

11 THE UKRAINIAN ELEMENT

The Ukrainian element in the Russian emigration falls into two basic groups--the Western Ukrainians and the Eastern Ukrainians. The Western Ukrainians comprise primarily the Ukrainian refugees from the province of Galicia, which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918 and of Poland from 1918-1939; the Eastern Ukrainians comprise primarily the refugees from the territory of the Soviet Union. Whereas the Eastern Ukrainians are Greek Orthodox by religion, the Western Ukrainians are Uniates, i. e., Greek ^{Catholic} ~~Orthodox~~ but under the jurisdiction of Rome. While the Western Ukrainians are fanatically nationalistic and pathologically anti-Russian, the Eastern Ukrainians, while advocating Ukrainian independence, also believe in federation with other peoples of that part of the world and specifically in cooperation with the Russians. Eastern Ukrainians for the most part feel themselves closer to the Russian DP's than to the Galician Ukrainians. At the end of the Second World War, the Eastern Ukrainians constituted the vast majority of the Ukrainian emigrants in Germany. During the German-Russian war a large number of Ukrainian soldiers surrendered to, or were captured by, the Germans, many thousands of Ukrainians were brought into Germany for forced labor and with the German withdrawal from the Ukraine a great number of Ukrainians who were not evacuated by the Germans went to Germany and Austria voluntarily to escape falling again under Communist rule. It is estimated that by the end of the war, $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Ukrainians were living in Western Europe. The vast majority of the Eastern Ukrainians were either captured by the Red Army and sent back to the Soviet Union or repatriated, under the terms of the Yalta Agreement, in many cases forcibly.

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The Ukrainians who escaped repatriation either disappeared into the German economy or concealed their identity in DP camps by having themselves listed as Poles, Rumanians, Czechs, etc. In this connection it is important to note that the Western Ukrainians were not affected by the Yalta Agreement and that, in consequence, their numerical importance in the Ukrainian emigration rapidly increased as the Eastern Ukrainians were repatriated. It is estimated that the Galicians now constitute 55% of the whole mass of Ukrainian emigrants. Furthermore, the Western Ukrainians, especially the Bandera group which was the most active element, who were not obliged to seek refuge in concealment like the Eastern Ukrainians were able to play a dominating role in Ukrainian activities in the period immediately following the end of the war. In this respect the position of the Western Ukrainians was similar to that of the monarchists and solidarists in the Russian emigration during the same period. The Western Ukrainians were especially active in gaining control of the administration of DP camps and in seizing the leadership of most Ukrainian organizations. They also obtained licenses for the publication of newspapers and magazines. Through their control of the administration of the DP camps, they were able to accumulate funds for the party, by taking up collections for the party, or for other purposes, such as support of partisan activities in the Ukraine, etc., and diverting the money to the party Treasury by assessing "national taxes" on items supplied by UNRRA—IRO and sold in camp canteens, and by extorting money by force from persons unwilling to contribute. Furthermore, they were able to gain adherents by arranging documentation as Galicians for Eastern Ukrainians who feared repatriation to the Soviet Union, on condition that they joined the Bandera Movement.

The Western Ukrainians

The principal organization of the Western Ukrainians in their struggle for an independent Ukraine was the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN), which was founded in 1929 by the well known Ukrainian Nationalist leader, (Col.) Eugene Konovaloc, a former Petlura officer, out of the former "Ukrainian Military Organization" (OWO), which had been organized in 1922 as an underground military unit. (Col.) Andrew Melnyk, a former Austrian Colonel, became the deputy commander of the OUN. The OUN worked against both the Russians and the Poles in its attempt to form an independent Ukraine. Konovaloc placed Captain Holovinsky in charge of underground activities in Poland and when he was killed in 1930, his duties were taken over by Stephen Bandera. In 1933 Bandera organized and carried out the assassination of the Polish Minister of the Interior. But Bandera, his assistant Lebid and Stetzko were caught and sentenced to life imprisonment. They remained in prison until released by the Germans in 1939. Konovaloc remained leader of the OUN until 1938 when he was assassinated in Rotterdam. Melnyk then assumed command of OUN. In 1938 after the invasion of Czechoslovakia, the Germans sought to enlist the aid of the OUN for the purpose of sabotage within Poland. Melnyk and other leaders of the OUN refused to aid the Germans as they foresaw that they were to be used merely as tools of the Germans. After his release from prison, Bandera disagreed with Melnyk's policies concerning collaboration with the Germans, and, in 1940, this resulted in a split in OUN. Two factions were formed—OUN/B and OUN/M. Bandera was supported by the majority of the OUN members, especially the youthful and more radical elements.

After the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941, members of both groups returned to the Ukraine with the German army and were supported in their activities by the German military administration. They started organizing local administrations, filling the posts with their own men and carrying on propaganda for the establishment of an independent Ukraine. Within a few months, according to German documents, they were engaged in anti-German activities and propaganda. Finally after a Ukrainian Provisional Government was proclaimed, over the LVOV Radio without German authorization, by Bandera, with Yaroslav Stetzko as Prime Minister, the Germans took action. The refusal of the Provisional Government to dissolve on orders from the Germans resulted in mass arrests of both Banderists and Melnyks. This intensified the animosity between the two groups and about this time the Banderists assassinated several Melnyck leaders. In the summer of 1944 a group of Ukrainian leaders, consisting mainly of members of OUN/B, met in a village in the Carpathian Mountains and found the "Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council" (Ukrainska Holovna Vizvolna Rada, (UHVR)), as a secret government and united national center for directing the revolutionary fight for the independence of the Ukraine against all enemies of ^{Ukrainian} independence, especially against the Bolshevik and German occupants. The conference was presided over by (Father) Ivan Hryniach who was elected leader of the UHVR. The meeting was attended by ^{Nikolai} Lebid, acting chief of OUN/B, and other leaders of that organization, and by leaders of UPA, including (Gen.) Tschuprynka ^{aka} (Shuhevich). After the end of the German occupation of Galicia, UHVR sent a delegation to the West headed by Lebid. Of the UHVR leaders in the Ukraine, some were killed while some went underground after the reoccupation of the Ukraine by the Russians.

Bandera and Stetzko remained in a concentration camp until 1944 when they succeeded in escaping while being taken back to the camp after a conference with the Germans in Berlin who sought in vain to enlist their aid against Russia. At the end of the World War the bulk of OUN members spilled into DP camps in the Allied Zone of Germany.* Gradually the political activities of OUN/B and OUN/M were revived and the struggle between them renewed. The Bandera group took the name of OUNR while the Melnyk group called themselves OUN/S.

Efforts, however, were made to bring about a reconciliation of the two groups. A meeting took place on January 23, 1948, between Stephen Bandera and Col. Melnyk. Melnyk proposed active collaboration with Bandera in a liberation movement headed by both of them to include (1) the formation of a single Ukrainian National Revolutionary Center to coordinate the revolutionary activities of both organizations, to which would be admitted other Ukrainian groups struggling for an independent Ukraine, (2) the reorganization of the traditional National Center, the Ukrainian National Republic, and (3) the formation of a Ukrainian World Union. The proposal was turned down by Bandera who proposed that the two organizations merely pledge themselves to avoid mutual discord and not to hinder each other. No common basis was found for the formation of a single Nationalist Movement. Bandera was insistent that Melnyk should accede to the UHVR as the real revolutionary center of the struggle of the Ukrainian people. Bandera was adamant against accepting the leadership of the UNR or cooperating with it.

* About 9,000 Ukrainians in SS. Division Galica under General Shandruk surrendered to the British in Italy.

A further series of meetings took place February 20-23 between Bandera and Stetzko of OUNR and Melnyk and Bojdunyk of OUNSR but no basis for united action could be found. During 1948 the Melnyk organization carried on Anti-Bandera propaganda in the DP camps seeking to bring about the removal of Banderists from key administrative posts in the camps and the camp police. A book was published refuting the claims of the Banderists regarding partisan activities in the Ukraine and exposing the terrorist tactics of OUNR.

Meanwhile the Bandera organization continued its efforts to gain control of Ukrainian organizations. At the election of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Cooperatives (Centrosoyuz) held on March 22-23, 1948, the Banderists managed to gain all but two places on the Committee and a Banderist was elected Director of the Centrosoyuz. Control of this organization gave OUNR a large source of funds and also excellent cover for its agents and couriers. OUNR was also active in collecting money from Ukrainians, by force if necessary, allegedly for partisan activities in the Ukraine. In the period 1946-48 there were many cases of robbery and of looting, even from U. S. military warehouses, etc., perpetrated by Banderists. Practically all the activities of OUNR were marked by the employment of ruthless and terroristic methods. The German currency reform was a great blow to OUNR, because it had obtained most of its funds from extensive black market operations.

The policies and activities of OUNR led to much unrest and dissension in the organization. There were considerable differences between the party members who recently arrived from the homeland and those who had been abroad for some time. Recent arrivals took a more democratic position and advocated cooperation with other political groups.

A split took place between Stephen Bandera and Mikola Lebid over the question of OUNR's relations with other political parties. Hitherto OUNR considered itself to stand above other Ukrainian political parties on the theory that it was the representative of the UHVR. Bandera and other OUNR leaders perceiving that the unyielding attitude of the OUNR had given no other results than to increase the controversies in the Ukrainian emigration were inclined to seek ways and means of approaching the Ukrainian National Council and OUN/S. Lebid was supported in his opposition to this policy by Hyrniokh, Stachiv, etc. A similar situation was developing in the UHVR. The foreign representation of the UHVR had been filled with OUNR leaders and their political policies followed. As the democratic element in UHVR increased its strength, there began to develop, gradually an opposition to the dictatorial and terrorist methods taken over by UHVR from OUNR. The opposition believed that the UHVR should pursue a line of policy separate from that of OUNR. Members of the opposition demanded an accounting of money collected by OUNR for UPA and desired that the use of this pretext to collect money for OUNR be forbidden. The question was raised of the participation of the UHVR in the Ukrainian National Council of the UNR. The crisis in the OUNR came to a head in the Party Congress held in Mittenwald during August 26-29, 1948, which was attended by approximately 160 members of the Party. The Bandera group was completely successful in having their point of view adopted. All the members of the Opposition were dismissed from important positions in OUNR and OUNR's delegates to the Foreign Representation of UHVR were recalled. Lebid and Hyrniokh were relieved of their positions in UHVR and were also dismissed from the high command of OUNR. 17 new delegates to UHVR were appointed to replace those withdrawn. The Congress

decided that the activities of OUNR should be carried on as they had been previously.

During the Congress Bandera and Stetzko attacked Lebid and Hrynioch as opportunists who had secured leadership of UHVR for personal reasons and were seeking to split OUNR and UHVR. Stetzko said that the aim of the OUNR was to create a free independent state by forming a united strong party led by one man. Hrynioch declared that the UHVR was not created by Bandera and Stetzko but by the people in the homeland. These people rejected one-man government and one-party system as well as party terrorism and any type of political monopoly. The fighting people of the homeland were not prepared to accept Bandera as a dictator. Lebid supported Hrynioch. The members of the opposition who had been recalled from their posts as delegates to the Foreign Representation of UHVR refused to leave their posts. They declared that the Central Command of OUNR had no right to recall OUNR's representatives to UHVR as these people had been appointed by a Congress of the OUNR in the Ukraine. As the opposition group of Lebid did not cease their activities against the decisions of the Congress, a large number of the opposition members were expelled from the OUNR at the end of October 1948. Among those expelled were Mikola Lebid, Father Ivan Hrynioch, (Dr.) Vladimir Stachiv, Vasil Pasitchniak, etc. On November 25, 1948, a group of Bandera followers attempted to seize by force the offices of the "Ukrainian Tribune", the OUNR newspaper, the editor of which was Vasil Pasitchniak, a member of the opposition. As a consequence the "Ukrainian Tribune" is now the organ of the Lebid group while the OUNR has only the "CZAS" which is published in Augsburg. With a view to maintaining his prestige, Bandera entered into negotiations with Daniel Skoropadsky, head of the Hetman movement, with a view to

coordinating the activities of the two organizations in the Ukrainian political field. It was subsequently announced that an understanding had been reached.

While the Bandera group retained control of about 80% of the Party, the departure of the Lebid faction definitely weakened the OUNR. Although the seceding group was small, it comprised a number of intellectuals whom the Bandera movement could ill afford to lose. The developments at the end of 1948 did not terminate the unrest in the Party. Some members desired that steps be taken to bring back Lebid into the organization. Opposition to Bandera's policies was being increasingly manifested by a group led by Ryabushenko comprising refugees from the Eastern Ukraine, the so-called Dnieper-Ukrainians, a group which had been hitherto inactive due to fear of repatriation to the USSR. Some members of this group left the Party and joined the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party. With its decline in membership the OUNR was tending to become a small tightly knit political clique. However, many of the key positions in the camp administration and camp police in Ukrainian DP camps in the American Zone continued to be occupied by members of the OUNR, and these officials were using every means to keep the party together. Such officials organized collections for the OUNR and Ukrainians who refused to donate were threatened with loss of privileges or ejection from the camp. In July 1949, OUNR carried on a campaign of terror against all non-Banderist Ukrainians, especially members of the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP). Persons too out-spoken in their anti-Banderist sentiments were threatened with bodily harm, which in several cases was carried out. In May 1949 OUNR developed a plan for the emigration to France of about

2000 Ukrainians chiefly from OUNR. It claimed that it had reached an agreement with the French Government providing for the emigration to France of Ukrainians as agricultural workers who were later to attend political and military schools. Meantime the bitter feud between OUNR and OUNS continued. OUNS which was weaker than OUNR, both numerically and financially, nevertheless, pursued a policy of organizing or supporting a counter organization for each organization created or supported by the OUNR. When the OUNR joined the AEN, which is composed of the ultra-nationalist elements of the Eastern European and Balkan emigration, the OUNS became a member of the "Freedom International", which supports the policies of the moderate national groups, represented by Nagy, Dmitrov, Macek, etc., and is in opposition to the AEN. The net result of the feud between the Banderists and Melnyks was to strengthen the position of the Ukrainian Government in Exile.

U P A

There has been considerable controversy among the Ukrainian groups with regard to the origin of the so-called UPA—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, (Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya). The OUNR claims that the UPA was organized by Bandera out of his followers in May 1944, while Eastern Ukrainian groups declare that the UPA was organized in the spring of 1943 in Volhynia by the UNR under the command of Borovec who took the name of Taras Bulba that the Banderists had nothing to do with the UPA in the beginning and that Bandera seized control of UPA by assassinating its leaders after Borovec was arrested by the Germans in November 1943. The OUNR maintains that the UPA is the fighting force of the OUNR presently engaged in active partisan warfare against the Soviet Union in Western

Ukraine and Poland and that the leader of the UPA is (General) Taras Tschuprynka who is a member of the OUNR. According to the German documents the anti-German partisan movement in the Ukraine began at the end of 1941 as a consequence of the plundering and cruelties of the German Army. Partisans fought both Russians and Germans. One of principal resistance leaders was a certain Borovec who trained his men at Sarny prior to his arrest by the Germans. There is no question but that partisan warfare was carried on by the Ukrainians on a considerable scale against the Red Army and the Communist regime after Russian reoccupation of Ukrainian territory. The mass deportation of Ukrainian families by the Poles and Russians in the latter part of 1946 appears to have affected the UPA organization very seriously, and as a result of this move, the UPA had to adopt a decentralized organizational set-up and split up into small units. In any event since 1947 heavily armed Ukrainian partisans have been crossing in small groups into the American Zone from Czechoslovakia or Austria. The frequency of such crossings has been steadily diminishing. Two partisans arrived from Czechoslovakia on July 21, 1949, and four arrived in the American Zone of Austria in December 1949. When such partisans arrive in Germany both the OUNR and OUNS seek to contact them and look after them with a view to claiming them as their followers. According to information obtained from different reliable sources, it is the OUNR which is usually found in contact with the refugee partisans.

Although the OUNR has formally joined the Ukrainian National Council, it is believed that its adherence was only a tactical maneuver designed to enable the Banderists to keep informed of the activities of the UNR and to gain an influence over the Council's work. In any event the OUNR does not recognize the authority of the UNC and has been endeavoring to undermine the activity of the Council by subversive propaganda and in this

respect it works hand in hand with the Hetman Group (SGD), the only Ukrainian party which has not joined the Council. In the spring of 1949 the OUNR press launched a hostile campaign against the Executive Committee of the WNC.

Meantime the OUNR has continued its policy of seeking to gain control of Ukrainian Organizations. In March 1949 the Banderists gained control of the "Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain" and in June 1949 they brought under their influence the Ukrainian Relief Committee in Belgium. Their most spectacular success was gained at the last annual convention of the "Central Representation of the Ukrainian Emigration", a welfare organization similar to the Russian organization with a similar name. The OUNR prepared for the convention long in advance with the result that it had the largest group of delegates although 7 Ukrainian political parties participated in the elections. At the Convention which was held on March 4-6, 1949, and attended by 120 persons from the 3 Western Zones, the OUNR captured every important position although the other parties formed a bloc against them and tried to declare the meeting void. The President, Vasil Mudry, the Vice President, Ivan Vovchuk, and the Secretary General, Zenon Palensky, are all OUNR members. The OUNR has complete control of the organization.

The OUNR has also gained control of an organization which purports to represent a number of anti-Russian and anti-Communist groups from East European nationalities--the so-called anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

The anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was created at a so-called conference of nations of Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia held on November 21-22, 1943, in German occupied territory. It was sponsored by groups

which were collaborating with the Germans against the Soviet Union. These groups held a second conference on April 16, 1946, when a more detailed program was adopted, and Yaroslav Stetzko was elected President of the Central Committee of the ABN. Various national groups allegedly cooperated in the founding of the ABN--Czechs, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Serbs, Croats, etc. The ABN distributed anti-Soviet propaganda among the displaced persons in Germany and published a monthly pamphlet "For the liberty of Peoples" which was reported to have a circulation of 2000 copies. It soon became clear that Yaroslav Stetzko who was one of the leaders of the OUNR dominated the activities of the ABN so that it was under the complete control of the Banderists.

At the end of 1947, the Banderists developed a project designed to bring under their influence a larger group of Anti-Bolshevik organizations. On January 5, 1948, the Ukrainian Press service announced the formation of an "anti-Bolshevik League for the Liberation of Nations " (ALON) on Nov. 25, 1947. The Declaration issued by the ALON stated that it represented the unification of the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", the "Freedom International" and "Prometheus". Its aim was the "destruction and the final partition of the Russian--Bolshevik empire" and "the reestablishment of independent national states on the national territories of the peoples subjugated by Russian-Bolshevik imperialism". Although the organizing group of the ALON claimed to represent a large number of anti-communist national groups, it was predominantly composed of Ukrainian Nationalists of the Banderist variety. The ALON appears to have died shortly after birth. Several meetings were reported to have been held in the early part of 1948, in an endeavor to draw up statutes for the organization but apparently no success was had and soon no more was heard of the ALON.

In the latter part of 1948 the Banderists had a new idea. The ABN held on September 27-28, 1949 its first youth congress. It was reported that it was attended by youth delegations from many nationalities such as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Georgians, Slovaks, Cossacks, Serbs, Bulgars, Turkestan groups, etc., as well as several representatives from UPA. All the represented nationalities agreed to fight Bolshevism and Russian Imperialism with all means until final victory. The "Youth Front of the ABN" had as its aim the maintenance of contact with nations suppressed by communist governments and the organization of underground movements in the various countries. As directing organ, an Executive Committee of eight persons was elected. The Committee was headed by Rusi Nazar, a Turkestan delegate, and comprised representatives of the following nationalities—Lithuanian, Bulgar, Serb, Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Hungarian and Slovak.

The ABN is still an active organization. It publishes monthly in German, French and English, a news bulletin called the "ABN Bulletin", the editor of which is K. W. Orlecky, a member of the OUNR. The ABN appears to be mainly occupied in disseminating anti-Communist propaganda and occasionally arranging anti-Communist demonstrations. The Russian Emigrants look upon ABN with great suspicion. While it claims to unite 24 nationalities in the fight against Bolshevism, no representatives of these nationalities have ever been delegated to the ABN by any national grouping. The organization is in fact, a fictitious one created to serve the purposes of OUNR.

Present Status of the Western Ukrainian Organizations

Thus at the present time the Western Ukrainians are split into three competing groups: (1) the followers of Bandera; (2) the adherents of

Melnyk and (3) the group of Lebid. Bandera's group is undoubtedly the largest. OUNR members and sympathizers are found in practically every Ukrainian DP camp. 75-80% of the DP's from Galicia are said to belong to OUNR or to be Bandera sympathizers. Banderists claim 6500-7000 members in the U. S. Zone and 3500-4000 in the British. Rival leaders concede only 1500 members in all Germany. The OUNR which attracts specially the younger element is far more active and aggressive and better organized than the other two groups. Basic aim of OUNR is to gain a dominating political position in the Ukrainian emigration. It has its own security organization, the SB, which is used not only for intelligence purposes and to ensure the loyalty of OUNR members, but also to penetrate other organizations and to crush opposition to the OUNR in DP camps. The Banderists have displayed superior organizing skill in gaining control of DP camp administrations and other Ukrainian organizations. However, to effect their purposes they employ ruthless methods and terroristic measures. The activities of the OUNR—its press, etc.—constitute a disruptive force in the Ukrainian Emigration. The supreme authority in the OUNR is stated to rest in a Council of three comprising Stephen Bandera, Yaroslav Stetzko and Taras Tschuprynka, the alleged Commander of the partisan units in the Ukraine (UPA). Other OUNR leaders are Ivan Vovchuk, Constantine Kononenko and Stephen Lenkavsky. Although the United States military authorities conducted for several years a search for Bandera they were never able to find him or obtain a description of him. The OUNR is alleged to receive some assistance from (Bishop) Ivan Buchko, head of the Ukrainian Relief in Rome. The Melnyk group which may be considered to represent the right wing of the Galician Ukrainians is small and much less active than the OUNR. This group consists of older and more conservative Ukrainians especially intellectuals. It is much less sectarian and more

inclined to cooperate with other political groups than the OUNR. The smallest of the three groups is that of Lebid, which in view of its more radical tendencies may be classified as the left wing of the Western Ukrainians. It ignores the Melnyk group and is fiercely opposed to the OUNR. This group comprises chiefly the members of the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) who split with the OUNR. Among its leaders are Mykola Lebid, Father Ivan Hryniokh, Vladimir Stachiv, Lev Rebet and Peter Brokop. There are several questions relating to the activities of the Western Ukrainians to which it has not been possible to obtain reliable answers. Does the UHVR which was organized in the Ukraine in 1944 still exist? Is it now purely a fictitious organization maintained to increase the prestige of certain emigre organizations? Are there any remnants of the UPA still active in the Carpathian Mountains or elsewhere? If so, are these remnants connected with the Bandera group or the Lebid group? While the Ukrainian experts are inclined to agree that there are probably still small bands of guerrillas in Western Ukraine which engage occasionally in terroristic activities, they differ with regard to the group which is in touch with the activities in the Ukraine. Some hold the opinion that it is the Lebid group which is in touch with partisan activities in the Ukraine and that it receives irregularly messages from the Ukraine, although it apparently is unable to send communications into the Ukraine. Others hold that it is the Bandera group which has connections with the UPA and maintain that the partisans who have come into the American Zone have been observed to have been taken care of by the Banderists. Then there are some who assert that the fugitive Ukrainians who have occasionally arrived in Western Germany had never heard of any of the existing Western Ukrainian groups.

The Eastern Ukrainians

Prior to the last World War, the chief political organization of the Eastern Ukrainians was the UNR (Ukrainian People's Republic) Government in exile. This organization claimed to be the successor of the Government established in January 22, 1918, in the Ukraine by Simon Petlura after he overthrew the Skoropadsky regime which had been set up by the Germans, and based its legality on the Ukrainian Constitution of 1918. The Petlura Government was driven out of the Ukraine by the Bolsheviks in November 1920 and remained in exile in Poland until 1939. Petlura was assassinated in 1926 and was succeeded by Andrew Levitsky whom he appointed as his successor on his deathbed. At the close of the war the Government in Exile had very little influence and authority in the Ukrainian community. The President was old and ailing and had not gained any prestige from his activity during the war. The Government's support came chiefly from the socialistic bloc of three socialist parties, which had been the strongest parties in the Ukraine before 1917 but which were weak now and had only a small membership. Finally, the Government in Exile was a creation of the old emigrants and had no attraction for the new emigrants from the Ukraine. President Levitsky realizing that his government was dying a slow death in the existing situation took steps with a view to creating a National Council which would act as an advisory body to the Government and would be composed of delegates from all political parties. The first meetings to consider this question were held in December 1947. Proposals to serve as a basis for discussion were sent out to all Ukrainian political parties and factions by the UNR. The discussions continued throughout the first four months of 1948. The Hetman party (SGD) was finally excluded from the proposed council as it was adamant in its demands and no compromise

proved possible. There was considerable discussion as to whether the Council should be called a Government or not. It was finally agreed that the UNR should be recognized as the nominal Government and President Levitsky would remain as head of the Government, but that all other members would be elected. The OUNR agreed to join the Council on condition that UHVR, whose opposition was uncompromising at first, was recognized as a revolutionary non-party center maintaining communication with the Ukrainian Underground Movement in the homeland. The UHVR would recognize the Council as the Government in exile and submit to its authority in foreign political questions. Although both OUNR and OUNS were to cooperate within the framework of the council, each was to maintain control of its respective organization.

On 2 May 1948 the Ukrainian newspapers announced that at the end of April it was agreed by all active Ukrainian organizations abroad, with the exception of the Hetman Group, to form a Ukrainian National Council which would become the center for all Ukrainian political activities. On 27 May 1948, the preparatory commission for the Ukrainian National Council met at Augsburg and formally adopted the new constitution. In addition to the Council of 36 members there was to be an Executive Committee of 9 members to be elected from the Council. All members elected to the Executive Committee were to be approved by Levitsky who was to continue as President of UNR. In the event of Levitsky's death the Chairman of the Council would automatically become President of the UNR. The Council was charged with the reorganization of the Government in exile, on the basis of a broad coalition. The original draft of the constitution was sent to President Levitsky for his approval and signature. Although representatives of

OUNR participated in the meetings of the Preparatory Commission and agreed outwardly with the policies of the UNC, the OUNR at first disseminated pamphlets attacking the Council. Finally on 13 June 1948 the OUNR formally joined the UNC and named as its six representatives: Peter Mirchuk, Anatole Riabuzhenko, Constantine Kononenko, Ivan Vovchuk, Lev Shankovsky and Boris Andriyevsky. The establishment of the UNC was a great victory for President Levitsky who had placed his influence behind the organization in the hope that it would bring all Ukrainian political parties and organizations under one unified head.

The Constitutional Assembly of the Ukrainian National Council (UNC) was held at Augsburg on July 12-20, 1948. The meetings proceeded smoothly. While the OUNR gave some opposition on a few points, it generally concurred in the majority of decisions. The Banderists requested more important positions in the UNC, such as Vice-Premier and Minister of Military Affairs, but were given positions of lesser importance, some of which they declined to accept. The UNC will function as the Parliament of the UNR Government. The Council is composed of representatives from eight Ukrainian political parties; 6 representatives each from OUNR and OUNS, which are listed as Right groups, and 6 each from the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) and the Ukrainian National Sovereign Confederation (UNDS) which are classified as center parties, and three representatives each from the Ukrainian Revolutionary Democratic Party (URDP) and from the three parties of the Socialist bloc (USO), The Ukrainian Socialist Radical Party (USRP), the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers Party (USDRP) and the Ukrainian Socialist Democratic Party (USDP), which are placed in the left sector. The Council elected a Presidium composed of the following members:

Boris Ivanitsky, President of UNC, Stephen Vitvitsky, 1st Vice President; Ivan Vovchuk, and Vice President; Ossip Bojdunyk, 3rd Vice President; Gregory Denesenko, 4th Vice President; Mykola Stepanenko, Secretary. One place was left open for the Hetmanists (SGD) in the event they should decide to join the UNC. A cabinet was elected comprising 12 members, with Isaac Masepa as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vasil Mudry as Deputy Prime Minister and (Gen.) Mykola Kapustiansky (OUNS) as Minister of Military Affairs. The Council issued a public declaration announcing the creation of the Ukrainian National Council as a representation of the Ukrainian People in their struggle for an independent state, denouncing the Communist regime in the Ukraine and promising to fight for the realization of all democratic civil liberties in an independent Ukraine and to pursue a policy of close collaboration with all peoples subjugated by Moscow. At the time of the creation of the UNC a reliable source estimated that the organizations in the Council represented about 269,000 Ukrainians, of whom 100,000 were in the U. S. Zone; 24,000, British Zone, 15,000, French Zone; 20,000, Austria; 60,000, France; 20,000, Belgium and 30,000 in Great Britain. The number of active members of the various groups are estimated as follows: Bandera group, 1500; Melynk group, 150; UNDS, 200; URDP, 100-120; USDRP, 40-60; USDP, 30-40; UNDO, 14; and USRP, 10.

In a letter to Gen. Clay on 16 October 1948, Gen. Kapustiansky proposed the organization of a Ukrainian Legion, in the event of war, to be formed out of 5,00 former Ukrainian soldiers in France, 7,000 soldiers of the former Ukrainian 1st Division living in England, and 5,000 Ukrainian soldiers of the Army of General Anders.

Creation of Ukrainian National Guard (UNG)

President Levitsky also took the initiative in creating a military organization which would be at the disposition of the UNR Government. He turned to Borovec who had been a partisan leader in the Ukraine under the name of Taras Bulba. On 29 November 1947, the Ukrainian National Guard was founded by veterans of the Second World War to give military training to Ukrainian War Veterans and to replace the Ukrainian National Revolutionary Army (organized in the Ukraine by the UNR after the Banderists had gained control of the UPA) as the military arm of the Ukrainian People's Republic. After a series of interfactional disputes, including a protest by Isaac Mazepa against the formation of the UNG and a dispute between President Levitsky and Borovec over the announcement of the formation of the UNG in the Ukrainian Press, Borovec withdrew from the leadership of the UNG and the President asked (Gen.) Alexander Titarenko to replace him. At a meeting of the UNG held on June 12, 1948, General Titarenko was elected Commander-in-Chief of the organization. (Colonel) Koval, Borovec who did not attend the meeting, and (Col) Pekartouk were elected as his deputies. Speeches were made recalling the continued struggle of the Ukrainian people against Russian occupation of their country since the days of Hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1709. A constitution was discussed and adopted. The Constitution stated that UNG was organized to fight for an independent United Ukrainian State against the enemies of all mankind, communism and totalitarianism. Its task was to develop military cadres of the Ukrainian Nation and form active military formations on the basis of non-party unity. UNG was stated to be an autonomous military political organization within the frame of the SUV and responsible for its activities to the UNR Government. In November 1948, General Titarenko departed for

England and requested Gen. Koval to take over the command of the UNG in his absence. But at a meeting of the UNG on Dec. 19, 1948, Boroveo was appointed Commander-in-Chief of UNG and charged with organizing a new staff.

Boroveo was reelected Commander of the UNG, with Col. Koval as his first assistant, at the Congress of the UNG, which was held on December 26-27, 1949, and attended by 65 delegates. The new staff of the UNG comprising 7 officers consists in the majority of new emigrants. Speeches were made condemning the splitting and hostile activities of the Bandera-Hetman group. The UNG grew rapidly following its organization in 1947. It was reported to have reached the figure of 9,700 late in 1948, but most of its members have since that time emigrated to England and Australia. At present there are about 800 members of the UNG in Germany. The UNG has many high officers who served in the Second World War. Training is given chiefly in the form of lectures. It publishes a magazine called "Military Affairs" which contains articles on tactics, infantry technique, intelligence, topography, etc. Boroveo claims that he still has partisan groups active in Eastern Ukraine with which he maintains irregular contact, and that the UNG has built up anti-communist connections in the Soviet Zones of Germany and Austria.

Union of Ukrainian Veterans (SUV)

In addition to the UNG there is another military organization created by the Eastern Ukrainians, the "Union of Ukrainian Veterans" (SUV). The SUV was originally founded in Warsaw, Poland, in 1923, as a fraternal organization. The majority of its members consisted of former Tsarist Army Officers of Ukrainian descent who fought against the Bolsheviks in 1917-1920. During the Second World War it was practically disbanded with many of its members fighting against the Russians. It was reorganized on November 16, 1945, by (Gen.) Omelianovich-Pavlenko who was elected commander of the organization.

Any militarily trained Ukrainian whose background is favorable and who acknowledges the statutes of the SUV can become a member. Thus SUV accepts members regardless of the former units or nationality of the army in which service was performed. It differs in this respect from the UNG which emphasizes the organization of all the former officers and men of the Red Army. While it is not required that members of the SUV belong to the UNG, members of the UNG are expected to be members of the SUV. Its aims are stated to be to maintain contact between UNR and former Ukrainian Military personnel, to organize moral and material support for its members and to uphold traditions of those who fought for an independent Ukraine. The SUV supports the policies of the UNR. The SUV is extremely anti-OUNR. It does not accept OUNR members into the SUV. At the end of 1949, SUV had about 2000 members in Germany and Austria. The governing body of the SUV is a Council of 21 members of which Gen. Omelianovich-Pavlonko is Chairman. The President of SUV is (General) Constantine Smovsky-Raevsky and Vice President, (Lt. Col.) Vasil Tatarsky. The Organization depends for its finances on membership fees--70 pfennings per month--initiation fees and profits from the sale of publications. Gen. Smovsky-Raevsky contacted American authorities in October 1948 for purpose of proposing a plan to arm and deploy members of his organization against the Soviet Union in case of war. He said he had 10,000 veteran Ukrainians who would cooperate with the Americans.

The Ukrainian National Council held its second meeting at the Leipheim DP camp from 22 June to 29 June 1949. A new cabinet was formed, comprising 10 members instead of 12, with Isaac Mazepa as Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Stephen Vitvitsky as Deputy Prime Minister and General Mykola Kapustiansky as Minister for Military Affairs. Boris Ivanitsky was reelected President of the UNC. He is also President of the Presidium

which comprises Ivan Vovchuk (OUNR), Ossip Boidunyk (OUN), Gregory Denesenko (SUS) and Stephen Baran (UNDO). The meeting adopted blue and yellow as the national colors. The Prime Minister made a speech in which he urged that connections with the Ukraine be re-established and maintained, and emphasized the importance of supporting the underground movement--the UPA--in the Ukraine.

The Hetman Movement

The Hetman Movement is the only Ukrainian group which has not joined the Ukrainian National Council (UNC). This movement comprises the followers of Paul Skoropadsky, head of the short-lived puppet Government established by the Germans in the Ukraine in 1918. The head of this government was given the title of Hetman, the name of the supreme ruler of the Cossaks in the Ukraine prior to the absorption of the Ukraine into the Russian Empire in the 17th Century. The Hetmanate was officially abolished by Catherine II. Paul Skoropadsky was said to be a descendant of a Ukrainian Hetman and his government was presented as the restoration of an earlier independent Ukrainian state. The Skoropadsky Government was overthrown by Petlura at the end of 1918, and Skoropadsky withdrew to Germany where he lived until he was killed by a bomb in 1944. According to German documents, the Germans considered that, during the war, the attitude of the Hetman group was on the whole loyal to them. Upon his death, his son Daniel Skoropadsky became head of the movement which is known as "Union of Adherents of the Hetmanate", (Soyuz Getmantsov Derzhavnikov SGD): Daniel Skoropadsky, the present pretender to the Hetman's sceptre (Boulava) lives in England where he has influential friends and a small compact group of followers, led by Korostovets and Ivan Ranchuk. The Hetmanates have been seeking especially to gain influence among the large Ukrainian community in the British Isles. Daniel

Skoropadsky came to Germany in 1948 where he had an interview with Stephon Bandera. It is believed that some basis of cooperation was agreed upon inasmuch as subsequently the SGD has gone along with the OUNR on a number of occasions. SGD states that the cooperation was simply for the purpose of obtaining cultural and welfare benefits for all the Ukrainian people and not for political purposes.

The aim of the SGD is the liberation of the Ukraine from Russian Communist rule and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state under a hereditary Hetman. The idea of a hereditary Hetman is a new political conception as the Hetmans among the Cossacks in the Ukraine were elected. In practice the Hetmanates are advocates of a moderate liberal monarchy, a sort of constitutional monarchy of the British type. While the SGD claims a membership of 2,000, it is believed that this figure is a great exaggeration. The membership comprises mostly old emigrants. The SGD has practically no young members and very few from the new emigration. The adherents of the SGD in the American Zone appear to be chiefly intellectuals. The chief of the SGD in the American Zone and British Zone is Mykola Basylevsky. The SGD has exercised very little influence in the Ukrainian emigration, and with the consolidation of the various Ukrainian political parties and the gradual emigration of the Ukrainian refugees, it is gradually sinking into insignificance.

Present Trends in the Ukrainian Emigration

Reviewing the present situation of the Ukrainian Emigration as a whole, it is to be noted that, with the exception of the Hetman group, the whole emigration is united in the Ukrainian National Council. However, the adherence to the Council of the Bandera group is purely nominal and for all

practical purposes the OUNR must be considered as moving in an orbit different from that of the UNG.

While Ukrainian personalities such as Prof. Bogatyrchuk and Prof. Vassilaki who believe in a federation of the different nationalities within a Russian state and who have participated in Vlasov organizations such as the Atsodnr, have been severely attacked by the Ukrainian Press and do not represent any organized groupings in the Ukrainian emigration, it is believed that the opinion of the Eastern Ukrainians on this point is not correctly reflected in the present political set-up of the Ukrainian Emigration. The fanaticism of the Western Ukrainians in regard to the national question and the predominating role played by them in Ukrainian political circles have tended to submerge the sentiments of the Eastern Ukrainian emigrants favorable to cooperation with the Russians.