BACKGROUND

The Social-Democrat PETLURA, who had been a member of the dissolved (1918) RADA was also in charge of the military operation of the Directory - the Republican counter-government which drove the Monarchist Hetman SKORPADSKY from Kiev in November 1918. PETLURA was aided by Colonel Eugene KONOVALEC and Colonel Andrew MELNYK, who, in the twenties, became the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist organization, OUN.

Symeon PETLURA soon became head of the Directory and commander-in-chief of an army of about 50,000 men, which was successively led by Vasyl TIUTJUNIK, Gen. Vladimir SALSKI and General OMEL Yanovich-PAVLENKO. Petlura's aim was to preserve the independence of the newly styled (Eastern) Ukrainian Republic against the Bolshevik government which, at that time, was fighting against the White armies. Petlura was hard pressed since he did not receive much support from the Western Allies, although he sent diplomatic missions to the peace conference in Paris. The territory he controlled from the seat of his government at Kameniec-Podolski dwindled away under the onrush of the Bolshevik army. He therefore threw in his lot with the government of the newly emerging Polish republic, whose leaders were also ideologically opposed to the Soviet regime. Thereby, however, arose a peculiar situation, as in the then Polish province of Galicia (Western Ukraine) there also existed a nationalist movement (Western Ukrainian Nationalists) for the independence of the Ukraine which was strongly anti-Polish and which was persecuted by the Polish government.

PETLURIANS vs. WESTERN (GALICIAN) UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Galicia was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and had a large, nationally conscious Ukrainian minority in its Eastern regions (capital: Lwow). In fact, one of the first nationalist cultural societies, PROSVITA, was founded in Galicia in 1868. When the empire collapsed in November 1918, Eugene PETRUSEVICH, backed by the independent Western Ukrainian Republic. After the establishment of Petlura's Eastern Ukrainian Republic, the union of the two governments was proclaimed (January 1919).

Petrushevich's government in Lwow included Isidor HOLUBOVICH (prime minister), Ivan MAKUCH (Interior), Longin CEGLIELSKI (Foreign Affairs) and General Victor KURMANOVICH (War). This government was represented by Vasyl PANENKO at the Paris peace conference; by Roman SMAL-STOCKY in Berlin; Stepan SMAL-STOCKY in Prague; by WASILKO in Vienna; by Alexandre KOLESSA in Rome; by Ossip NAZARUK in Canada; by P. KORMANSKI in Brazil; by Longin CEGLIELSKI and Luka MTSUHA in the USA.

Petrushevich's government had an army of about 30,000 men which was commended by Gen. OMELYANOVICH-PAVLENKO (who later took over Petlura's forces). Col. Eugene KONOVALEC and Col. Andrew MELNYK, who assisted Petlura's operation against Skoropadsky, also belonged to this Western (Galician) Ukrainian army. Both anti-Soviet and anti-Polish, the Petrushevich government and its army were driven out by the Polish army in May 1919. The army drifted into the Russian Ukraine where it took part in the RED-White and Polish-Bolshevik wars, and finally dissolved, partly by joining the Reds and partly by being interned in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Petrushevich's government went to Vienna (1919) and then to Berlin (1923).

In spite of its close ties with Petlura, the Petrushevich group had been left out on a limb when Petlura, true to his concept of independance of the Eastern Ukraine only, formed an alliance with the Polish government. The resulting rift between the Petlurians and the Petrushevich (Western Ukraine) faction determined the relations of the two groups well into the middle '30s.

PETLURA-POLISH ALLIANCE: The LEVITSKY GOVERNMENT

Petlura's government in the Eastern Ukraine was at first presided over by OSTAPENKO who was succeeded in April 1919 by MARTOS. Six months later MAZEPKA, a
Social-Democrat, was appointed and assisted with extraordinary powers. He was assisted by such Ukrainian Revolutionary Socialists as Mikita SHAPOVAL, Nikifor GRIGORIEW, and SEVRIUK. Andre Levitsky became Foreign Minister.

Through the MAZEPÁ government, Petlura established an alliance with the Polish state. In December 1919, Andre LEVITSKY renounced all claims of the Petlura government to the Western (Polish) Ukraine and was promised support by the Poles against Soviet Russia. Petlura, his government, and his army moved into Poland. In April 1920, shortly before the outbreak of the Polish-Bolshevik war, LEVITSKY signed the Petlura-Polish military alliance. Prof. Alexander SHULGIN was instrumental in bringing the alliance about. Petlura's troops participated in the Ukrainian campaign against Russia (1920), but were defeated together with the Polish army. At this juncture, the Ukrainian Revolutionary Socialists and Social-Democrats who felt their concept of independence for both the Eastern and the Western Ukraine betrayed, broke with Petlura. The Social-Democrats MAZEPÁ replaced him by Viecheslav PROKOPOVICH, and Petlura established his government in Warsaw. Andre Levitsky took PROKOPOVICH's post late in 1920, and moved up to Chief of State after Petlura had been assassinated in Paris (1926) by the Ukrainian Jew SCHWARZBARD who wanted to avenge the pogroms for which he held Petlura's army responsible. Petlura's government-in-exile was recognized only by Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Poland.

Under Andre Levitsky served Viecheslav PROKOPOVICH (President of the Council); Prof Alexander SHULGIN (Foreign Affairs); General Vladimir SALSKI (War); Prof. Stepan SMAL-STOCKY (Propaganda), etc.

With Polish support, the Ukrainian government founded a Ukrainian (Scientific) Institute in Warsaw, maintained "diplomatic" missions abroad, and backed several (anti-soviet) information bureaus and publications, such as Trizoub (Trident), a Ukrainian language paper appearing in Paris; and the Bulletin of the Ukrainian Press Bureau in Paris, which appeared in French until 1940, and contained many contributions by LEVITSKY and SHULGIN.

PETLUURIANS and PROMETHEUS

Prof. Alexander SHULGIN, and his son Rostislav, also edited the French language review Promethee which appeared in Paris from 1927 until 1940. Promethee, published by the Georgian journalist, Georges GWAZANA, was the mouthpiece of the PROMETHEUS organization in Poland, supported by the Polish army after the Polish-Bolshevik war, with its membership drawn mostly from PILSUHISKI partisans. The object of the association was a federation of Eastern Europe: Poland, the Ukraine, the Crimea, the Caucasus; basically, therefore, it was a weapon in the struggle against the Soviet Union. After PILSUDSKI's coup d'état in 1926, PROMETHEUS became a secret organization under the control of the 2nd Bureau of the Polish Army. Its aims did not change, but its activities were carried out clandestinely - it is reported to have developed an intelligence and propaganda network in the Soviet Union.

According to some reports the PROMETHEUS association was formed in Turkey by various Russian and Caucasian peoples, mostly from those countries which had enjoyed independence from 1917-1923, before Soviet incorporation. PROMETHEUS, it is said, was forced to leave Turkey after the conclusion of the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1921, and moved headquarters to Warsaw. The IIId department of the Polish General Staff evinced an interest in a continuation of the political activities of the association and subsidized it until 1926 when it became extremely difficult to infiltrate into Soviet territory. S. ZAWADOWSKI, the present Polish representative of the ANDERS group in Beirut, asserts that Prometheus was engaged in extensive secret intelligence operations (1946).
To the circle of PROMETHEUS members belonged Mehmed Emin Bey RESULDADE (leader of the nationalist Turkish movement in Russia and founder of the MUSAVAT party), who was defeated in the Russian civil war of 1917-1920; Mir YAKUB, member of the independent government of Azerbaijan before its incorporation into Soviet Russia (1920); and Caffer SAYDAHMET, one-time member of the National Government of the Crimea. Also connected with PROMETHEUS was Prof. SMAL-STOCKY, former director of the Ukrainian Institute in Warsaw.

Although more precise date on PROMETHEUS are lacking, the organization's connection with the Polish government and with the Ukrainian nationalists in Poland is well established.

During the present war, Prometheus disappeared, and the org was, under Polish impulsion, replaced by another movement - INTERMARIUM (Confederation) which has as its goal the liberation of the states bordering on the Baltic, Black, Adriatic and Aegean seas from Soviet control. The movement is supported by the Polish Army of General ANDERS. Its slogan is "Od Morya Do Morya" (From Sea to Sea). Ukrainian participation in the INTERMARIUM is indicated.

In April 1946, a PROMETHEUS LEAGUE OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER was reported to have passed a series of anti-Soviet resolutions at a meeting in Munich. Since SMAL-STOCKY is reported as one of the leaders, it may be assumed that this association is a revival of the old PROMETHEUS LEAGUE, xxxx camouflaged as a "democratic" organization. This theory is supported by the reported fact that many Poles and Georgians have joined the organization. Its relations to INTERMARIUM are obscure at present.

Cf: PROMETHEUS
in USA Sec.

Legal Government of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic

Early History. After the outbreak of the Russian Revolution, the Ukrainian Parliament (the Central Rada or Council) in January 1918 proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian state as a Democratic Republic, with the distinguished Volodymyr Hrushevsky as head. This government was recognized by England and France through sending of diplomatic representatives to Kiev, but it could not obtain recognition for continuing a war against the Germans. As a result, it was forced to conclude the peace of Brest-Litovsk, at which the independence of Ukraine was recognized de jure by Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Austria-Hungary, and de facto by all neutral states.

The German march into the Ukraine to secure the wheat crop was strongly opposed by the Ukrainian government, which had been seized by revolutionaries. The German high command, therefore, organized a coup d'état; the parliament during its session with a regiment of soldiers; dissolved the government; imprisoned many political figures, including Sima; and had the former Czarist adjutant, General Paul Skoropadsky, named as hetman. (Hetman in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the title of the head of the Ukrainian Cossack state, who was elected by the Cossacks.) Through this revolution and the establishment of a Ukrainian military dictatorship, the Germans hoped to obtain a better economic situation of the Ukraine.
c. The Russian Communists, however, immediately formed a Russian puppet government and with the aid of a Red invasion at
Khar'kov. Under this pressure, from Russian Communists and

d. After this, Denikin and Wrangel were hunted out of the

The government in exile between wars. Although the whole

The political center of the emigration was Paris, where

The government, in exile between wars. Although the whole
b. Under the leadership of the foreign minister, Professor Shukhry and Professor Roman Smal-Storch, the government initiated an extensive political-diplomatic activity to persuade the League of Nations at Geneva, to which in 1920 the Ukrainian government had requested admission. The League of Nations was annoyed by notes and memoranda from the government of all oppressive policies directed against the Ukrainian peoples. Moreover, at all international conferences, the government promoted a lively activity and until the outbreak of war in 1939, it was recognized by the European states as the legitimate spokesman of the Ukrainian people. Noteworthy were the proposal made by Senator Cupeland in the American Senate in 1932 for recognizing the government of the Ukrainian Republic and the government's note to President Roosevelt. On the other hand, the diplomatic activity of the Ukrainian leaders developed the Prometheus movement, which worked for the cooperation in a united front of emigres of all nationalities. (See below.)

World War II. The outbreak of the war surprised the pre-republic and several members of the government in Poland, were confined by the Germans. The Government of the state was taken over provisionally by the prime minister, W. Prokopowicz, who died in 1942. He formed a new government with President Al. at its head and declared war on both dictatorial powers, and USSR. (Cf. Revue de Promethee, Paris, January 1940.) Of France, Professor Maurice Proust was sent to London from Paris for negotiations with the French government in June 1941.

a. The leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic fled to Prague and succeeded gradually in finding a place for themselves against both the Germans and the Austrians. Officer Brovatsky (Taras Bulba) was the creator of UPA (Ukrainian Army -- see below). On the other side, Professor Smal-Storch in Prague by the Gestapo, through the instrumentality of OKW connections with London, formed around himself a Ukrainian Center, which worked with the Secret Polish Committee headed by professor Marian Szyjkowski.

b. All organizations of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic by the Nazis during the war, except the organizations of OUN-Bandera and the Skoropadsky group, which continued to publish their newspapers. Also, after the taking of Prague, none of the political leaders of the Ukrainian Democratic Republic could work in the Ukraine. Before the capitulation of Germany at the end of 1944, Berlin wished to change its policy on the nationalist efforts of the Ukraine and tried to found the National Committee--in order to gain cannon fodder for its national struggle. President Levitats was taken to Berlin for a conference on 7 August 1944, and there the Germans also brought Bandera, Skoropadsky, Mazepa and Kubylivich. Smal-Storch, at the time vice prime minister, replied with his resignation to
After the war. The end of the war found President Levit
nt Levitsky moved to Bad Neuenahr and from there to the
e near Frankfurt, which Professor Smal-Stoct and
ian political personnel also entered in September 1945. I
gen, the government was reconstituted and structured in the
ring manner:

Prime Minister: Andrey Yakovliv, university professor
now in Belgium
Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Justice: Dr. Ko
Pankivsky, Solicitor, formerly vice president of
the Ukrainian Welfare Committee in Lwow, of whi
Professor Kubiyovych was the head; Amzon
Foreign Minister: Alexander Shulgin, university professor
Paris
Minister of War: General Alexander Udvichenko, Par
Chief of the General Staff: General Paul Shandruk,
Minister of Culture: Professor Roman Smal-Stoccki, A
Minister of Health: Dr. Dymish Olesiuk, MD, Amzon
Minister of Interior: Professor Michael Vetukhov, A
State Control: Professor Maxim Kabachkiv

b. In November 1946, a group opposed to Pankivsky was c
under the leadership of Professor Roman Smal-Stoccki, with a

organizations but against the protests of Skoropadsky. General
led the latter immediately with Professor Smal-Stoccki and
some command of the Ukrainian division with the idea that th
 sesión should be sworn to lead it over to the We
Even before the capitulation of Germany, Shandruk a
man liaison officers and surrendered the division to th
Third Army south of Graz. (It is at present located in
Italy.)
4) Creation of a parliament in exile or state council for the control and advice of the government.

5) Subordination of army affairs to the Minister of War and the government and not — as up to now — to the State President.

6) Removal of all gamblers and card players from the state apparatus, since they endanger political activity.

7) Constitutional restriction of the State President's activity and his removal from the jurisdiction of the premier.

The negotiations for the formation of a representative coalition, drawn out for months, until the removal from the Offenbach DP camp to Main-Kastel. When the negotiations with the parties, especially the organisation (UNR), produced no results because they were so insolently refused, and it became clear that the president wished to manage state affairs rather than democratically, Smal-Stocki and Shandruk decided that, for reasons of health, they had already resigned.

After the conclusion of the Paris conference and the conclusion of the German-Rumanian agreement, the UNR was established in Frankfurt, and the UNR, in accordance with its programme, on the basis of internal politics, and resulted in the resignation of the president, caused a serious crisis, which today is not visible to all Ukrainians, among the Ukrainian opposition and the presidential government. If Minister of Health, appointed to the UNR to the conference. This joint step as a demonstration of the existence of more parties against Molotov, Mamilsky, and the USSR was sharply criticised, not, on the basis of internal politics, and resulted in the resignation of the president, caused a serious crisis, which today is not visible to all Ukrainians, among the Ukrainian opposition and the presidential government. If Minister of Health, appointed to the UNR to the conference. This joint step as a demonstration of the existence of more parties against Molotov, Mamilsky, and the USSR was sharply criticised.

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Of these, Vetukhov and Kabachkiv share the views of the opposition.

1. Currently there are negotiations in progress between UNR and various political parties.
had the Polish General Staff Academy with a very good record. Fought with the leader of an operative group, and was rearrested and held for months in solitary confinement in Warsaw, then interned at Siernice. Then at the end of 1944 accepted this position at the command of President Levitsky with the following objectives:

1) To draw out the training of troops and officers, as commanding general, as long as possible and eventually to contribute practically nothing to German efforts because of the expected collapse of Germany.

2) To prevent the Ukrainian formations from being sent to the West (as was unfortunately the case with the Grusin Division) but to keep them only on the eastern front against the Bolsheviks.

3) To bring the Vlasov action to ruin.

4) To take the Division over to the Western Allies at the first opportunity (this, fortunately, actually carried out, in agreement with Professor Smal-Stocki).

As a result of this successful retreat and surrender of the Division to the 3rd US Army, General Shandruk saved almost 18 thousand young Ukrainians a special place in the hearts of all Ukrainians. He led his men through the Ukrainian trenches. As a frontline general, he is very popular among the Bandera adherents, and the democratic elements. Every soldier of the Division, through passing through Munich, and that gives General Shandruk a large section on eastern Europe and the USSR, which, as a General Staff officer, how to utilize. But his information studies are not systematically since he depends only on the voluntary cooperation of his patriotically inclined soldiers.

Summary: Since it includes the majority of the politically, diplomat and militarily experienced Ukrainian leaders, the Ukrainian Democratic Republic is entirely differentiated from UNR in political tactics. It rejects the idea of the systematic, previously prepared by the UNR government represents a legal democratic republic, which was founded by the Socialist parties.

Among the masses of the people in the Soviet Ukraine, it is the only popular form of government and is connected with the name of the national hero, Petliura.