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ATTACHMENT

17 Aug 1951

Notes on Conversations with Mr. Walter Dushnyk Concerning
Ukrainian Affairs

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1. I asked Mr. Dushnyk to give me as complete a briefing as possible concerning (a) Ukrainian emigre organizations in Western Europe, (b) Ukrainian organizations in the United States and North America, (c) political lines and affiliations between ^{U.S.} emigre organizations and European organizations, and (d) Ukrainian liberation movement in the Homeland and its ties with Ukrainian emigre organizations. We attempted to cover these subjects in some sort of logical order but found, of course, that it was not always possible to keep entirely on the track. I shall summarize his remarks pretty much as he gave them to me without any attempt to pull them together into a connected study.

I asked Mr. D. to do an extensive paper on the subjects which we had covered in our conversations and we should have this by the end of August. Reimbursement for this study will be arranged through OO Contacts Division.

2. Mr. D. stated that there are approximately six important Ukrainian emigre groups in Germany and Western Europe.

3. OUN/Bandera

He stated that there was no question that this was numerically the largest group and recited the history of the difficulties at the close of World War II whereby the Bandera faction gained control of Ukrainian elements in the DP camps.

4. The UNR in Augsburg considers itself the true Ukrainian government in exile. The council is formed of six parties. Leading figures are Mazepa and Levitsky. Mr. D. did not know whether the UNR had officially moved to London, as yet, although the move is scheduled.

When the UNR was formed it was intended that there be three main elements: Right wing - monarchists (Hetmanites), Bandera, Melnyk. Center - UNDO, UDS. Left wing - URDP, the Socialist party in the Western Ukraine. Bandera withdrew after a year and the Hetmanites never actually joined the Rada. Most of the leading Rada people, according to Mr. D., are now older emigres, perhaps 60% of them from the Eastern Ukraine.

In a conversation with Mr. D., Levine made the point that the Rada people think like ministers - are inclined to be dreamers. At this point, Mr. D. recounted something of the attitude of Lebid to Levine and his committee. Lebid stated to Levine that he strongly believes in self-determination but on condition that a plebiscite be held after all Ukrainian deportees are brought back to the Ukraine. Mr. D. made the point that two

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people who pay lip service to self-determination are not necessarily thinking along the same lines; i. e., Levine's self-determination is not the same as Lebid's.

Mr. D. states that a great segment of the Soviet emigration in the United States supports the Rada since it represents their own government taken away from them by the Soviets. The Hetmanites are, of course, opposed to the Rada since it represents the succession to the Petlura government which sold the Western Ukraine to Poland.

*draft line
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The Rada claims to have ties to the Homeland through Borovets. Mr. D. stated that Lebid, Bandera, Melnyk, and Borovets all claim ties with the Homeland. It is his opinion that only the first two actually exist. Borovets has recently been in London and has made considerable noise concerning his couriers to the Ukraine. He has also boasted about PW activities against Soviet troops in Berlin (Ukrainians). Mr. D. treats this with much reserve. He states that the bulk of the Ukrainians in the Soviet Army are probably with Malinowski in the Far East. He has had reports that as much as 85% of personnel in some Far Eastern units are Ukrainians.

5. The Melnyk Group

Melnyk is the legal successor to Konovalets, leader of the Ukrainian Corps in Kiev, 1917. When Konovalets was assassinated in Rotterdam in 1938, Melnyk was made head of the OUN.

The Germans played with both the Bandera and Melnyk factions during World War II. The Reichswehr used Bandera, the Nazi party and gestapo used Melnyk. Mr. D. recounted the history of the Bandera, Stetsko, Melnyk and Lebid activities during World War II but I shall not repeat this material here.

Melnyk now supports the Rada. He lives in Luxembourg. His group in Germany is small ~~but~~ but contains many intellectuals. He mentioned an important figure who represents Melnyk in the Rada, one Andrievsky, whose brother is in the Bandera group.

Mr. D. noted that Melnyk has considerable strength among the Ukrainian emigration in Canada.

6. The Hetmanites

Leading figure is Skoropatsky in England, who is now flirting with Bandera and the ABN. There is some Hetmanite strength in Canada, comparatively little in Germany. The movement has little attraction for new emigres.

Mr. D. definitely minimized the importance of the Hetmanite group in the present Ukrainian political picture.

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7. The URDP (Bagrianny Group)

This is a small organization but very militant and vocal, About 95% of the membership is from the Soviet Ukraine.

The URDP is very influential amongst Soviet Ukrainians and are strong supporters of the Rada. As such, they support Borevets in opposition to Lebid.

The URDP publishes the Visti which Mr. D. considers an excellent paper with good representation among the emigration. It is particularly good in the economic and literary fields. It pretends not to be a party organ but is for all practical purposes.

Mr. D. states that the VOA is often attacked because many of its staff people are URDP members or closely connected thereto, therefore Leftists.

8. The Lebid Group

Mr. D. recounted the history of the Lebid/Bandera split. He said that many people believe the rift is not real. Many Banderists believe this to be true and secretly sympathize with Lebid. (This is a point we must go into more thoroughly). Bandera accuses Lebid of having gone too far to the left, adopting Soviet economic and ideological concepts. Mr. D. stated that Lebid is for a system of free enterprise, private ownership of land, State ownership of heavy industries, etc.

Lebid publishes Suchasna Ukraina in Germany. It runs from twelve to sixteen pages, and is a fairly recent publication. Mr. D. believes it is fast becoming the most representative of the Ukrainian emigration; particularly interesting is its moderate tone - no violent attacks against other Ukrainian groups.

Mr. D. met Mr. Hrynioch, considers him wonderful speaker, very clever. Hrynioch went to State Department and saw Reinhardt. Mr. D. states he got a non-committal reception. He also saw Pearson in Canada. Mr. D. has reported on Hrynioch's activities to the New York office. I am checking to assure we have all his recent reports.

Mr. D. stated that from his own experience with Lebid, his best judgment is that the rift with Bandera is genuine. Mr. D. believes it to be irreparable on account of Bandera's totalitarian and reactionary character. Mr. D. states that Bandera is sometimes thought to be controlled by his SB, and not his own master. Mr. D. told me that Lebid has couriers in the Ukraine. The UPA in the Western Ukraine has been forced to limit its activities severely and the bulk of its supporters are now underground. More of this further on. I asked Mr. D. on what he based his ideas concerning the resistance movement in the Homeland. He admitted that most of his information had come through the Lebid courier system but that he had also had talks with fairly recent escapees - Eastern Ukrainians, Slovaks, Rumanians, etc.

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In New York the Melnyk Group and the URDP (Eastern) campaign against Lebid accusing him of the assassination of Hrivivsky in Zhetomir in 1941. At a recent meeting in New York with Hrynioch, Lebid defended himself of this charge vigorously and threatened to sue his accusers.

Mr. D. stated that Lebid has many sympathizers among the intellectuals. The Bandera crowd is more emotional. Lebid has a fair number of followers from the Soviet Ukraine. The left wing of the Lebid group publishes Vpered, a more or less Socialist organ. The Lebid left wing is the element most commonly accused by the Bandera group of being Marxists.

Interesting is the fact that Lebid has a fairly strong following among Eastern Ukrainian youth. I asked Mr. D. whether this was Lebid's own claim but he said that he had heard this from other sources.

Concerning the Lebid courier system, Mr. D. mentioned that considerable material had come from the underground in August 1950. He said that Lebid expected more this month. (1)

9. Mr. D. had some interesting comments concerning the recent visit of ~~Herbert~~ ^{Herbert}. At a cocktail party given by Mrs. Kermit Roosevelt in New York, Herbert told Mr. D. that he had seen the Bandera couriers in Germany in February 1951. Herbert and MacLean were in Munich, Mr. D. states, making contact with various Separatist groups, including Cossacks and Ukrainians.

Herbert is now President of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society in England, attempting to bring Ukraine and Poland together with Lvov as the capitol. Herbert works closely with Poles of similar mind, including Chapski and Wraga.

Herbert invited Mr. D., Lebid, Dobriansky, to England. Mr. D. feels moderately sure that Herbert may be something more than a private citizen. I asked Mr. D. whether Lebid had accepted Herbert's invitation to England and he said that he had not. On the whole, Lebid was very cautious with Herbert; very uninclined to buy his deal.

Mr. D. mentioned ~~Mr.~~ Vladimir DeKorostevet, a Hetmanite from England who came to the United States and Canada in December 1950 in support of Bandera and the ABN. Mr. D. knows that DeKorostevetz talked to Robert and has reported on this to the New York office. ~~Debid~~

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Ukrainian Political Alignments in North America

1. D. estimated that there are about one million Americans of Ukrainian descent, of which approximately 70% can be considered as being from the Western Ukraine. This would be a very round approximation. The bulk of the earlier emigration settled in the industrial and mining areas, particularly Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, Scranton, Wilkes-Barre, and other Pennsylvania towns. D. noted that the political consciousness among the Ukrainian emigration dates pretty much from the end of World War II.

2. The largest Ukrainian group is a beneficiary association, The Ukrainian National Association. The President is Holychen, who is also Vice-President of UKK. The UNA has much influence in Ukrainian society, particularly along the welfare and cultural lines. It also advances money for the publication of books, e.g., the Clarence Manning book.

The UNA, D. stated to be the backbone of the UKK, responsible for organization of the UKK in 1940. It donates considerable money to the UKK (perhaps \$5,000. a year), and has a large voice in UKK affairs, although it does not exercise control. It publishes "Svoboda", the oldest of the Ukrainian publications (1894).

3. The Ukrainian Workman's Association, with headquarters in Scranton, is a socialist organization headed up by Batiuk. It publishes the "Narodna Volya". Membership approximately 18,000. During World War II it veered pretty well to the left and three of its leaders are now in the Commk camp; Sichinsky, Cehilinski, and Levitsky, who is now editor of "Hromodsky Holos", a Commk line paper. D. stated that one or two lodges of the UNA may possibly be Communist dominated.

4. The Providence group in Philadelphia is an organization of Ukrainian Catholics in America. Membership approximately 8,000. Publishes a daily - "Amerika". Organization is Catholic, conservative, contains some Hetmanites.

5. The Ukrainian Aid Society of Pittsburgh. Membership consists of Ukrainians of Orthodox faith. Publishes the "Narodna Slovo".

6. Smaller groups:

The Ukrainian Youth League of North America:
A non-political, non-sectarian group.

The Ukrainian Catholic Youth of America.

The Ukrainian Orthodox Youth of North America.

7. The main overall organization is the Ukrainian Congress Committee (I am abbreviating it here UKK) which was organized in 1940 by the four main groups; i.e., The UNA, UNA, Providence Group, and Ukrainian National Aid Society. The Scranton group dropped out in 1943 in connection with its leftist inclination. The UKK was reorganized in 1944; again in 1946, by

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which time a very large number of the Ukrainian groups in North America had joined.

At the last congress of the UKK in Washington - November 1949 - D. stated that there were an impressive number of Ukrainian organizations represented, representatives of 85% of the Ukrainian-Americans. The only important group not represented is the Seranton group.

Steps are now being taken to bring the Seranton group into the UKK. Margolin, Jarema, and Dobriansky are all working in this direction. D. states that Batiuk has resisted this, possibly because he fears the group, or he, himself, may be submerged.

This has ^{an} important connection with anti-Soviet struggle ^{abroad} since the Seranton group are firm supporters of the Rada and a merger of the Seranton group with the UKK, D. believes, would very much help toward a Rada-UHVR hookup. D. states that such an amalgamation would reduce the Bandera influence to zero.

D. states that the Seranton group wants the UKK to recognize the Rada as the Provisional Government of the Ukraine which, of course, it cannot do. D. was very firm in his estimate concerning the value toward Ukrainian unity of the Seranton group joining the UKK.

Somewhere in here D. gave me his views concerning the possibility of a Rada-Lebid Union. He feels it is not hopeless but he is not at all enthusiastic about an early merger. According to D., Lebid says he would join up with the Rada if the Rada would recognize him as being responsible for conduct of underground warfare.

D. stated that any interest by any American group, private or governmental, in support of the union, or in support of one side or the other, would have tremendous influence and would go far toward bringing about a union. (I watched closely at this point for any hint that there might be a subtle purpose behind this comment but found none. If he had it, it was well concealed).

8. More random notes on unification

The UKK, the Pan-American Conference, and Ukrainian-Canadian Committee (Melnyk) are all strongly behind unification. I asked what Dobriansky's position was in this matter and D. stated that he was on the same side. Interesting point was D.'s statement that Dobriansky is not interested in the party squabble and minor cleavages within the emigration. He probably is not even aware of much of this activity. D. stated it is doubtful whether Dobriansky reads any Ukrainian papers. These remarks are not based on enmity since D. is very close personally to Dobriansky.

D. stated that there had been an exchange of memoranda between the UNR and SPUEVR. Basically, says D., the Rada asks recognition as the defacto

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government of the Ukraine. Lebid will not so recognize it, believes this is premature, says the UHVR would not accept this. He will recognize its leadership outside the Ukraine. Lebid says we will buy the Rada if the Rada will buy UHVR. The Rada buys the UPA but not UHVR.

Again D. noted that a union between UNR and Lebid would constitute a majority of Ukrainian opinion and that the Bandera influence would thereby be reduced to nothing.

There is pressure within the ranks of the Soranton group for union with the UKK. D. believes the main opposition comes from Batiuk himself, who has the reputation of being a little dictator.

9. The Pan-American Conference was organized in November 1947 to include all major Ukrainian organizations in North and South America. The actual burden of financing the organization falls on the UKK. D's. estimate - perhaps \$10,000. a year. The Chief is the Rev. W. Kushnir from Winnipeg.

The Canadian element is the Ukrainian Canadian Committee which is largely Melnyk dominated, very partisan, very much behind the Rada. It is in opposition to the UKK, particularly over the question of recognition of the Rada.

The U. S. element, of course, is the UKK. An interesting point D. made here was that in spite of all sorts of pressure on the UKK from Bandera, Lebid, Melnyk, it remains very much an American organization.

The South American part of the Rada Conference consists of a number of groups. D. stated that the Ukrainians in South America are pretty much divided. There are numbers of Ukrainians in almost all the South American countries, particularly Chile, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, Bolivia.

Following are the newer organizations of recent emigres, or as D. often called them, DP's:

Bandera: Organization for Defense of the four freedoms of the Ukraine. Headquarters in New York. Possibly largest of the groups of newer emigrants. Supports itself by collections.

Melnyk: ODWW, organization for the national rebirth of the Ukraine. Granovski is the Chief. They have some American-born supporters, have youth and woman's auxiliaries. Publish the "Samostina Ukraina" in Chicago, which is violently anti-Bandera, anti-Lebid.

Soviet Ukraine Organizations:

DOHUS "Association of Ukrainians Formerly Oppressed by the Soviets" contains the most active elements among Soviet Ukrainian emigrants. Supports the Rada.

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Has many URDP members but is not a political party, not an ideological group, although membership inclines towards Social Democrats and Socialists.

ODUN: Organization of Ukrainian Democratic youth. This is close to Dobrus and the Rada.

SUMA: Union of Ukrainian youth of America. This is more nationalist, more orientated toward Bandera, but not a strictly Banderist group.

Lebid:

Interestingly enough, D. stated that there is no new group definitely supporting Lebid but there are some stirrings. A certain Prokop is attempting something in Newark, while Antonovich is the Lebid man in Washington. (I shall check this further).

ABN:

The American friends of the ABN. Leading figures are Dr. Geza, Dr. Procyk. Bandera backers, along with Nationalists, Hungarians, Slovaks, etc.

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Situation in the Homeland

1. Dushnyk recited the history of the Ukrainian resistance movement in brief, and then went on to the present situation as he understands it. I asked him on what he based his information concerning the Homeland and he said it was largely from the Lebid couriers but that he had also conversed with numbers of fairly recent emigres, not only from the Ukraine, but from Hungary, Rumania, etc. On the whole, I do not believe that he gave us anything which we do not already have, except that it was sifted down through the mind of a man with great background on the area and sound judgment.

2. The UHVR is the Supra-Party Organization in the Homeland, the main party, of course, being the OUN. D. stated that there seemed to be fresh elements in the UHVR, mainly from the Soviet Ukraine. The UHVR is a defacto government controlling propaganda, radio, printing. (I seemed to miss asking him about the radio).

The UPA is now pretty much lying low. Some Ukrainian emigres insist that there are two or three UPA's in the Homeland; Lebid, of course, denies this.

Borovets claims that he had channels to the UPA. D. doubts it. As proof D. states that Melnyk's group came to Lebid and asked him to help them establish contact with the Ukrainians.

D. states that even Bandera is now careful about claiming that all resistance in the Homeland is by the OUN.

D. mentioned Major Poltava as Chief of Propaganda of the UHVR; states his reports are excellent. Hornovy, another UHVR leader, writes in "Suchasna Ukraina". Very moderate in tone.

I queried D. about anti-Russian sentiment in the Ukraine, particularly in the Eastern Ukraine. He said the feeling is not strong but possibly does exist. An interesting note concerning the Ukrainian language: The purest Ukrainian is spoken in the Eastern Ukraine, (the left bank Ukraine) around Poltava. Despite the renaissance of Ukrainian literature, etc., along Soviet lines, the Eastern Ukrainians are afraid to use the Ukrainian language for fear they will be branded as nationalists.

D. went on at some further length concerning the Homeland resistance movement but I find nothing additional in my notes which we do not already have.

Random Notes

1. The Lebid-Dushnyk relationships: They are quite close, although Lebid does not know that D. reports to OO or to any American Agency. D. says

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Lebid may suspect it. D. has occasionally been attacked by some recent emigres for his support of and understanding of United States government policy and actions. Some emigres for this reason may feel that D. is close to the government.

2. D. was suggested as VOA Ukrainian Chief by his OO friends in New York. Also by Dr. MacDowell, Army Psychological Warfare Division. D. would accept only the position of Chief of the Ukrainian desk, not a minor script writer's job. I asked him whether he felt he could have accepted this position in view of the unsatisfactory Ukrainian line adopted by the VOA. He stated that for him to accept the chair there would have to be some change in Ukrainian policy by the VOA. D. has no illusions about any radical nationalist line being possible, all he asks is a realistic Ukrainian program. His views here, as elsewhere, I found to be extremely moderate.

I found this VOA business informative in view of the possibility of our using him for Ukrainian black radio. It was convenient to query him on the VOA after he had opened the subject and to draw my own conclusions concerning our use of him.

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