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5 September 1952

To: SR/GPP

From: SR/3 - W 2

Subject: Contact with CASSOWARY 2 on 4 September 1952

Present at this conference were CASSOWARY 2, CASSOWARY 15,  
[ ] (known as [ ]), and [ ]

Unity

1. ~~CHYZ~~ two days before CASSOWARY 2. ~~BARON~~ spent four days with CASSOWARY 2 before CASSOWARY 2 departed for the U. S.

2.\* A letter was received from Dr. Margolin by V. O. in which he stated the following:

a. The State Department is not interested in unity plus kicking out ~~MELNYK~~ and ~~BAHRIANNY~~.

b. The U.N.R. is to treat ZPUHVR and ZChOUN in the same manner that the Russians treat the NTS.

c. CASSOWARY 2 does not have contact with the State Department but with some strong intelligence organization.

\* Source: Two individual sources who are not member of U.N.R.

3. The following individuals attended the German-Russian Congress which was held in Dusseldorf on approximately 20 July: ~~KOSAR-KOSARENKO~~ from New York (partially U.N.R.), ~~GULAI~~ and ~~ZLOTARENKO~~.

ZChOUN

- a. Individuals from Provid
- b. BANDERA
- c. STETSKO

Conditions

1. BANDERA and STETSKO are to leave the Provid for an indefinite period.

2. Provid of ZChOUN will affirm that the Provid of OUN is in the homeland.

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3. Provid of the ZChOUN will hand over all political activity to ZPUHVR.

- a. AEM liquidated as representative of nationalities; reorganization as a private organization.
- b. Contact with Ukraine through ZPUHVR.
- c. Liquidation of SB as presently organized; reorganization as defense organ against Bolshevik penetration.

Assessment:

- 1. Individuals may vote for this.
- 2. British for consolidation.

UNDS

- a. ~~LEVITSKY~~, ~~MYKOLA~~ and three or four others.
- b. Represent ideas of "government-in-exile" of UNR.
- c. Four representatives - four positions.

Term of Covers (?)

- 1. Don't believe in resistance in homeland.
- 2. LEVITSKY should wait 5 years then everything in the homeland will be liquidated - then all emigre groups.
- 3. If resistance alive - then parties are not equal.

Consolidation

- 1. LEVITSKY agrees - but not with personalities: LEVITSKY vs. BAHRIANNY.
- 2. Could consolidate with BAHRIANNY or LEVITSKY but CASSOWARY 2 is interested in total consolidation.
- 3. UNDS wants a reorganization of UNR (in order to oust BAHRIANNY)  
[L.]
- 4. Last year BAHRIANNY had published series of articles smearing L. L invites BAHRIANNY and four others including DRYBORENKO - Section of Interior.

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Proposals

1. Proposal by BAHRIANNY: Consolidation but UNR will take over the liberation struggle.
2. CASSOWARY 2 proposed: Coordination between the UNR and ZPUHVR is the first step to consolidation. UHVR leader of struggle and not a group of UNR.

Stand

1. BAHRIANNY opposes both LEVITSKY'S and wants to be the leader of the entire Ukrainian emigration.
  - a. Consolidation of ZPUHVR and ZChOUN.
  - b. Kick out UNDS and LEVITSKY'S.
2. CASSOWARY 2 not interested in power politics but only to aid homeland.

Continuation of thinking is still taking place.

HETMANITES

1. They are willing to coordinate with both ZPUHVR and UNR without recognition of government of UNR.
2. Consolidation of the emigration is possible: All organizations - churches and scientific, etc., to be under UNR not as political groups but as emigre organization of all groups.
3. Do not believe Hetmanites will be re-established: CASSOWARY 2 said they can easily be a monarchist group.

CASSOWARY 2 did not talk with MELNYK because latter procrastinating.

UNR-BARON V.O. (UNDO)

1. For coordination and consolidation: Basis - resolutions of UCC.
2. CASSOWARY 2's opinion: Above due to troubles with MELNYK and BAHRIANNY groups. BARON wants equalization.
  - a. UNR meetings: Nothing passed.
  - b. ~~BOYDUNIK~~ left a year ago but has still not written.
3. MARGOLIN could act as contact but he is not a representative of UNR.
4. ~~CHYZ~~: a. Proposed that the UNR set up a committee to join SONR.

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b. State Department will never recognize ZChOUN or ZPUHVR. The UNR and the UCC should get rid of these groups.

c. CHYZ presented himself as an envoy of State.

\* \* \* \* \*

CASSOWARY 2 stated that since DUSHENIK, DOBRIANNISKY and VITVITSKY were coming to Europe he could not carry on.

CASSOWARY 2's conclusions

1. Unity is possible but power-politics would have to be eliminated.
2. Forces such as CHYZ, MARGOLIN and others cannot operate at the same time. Under these conditions ZPUHVR cannot speak of any consolidation since this would, at best, be an artificial thing.
3. Vacillations of policy (Guard Company) makes it impossible for CASSOWARY 2 to act as intermediary in consolidation talks.
4. CASSOWARY 2 believes that an agreement should first be made with the U.R.D.P. and then others will follow. This is desirable since BANDERA group is most powerful and is composed of the younger element. However, BANDERA probably riddled with agents.
5. a. From Soviet Ukraine.  
b. Soviets are aware that this group important to Americans and others.  
c. MARTENS - teacher NKVD; COL. KOVAL - teacher NKVD, and Col. Kyrylo DATSKO.
6. CASSOWARY 2 stated that it is difficult to build a policy with starving people. In Schleisheim (Munich) there are 3,000 DP's living under terrible conditions.

Specific Action

1. Set up a plan of action and assurance sections will be realized.
  - a. Preparation of Ukrainian emigration for fight with Bolsheviks.
  - b. Salvaging people from passiveness.
2. Stop "politics" with JABLON and others of his type.
3. CASSOWARY 2 and others feel "closed-in".

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Consolidation is most worthwhile:

1. ZChOUN - under new leadership
2. BAHRIANNY
3. ZPUHVR not interested in power-politics consolidation
4. CASSOWARY 2 convinced that government agencies interested in a really healthy consolidation. However, they are also interested in liquidation of Ukrainian groups.
5.        has been in favor of consolidation with ZChOUN but after CASSOWARY 2's two week stay in Germany he wishes clarification.
6. ZPUHVR is of the opinion that creation of guard companies would cause consolidation automatically.

\* \* \* \* \*

1. ZPUHVR believes consolidation is possible but this has to be done with the emigre organizations.
2. UNRADA is not "government-in-exile".
3. The UHVR is to be recognized.

CASSOWARY 2's Formula

1. Talk to UNR officially.
2. If this does not work then try BAHRIANNY.
3. The Ukrainians do not understand the basis of American politics and attitudes. (Zlotarenko, member of Sturru Abteil killed Jews - supported by SONR. STETSKO accused but innocent).

      's Comments

1. It is far better to have bona-fide Ukrainian representative in SONR than such independent representatives as GULAI.
2. SONR is a private organization but the U. S. is very interested in its developments.
3. It is possible that groups will join SONR but this serves to splinter the Ukrainian emigration. This would not be satisfactory.

~~Is it possible to have informal talks between CASSOWARY 2, ~~DOERIAN~~SKY AND ~~VITVITSKY~~ to try to determine the possibility of cooperation and representation in SONR?~~

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- a. CASSOWARY 2 accepted self-determination only as a stand of the U. S. government. However, this does not mean that he is satisfied.
- b. Unity is possible provided "side" actions are dropped.
- c. SONR: ZP attitude:
1. Recognition of status-quo
    - a. Basis of USSR but not of Russia
    - b. Recognition that Ukrainian republic exists in USSR - de facto and de jure and U. N.
  2. All nations of USSR have the right to achieve independence on the basis of self-determination.
  3. Common-struggle (Org. SONR): Principle of equality of peoples but not the supremacy of the Russian people.
  4. Self-determination should be applied to the Russian people also.
  5. CASSOWARY 2 feels that the entire SONR action is a lost cause. SONR is not the road to fight Bolshevism. If he thought that this would have a 10% possibility of success, he would join. Its only good basis is:
    - \* a. Russians will not be held responsible for Communism.
    - \* b. Give nationalities real self-determination.
    - \* c. Recognize status-quo and work from there.
- \*Per [ ]: This type of propaganda can be dissiminated by SONR radio. VOM cannot afford to follow this because of official policy.

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