolshevik and German exploitation and the destruction of serfdom system in the organization of agriculture.

Instead of adhering to the platform set by the OUN in the Ukraine, the OUN/BANDERA group has followed a program of political opportunism, mixed with strong doses of the "Fuhrer" principle, and dislike for Anglo-American democracy, which caused a split in the ZChOUN as early as 1948 when, LEBED, HRINIOCH and others were ousted by BANDERA. For a period of time, before the split, Mykola LEBED led the anti-BANDERA faction of the OUN/B. (Note: LEBED, as in the case of most officials of UHVR and members of the UPA, was a member of the OUN and, as such, came under the ZChOUN even though he was a leading member of the ZPUHVR). Following their expulsion by OUN/B, no attempt was made by LEBED and his group to organize an OUN movement that would run counter to the OUN/B in the emigration. There has never been an "OUN/LEBED" which could be compared to the OUN/BANDERA or OUN/MELNYK.

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f. The position of the OUN Provid in the Ukraine on this expulsion of LEBED and others was given in the Mandate from the Ukraine dated October-November 1950 which stated:

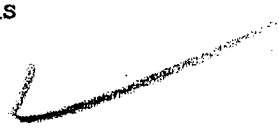
"The OUN Provid in the homeland considers that those who were members of the OUN Provid in the homeland in the period after the Third Congress, and who were later sent abroad, continue to be members of the OUN Provid, and it does not recognize their expulsion from the OUN which occurred recently abroad. It further considers those who were members of the OUN Provid in 1941 and who were in German concentration camps (namely, S. BANDERA, Y. STETSKO and S. LENKAVSKY) to be members of the Provid of the entire OUN".

g. In May 1948, the UNR - Ukrainska Norodna Rada (Ukrainian National Council) an overt, self-styled government in exile, dominated on the cabinet level by older Ukrainian politicians and military figures, approached the ZPUHVR regarding the selection of ZPUHVR delegates to participate in a Congress of Ukrainian emigre parties held under the UNR sponsorship. The ZPUHVR refused and claimed that although it agreed that the UNR was indeed the surviving element of the 1917-1918 republic, it could not speak for the liberation movement in the Ukraine today and the parties represented in the UNR Congress were all, with the exception of OUN/BANDERA, without any live roots or counterparts in the Ukraine. The OUN/BANDERA took no such stand and sent delegates to the UNR sponsored Congress. The position taken by the ZPUHVR in 1948 was vindicated in the Mandate received from the homeland in November 1950 which stated:

"The OUN Provid in the homeland considers the ZChOUN unnecessarily joined with the Ukrainian National Council in its present make-up and current objectives, and it is considered completely improper that ZChOUN should have joined the UNR in the name of the entire OUN. This step, moreover, is not in accord with the recognition of UHVR. Therefore the OUN Provid in the homeland does not consider itself associated with the Ukrainian National Council".

Although the ZChOUN agreed to the establishment of the UNR in 1948, it never took up the six seats allotted to it on the council, nor did it take part in any UNR activities. Thus, we see in this conflict, between ZPUHVR and ZChOUN that BANDERA is a person who clutches at any opportunity in order to enhance his personal prestige. The ZChOUN is the foreign representation of the homeland OUN and is recognized as such by the OUN and UHVR.

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h. OUN-Organizacya Ukrainskych Nationalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

The OUN was founded in 1929 in Prague as the militant Ukrainian Nationalist Party, composed primarily of Western Ukrainians living in areas under Polish control. By 1943, it became evident to the leadership of the OUN in Ukraine, that if it were to survive as an element in the Ukrainian resistance movement it would have to (1) liberalize its political and economic platform, and (2) broaden the base of the organization to include the Eastern Ukraine. The first step was identification of OUN with the UHVR and its platform, and recognition of the UHVR's control of the UPA. The intervening years of the Soviet occupation have brought the political program of the OUN further to the left and have oriented the party even more towards the fullest acceptance of the fact that without winning over the Eastern Ukrainians to their program, there never can be a free Ukraine. There is no doubt about the fact that the OUN is the dominant political party in the resistance movement. A majority of the leading members of the UHVR and UPA are, at the same time, members of the OUN. Quoting again from the Mandate of the homeland:

"OUN is the only political organization in the Ukrainian Liberation - Revolutionary Movement which has a decided influence on its duties and functions".

OUN recognizes and supports UHVR, having representatives in UHVR. As a political organization, however, OUN maintains complete independence in its political activity. In other words, UHVR cannot force its own political policy on OUN; as a political organization OUN is not obligated to subordinate itself to such a policy if it does not so desire. The political policy of the UHVR must be the result of the harmonization of the views of the entire UHVR with the views of the representatives of OUN in UHVR (and/or with the views of the representatives of other parties in UHVR, if such should exist), since OUN representatives represent the views of OUN in UHVR, although they entered not as a group but on an individual basis.

i. The Mandate of 1950 further states:

"The OUN Provid in the homeland considers ... those who were members of the OUN Provid in 1941 and who were in German concentration camps, namely, S. BANDERA, Y. STETSKO and S. LENKAVSKY to be members of the Provid of the entire OUN. The OUN Provid in the homeland proposes to all these colleagues and members of the Provid that they create abroad a Foreign Center of the OUN Provid under the chairmanship of the Head of the

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Provid of the entire OUN, S. BANDERA. The duties of the Foreign Center of the OUN Provid would be the supervision of all OUN foreign policy and of all the activity of foreign organizations of the OUN. The Foreign Center of the OUN Provid should act on the same basis as the OUN Provid in the homeland, that is, they should settle all matters by the usual majority vote".

j. The organization and platform of the UHVR and its foreign representation, ZPUHVR.

The UHVR - Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada (Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation) was established in June 1944 and has served, since that date, as the highest organ of direction in the Ukrainian resistance movement. Its purpose was to unify the various elements of the resistance in the wake of the Soviet reoccupation of the Ukraine and to prepare the resistance for an extended struggle against the Soviets which would include extension of the movement into the Eastern Ukraine. The economic-political platform adopted by the UHVR in 1944 and which is still supported in 1952 includes state ownership of heavy industry, banking, transport and natural resources; private and cooperative ownership of light industry and commerce; private ownership of land within the limits of holdings actually worked; separation of the church and state, and a parliamentary form of government based on universal suffrage. The present UHVR functions as an underground government, consisting of a General Secretariat, within which, the various departments or ministries are represented. The present General-Secretary is Colonel Vasil KOVAL, who replaced General Taras CHUPRINKA who was killed in the Ukraine March 1950. Pouches received from the Ukraine in December 1949 and November 1950, showed that the UHVR still maintains its position of leadership in the Ukraine and is recognized by all Ukrainian Nationalists as the underground government. Eastern Ukrainians are represented in the UHVR.

k. The aims and tasks of the UHVR as proclaimed in June 1944 are as follows:

(1) To unify and coordinate the activities of all liberation forces of the Ukrainian people in all parts of the Ukraine and abroad for the national revolutionary-liberation struggle against all enemies of the Ukrainian people and especially against the MOSCOW-BOLSHEVIK and GERMAN-HITLERITE imperialists, and to create an independent united Ukrainian State.

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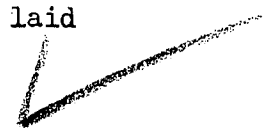
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- (2) To determine what the ideological program of the Ukrainian people's struggle will be.
- (3) To direct the national revolutionary-liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people until such time that an independent state can be set up and an organ of the independent rule in the Ukraine can be created.
- (4) To represent, as the supreme All-Ukrainian Center, the present political struggle of the Ukrainian people inside and outside Ukraine.
- (5) To bring to life, the first Ukrainian government and summon the first Ukrainian all-national representation.

The UHVR also proclaims the principles of its undertaking to be as follows:

- (1) The UHVR desires and will strive for the establishment of an independent United Ukrainian State, embracing all the land belonging to the Ukrainian people, utilizing a revolutionary struggle against all enemies of independence for the Ukrainian people, especially against the Bolshevik and German occupant, and will cooperate with any other group favoring such an independence.
  - (2) The UHVR is created on the principle that it shall retain full political independence from the influence of force.
  - (3) The UHVR is composed of all leaders of diversified political elements, regardless of their ideological and political point of view, who favor political sovereignty for the Ukrainian State and independence of the Ukrainian movement.
1. ZPUHVR is the foreign representation of the homeland UHVR. The ZPUHVR is composed of a group of people sent abroad in 1944, by the UHVR, to represent it to foreign governments and the Roman Catholic Church. Among the members of this mission was Mykola LEBED, Secretary-General for Foreign Affairs of the UHVR. The ZPUHVR is to act in behalf of the homeland and will be nothing more, nor less, than the spokesman for the Ukrainian underground government. The Mandate held by ZPUHVR to represent the UHVR was severely challenged between 1947 and 1950 by other emigre groups, chiefly the OUN/BANDERA and the Ukrainian National Rada (UNR). While certainly the normal struggle for power, common to emigre groups, was the cause of much of this, a basic factor in the challenge was to be found in the ZPUHVR's insistence that the emigration adhere to the economic-political platform laid down by the OUN in 1943 and the UHVR in 1944.

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2. With this background of the organizations, both in the homeland and in the emigration, one can better understand the errors committed by the ZChOUN which have caused the conflict between the representatives of the OUN and UHVR abroad.

a. As stated previously, the widely-publicized feud started in 1947 and reached a climax during the second half of 1948 when the representatives of the UHVR were summarily expelled from the BANDERA emigre OUN group, which relegated to itself exclusive authority not only to act as the major voice of the Ukrainian resistance movement but also to direct the movement in the homeland along ideological and military lines dictated by Stepan BANDERA. The present stand seems to be:

(1) BANDERA would like to be the leader of the entire revolutionary camp, both in the homeland and in the emigration. ZPUHVR says, no, since the UHVR is a democratic instrument, it cannot recognize a totalitarian leader. Besides this, they feel that BANDERA is a decade behind times.

(2) ZPUHVR feels that the UHVR is the supreme government in the homeland and the ZPUHVR is its representative abroad.

(3) ZPUHVR is recognized by the OUN and UHVR in the homeland as the authentic foreign representation of the underground government.

b. An explanation of the position of the UHVR and OUN in the homeland, as outlined by the Mandate, is as follows:


(1) Only the ZPUHVR is recognized as the spokesman for the fighting Ukraine and has the right to appear in the name of the fighting Ukraine, to represent her interests in the emigration as well as before the western democracies.

(2) The OUN in the Ukraine is a completely democratic organization and the ZChOUN should be that kind of organization as well. In other words the ZChOUN has not fulfilled its purpose in the emigration.

The above appeal to the Ukrainian emigration was signed by members of the UHVR, UPA, and the OUN.

c. Since the beginning of the split the OUN/BANDERA has published articles in its press which criticize the ZPUHVR and the United States rather violently. One possible reason

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for his criticism of ZPUHVR is that BANDERA appears to oppose all political organizations in the emigration which favor a representative form of government in the Ukraine as opposed to a mono-party, OUN/BANDERA regime. In a report received from the homeland which stated "The position of the OUN Provid in the Ukraine (summer 1950) in various controversial questions and Urgent Problems Abroad", the following was stated:

"While understanding the importance of its role on Ukrainian soil, the OUN at the same time does not conclude from this that it should have the right to a monopolistic position in the liberated Ukraine. The OUN favors democracy in the governmental structure of the future Ukrainian state and is in favor of freedom of political and social organizations. The position of the OUN in the future Ukrainian state and its influence in the policy of the state will depend on the condition of its existing organized forces and on its true political and moral worth".

That the articles published by OUN/BANDERA against the ZPUHVR met with disfavor in the homeland is verified in the Mandate which stated:

"The OUN Provid in the homeland affirms that the publications of our branches in the emigration - that is, both those of ZChOUN and those of the 'opposition' - do not show the proper level of political culture and community morale. The OUN Provid in the homeland feels that the ZChOUN and the 'opposition' must immediately and completely cease their public accusations and misunderstandings of one another.

"The OUN Provid in the homeland affirms that ZChOUN publications violate this principle, and the whole series of articles which deviate from the decisions of the Third OUN Congress, therefore, are in the nature of discussions and appear absolutely unofficially".

3. Even though this feud between ZPUHVR and ZChOUN is very deep, the possibilities of a peaceful agreement is nevertheless possible. On 12 January 1952, HRINIOCH and STETSKO met to discuss the differences of the ZChOUN and ZPUHVR and to try to amend the conflict, or at least, come to an understanding as to when a conference could be held between leaders of both groups to discuss the misunderstandings and come up with a solution for discontinuance of the feud. It was decided by the ZChOUN that before there could be a rapprochement, the following basic issues had to be resolved:

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- a. Creation of a Foreign Center of the OUN according to the 1950 homeland suggestion.
- b. Return to status anti-quo: ZChOUN to be represented in ZPUHVR.
- c. Acceptance by both organizations of a joint platform for cooperation.

CASSOWARY 3 agreed to the above, only in different order:

- a. Acceptance by both organizations of a joint platform for cooperation.
- b. Creation of a Foreign Center of the OUN according to the 1950 homeland suggestions.
- c. Return to status anti-quo: ZChOUN to be represented in ZPUHVR.

The reason for the change was that it would be much easier for ZPUHVR to pass on the first issue, since the people who could pass on this were immediately available but to pass on the second and third would take much longer since some of the people who would have to be consulted are not in Germany. Although a number of mutual recriminations were launched during this meeting, there was really nothing so basic that another conference would be prevented. The second official conference was held on 23 January 1952. The purpose of this conference was the exchange and study of the letters from the homeland to both sides. All representatives at this conference agreed, after the exchange of letters, that it was evident that the misunderstanding between the two organizations were based primarily on each organization not knowing the homeland's stand toward the other. Each side agreed to have a meeting of its organization in order to reconsider its former stand and to decide on the possibility of cooperation between the two factions. On 24 January the OUN/B Provid had a meeting with BANDERA present. BANDERA allegedly stated that he would "bend over backwards" in order that cooperation be established. BANDERA set up one prerequisite and that was that ZPUHVR co-opt two or three members of the ZChOUN. The third official conference was held 25 January 1952. During this conference there arose a serious misunderstanding between the two organizations. At the very outset, HRINIOCH emphasized that ZPUHVR could, under no circumstances, accept representatives of OUN/B. (This had been decided at a meeting of ZPUHVR by a majority vote). The following were stated by HRINIOCH as the basis ZPUHVR would be willing to cooperate with ZChOUN:

- a. ZChOUN and ZPUHVR should coordinate their external politics, that is, they would pass on declarations, memorials, notes, etc., presenting a unified front toward foreign nations.

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- b. ZChOUN and ZPUHVR should coordinate their work in the internal Ukrainian politics, that is, they would agree on their policy line toward the UN Rada, and its Executive Organ, etc.
- c. Both organizations to stop press campaigns against each other.
- d. Both organizations would jointly administer the funds which have been set aside for propagandizing the homeland struggle.
- e. Both organizations would exchange all materials received from the homeland.
- f. ZChOUN and ZPUHVR would have jointly only a single contact with the homeland.

The representative of the OUN/B was of the opinion that the above propositions brought up by HRINIOCH, even if accepted, would be only a partial solution in resolving the conflict. During this Third conference, HRINIOCH requested STETSKO to prepare for the next meeting, OUN/B proposals for a political rapprochement and for resolving the problem of communications with the homeland on the basis of ZPUHVR's refusal to coopt ZChOUN members. On 2 February 1952, HRINIOCH received a note signed by STETSKO in the name of OUN/B, containing the OUN/B proposals requested by HRINIOCH. HRINIOCH was irked that STETSKO, after carrying on oral discussions on 17, 23, 25 January should suddenly resort to a written memorandum, thereby placing the negotiations on a more rigid and complex level. The highly formal note stated that OUN/B was willing to cooperate and to abide by the respective responsibilities of the two groups as specified by the Mandate of October-November 1950 received from the homeland.

- 4. The respective responsibilities as stated in the Mandate are:
  - a. "The OUN Provid in the homeland believes that the following should belong to the exclusive sphere of activity of activity of the ZPUHVR:
    - (1) Representation of the liberation-revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian people in the homeland and its ramifications to the foreign and Ukrainian political world.
    - (2) Diplomatic and other external political actions in line with the liberation-revolutionary struggle in the homeland and with the Ukrainian Liberation policy in general.
    - (3) Actions relating to political consolidation, on the

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basis of the liberation-revolutionary struggle in the homeland, on the internal Ukrainian level.

(4) The basic part of the propaganda about the struggle for liberation in the Ukraine.

(5) The organization of activities to assist the struggle in the homeland. (Our underscore - BMM)

b. To the exclusive sphere of activity of the ZChOUN should be:

(1) Building up the organization abroad.

(2) Increasing ideological-educational and political training among the cadres.

(3) Mass political and organizational work among the Ukrainian emigration.

(4) Increased work on the ideological and programmatic content of the Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary movement.

(5) Propaganda about the struggle in the homeland.

(6) Complete and close cooperation with ZPUHVR in its activities and the greatest possible support of these (ZPUHVR) activities!

5. The proposals which were received by ZPUHVR from ZChOUN on 2 February 1952 are:

a. ZChOUN declares that the relationship between itself and ZPUHVR should be the same as that which exists between OUN and UHVR in the homeland. (HRINIOCH had turned down a 25 January ZChOUN proposal to co-opt immediately members of ZChOUN into the ZPUHVR. He had told the ZChOUN representatives that they would first have to prove by tangible evidence in their propaganda, publications and general activity, that they have changed their methods and attitudes; otherwise, immediate co-optation would carry over to ZPUHVR all the unpleasant and undesirable stigmas which are presently associated with ZChOUN).

b. These ZChOUN representatives in the ZPUHVR are to represent the policy and aims of the ZChOUN and are to be responsible to the leadership of the ZChOUN for their implementation; at the same time, ZChOUN has power to recall and/or replace its representatives by new ones. (Since the individuals who had been expelled from the ZChOUN would now be reinstated that would mean that BANDERA could recall them from ZPUHVR and

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replace them by his supporters, thus making ZPUHVR his tool.

c. Agreement on policy matters and political action between the ZChOUN and ZPUHVR is to be kept under continual review by their respective representatives in the ZPUHVR. Such agreement is a necessary condition of ZChOUN cooperation and support of the ZPUHVR. The ZPUHVR is to undertake to accept such representatives as may be delegated to it by the leadership of the ZChOUN, and it is to agree on all its political activity and policy with the leadership of the ZChOUN. (This obviously would give ZChOUN virtual veto power over ZPUHVR activities).

d. There is to be only one channel of communications with the homeland. This is to be the responsibility of the Referentura for Communications with the homeland of the ZChOUN, acting on behalf of the revolutionary movement abroad as a whole.

e. The Communications Referentura of the ZChOUN is to act as a channel for any mail or information to and from the homeland emanating from, or addressed to, the ZPUHVR, and is also to undertake to convey to the Ukraine any representatives which may be appointed by the ZPUHVR.

f. The ZPUHVR is to hand over to the Communications Referentura of the ZChOUN all matters pertaining to Communications with the homeland. (The logic of ZChOUN's stand on communications is incomprehensible in view of the fact that they state earlier in the 2 February note that they are willing to abide by the division of responsibilities as set forth by the homeland in the October - November Mandate of 1950. According to the Mandate, ZPUHVR has been made the sole organization responsible for coordination of activities in support of the homeland resistance. ZPUHVR has the authority to ask all interested emigre groups to channel their assistance to the homeland through ZPUHVR).

6. The ZChOUN note of 2 February 1952 seems to indicate that the ZChOUN would like to take over all responsibility in regard not only to politics in the emigration, but also relative to contacts with the homeland. There can be no political or operational rapprochement if ZChOUN insists on these demands. BANDERA has expressed a desire to meet with LEBED so as to discuss this unification on a higher level. To date, this has been impossible since authority to leave and re-enter the United States has not been granted to LEBED.

In the meantime, however, a faction of ZChOUN incensed by STETSKO's note of 2 February, and wishing to establish true cooperation between the two organizations, has been laying the groundwork for ousting STETSKO from his leading position. If this takes place, there is no doubt that there will be a political rapprochement between ZChOUN and ZPUHVR which means that either Great Britain or the United States will lose the cooperation of the revolutionary camp. According to available

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information it would appear that it is Britain who will lose its assets. It may be with this in mind that the British are trying to establish "joint operations".

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