

22 Sept 53

August 11 thru 18 talks

1. Since arrival LEBED ZPUHVR holding exploratory talks with "New opposition" (LENKAVSKY, KORDYUK, PIDHAINY). LEBED reports that para 1A-B (MUNI 4636-IN43763) sufficed for KORDYUK and LENKAVSKY to state they ready accept all ZPUHVR positions. Some oppositionists warned BANDERA may give up but will not turn over to ZP JAVALIN link. (para 1A-B)

"To the General secretary of Foreign Affairs of the UHVR, M. LEBED. We hereby confirm your mandate and that of the entire ZPUHVR to represent abroad the homeland UHVR and the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement in the homeland. The tasks of ZPUHVR are as follows: To represent abroad the UHVR, the UPA, the Ukrainian Liberation underground, and the entire Ukrainian Liberation Movement in the Ukraine.

2. To carry on abroad political, diplomatic, and informational activities along the line of the Liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people.

3. To the ZP is given freedom of decision in utilizing resistance its forms and extent, as well as training.

B. "ZPUHVR is also the highest authoratative organ for all those participants in the ZPA and in the underground that are abroad. Attached to ZPUHVR a UPA Mission works along UPA lines. In the name of the Presidium M. LISOVIY and the head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR Col. V. KOVAL."

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

15 AUGUST 1953

LEBED and PIDHAINY talked 15 August PIDHAINY just returned from JAVELIN contact and stated he was given to understand KUBARK - JAVELIN talks re: Ukes had already taken place. PIDHAINY told LEBED JAVELIN feels both ZP and Zch have "equal chances" because homeland masses in the BANDERA and its leaders with ZP.

LEBED and DOCTOR REPORT:

In line with the decisions London conference, Zch ^{UNDER} ~~and~~ signature BANDERA and LENKAVSKY gave ZP letter on 11 August asking talks re: healing breach and declaring LENKAVSKY, PIDHAINY and BENTSAL official Zch representatives. On 17 August ZP replied proposing talk on 20 August and suggesting Zch delegation include BANDERA, LENKAVSKY, PIDHAINY, STETSKO, KORDYUK and any available member of the Zch contact organ. ZP reply also stated LEBED, HRYNIOCH, AND DARIA REBET would be ZP delegates and ~~lev~~ REBET and STAKHIV would represent OUN members outside Zch. CASSOWARIES report BANDERA may insist KASHUBA be present but oppositionists against SB leader's participation.

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20 AUGUST 1953 TALKS

A. Present were five members from Zch (BANDERA, LENKAUSKY, KORDYUK, PIDHAINY, BENTSAL) and four from ZP (LEBED, HRYNIOCH, LEV REBET, STAKHIV) conferred for three hours. BANDERA rejected validity documents, stated all vital matters require Zch provid approval. Talk suspended until 23 August. In interim, 7 to 9 ZCh leaders to visit STETSKO who is ailing at BAD KISSINGEN to bring back official ZCh stand.

B. During this conference BANDERA asked for exact text of homelands stand re ZPUHVR's Mandate and whether ZP has original and if there are other documents. ZPreplied in affirmative. KORDYUK, PIDHAINY, LENKAVSKV accepted the homelands directives, BENTSAL was non-committal.

C. When document was shown BANDERA he lost his equilibrium, flung document to the table and questioned its legitimacy. PIDHAINY defended the document. No other ZCh delegate supported BANDERA position.

D. During talks KORDYUK supported ZP stand wholly, terming homelands directives "statesman-like". PIDHAINY supported ZP in all except refused believe MYRON carrying on diversions on orders of BANDERA. LENKAVSKY was fence-sitter; BENTSAL non-committal, BANDERA stooge.

23 AUGUST 1953 TALKS

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- A. Same delegates as during 20 August talks plus DARIA REBET (2P) and STETSKO (ZCh) conferred for three hours. ZCh chastened and authenticity of documents (homeland recent directives) were not questioned.
- B. As official spokesman ZCh provided BANDERA accepted Homelands stand re: ZPUHVR responsibilities with reservations as to how ZP carries out ZP tasks and how ZP activities correspond with structure, exigencies and principles Liberation Movement as set down in July 1950 Mandate. BANDERA stated normalization required ZCh representatives be added to ZP.
- C. ZP reply acceptance of directives re: ZCh OUN reorganization, will make inclusion ZCh delegates in ZP automatic. Regarding reservations BANDERA (para B) above, HRYNIOCH attacked ZCh for putting itself up as judge of homeland and ZP, whereas in fact ZCh has been adjudged wrong by homeland and ordered to conform. BANDERA retreated and indicated acceptance ZP Mandate.
- D. BANDERA stated ZCh never had "intention" part from Third Congress positions. He stated passage of Homeland stand that his not being OUN head "pointless" because he resigned August 1952, whereas document dated 1953. HRYNOICH warned BANDERA not to play fool and tied matter to Homeland decisions as reflected Third Congress, not whims emegres who imply KOVAL Homeland leader virtue BANDERA resignation.
- E. BANDERA stated charges "SCHISM" personally injurious and untrue because MYRON given orders to subordinate self homeland provided and in future said orders to be repeated via two channels, implying JAVELIN and KUBARK links.

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HRYNIOCH reports: After 23 August talk BANDERA and STETSKO seek private meeting with LEBED. These three plus KORDYUK and PIDHAINY met same evening. KORDYUK and PIDHAINY stated if BANDERA refuses to accept Homeland's directives re: ZCh OUN, they will resign and publicize the mess. BANDERA solicitous, STETSKO worried why he not in Triumvirate.

Prior 24 August talks CASSOWARIES optimistic. Feel BANDERA to surrender at least tactically, LENKAVSKY to go with majority, BENTSAL does not count. KASHUBA and STETSKO may remain die-hards.

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24 AUGUST 1953 TALKS

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A. Negotiations sour. ZCh formally accepted all documents but demanded impossible conditions regarding implementations LEBED lost equilibrium in protesting HRYNOICH feels STETSKO motor behind recalcitrance.

B. Regarding the reorganization of the ZCh OUN the ZCh provide stand is that a Extraordinary ZCh conference must be called, that ZCh will inform the Homeland of receipt document and expects reply sent directly to ZCh, and that Triumvirate should coordinate with ZCh provide as equal partners.

C. In reply to ZP questions on ZCh intentions regarding Homeland liaison, application democratic ideology, and association UPA soldiers abroad with ZP - UPA Mission, BANDERA queried "and more dictates".?

COMMENT: Following received thru informant - ZCh proved stalling for time. Hope to inform MYRON of events and obtain reply before Extraordinary Conference convenes. Conference itself a stalling device. ZCh leaders in poor spirits. BANDERA and STETSKO consider KORDYOK, PIDHAINY, LENKAVSKY, ZP men. Some friction exists between BANDERA and STETSKO. Latter pleased Homeland makes it clear BANDERA not OUN head.

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25 AUGUST 1953 TALKS

A. Talk broken off in half hour. In reply ZP request ZCh implement Homeland desires BANDERA harangued ZP twenty minutes. Exasperated LEBED attacked BANDERA personally ("Bandit", "Cain", "Evil-doer"), and BANDERA bolted talk. ~~X~~ STETSKO followed leader, rest ZCh delegates remained.

B. BANDERA orated ZP must be controlled by ZCh because Homeland cannot do so and ZP in hands of oligarchy that cannot be removed, flouts democracy, departed nationalist ideology, etc.

C. Although one more talk may be held ZCh request, ZP to start implement homeland instructions. ~~X~~ KURDYUK, ~~X~~ PIDHAINY, ~~X~~ LENKAVSKY accept Triumvirate.

[] COMMENT: LEBED requests CASSOWARY 15 persuade ~~X~~ MATLA accept post in Triumvirate even if BANDERA refuses serve, that MATLA telegraph acceptance to ZP MUNICH plus authorization REBET initiate action prior arrival MATLA Europe.

HQS COMMENT: MATLA contacted by CASSOWARY 15, 31 August 1953 and latter accepted post in Triumvirate and has notified ZP MUNICH as requested. Regarding authorization REBET initiate action prior arrival MATLA replied he could not honestly approve this without knowing full details. MATLA has begun to process for a Re-Entry permit and will attempt to obtain a visa to travel Germany.

LEBED REPORTS: PIDHAINY departed 26 August to meet JAVELIN representative. PIDHAINY told LEBED he would try to make impossible JAVELIN support BANDERA, will give JAVELIN BANDERA'S stand plus PIDHAINY'S personal view, which is that ZCh OUN liaison be

centralized with ZPUHVR.

OTHER SOURCE REPORTS: ZCh anxious resume talks KASHUBA spoke of finding other employment. BANDERA, STETSKO plan attach ZPas American agents, ZP charge Zenon in Poland UB agent and ZP alliance with Maistrenko "Neo-Communists".

26 AUGUST 1953 from JAVELIN

JAVELIN prefers to await comments from Ukraine on BANDERA'S messages and outcome BANDERA'S talks with LEBED in Germany before deciding how much further pressure to exert on JAVELIN contacts. JAVELIN most anxious not to damage intelligence possibilities they have been trying to build up.

It appears to JAVELIN that KOVAL does not exercise effective leadership in at least LKOV and Drohobych districts and not able to communicate with these areas.

HQS COMMENT: JAVELIN stalling so as to solidify own position with current info from MYRON. Regarding KOVAL, leadership not questionable, has communications in DROHOBYCH district present time.

Cable dated 3 September 1953

1. LEBED stated PIDHAINY met JAVELIN official 26-27 August in North Germany. JAVELIN man said he knew nothing regarding contents alleged KUBARK note to JAVELIN. Prior to this meeting PIDHAINY's equivalent to CASSOWARY 15 phoned from London that JAVELIN received KUBARK cables and that JAVELIN said for time being they will continue to support BANDERA.

2. LEBED STATED BANDERA and PIDHAINY departed for London 31 August. PIDHAINY asked LEBED to be available in London for meeting with JAVELIN. LEBED indicated he does not want deal with JAVELIN at this time.

3. HRYNIDCH stated LEBED personally not to take part in any future ZCh - ZP talks although other ZP members may. ZP policy is to activate Triumvirate.

OTHER SOURCE REPORTS: BANDERA plans formal acceptance Homeland decisions but to make impossible their realization, putting blame on ZP. Also ZCh to refuse accept Triumvirate holding extraordinary ZCh conference as the only qualified body in such matters. Any future ZCh - ZP talk to be limited to sounding out ZP intentions regarding the proposed conference.

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CABLE DATED 15 September 1953

1. LEBED reported that he is under strong pressure from PIDHAINY to negotiate directly with JAVELIN. Twice via long distance telephone PIDHAINY requested that LEBED come to LONDON in order to see SMASH who told PIDHAINY that JAVELIN does not wish to encourage the schism but desires to protect their assets. LEBED feels that he can no longer procrastinate.

2. In order to prevent a direct JAVELIN-LEBED-PIDHAINY contact before KUBARK and JAVELIN are fully coordinated, CSOB made the following suggestions:

- a) Invite SMASH to come to Germany that week for preliminary talks with []
- b) Set up soonest JAVELIN-KUBARK talks with Headquarters and CSOB representatives present, either in LONDON or GERMANY.
- ZP and ZCh representatives to be physically available when needed.

3. LEBED reported that BANDERA's departure was being delayed because of visa red tape so that PIDHAINY is the sole negotiator from his side. BANDERA may depart this week.

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Cable dated 22 September 1953

1. Upon his arrival discussed Headquarters' views with Both agreed with the position feeling that if irritating question of MYRON's "illegal activity" can be settled this will give us time to review the entire operation.

2. In subsequent discussions with LEBED, the following details were disclosed on PIDHAINY's London trip:

- a) According to PIDHAINY, SMASH apparently now accepts the validity of the ZP mandate pertaining to communications with the Homeland. As a result, SMASH told BANDERA he must join the triumvirate (REBET, BANDERA, MATLA) as proposed in Homeland message to ~~LEBED~~ the ZP. BANDERA replied that he must discuss this with his colleagues in Munich. This discussion is still continuing and the outcome is unknown.
- b) PIDHAINY told LEBED that SMASH desired to talk with him before meeting BANDERA again. In line with LEBED's instructions, PIDHAINY informed SMASH that LEBED is responsible for ZP policy matters and not for the details of operational work with KUBARK.
- c) PIDHAINY also said that SMASH rejected suggestion his subordinates and BANDERA that JAVELIN link with MYRON be continued on the present basis as an entirely independent link with the Homeland.

3. In view of the above, asked LEBED for his approach to discussions with SMASH. LEBED replied that first SMASH must agree to having

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BANDERA send signed message to MYRON telling him to cease diversionary action and to subordinate himself to CAWNPORE headquarters. If he agrees LEBED will send message through KUBARK link to CAWNPORE headquarters informing them of this development and then will wait until CAWNPORE confirms MYRON's subordination and gives instructions for the future handling of the JAVELIN link. LEBED personally thinks CAWNPORE may continue to isolate MYRON due uncertainty of his security but LEBED will not raise this point with SMASH. If SMASH states BANDERA may not agree or if BANDERA himself refuses, LEBED will so inform CAWNPORE Headquarters. It will then be up to them to solve question of MYRON's insubordination. When this is done, CAWNPORE will then inform LEBED of future disposition of whatever radio operators are remaining from JAVELIN link.

4. LEBED feels that the above questions cannot be resolved quickly because time must elapse for CAWNPORE to observe and report on whether or not MYRON will respond to BANDERA's order if it is given. Hence final status MYRON plus CAWNPORE's desires re handling JAVELIN link may not be known until next year. At this time, talks with SMASH may be resumed in order to develop some system of coordination but LEBED will not now go into any operational discussion with SMASH.

5. [] concurred with LEBED's estimate of the situation. He stated that, as KUBARK representative, he did not desire initiate any detailed discussion with SMASH leading to joint operations formula as a solution for the problem of coordinating KUBARK-JAVELIN activity in support CAWNPORE. LEBED replied that his first major problem was to secure BANDERA and SMASH agreement in principle that the ZP must coordinate activity abroad and that, in Homeland, CAWNPORE Headquarters was the sole coordinating point. MYRON

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MYRON is merely a test case, the solution of which will demonstrate BANDERA-SMASH good faith. LEBED and HRINIOCH are not sure exactly how they will proceed next year to implement their mandate operationally so that even if the matter is broached by SMASH, results are sure to be inconclusive.

6. [] position with SMASH will emphasize KUBARK desire to go slow on problems of coordination until we are able to make a final decision re the ultimate worth of this operation as far as intelligence production is concerned. Since we are now in contact with CANNPORE Headquarters, we hope to have a better basis for this decision before the links are shut down for the winter. Hence will take no action until next year. LEBED views concerning the time required for accomplishing his objectives will dovetail [] position and further encourage acceptance slow approach.

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