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# OFFICIAL DISPATCH



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DISPATCH NO.: MGM-A-793



DATE: 20 October 1948

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Chief, FBM

FROM

Chief of Station, Karlsruhe

subject: General - Operational

Project ICON: Po

Postwar Ukrainian Exile Organizations in Testern Europe

REF

MGH-391

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#### INTRODUCTION

- 1. Although several persons mentioned in this report have assigned covernames, these names have not been used in view of the fact that this report goes into such detail that these covernames could be easily identified with the true name of the sources. CAPELIN is an exception to this statement. The alternative, the temporary assignment of covernames to all personalities who are closely connected in the text to the sources, would be extremely unwieldy and further complicate the depiction of an already involved set of circumstances. Aside from the sources mentioned in the text, supplementary information was collected from Capt. Rea Pyle, recently of CIC Region IV, Munich, and from the combined files of CIC Region IV, MOB, and KOB. The two main sources of this report were Dr. Ivan HRINIOCH, vice-president of ZPUHVR and evaluated a B source, and CAPELIN who is considered a C source.
- 2. To avoid unnecessary repetition of previously disseminated information, reference numbers to former reports are used wherever possible. Since November 1946 when the last fairly comprehensive report on Ukrainian emigrant organizations was compiled by MOB, namely MGH-391, there has been further clarification of the interrelationship, etc. of the organizations described in that report. Appendix A contains a list of amendments and corrections to MGH-391.
- 3. This report will show what Ukrainian organization(s) we deem worthy of favorable consideration for United States support,





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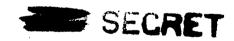
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why, and where possible, how. The possibilities of using Ukrainian organizations in intelligence operations will be assessed in a separate report, if requested.

- 4. In studying Ukrainian emigrant groups in Western Europe, the case officer at MOB assigned to Project ICON has acted upon the hypothesis that we are trying to ascertain what organizations satisfy the greater number of the following specifications:
- a. the political platform and political or military leaders of the organization are demonstrably acceptable to a sizeable section of anti-Soviet Ukrainians at home and in the emigration;
- b. the political and ideological program of the group is one which the United States would not be embarrassed to support;
- c. the group has the recognition or approval of some resistance leaders in the Ukraine and a communication channel to those leaders;
  - d. the support of the groups by the <sup>U</sup>nited States could feasibly remain clandestine and work to the detriment of the present Russian government and its military potential.
  - 5. Once the above hypothesis is implemented as a basis of criticism, it is possible to rule out of consideration for support splinter political groups that have no live roots in the homeland, social clubs, welfare groups, professional societies, and other predominantly nonpolitical organizations, which together form the bulk of Ukrainian emigrant groups in Western Europe. Once such categories have been disqualified, there remain only a handful groups to be analyzed in detail, namely:
    - a. the UNR, or self-styled Ukrainian government-in-exile;
    - b. the two OUN groups, and;
- c. the PHHYR, or Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation.

None of the disqualified organizations fulfill a satisfactory number of the specifications listed in the preceding paragraph.

6. To counteract any possible confusion resulting from the inexact use of such organizational titles as OUN/Bandera, UHVR, etc. in other reports, the following brief delineation of the seven most frequently mentioned Ukrainian organizations is basic:



- a. OUN (Organizacya Ukrainskych Nationalistiv) or Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, founded in 1928 in Prague, is as the name suggests, first and foremost a political party of the Ukrainian underground which has become at various times a militant organization lending its name and members to fighting partisan units. OUN partisan groups have since 1942 been under the command of UPA. As an organization OUN exists only in the Ukraine.
- b. OUN/Bandera is at present the designation of an emigrant political party not more than 5,000 strong (as of September 1948) which advocates a mono-party government for the Ukraine with Bandera as führer. This party is a right-wing ultranationalist phenomenon of the Ukrainian emigration in Western Europe and is not synonymous with OUN. There is evidence, however, to support the claim of this party to an unorganized following among the resistance forces in the Ukraine. Note that the distinction between OUN/Bandera and OUN was not made in MGH-391 because the distinction was not apparent at the time.
- c. OUN/Melnik is at present the designation of a political party in the West European emigration not more than 2,000 strong (as of September 1948). Some of the leaders of this party collaborated with the Germans during World War II and thereby compromised the party as a political force in the Ukraine. There has been no evidence since the end of the war that former members of OUN/Melnik who are still in the Ukraine feel any allegiance to the party as it exists in Austria and Western Germany.
- d. <u>UPA</u> (<u>Ukrainska Povstancza Armiya</u>) or <u>Ukrainian</u> Revolutionary Army is the army and general staff of the resistance movement in the Ukraine organized in 1942 and has been subordinated to the Minister for Military Affairs of the General Secretariat of UHVR since 1944.
- e. UHVR (Ukrainska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada) or Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation, founded in June 1944 in west Ukraine, is the government set up by the military and political forces of the Ukrainian resistance movement as its highest organ. As such, it includes presidential officers, a General Secretariat divided into ministries, and a parliament. UHVR exists as an organization only within the Ukraine where it is widely known to the population as the government of the underground.
- f. ZPUHVR (Zakordonne Predstavnyztvo Ukrainskoyi Holovnoyi Vyzvolnoyi Rady) or Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation, is the section of UHVR ordered to go abroad towards the end of the war for the purpose of making contact with the Western Allies and calling world attention to the



Ukrainian struggle for national self-determination. To this end, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the General Secretariat of UHVR was ordered to take refuge in Western Europe in August 1944. Organizationally, ZPUHVR is a less elaborate replica of UHVR. Note that the distinction between UHVR and ZPUHVR was not made in MGH-391.

National Republic, as it exists in Western Europe is an overt, self-styled government-in-exile, dominated on the cabinet level by older Ukrainian politicians, generals, etc. many of whom were forced into exile when the Bolsheviks took over the Ukraine. UNR is therefore in great part a residual organ of the older emigration which has not yet recognized that in their absence almost three decades of development and changes in their Ukraine have nullified their authority to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people. UNR since mid-June 1948 also includes a one chamber congress to which eight of the political parties in the emigration have sent delegates. Seven of these eight parties have, however, no known following in the homeland.

#### A. OUN

7. Since OUN exists as an organization only in the Ukraine where it forms an integral part of the resistance forces, and therefore of UHVR, it does not properly fall into the category of emigrant organizations in Western Europe.

# B. OUN/Bandera

- 8. This organization also uses the name "Zakordonni Chastyny OUN", or Foreign Section of OUN. The use of this name gives the false impression that OUN/Bandera follows the same political program as the organization from which it takes its name in the Ukraine. For the names of the leaders of this group and the offices they hold, see Appendix B.
- 9. The following points, we feel, present sufficient reasons why OUN/Bandera should not receive favorable consideration under Project ICON:
- a. OUN/Bandera has developed into a purely emigrant party, isolated from its parent organization, OUN, and deviating extensively from the latter's policy. (Eval: B-2).

  b. Stefan BANDERA is by nature a political intransigent
- b. Stefan BANDERA is by nature a political intransigent of great personal ambition, who, using his party as a vehicle of his ambition, has consistently, and often openly since April 1948, opposed all political organizations in the emigration which favor a representative form of government in the Ukraine, as opposed to a



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mono-party, OUN/Bandera regime. As an example, in Spring 1948 Bandera vigorously opposed the application of the parity of representation principle among the parties sending delegates to the General Assembly of UNR. UNR officials insisted that no party could send more than six delegates and that all parties, except the Hetman group, be represented. This measure prevented OUN/Bandera from sending more delegates than the other parties. Bandera threatened to boycott the UNR assembly, but UNR officials proclaimed that the General Assembly would be formed without OUN/Bandera unless the latter accepted its position of one party among many equally entitled to representation. OUN/Bandera accepted. (Eval: B-3).

- c. The popularity of CUN/Bandera is diminishing among emigres in Western Europe. In April and May 1948 a wide in Expal split occurred in OUN/Bandera. This split resulted in Mikola LEBED assuming the leadership for a short time of all members of the party who did not approve of Bandera's intractible anti-liberalism and policy of monopolizing the political scene. Although LEBED eventually relinquished this leadership, the disaffected members remain unreconciled and in disorganized opposition to Bandera's policies. (Eval: C-3).
- d. As a large organization of roughly 3,000 adult members in Western Europe many of whom have or have had heterogenous intelligence ties, the ability of this organization to acquire and use funds or material support dlandestinely is practically nil.

  An example of the lack of sext Dity of ONN/Bandera is to be found in the connection between Myron/NATVYEYKO and subordinates with KEYSTONE: at least twenty unauthorized members of OUN/Bandera knew, according to CAPELIN, not only of the existence of this tie, but also that MATVYEYKO, the Chief of the OUN/Bandera Security Section, had been ordered by an American IS to train soldier-couriers for a mission into the Ukraine during late 1948 or Spring 1949.
- e. Myron MATVYEYKO, the chief of the intelligence branch of OUN/Bandera, is an intellectually dishonest and incompetent person. In fact MATVYEYKO is known by CAPELIN to have doctored up the dates of intelligence reports received in 1945 and 1946 and to have sold them to KEYSTONE as new material in Autumn and Winter 1947. (Eval: C-2).
- f. In the opinion of CAFELIN, if OUN/Bandera were sponsored by the United States and allowed to ride in on the coattails of an invading American army, a rebellion of the Ukrainian population against the American forces would result. (Eval: C-6).



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g. OUN/Bandera fulfills almost none of the specifications listed in Para. 4 of this report.

10. Both HRINIOCH and CAPELIN are in agreement as to the substance of points a. through f. above.

# C. OUN/Melnik

11. The Melnik group is soundly disliked by the members of the resistance movement in the Ukraine who view the leaders of this group as despicable collaborationists. OUN/Melnik cannot, therefore, be given favorable consideration under Project ICON.

D. UPA

12. The members of PA abroad are under the combined command of Col Ivan BORKOVSKY, or BUTKOVSKY Col Vur Zopatinsky, and Wajor in BAYDA who are in turn subordinates of Dr. Ivan HRINIOCH in his capacity as head of the Military Section of ZPUHVR. UPA in the emigration must be treated as a part of ZPUHVR.

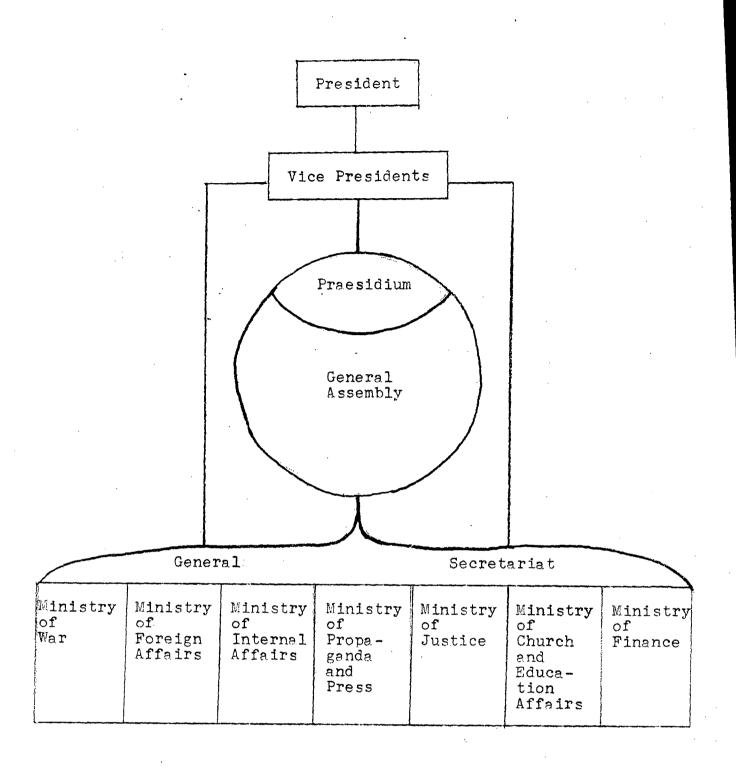
E. UHVR

13. Although UHVR exists as an organization only in the Ukraine, the Foreign Minister, Mikola LEBED, a vice-president, Dr. Ivan HRINIOCH, and several other members of the Praesidium are living at present in Bavaria, Germany. Since we are recommending ZPUHVR for favorable consideration under this project, a detailed discussion of the parent organization, in which several members of ZPUHVR still figure, is deemed cogent.

14. The Organizational Plan of UHVR can best be understood from the following diagram submitted by Dr. HRINIOCH:

(See following page)







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When Dr. Hrinioch left the Ukraine in August 1944, the praesidium of UHVR consisted of thirty-five persons. Dr. HRINIOCH states that he does not know how many persons now are members.

persons know the real names of UHVR cabinet members and delegates. Almost all persons in the resistance used assumed names in order to protect their relatives, friends, and the general security of the resistance movement. One individual was mentioned by General SZANDRUK in MGH, 390 as the president of UHVR, namely, Mikola or Jaroslav CEMAK, a member of the Ukrain and Diet in 1817-1919. The same source also stated that Gen. Taras ICHUPRINKA is chairman of the General Secretariat of UHVR.

Field Comment: Neither LT. Hainican nor Capelin would give confirmation or denial of SZANDRUK's information. Capelin claimed that he was not in a position to know and HRINIOCH was obviously reticent. The undersigned case officer does not, however, construe this reticence as either a lack of desire to cooperate or as the willful withholding of information for bargaining purposes. HRINIOCH is acquainted with several instances of American security breaches involving other Ukrainians where careless CIC agents or TIB German cutouts have compromised Ukrainian sources to their emigre compatriots and is unwilling to give non-essential information. It is not as important for the present to know the names of the various UHVR personalities in the Ukraine as it is to establish the existence, organizational plan, policy, and platform of that organization. Dr. HRINIOCH did, however, admit that the following two names, appearing in an otherwise insignificant CFC report, were those of two members of UHVR in the Ukraine: Mikola DUZY and Prof. fnu BILENKY. No 20/

16. According to Dr. HRINIOCH, UHVR is the temporary government of the Ukrainian resistance movement, existing by virtue of popular consent, and designed to give the political, military, and other resistance elements an institutional reality, plus am embryo constitution and bill of rights.

Field Comment: For the embryo constitution and bill of rights of UHVR, see Inclosures A and B.

The nature of the resistance movement requires precautions unlike those under which an average government operates: UHVR must keep its members spread out over various localities and can convene only occasionally.

17. When the UHVR was founded in June 1944, the Soviets had already started to push the Germans back out of the Ukraine. There was urgent need for an organ which would give spiritual and actual unity of purpose and allegiance to the scattered resistance forces



before the returning Soviets had the opportunity to drive wedges between and isolate the various geographically separated partisan units.

Field Comment: For background information on the genesis of postwar resistance activities in the Ukraine, refer to Paras. 5-14 of MGH-391.

The name "Rada" or "council" was selected for the organ because the name is associated in the popular mind with a republican form of government and the settlement of disputes by discussion and popular referendum, rather than by force. The UHVR rapidly proclaimed its existence to the population through proclamations (See Inclosure C) and printed partisan-recruitment appeals (See Inclosure E) which were posted on public buildings in villages and cities. Installations of the MGB and MVD were the favorite billboards for such material, according to HRINIOCH.

18. Since June 1944, the Ukrainian population has been often reminded of the reality of UHVR-OUN-UPA by the frequency of raids on all types of Soviet governmental establishments, disappearances and abductions of Soviet officials, destruction of bridges and rail-way tracks, and raids on numerous kolkhoz. During raids on the kolkhoz, the partisans redistributed the produce, tools, and real estate among the peasants. Raids of all types were carried out much more frequently in western Ukraine and in the Pripet area than elsewhere. In eastern Ukraine, for instance, the lack of forests and mountains has been fairly prohibitive to such types of raids.

Field Comment: For descriptions of several raids, see MSB-182.

19. In Spring, Summer and Fall 1947, in reaction to increased Soviet, Czech, and Polish collaboration to liquidate the resistance forces in western Ukraine, UHVR ordered resistance units to conserve their fighting strength and popularity with the population by avoiding all unnecessary open combat with Soviet forces. Raids were to be made less frequently and by smaller forces. In spite of mass evacuations in 1947 of the population from the Ukrainian ethnographic area west of the Curzon Line and to the immediate east thereof, the resistance forces were not liquidated, and are undoubtedly now, in late October 1948, living in their forest and mountain bunkers where they will remain until Spring, according to Dr. HRINIOCH. The activities of the resistance forces in 1948 are mainly confined to the propagandistic mobilization of the people, i.e. the distribution of printed materials urging the population to boycott all Soviet attempts to russify and bolshevize the Ukraine, occasional nuisance raids, and reconnaissance of Soviet armed forces. Dr. HRINIOCH stresses the importance of UHVR-OUN-UPA not to fight



against the Red Army as such, in order not to alienate those Red Army elements who might be brought to desert. Proclamations and handbills have often been distributed by the resistance movement for Red Army consumption. They are addressed to "Brothers in the Red Army" and emphasize to the Russian soldier that UHVR-OUN-UPA is fighting against the Bolshevist clique which sends the Russian soldier to die in senseless wars against friendly peoples. The success of this policy has been gratifying. UHVR-OUN-UPA have gained arms, munition, and men from the Red Army. As a result, the Soviets use only MVD troops for anti-partisan operations. (Eval: B-3).

20. Dr. HRINIOCH invites confirmation of the preceding rough description of resistance activities in the Ukraine through the debriefing of Ukrainian partisans arriving in the American Zone of Germany. He states that some forty persons have arrived over Czechoslovakia since 1 August 1948. (See Para. 46 for further details).

#### F. ZPUHVR

→ 'See Appendix C)

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21. Very shortly after the founding of UHVR in the forests of the Carpatho Ukraine, several members were given mandates to procede to Vectern Europe and to found the Abreign mission of UHVR. These persons were Mikola IZBED, Dr. Ivan HRINIOCH, Vasil OKREMOVICH, and Daria REBET. The other persons at present in ZPUHVR were recruited by these four after their arrival in Western Europe. ZPUHVR was given the assignment of briefing the Vestern Allies and the Catholic Church on the situation in the Ukraine, and, more specifically, on the objectives of the resistance movement.

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22. The geographic center for ZPUHVR is at present Munich, Germany, where LEBEL, HRINIOCH, LOPATINSKY, and six or more of the members live. Most of these persons live under assumed names for security reasons and because ZPUHVR is not an overt organization. Ir. HRINIOCH is an exception to this statement and lives under his own name.

Field Comment: For biographical information on members of ZPUHVR see the Biographical Section of MGH-391; PIR-44 contains a brief biography of LEBED; an attachment to MGH-A-758 contains biographical data on Eugen VRECHIONA.

23. According to Dr. HRINIOCH, the only affiliations and contacts presently maintained by ZPUHVR outside the Ukrainian emi-

23. According to Dr. HRINIOCH, the only affiliations and contacts presently maintained by ZPUHVR outside the Ukrainian emigration are to the Catholic Church, unofficially through Bishop BUCZKO in Rome (See Para. 1 of MGH-391), to ABN through Yaroslav STETSKO, the Executive Officer of ABN, and to the American IS through HRINIOCH and VRECHIONA. After this statement was made it was discovered at CIC Region IV, Munich, that Yuri LOPATINSKY has

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been an informant of that organization since early Fall 1948. HRINIOCH adds that these are the only active contacts left; former contacts with the Polish Holy Cross Brigade, the Rumanians, and Hungarians have been broken off. HRINIOCH claims that the ZPUHVR representatives and contact personnel have no authority to take up contact with other agencies without his prior approval; and that hence he can say that there are no other contacts. Dr. HRINIOCH states that ZPUHVR receives no material support from any non-Ukrainian organization. The present finances of ZPUHVR depend entirely on contributions from the members. All members, except Mikola LEBED are financially independent.

- 24. In brief the following organizations are opposed to the principles of ZPUHVR and the UHVR-OUN-UPA front in the homeland:
- a. OUN/Bandera, OUN/Melnik, the USDRP, and to a lesser degree UNR.
- b. All Russian and eastern emigre organizations supporting the Great Russia or Pan-slav idea.
- 25. In brief, the following elements are sympathetic to the principles of ZPUHVR and the UHVR-OUN-UPA front in the homeland:
- a. About sixty per cent of the Ukrainian emigration in Western Europe, according to both sources;
  - b. ABN and ALON; and
  - c. The Catholic Church.
- 26. The relations between UNR and ZPUHVR are best described in the following incident:

In May 1948 discussions were held between Isaak MAZEPA representing UNR and Dr. HRINIOCH for the purpose of finding a workable division of authority between UNR and ZPUHVR. Dr. HRINIOCH proclaimed the readiness of his organization to recognize UNR as the legitimate representation of the UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC of 1917-1919. However, Dr. HRINIOCH added, there is a revolutionary center in the homeland (UHVR) which as the highest anti-Soviet and most representative organ of the desires of the people, has sent its Foreign Minister, LEBED, as well as other officers abroad in order to take up unofficial and clandestine contact with western anti-Soviet powers. HRINIOCH argued that it would be contrary to the interests of the Ukrainian resistance movement if UNR compromised itself again by becoming the overt instrument of a foreign power for the third time.



- 27. In 1922 UNR had taken up official contact with the Polish government and rapidly became the mere tool of the Polish IS; moreover, during the early days of the German invasion of the Ukraine during World War II, the UNR had placed itself in the hind-pocket of the Germans and once more gave substance to the Eussian claim that the Ukrainian anti-Soviet resistance efforts were excited by foreign powers and agents. Thus twice the UNR has rendered itself incapable of any effective action and discredited itself in the eyes of Ukrainian nationalists in the Ukraine by throwing in its lot with nations which merely used it as an expedient and had no genuine desire to see Ukrainia become an independent state.
- 28. Dr. HRINIOCH suggested, therefore, that UNR refrain from official alliances with foreign powers on the grounds that:
- a. the UNR is only a representation of the Ukrainian emigration parties which, in all cases but one, are non-existent in the homeland;
- b. UNA is recognized only as the surviving elements of the 1917-1919 Republic by the resistance leaders in the homeland;
- c. according to international law, as exile government is permitted to claim asylum in foreign territory, but is not permitted to lead simultaneously a resistance movement inside their native land;
- d. in view of points a., b., and c. UNR has no legal or ethical right to speak on behalf of the Ukrainian people in the resistance; and
- e. UNR is an overt and insecure organization and is not in a position to make secret negotiations.

On the other hand, as HRINIOCH pointed out, ZPUHVR as a clandestine and illegal organization responsible only to UHVR, was specifically organized to make contact with foreign powers on behalf of UHVR. MAZEPA replied that he was in partial agreement with HRINIOCH at least on the theoretical level, but added that UNR contemplated the formation of its own IS to facilitate precisely those unofficial and clandestine contacts with foreign powers which UNR was still determined to make. (Eval: B-3).

29. The relations between ZPUHVR and OUN/Bandera can best be exemplified by the course of events during the last six months.

Field Comment: See Paras. 2 and 3 of MGH-915 (MSC/RIR/435) for account of differences between ZFUHVR and OUN/Bandera in early 1947.



In April-May 1948, the leading members of ZPUHVR resigned from office in OUN/Bandera, allegedly because of a disagreement with BANDERA over policy matters. Prior to that time a cleavage of opinion within OUN/Bandera had existed between those persons who favored two points in BANDERA's political program and those who opposed them. The two points of contention were BANDERA's rather hostile attitute towards cooperation with England and the United States and his insistance on his right as the most famous resistance leader to become ruler of an anti-communist, ultra-nationalist Ukrainian state. BANDERA's attitude on these two points alienated liberal elements in his own party and particularly the foreign representatives of UHVR, LEBED and HRINIOCH, who have consistently stressed that only the Ukrainian people has the right to decide who shall govern them. Many of the OUN/Bandera members who felt that the only hope of achieving independence for the Ukraine lay in cooperation with the western democratic states were dismayed by BANDERA's strange attitude towards America, and England.

- 30. As a result of these differences of opinion, Mikola LEBED became the nominal leader of approximately half of the members of OUN/Bandera. His leadership only lasted into summer, however, for he was obliged to resign when Yaroslav STETSKO, who shares the BANDERA viewpoint, published in the name of the leaders of LEBED's group an article which LEBED had never read.
- 31. BANLERA, seeing how fast he was losing power and popularity, decided to make a frontal attack on the leaders of the group which opposed him and challenged his authority to make decisions about the future government of the Ukraine. In August BANDERA had invitations issued inviting 160 persons to attend an extraordinary conference of OUN members abroad. The meeting took place in Mittenwald 29-31 August 1948. It soon became apparent that BANDERA had instructed the majority how to vote and, as an additional precaution, had invited almost exclusively his own supporters. In the first speech of the meeting, fantastic charges were leveled at HRINIOCH and LEBED. Because of the large number of BANDERA supporters present, a motion was made and carried to dissolve ZPUHVR. The following is the account of the speech made by Dr. HRINIOCH at the close of the meeting, as recorded by an unnamed CIC informant:

"In the rebuttal, Dr. HRINICH explained the political platform of UHVR and gave a brief history of the development of UHVR and UPA during the time when PANDERA and STETSKO and their followers were confined in a German concentration camp. He stated that UHVR is not exactly sanctioned by BANLERA and OUN/Bandera, but by the people fighting for freedom in the mother country and belonging to all political parties. These fighting people have rejected a one-man government and a one-party system as well as party terrorism and any type of political monopoly. The people hope



some day to set up a free, democratic type of government which is divorced from all dictatorial pressure. They furthermore deny the economic and social system proclaimed by BANDERA and STETSKO. These fighting people in the homeland have honored BANDERA himself for what he was, a hero of the war of independence, but they are not prepared to accept him as dictator. Dr. HRINIOCH states further that BANDERA's purpose was to return to the times of 1939. Furthermore, BANDERA had no right to any authority while in exile over UHVR, for UHVR was created exclusively by the will of the fighting people of the motherland". (CIC Eval: B-2).

- 32. As the result of the Mittenwald meeting, a plenary session of ZPUHVR was called on 22 September 1948 in which it was decided to disregard this BANDERA political ruse, but to report in writing about it to UHVR in the Ukraine at the earliest opportunity.
- 33. According to CAPELIN, EANDERA had the Secretary General of his organization sent letters to the leading members of ZPUHVR in late September 1948 asking them to resign their mandates from UHVR before 7 October 1948 or be expelled from OUN/Bandera. These letters were not answered by ZPUHVR, so that it can be now assumed that ZPUHVR members, with the extention of Yaroslav SHANKOVSKY, are now no longer members of CUN/Bandera. They retain their membership in CUN, however. In the opinions of Dr. HRINICCH and CAPELIN, the most recent development is just another unilateral act by BANDERA which will meet with the hearty disapproval of the leaders of the UHVR-OUN-UPA front in the Ukraine. (Eval: E-3).

Field Comment: See MGM-16 (MSC-480) for further background description of the OUN/Bandera ZPUHVR split.

- 34. We are recommending favorable consideration of ZPUHVR under Project ICON for the following reasons:
- a. There has been confirmed evidence from a variety of sources that since the end of the war this organization actually has had exclusive authority delegated to it by the highest organ of the resistance forces in the Ukraine, UHVR, to initiate liaison with foreign powers on behalf of the resistance movement.
- b. The general principles for which ZPUHVR-UHVR-OUN-UPA stand are acceptable to at least sixty per-cent of the emigration in the three Western Zones of Germany.
- c. The leading members of ZPUHVR have demonstrated that they are not interested in personal gain or profit.



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- d. The security of ZPUHVR is demonstrably better than any other Ukrainian exile organization.
- e. ZPUHVR has kept itself morally and politically uncommitted and uncompromised over a period of three years and has stayed out of squabbles between rival elements of the emigration, except when its own position as the foreign representation of UHVR-OUN-UPA has been attacked.
- f. ZPUHVR fulfills to a large degree all the specifications listed in Para. 4 at the beginning of this report.

Field Comment: For material on ZPUHVR-UHVR see Appendix A and Inclosures A-C.

#### G. UNR

- 35. UNR is not deemed worthy of favorable consideration under Project ICON for the following reasons:
- a. UNR, despite its past as the legitimate representation of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1917-1919, over the years has lost touch with the Ukraine itself, and has at the same time been reduced to the same category of the numerous emigre organizations which attempt to base their continued existence upon a series of antiquated circumstances lacking any current validity.
- b. In the opinion of both Dr. HRINICCH and CAFELIN, UHVR-OUN-UPA would never be villing to cooperate with UNR because many of the present members of UNR, particularly OUN/Melnik personalities (such as General) fix (KAFUSTIANSKY), collaborated with the Germans and made speeches against UPA.
- c. To bolster its slim raison d'etre, the UNR has made, and probably will make, political gestures and alliances which would embarrass the Ukrainian resistance movement.
- d. UNR does not fulfill any of the specifications listed in Para. 4 above.

For further information on UNR see Appendix D which lists the members and Paras. 26-28 above in which the relationship between UNR and ZPUHVR is discussed.

# H. Types of Support Recommended for ZPUHVR

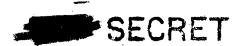
36. In recommending support we have used as far as possible the following hypotheses as points of departure:



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- a. Although the type of support for eastern emigrant groups envisaged under Project ICON is necessarily neither as extensive nor of the same type as would be offered these groups in the event of an armed conflict between the United States and the USSR, nevertheless, and particularly in the case of the Ukrainians, any support presently granted should be consistent with whatever political and military use we might intend to make of the Ukrainian emigration and of the partisan movement in the Ukraine under war time conditions.
- b. If the foregoing premise is accepted, policy decisions are required which obviously are beyond the scope of Project ICON as understood by this officer.
- c. Under present circumstances, overt indications that the United States is assisting Ukrainian partisans could be put to use by the Soviet government in their anti-American propaganda campaigns. During peace or war, however, the ability of the Soviet government to make effective use of these overt indications would probably lack new force in that the Soviets have already claimed for some years that the Ukrainian partisans are supported by foreign capital. There is also a reasonable possibility that the Soviets would not want to publicize an item which would undoubtedly boost the morale of many dissident elements within their own borders.
- √ 37. The value and purchasing power of foreign banknotes and coins, precious stones and metals inside Russia today gives ample indications of one type of material support which might be smuggled into the Ukraine from Vestern Europe or through Turkey. Trafficking in foreign currencies and coins persists in Russia even though possession of such items is severely punishable by law. There is not only a great demand among the Russian populace for small easilyconcealed articles of value, but also a high rate of corruptibility among lower echelon Soviet officialdom: Living on the brink of extreme poverty and subject to unpredictable changes of residence and place of work or political deportation, the Russian man-on-thestreet seeks to insure himself as best he can against the eventuality of having nothing left but the clothes on his back. Accordingly, coins, gems, and banknotes are highly prized, since they can be sewed into garments or cloth-covered buttons for use in emergency as the last negotiable belonging. Inevitably, foreign currencies flow in and out of the blackmarket and equally inevitably underpaid minor Soviet officials accept bribes. The resistance movement in the Ukraine has greatly profit ted by this situation. False identity documents, exemptions from military service, rifles and cartridges, medical supplies, plus innumerable other goods and services can still be bought within the Ukraine. Monies supplied to the Ukrainian partisans by the Germans during the war form until this day the greater part of UPA-OUN-UHVH financial assets in the homeland. This money, mostly in rubles, has per force been used



sparingly of late, since it is questionable when the treasury will be replenished. The transmittal to resistance groups of foreign currencies of any of the other negotiable items mentioned above would be of indisputable help, if guided into the right hands. For an indication as to types of banknotes the resistance movement presently uses, see Para. 44.

- 38. Dr. HRINIOCH has suggested that he and two UPA officers who have come out of the Ukraine since the end of the war, Col. Yuri LOPATINSKY and Major fnu BAYDA, be allowed to make a lecture tour among the Ukrainian elements in the United States and Canada. The lecture tour would give the following opportunities to ZFUHVR, which Dr. HRINIOCH assumes would also be of indirect benefit to the United States and Canada:
- a. First of all, under the guise of lecturing on a subject of interest to the Ukrainian emigration, such as "the Persecution of the Church during the German Occupation", the two UPA officers and Dr. HRINIOCH would present eyewitness accounts, etc., of the fight for liberation in the homeland. Dr. HRINIOCH was trained in oratory at a Jesuit College in Innsbruck, Austria.
- b. Secondly, such lectures and factual accounts would serve not only to correct the false impression made by Soviet shortwave broadcasts in the Ukrainian language and the commission of illustrious Ukrainians sent by the Soviets on a good-will tour during the war, but also to reduce what Dr. HRINICCH and CAFELIN estimate to be a twenty per-cent Communist element among Ukrainians in North America.
- c. Thirdly, ZPUHVR is thus granted the opportunity of gaining financial and political support for UHVR-OUN-UPA front in the homeland, plus safe channels for the conveyance of funds.

The feasibility of disguising aid to ZFUHVR as voluntary contributions from the North American Ukrainian emigration should be investigated. The lecture tour proposal was also made to Source KILKENNY by Dr. HKINIOCH in late 1946 and is referred to in Para. 33 of MGH-391.

- 39. According to various statements made by Dr. HRINIOCH over the last two years, ZPUHVR could also profit by support along the following general lines:
- a. An increase in facilities for spreading information about the resistance movement in the Ukraine.
- b. Help in getting ZPUHVR representatives into countries near the Ukraine, but outside the Soviet orbit, such as Turkey.



- c. The granting of facilities to make radio broadcasts to the Ukraine.
- d. Assistance in keeping Ukrainian military personnel now in Vestern Europe from becoming dispersed.
- e. Technical equipment for the training and use of couriers, such as radio transmitters, photographic equipment, etc.
- f. The following items are urgently needed by the fighting forces in the Ukraine: bendaging materials, iodine, other medicines, surgical instruments, vitamin pills, and concentrated foods.
- 40. Some consideration should be devoted to the question of what to do with ZFUHVR and other Ukrainian leaders in case of the sudden outbreak of war. If the United States contemplates including the Ukrainian resistance forces as a wartime ally, the well-known leaders of that resistance movement in Vestern Europe should not be allowed to fall into the hands of the Soviets. The sense of betrayal and ensuing hostility the Ukrainians felt towards the Germans, who, it must be remembered, put BANLERA and many of his partisans in prison, might occur once more, if the United States does not protect such individuals as BANDERA from capture by the Soviets during a blitz invasion of Europe. With BANDERA and other leaders in their hands, the Soviets could start a press campaign to the effect that the United States is completely indifferent to the fate of the Ukrainian "bandits". Although BANDERA is politically divergent from the main stream of thought in UHVR-OUN-UPA, he is still the most famous hero of the resistance movement and his name has become a symbol of the uncompromising Ukrainian fight for national independence.
- 41. As soon as the question of sending aid into the Ukraine resistance forces is raised, the concomitant problem of how becomes paramount. Pecause of the geographical position of the resistance forces, only a limited number of courier and supply channels are feasible for use. Nost of the couriers arriving in the American Zone of Germany from the east since the end of the war have come through Czechoslovakia with an armed escort of at least five other partisans. Individual, unescorted couriers are given small chance of getting through by either Dr. HRINICCH or CAPELIN. It is known to CAPELIN that one American intelligence agency, which MOB believes to be KEYSTONE, has gone to the extent of paying for the training of a small group of Ukrainian DPs for an armed passage through Czechoslovakia to the Ukraine. Naturally the possibilities of success of such a venture are unassessible until it has been tried a few times. Dr. HRINICCH states that ZPUHVR has on file several courier routes laid out in 1944 through Czechoslovakia and Poland which have not been used because there was no urgent necessity to



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do so. Nevertheless, HRINIOCH maintains that the only relatively sure method of sending a courier to UHVR-OUN-UPA headquarters is to drop him by parachute. In Para. 42 which lists the services which ZPUHVR could perform for the United States, notice that HRINIOCH claims that even today he can inform the United States where to parachute aid into the hands of the resistance forces.

# I. Services Offered by ZPUHVR to the United States

- 42. Dr. HRINIOCH states that ZPUHVR can perform the following services to the United States in peace or wartime:
- a. ZPUHVR is prepared to train and send couriers from Germany into the Ukraine, if the risk of leading the Soviets to the hideouts of the resistance movement is outweighed by the importance of the couriers' missions.
- b. ZPUHVh is prepared to ask UHVx-OUN-UPA to collect positive and counter-intelligence information within the Ukraine for forwarding out by courier or by radio.
- c. ZPUHVR will inform the United States into what areas supplies, etc., must be parachuted in order to insure that they come into the hands of the partisans.
- d. ZFUHVR is ready to supply Ukrainian volunteers for courier missions and/or parachuting into resistance areas.

# ✓ J. The Existence of Continued Partisan Activity in the Ukraine

- 43. Merely in the light of what is the known history of the Ukrainian partisan movement during and immediately following the Second Vorld War, the existence of an active resistance movement in the Ukraine today, in October 1948, would appear at least a substantial likelihood. The evidence is persuasive, not conclusive. The reality of the resistance movement is, however, confirmed by every new arrival from the Ukraine.
- 44. According to Dr. HRINIOCH, between 1 August and 12 October 1948 approximately forty Ukrainian nationals who are members of the resistance movement have made their way into the American Zone of Germany. Almost all entered over the Czech border in the neighborhood of Passau. More than twenty of these persons are members of UFA. The remainder includes members of OUN and individual Ukrainians, such as the recently arrived daughters of a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, who have been living in Poland out of active contact with the resistance movement for some time. Information concerning the arrival of two Ukrainian partisans on the night of 11 October 1948 was received from two independent sources,



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first from CAPELIN and then from the Bavarian Border Police, and the report from the latter source is presented here as substantiation of Dr. HRINICCH's statements concerning the east-west movement of couriers during Spring, Summer, and Fall.

"From the Bavarian State Border Police Commissiariat in Furth im Walde (U 79) it is reported that:

"On 12 October 1948, two Ukrainian partisans were brought in at the border police station at Zwiesel (Q06). They had previously turned themselves in at the city police station at C200 hours. The pair claimed to have crossed the border between Eisenstein (Q07) and Zwiesler-Taldhaus (Q06) during the night of 11 to 12 October. They wore Russian soldier uniforms (khaki-colored parade uniforms), leather shoulder straps with belts, and civilian clothes over their uniforms. Both uniforms and civilian clothes were dirty. One partisan carried a .38 pistol, calibre 9 mm, and 54 rounds of ammunition. They claimed that they had also had Russian machine pistols which they threw into a river in Czechoslovakia in order to avoid being recognized as partisans. They also maintained that they had started off in a group of six: two of the six had been shot by the Czechs, a third who was wounded committed suicide, and a fourth became separated from the group and was lost.

"The two partisans carried with them: two small packets of propaganda material sewed up in cloth, which they said were destined for publication by a Ukrainian press in Munich, one map folder containing various maps and sketches, 395 American dollars, 2,785 rubles, 570 Czech kronen, and a small metal container filled with potassium cyanide and photographs. The pair asserted that they wanted to continue their fight against communism from the American Zone of Germany." (Eval: B-2).

The Bavarian Police reported the names of the pair as: Ivan PANKIV born 14 July 1912 in Vernyn, Russia and Nikola MELNYCHIN born 25 September 1920 in Nadiatitshe, Russia. (Eval B-5).

CAPELIN stated that the two individuals are couriers to ZPUHVR from General Taras TCHUPRINKA, the commander of UPA. When queried about these two men on 20 October 1948, Dr. HRINIOCH alleged that if the men were couriers, the matter had not yet come to his attention.





45. The last contacts with Ukrainian sources for ICON material were made on 20 October 1948.

Distribution:
2 - FBM w/Incls. (A-F)
1 - COS
1 - File





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## ADDENDA

The following recommendations are made by the case officer:

- Coordination with CIC and ZPUHVR on the debriefing of Ukrainians arriving from the east.
- 2. Contact with members of ZPUHVR in conhection with Froject ICON should be and either with Eugen VRECHIONA, who uses the assumed name Josef BARAN and lives at Rohweg 8, Basel, Switzerland, or with Dr. Ivan BRINIOCH who lives at Geyerspergerstrasse 52, Munich/Laim. If the latter contact is used it would be advisable that the person making the contact bear a letter of introduction. HRINIOCH is very security conscious and prone to be extremely circumlocutory until he has a good idea with whom he is dealing.
- Dr. HRINIOCH and/or CAPELIN (who has a degree in sociology) should be asked to write reports on the following subjects:
- a. Political and social frictions likely to develop in the Ukraine in the event of
  - ii. the liberation of the Ukraine by a foreign power.
- The psychological and political errors of the Germans (1940-1944) in
  - their propaganda before and during the invasion of the Ukraine;
  - their treatment of Ukrainians during the occupation of the Ukraine.
- c. The Soviet innovations in the Ukraine most disliked by the population.
- d. In what manner should the United States aid the resistance movement in the event of war.
- e. The positions of the Greek Catholic and Russian Orthodox churches in the Ukraine.



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# APPENDICES:

- A. Comments on MGH-391.
- B. Leading Personalities in OUN/Bandera.
- C. Officers and Members of ZPUHVR.
- D. The Present Roster of UNR.

#### INCLOSURES:

- A. The Provisional Statutes of UHVR.
  - (4 pages of translation by HRINIOCH, allegedly of an original document printed in the Ukraine in June 1944).
- B. The Purposes of UHVR.
  - (3 papers of translation by HRINIOCH, allegedly of an original document printed in the Ukraine in 1944).
- C. A UHVR Proclamation to the Ukrainian People.
  - (2 pages of translation by HRINIOCH, allegedly of an original document printed in the Ukraine in June 1944).
- D. Extracts from a UPA Publication of 1947. (2 copies)
  - (4 pages of photostatic copies of a UPA publication containing an article by Gen. Taras TCHUPRINKA, allegedly printed in the Ukraine in March 1947 and smuggled out by courier, Source: HRINIOCH).
- E. A UHVR Proclamation to the Ukrainian People. (2 copies)
  - (4 pages of photocopy allegedly of an original document printed in the Ukraine in 1948 and brought out by courier. Source: HRINIOCH).
- F. Two Handbills published in the Ukraine. (2 copies)
  - (1 page photocopy of two handbills allegedly printed and distributed by the resistance movement in the Ukraine).



### APPENDIX A

# Comments on MGH-391

In its capacity as the provisional national assem-Para. 15: bly for the Ukraine UHVk is a politically nonpartisan group, and although there are UHVR officials who are also members of OUN, an erroneous impression is given by the statement that UHVR is "composed of elements of all the various parties". This quoted statement from the text of MGH-391 would lead the reader to believe that a multiplicity of anti-communist parties are active in the Ukraine and that UHVR is the product of political coordination between those parties. Both of these intimations are misleading. UHVR has a broader basis of representation than the purely political: according to Dr. HRINIOCH, UHVR is equally representative of all the elements in the resistance movement, i.e. the military, the political, the various classes of Ukrainian society, and to some extent the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Para. 16:

i. The expression OUN/Bandera is misused in

this paragraph. Referat-33 is no longer in existence. The SB of CUN/Banders has no connection ii. iii. with and performs no services for ZPUHVN which has its own security service composed of UPA officers who test the authenticity of each Ukrainian who arrives in the American Zone of Germany claiming to be a member of UPA. The "Feldgendarmerie" of UPA performs all the functions of a security service for UHVR-OUN-UPA in the homeland. According to CAPELIN, there is no such thing as SB of OUN in the Ukraine. iv. In Para. 16 a, it is stated that Myron MATVYEYKO is the Security Chief of UHVR, According to Dr. HRINIOCH and CAFELIN, MATVYEYKO is not and never has been either a member of UHVR or of ZPUHVR. MATVYEYKO is the head of SB of OUN/Banders which is a political party active in the emigration in Vestern Europe and is not to be confused with CUN in the Ukraine. v. In Para. 16 f, it is stated that HRINICCH, LEBEL, LOPATINSKY, and the "Swiss representative", Eugen VRECHIONA are controlling members of OUN/

Banders. This has not been true since April 1948 when all four resigned their offices, because of

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their inability to agree with Bendera's political policy. These four men continue, however, to hold office in OUN.

vi. The last sentence of Para. 16 is not an accurate description of the situation. (See Appendices B-D).

Para. 17:

i. OUN/Bandera is not synomymous with OUN.
ii. The representatives of UHVR abroad belong
to the organization known as ZPUHVR.
iii. UPA is not subordinated to OUN/Bandera nor
to OUN, any more than the United States army is
subordinated to the American Democratic Party.
UPA is, however, subordinated to the Minister for
Military Affairs in the General Secretariat of
UHVR in the same way that the army comes under
the Secretary of War in the United States.
iv. It is not true that the couriers from the
Ukraine to UPA in Germany are supplied only by
OUN. Couriers are not sent by or on behalf of
the political body: they are sent by the resistance leaders, in particular by Gen. Taras
TCHUPRINKA, the commander of UPA.

ance leaders, in particular by Gen. Taras
TCHUPRINKA, the commander of UPA.

v. SB of OUN/Bandera is not semi-autonomous.
It is directly under Stefan BANDERA at present.
SB of OUN/Bandera does not work for "UHVR in

Western Europe", i.e. ZFUHVR.
vi. CAFELIN, who is a member of SB of OUN/
Bandera, is not familiar with the term "Zabordona Sekcija Vezvolnoie Borodje". Such a section, however, he says, has never existed.

Para. 18: This paragraph must be revised in the light of active contact personnel given in Appendix C.

Paras. The present relations between ZPUHVR and other 19-23: organizations, foreign governments, etc. is dealt with in Paras. 6, 21-26, and others above.

Para. 24: Sections a, b, and c, of this Para. contain accurate historical background information on UNR.

Para. 25: Statements on the SHD made in 1946 still apply in October 1948. The Hetman group does not merit consideration under this project.

Paras. These paragraphs present excellent background 26-29: material.

Paras. These paragraphs are not pertinent to Froject 33-35: ICON and can be disregarded.



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- Para. 36:

  i. See Para. 9 of this report for reason why OUN/Bandera is not recommended for favorable consideration under this project.

  ii. The case officer agrees emphatically with the statement: "UHVR is recognized as having the support of the younger generation and of Ukrainians at home, and the authority of its leaders HRINICH and LEBED is established. Some other groups are envious of the UHVR-complex because the organization is independent and forceful and has always refused to collaborate with Germans, Poles or Russians.
- Para. 37: From direct contact with Dr. HRINIOCH, case officer can reaffirm Source KILKENNY's favorable impression of the security consciousness of ZPUHVR and of the lack of any motive of personal profit or advantage among its leaders.
- Para. 38: Case officer is in agreement with statements made in this paragraph but would like to emphasize that the present international situation has at least made the leaders off ZPUHVR much more eager for cooperation. Source KILKENNY neglected to mention that the Ukrainians had good cause to distrust the Americans during the immediate postwar period when Soviet extradition requests were being served on Ukrainian DPs in the American Zones of Austria and Germany.



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# APPENDIX B

OUN/Bandera

Chief: Stepan BANDENA

Deputy Chief: Yaroslav STETSKO

Secretary General: fnu MYKONENKO @

Chief of Military Section: (Major Bohodan PIDHAINY

Chief of Propaganda Section: Fedor Wollchuk mid 10

Ideological Advisor: (Prof. fnu LENKOWSKY V

Chief Internal Organization Section:

Chief of Justice Section: fnu HUNBCHUK 100 20 /

Chief of SB: Myron MATVYEYKO

Source: CAPELIN. Eval.: C-2

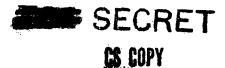


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# APPENDIX C

ZPUHVR and in 19 22 Eugene VRECHIONA & Josef BadAN, Basel, Switzerland President: Dr. Ivan HRINIQÇH \* First Vice-President: Second vice-President: Prof. Fedor WOLCHUK (\*) Foreign Section: Hiko Ta LEBED \* Military Section: Dr. Ivan HRINIOCH \* Internal Section: Pr. \Ivan HRINIOCH \* Vasil TOKREMOVICH \* Section: \*KREMOVICH <u>igence</u>: andedon Ivan BORKOVSKY, (Col). HUTSVL ZALOPATINSKY, (Col) UPA Representatives: fnw BAIDA, Major) curde on py 6 EET & Laria ORLAND \* Other Fembers: cauded in paic Y (inactive) CHUIKO HKO V 0 20 NO201 Representatives and Pavlo SHULLOVSKY, Paris, France Bondan Ch IKOVSKY, Innsbruck, Austr Volodinir LOBAY, Canada // C/ Eugen RECTIONA, Basel, Switzerland Paris, France Y. Innsbruck, Austria Canada Contact Personnel 🧤 Source: Dr. HRINIOCH Eval.: B-3

\* Also member of UHVR
(\*) Also a leading member of OUN/Randera

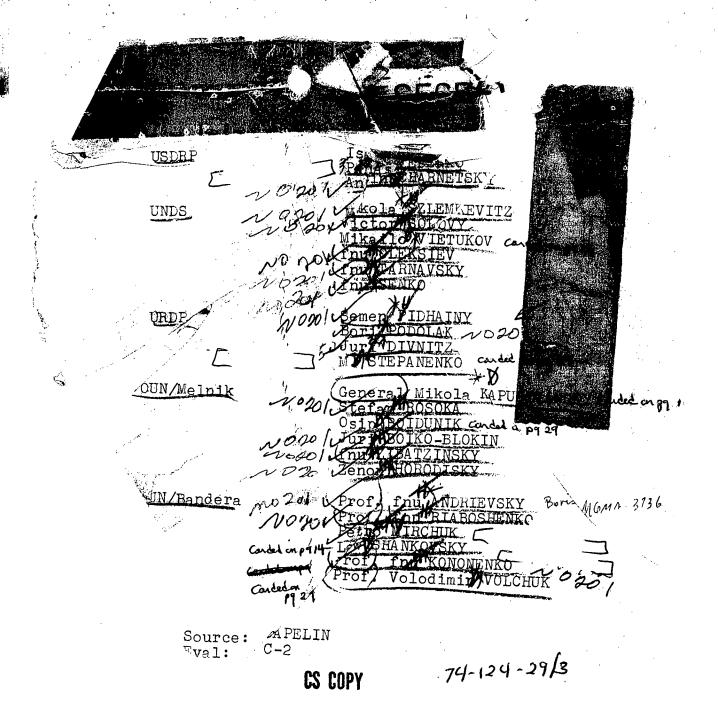


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## APPENDIX D

The Members of UNR
President: Andri LEVITSKY
Prime Minister: Isaak MAZEPA (USDRP)
Ass't Prime Minister: Vasil MODRY (UNDO) conded on pq 28
Foreign Minister: Isaak MAZEPA (USDRP)
Minister of War: (General) Mikola KAPUSTIANSKY (QUN/Melnik)
Finance Minister: (Dr.) Lubomir WAKARUSHKA (UNDO) No 90
Propaganda Minister: Ivan BAHRIANY (URDP)
Minister of Interior: (Prof) Wikailo VIETUKOV (UNOS)
Minister without Portfolio: Dr. Kost PANSINSKY (UNDO) 2001.
Secretary General: (Prof) M. STEPANENKO (URDP)
Members of the Praesidium: Boris (VANITSKY - Chairman (UNDS)
Stefat WITSKY - Vice-chairman NO
Osin Pollunik Oun Melnik Volum (Prof. Volodimir WOLCHIK YOUN (Pol)
Prof MASTEPANENKO (URDP) conded above
Chamber of Deputies:
UNDO Vasil WDRY code neg 38 201
Luboni MAKARUSHKA and above
Stepan WITTITSKY caree above
USRP Matha STAKIV 20/
fnu/KEPETSKY 201
UPSR Spiridon DOVHAL
Hryhori CENISENKO conded above





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