Голова ЦК АБН Ярослав Стецько з президентом вільного Китаю генералісимусом Чян Кай-шеком

SECRET

COPY

STETZKO

WASH 7755 (OUT 86536) Filed CARTEL

3. CARTEL 1 STATES IN WGMA-1023 PARA 4 A THAT CARTEL 7 AND 8 ALSO BROUGHT MESSAGES FOR OUN/BANDERA. WHAT WERE THESE MESSAGES? COULD THESE HAVE BEEN DELIVERED STETZKO BY THIRD COURIER WHO CAME OUT WITH CARTELS?

4. REFER WGLA-44 SUBJECT: BANDERA GROUP. THIS REPORT CLEARLY DEMONSTARATES NEEESSITY FOR FULL DEBRIEFING SOONEST OF CAPRIFORM CONCERNING HIS FORMER ACTIVITIES IN BEHALF BRITISH. EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED UPON HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH AND KNOWLEDGE OF STETZKO WITHOUT INDICATING SPECIAL INTEREST IN LATTER FOR PRESENT.

5. MOB CONTACT WITH STETZKO AND POSSIBLY OTHER UKRAINIAN LEADERS MAY BECOME NECESSARY TO FALITIATE ACCURATE ASSESSMENT AND ANALYSIS STETZKO'S CLAIMS POSITION, CONTACTS AND TO DETERMINE DESIRABILITY, IF ANY, OPERATIONAL EXPLOI* TATION OF STETZKO.

SECRET

SECRET

STETZKO

MUNI 685 Gl. 4. Carte

TO: WASHF INFO: KARL CITE: MUNI

RE WASH 7755 (OUT 86536) (filed CARTEL--7 & 8 file)

3. INCLUSURES D,E, AND F TO MUNA 793 (IOCN report) ARE PART OF MATERIALS BROUGHT OUT BY CARTELS 7 AND 8. IN ADDITION A CHRONICLE (LETOPIS) OF UPA UNDERTAKINGS WHICH COURIERS ALSO BROUGHT WAS PUBLISHED BY ZPUHVR IN EARLY JULY ALTHOUGH IT LAY AROUND THE PRINTERS SHOP FOR SEVERAL MONTHS PRIOR. [illegible] IN STILL WAITING FOR COPY TO POUCH. [illegible] AND [illegible] ALSO EDITED ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF 63 PAGE ARTICLE ON UPA ALSO BROUGHT BY COURIERS. WILL POUCH LEGIBLE COPY SOON.

4. CARTEL 1 LOATHE TO PART WITH ORIGINALS EVEN ON LOAN BECAUSE IN 47 CIC AGENT "HANDU "BORROWED" SOME ORIGINAL PAMPHLETS WHICH BY MISTAKE WERE SENT TO CIC MUSEUM IN WASHINGTON INSTEAD OF BACK TO CARTEL 1.

5. CARTELS 1,2, AND 3 REITERATE THAT 7 AND 8 ARE ONLY BONA FIDE COURIERS SINCE 47. WE SUGGEST COMPARING STETZKO REPORTS WITH MATERIAL BEING PUBLISHED BY ZPUHVR. POUCH MATERIAL CARRIED BY CARTELS 7 AND 8 WAS ALL TURNED OVER TO CARTEL 3. POLITICAL MATERIAL SENT OUT BY OUN WAS DELIVERED BY LATTER TO OUN/BANDERA DESPITE BAD RELATIONS BETWEEN LATTER AND ZPUHVR. SKOLOZDRA'S MATERIAL WAS STOLEN FROM HIM BY BANDERA PEOPLE IN MUNICH STREETCAR AROUND 25 OCTOBER 48. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT STETSKO REPORTS BASED ON ONE OR MORE OF FOLLOWING:

A. MATERIAL STOLEN FROM SKOLOZDRA.

B. DEBRIEFING OF SKOLOZDRA.

C. MATERIAL TURNED OVER BY CARTEL 3 TO OUN/BANDERA. [illegible] INTENDS TO SEND CARTEL 3 TO QUERY SKOLOSDRA AFTER DISPATCH OF 7 AND 8. LATTER HAVE GOOD KNOWLEDGE OF ORGANIZATION OF UPA BUT CONSISTENT WITH GOOD SECURITY NO ACCURATE CONCEPT OF SIZE EXCEPT IN OWN AREA. UNLESS YOU BELIEVE UNWISE [illegible] WILL DISCUSS SUBJECT MATTER OF REPORTS WITH AFTER THEY ARRIVE WITH CARTEL 1, AND 3.

VERY IMPORTANT THAT STETZKO DOES NOT SURMISE THAT CARTELS HAVE AMERICAN CONTACTS.

Stetsko file

MEMORANDUM FOR THE FILES:

SUBJECT: Meeting between OSO representatives and Major Buford, AMA, Paris

1. On 12 July, 1949 the undersigned arranged a meeting with Major Buford, with [redacted] of FBS attending. The purpose of the meeting was to debrief Buford on his knowledge of the Jaroslav Stetsko case in Paris which has been referred to OSO by the Dept. of Army as of possible interest to CIA.

2. Buford was unable to offer any detailed information concerning the MA's contacts with STETSKO, nor on the latter and his associates, beyond that already furnished to us previously in the DA report. Buford gave the impression he may have been intentionally witholding information when asked about specific items, such as the identity of the alleged courrier (a UPA Captain, according to Stetsko) who brought intelligence information to Stetsko from inside the Ukraine.

3. Buford was told that the DA would be advised through channels of our interest in Stetsko's offer if the MA's office in Paris would be involved in any way or if we desired to make a more direct approach to him through the MA's office there. Meanwhile Buford indicated that the MA's office would be glad to give any possible local assistance in this matter to representatives of [redacted]

Jaroslav STECKO (STETSKO) @ KARBOVSKI

Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government on the 30 June 1941
Member of the Directorate of OUN/B
Secretary-General of ABN

He is about 45 years old, cultured and from an intellectual Galician family. He was an important member of the Carpathian and Western section of OUN before the war.

A friend of Bandera, he got his position in the directorate of OUN/B during the split of OUN. At some risk he took over the presidency of the Council of Ministers in LVOV on 30 June 1941, and that same day proclaimed Ukrainian Independence. He continued to play the role of chief of government clandestinely for three months. He revealed excellent qualities as an organizer and improvisor. He was arrested by the Gestapo in October 1941, and remained in a concentration camp until the end of 1944. He was liberated at the same time as Bandera and took part in the conversations with the Germans on the one hand and MELNIK, LEVITSKY and SKOROPADSKY on the other. Together with Bandera he contributed to the German failure to create an Ukrainian Central Committee in 1944. In April 1945, he was seriously wounded in a bombing of Germany. He was sick for a very long time and did not take an active part in politics.

The Trilogy charged him with the organization of the ABN and he is now the Secretary General. He has proved very energetic and active in this delicate assignment.

date of info: 1950

Source, Date of Info.

SECRET

Source, Date of Info.

NAME: STETSKO, Anna nee MUZYKA

ALIAS: Anna DANKIW (Subj answers phone if "Mooha" is requested)

WIFE OF YAROSLAV STETSKO

DESCRIPTION:
Weight:
Height:
Eyes:
Hair:
Complexion:
Special features:

ADDRESS:
Triftstrasse 9, 2nd fl
Munich 22, Germany
Phone: 72558.....

WEL-21636 July 51
MOBA-7742 3-4 Jan 51

WEL-21636 July 1951

Date of Birth: 14 May 1920
Place of Birth: Romaniwka, Ukraine
Documentation and Citizenship: Stateless
Nationality: Ukrainian

INCOME SOURCES: Staff member of "Ukrainski Samostiynik", Munich; housewife

WEL -21636 July 51

FAMILY BACKGROUND:
Husband: Yaroslav STETSKO & Vasyl DANKIW (cf)

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

PREVIOUS CAREER:

1. WEL-21636 July 51

1. Resides in Lemberg, Ukraine, 1941-44; in Vienna, 44-45; Munich 45-51; arrived in England from Dunkirk, 23 Jun 51, and was granted permission to stay for 2 mos only, provided she did not take up any form of employment; purpose of her visit was to see friends, to visit Scottish League;

SECRET

Source, Date of Info.		Source, Date of Info.
	INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY:	
1. WEL-21636 July 51	1. According to reliable source, subj is strongly anti-Communist but it is possible that the ABN in Germany has been penetrated by the Soviet thru certain Ukr nationalists.	
	CONTACTS:	
	MISCELLANEOUS:	
1. WEL-21636 July 51	1. Subj is applying for a non-immigration visa to USA; she plans to join the "Organization for the Defense of the Four Freedoms (of the Ukraine) (D/FFU), PO Box 304, Cooper Station, NY.	

* Entered Canada under this alias.

SECURITY INFORMATION

Address: 28 Minster Rd
London N.W. 2

HEL-21636
July 51

Source, Date of Info.

SECRET

NAME: STETSKO, Yaroslav
D* DANKIW, Wasyl or Vladimir

ALIAS: Zynoviy KARBOWITSCH ; Miroslav PAWLOWSKY
Zinovii KARBOWICH Miroslaw PAVLOVSKII

DESCRIPTION:
Weight: 173 cm
Height: 63 kg
Eyes: Grey
Hair: Blond
Complexion:
Spec. features:
Slim build; married; Gr. Cath; wears glasses; mustache; left hand crippled (amputated at wrist)

ADDRESS:
Can be reached thru "League of Ukrainian Political Persecutees" Munich, Dachauerstr. 9/II or Munich-Moosach Weisshauptstr #5 c/o KOSAK, fnu

Source, Date of Info.

MGMA-1673
CIC Report
19 May 49

Date of Birth: 19 Jan 1912
Place of Birth: Tarnopol, Poland (Polish Ukraine)

INCOME SOURCES: Publicist

State Rpt. #182
16 Jun 49

MGMA-1673

Documentation & Citizenship: Stateless; German id card in name PAWLOWSKY, issued by Munich police presidium # BV 22284

Nationality: Ukrainian

FAMILY BACKGROUND:
Wife: Anna STETSKO nee MUZYKA e DANKIW (cf)

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND: Studied at Univ. of Krakow, and Lwow; completed grammar and hi sch in Tarnopol in 1929;

MGH-391
Nov 46
MGH-390
19 Nov 46
32-6-2-
May 49
74-6-13-350
23 Sept 50
Lebid
MGL-A-44
28 June 49

PREVIOUS CAREER: Early member of OUN; worked in OUN-Poland under Bandera as political liaison. Arrested with Bandera, five year sentence. Became head of govt when independent Ukraine (30 June) declared in 1941. Gestapo arrested him, spent ___ years in concentration camp. Now lives in Munich as head of ABN, member R-3, and controlling member of OUN/B./ Collaborator of Bandera who was wounded heavily in 1945 when his auto was fired upon by a US plane. Bandera's men brought him to safety./ Spiegler's report on subject when he ceased being a CIC informant. / Vovchuk informed source that Stetsko was planning to make a trip to USA to do a little organisational activity for ABN. Vovchuk also states position of ABN on European scene as being only an appendage in the emigration. / Subject, with KAJUM KHAN, was requested by Prof. von MEMDE to go to London in June for anti-Bolshevist discussions.

(arrested 13 Jul 41)

State Dept.
29 Aug 51

Residences: Austro-Hungary, 1912-18; Ukr Republic 1918-20; Poland 1920-39; Italy 1939; Cracow, Poland 1939-41; Lviv, Ukraine 1941; 41 arrested in Lviv, sent to concentration camp in Germany until end of 44; fled to Bratislava, Slovakia, then to Prague, Czechoslovakia in 45; taken by friends to Munich, Triftstrasse 9.

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

Source, Date of Info.		Key Coding
MGMA-1673 12 Oct 49 MGKW-2843 2 Sept 49 MUNI-697 WASH-6036 MGMA-1673	INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITY: Operational contact./ Transmittal of subject's reports by Paris MA;/ Subject's status in emigration org complex;/ Subject's approach Paris MA re espionage in Ukraine;/ Letter inCIC file, dated 24 Oct 46, states that subj is believed to be a Soviet agent, etc./ Some American officials worried about possibility that subject may be a soviet penetration agent who will rpt to RIS all info given to MISC (at time when BANDERA was wanted by Colonel ANTONIUK for repatriation to USSR). / Soviet search party composed of: Col. ANTONIUK, Lt. Col. SEROTENKO, Captain PROGNORSKY, Interpreter SATERN, Driver CHETVERGOV.	OUN/B B6b,P9
~~MGPORD-636~~ 28 Oct 46 MB-51, Amson IN 42032 Heidelburg 21 Sept 46 MGMA-5236 MGMA-1579 MGMA-1673 MGKA-26404 31 Jan 51 MGKA-21596 15 Aug 50 MGKW-4628 13 Apr 50	CONTACTS: maintains liaison with US Military Attache in Paris. / K. Konenko; D. Andriyevski; von MENDE (ABN); personal friend of MILYANOVICH, Yugoslav consul; Mr. STEWARD (Scottish League); SZEWCZUK, Pawel (contact in Paris); / Bishop PUCZKO, Alexander HENNADIJ (Orthodox Bishop in Munich), Monsignor Nikolaus WOYAKOVSKY (head of Gr Cath Ch in Germany), Wasyl MUDRY, Monsignor Jakob PERRIDON (head of Gr Cath Ch in France), Yvon DELBOS (French Minister of Education); / KAJUM-KHAN, re: ABN. / BERZINS, ABN./ Mykola LEBED. /	OUN/B B-6-b B-8 Georgian Notebook
MGH-6781 27 June 50 MGH-389 19 Dec 46 State Dept Dispatch 644 23 Apr 51 MGMA-4893 MGMA-5045 MGMA-5160 7 Mar 51 MGMA-5236 11 Mar 51 MGMA-1579 16 Sept 49 MUNI-698 MGKA-10448 MGMA- 5969 1 June 51 MGMA-6237 5 July 51 RTAA-878 Encl. 1, p.5	MISCELLANEOUS: Negotiations to consolidate the middle-of-the-road group with the left wing of UNR at subject's apartment on Herzog-Rudolfstrasse, Munich. / Name appears on MVD General Sidnev's list of names of individuals who know Bandera's location, indicative of Soviet penetration of OUN/B./ Acting on BANDERA's orders, founded ABN 16 Apr 46. Organized an ABN radio broadcasting service in Belgium./ Attempts to reconcile ZCh OUN and ZPUHVR in accordance with homeland mandate. / Subject's interview in a German newspaper. / Attempt to obtain visa for Yugoslavia to contact Bachrenski Ukes in Yugoslavia; visa refused at consulate in Dusseldorf when STETZKO's anti-Tito sentiments were brought to light, by Boris LEVITZKY. / Report allegedly handed by subj to USMA in Paris./ OUN/B desires (pre-requisite for ZP-OUN/B reconcilation) that subj be recalled into ZP; / According to Roman ILNYTSKY subject a Foreign Center OUN proposed composed of OUN Provid members from 1941, namely BANDERA, subject and LENKAVSKI; / Further OUN/B substance re subj as member of Bureau OUN Provid. / Acc to rpt subj is Chairman of ABN Central Committee, Deputy of UHVR, OUN and UPA. Attended ABN Conf in Edinburgh, 12-14 June 50 with PELENSKY, Zenon and BERZINS. / Applying for US visa in London under name Wasyl DANKIW.	OUN/B 4 M B-6 OUN/B B-8 OUN/B B-7 Cf: OHLYAN (State 29 Aug 51)

STETZ Yaroslav

SECURITY INFORMATION

Sought potentiality of setting up an ABN congress in USA. MCKA-22135
31 Aug 50

SECRET

(Portion of cable)
Memo by [redacted] re his 11 Aug meeting with subject, who noted his talk with counsellor Bruins of Amembassy Lond on his return trip from Edinburg, and confirmed needs under WT needs, noted damaging effect of letter to an Am-Uke from Chief VOA Kohler in which latter allegedly said USA had no interest in alienating Ukes from USSR. Subject added OUN need for WT transmitters and receivers, small arms and funds and for quicker release by US authorities of OUN couriers intercepted upon arrival Amzon from Ukraine. IN 39170
30 Aug 50

In early August 49 subject returning from Paris and London boastfully related to Cartel 2 that his American contacts in Paris were very interested in a report he gave them compiled by Captain PRIRVA of UPA information service who has compiled report from interrogation of two partisans, stragglers of 1947 raid who arrived in Summer 49 from Kielce, Poland area. This article appeared in several Ukrainian papers in Germany in early July. IN 41665
31 Aug 49
Cf: PRIRVA, Capt.
Cf: SKOLOZDRA

Subject, vaguely representing self as UPA and UHVR leader, personally approached USMA, Paris, to summarize aims and means of UHVR in developing effective resistance and espionage organization in Ukraine in close cooperation with USA. Intelligence provided by subject and subordinates representatives contains scattered info on strength and organization UPA in specific areas, general description overall UHVR organization which basically similar to info in MGKA-793. Also info on activities Soviet Security organs. No mention made of ZFUHVR nor of Cartels. Requested assistance in training 20 radio operators, etc. Armu taking no action until we inform them what action we plan to take. OUT 84392
1 Jul 49
OSO & Army I.D.

Material referred to in OUT 84392 appears authentic, and, according to subject, was brought from Ukraine to Austrian by UPA courier with rank of Captain, who may be id/w UPA courier, rptd by Cartel, to have arrived Amzon Austria or Zwiesel, Bavaria. MOB contact with subject and possibly other Ukr leaders may become necessary to facilitate accurate assessment and analysis subject's claims, position, contacts and to determine desirability, if any, operational ~~[illegible]~~ exploitation of subject. OUT 86536
4 Aug 49

Subject's proposals for the "Foreign Center OUN". MGMA-5045
20 Feb 51

According to Ivan VOVCHUK subject plans a trip to US for organizational activity concerning the ABN. MGKW-6409
28 Sept 50
Cf: OUN/B B-8

[redacted]efers to subject's activities in Edinburgh in behalf OUN/B. MGMA-5177
8 Feb 51

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

STETZKO, Yaroslav

SECRET

At the ABN Congress in Edinburgh, 12-14 June 1950, subject represented himself as deputy of the All Ukrainian Revolutionary Center (UHVR), the UPA and the OUN.	RTAA-878 and WELA-4191 5 July 50
Bern info on subject re ABN and OUN/B.	MSBN-2238 10 Jul 50 ref: MSGA-148
Subject elected president of the Central Committee, ABN, on 16 April 1946, (its 2nd conference).	Memo, ~~ADPC~~ to ~~ADSO~~, June 1950
Leading personalities of ZPUHVR believe that if subject is offered the post of foreign minister in the UNR, the OUN/B will give active support to the UNR.	MGMA-7218 Attachment E 16 Oct 51 Cf: OUN/B BS Relations with UNR
Subject and Bohdan PIDHAINY talked with source, stating that ~~they had~~ they were in touch/or had previously been in contact with USMA, Paris, April 49; Mr. Spiegler in Rosenheim, Bavaria, Feb-Mar 50; Mr. Bruins, US Embassy, London, July 50; Mr. Stevens, Bad Nauheim, July 50 & at present with US State Dept employee, Mr. Raymond SCHIELER, Munich; also in correspondence with "Mr. W.B. Smith" in Washington, from whom letters received Dec 49 and Sept 50. Another series of meetings between MID and the pair was held 3-4 Jan 51. Presented plan for missions into USSR with American support, propaganda, etc.	MGBA-7742 MID 27 Nov 50 Cf: PIDHAINY, B.

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

STETZKO, Yaroslav (also Ladislav)

The following information contains traces on Subject who appeared in Hermann BAUN's black notebook, as a contact of BAUN while BAUN was still active. BAUN died on 18 Dec 51 of cancer of lungs. Subject's code number was ~~XXXXXX~~ VBC 2.

MGLA-11061
27 Mar 52

A POB memo, dated 23 Dec 48, states that STETZKO wanted American assistance in arranging for the escape of the commanding general of UPA.

MGLA-44, 28 Jun 49, concerns a trip to be made by KAJUM KHAN and STETZKO, at the instigation of Prof. von MENDE, to attend an anti-bolshevist conference in London. Source: Michael ALSCHIBAYA.

An ID (Ops Branch) memo of 20 May 49 states that the BIS first made contact with BANDERA thru von MENDE in sumer or early fall of 48. Negotiations with BANDERA were unsuccessful because the political, financial, and tech requirements of the Ukes were higher than the British cared to meet. A discussion betw MENDE & STETZKO on 18 Mar 49 was also fruitless.

MGSA-3642, 12 Apr 41, rpt on ABN, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ lists Subject as proxy of ABN with hq at 9 Dachauerstr, Munich. STETZKO left Munich in mid-Jan 51 to contact OUN/B members in Belgium. From there he went to England, allegedly to confer with reps of British Conservati ve Party. About 17 Feb 51 STETZKO sent a telegram to ABN in Munich. He advised that two British reps would arrive for discussions. The two men were Mr. Herbert AUBERON of 11 Neville Terrace, London SW 7, and a (fnu) MACCLEAN.

Antifaschistischer Block der Nationen (AFN)

PRÄSIDENT DES VÖLKERS — PRÄSIDENT DES WEIMARER VOLKSTRIBUNEN

Deutsche in den Bismarcks!

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Institut des Völkerrechts Institut du droit international

Tod der Immunität

Gerichtsbarkeit
Bürgen der unterjochten Länder

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

FULL NAME OF PERSON OR FIRM DANKIW, Wasyl	SUMMARY OF REFERENCES	DATE OF BIRTH 1/19/12	PLACE OF BIRTH Ternopil, Ukraine
ALIASES AND NICKNAMES Jaroslaw Stetzko or Stecko alias Yaroslav Karbovytch		NAME Stetzko, Jaroslav	SEX
ADDRESS Several fmn		OCCUPATION Journalist	EMPLOYER X 200-7-4-26 (NGHA-3736)
TYPE OF INFORMATION FURNISHED ☒ All information ☐ Derogatory	CITIZENSHIP STATUS Stateless Former Ukrainian	ALT. CODE NO.	FILE NO. X 200-7-2-964 (STATE-F) 37 IDM (Munich-644) p.3
NAME OF ORGANIZATION		ORGANIZATION ADDRESS	
REPLY ☒ Material attached ☐ No record ☐ No derogatory information ☐ Other	CITIZENSHIP PURPOSE	NAMES OF LEADERS OR OFFICERS OR AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS	X 200-7-2-88 (PIR-8970) Encl. 1 ~~200-7-4-26 (NGHA-3736)~~ ? - 38-7-0-667 (PIR-6779) Encl. 1, p.7 ✓ 200-7-4-28 (NGKA-32139) X 200-7-33-37 Encl. 1, p. 29

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

VISA CASE Applying in London, England

Dates and places of residence: Austro-Hungary 1912-18; Ukrainian Republic 1918-20; Poland 1920-39; Italy 1939; Cracow, Poland 1939-41; Lviv, Ukraine 1941; 1941 arrested in Lviv, Ukraine; sent to concentration camp in Germany until end of 1944; fled to Bratislava, Slovakia, then to Prague, Czechoslovakia in 1945; taken by friends to Munich Germany, Triftstrasse 9.

Dankiw, Wasyl
? - 200-7-51-1172 (WBL-91686) } & Stetzko, Jaroslav
✓ 32-6-2-3375 (NGBA-7743) } father of Stetzko

Stecko, fmn
✓ - 74-6-13-99 (NGKW-4628)
✓ - 4-8-5-2942

✓ - Out-84392 1 Jul 49 } Stetsko
✓ - IN-37367
✓ " - 41191
AUG 29
" - 41665 } K Jul. 47 Stecko
~~Out-91092~~

✓ 74 7-8-11 FOS/
✓ 11-7-9-18
X 32-6-2-1506 FBI/
X 32-6-2-1551 Balaban
OVER

MEMORANDUM COORDINATION STAMP

ANALYST	
FOREIGN DIVISION REVIEW	FDI
Balaban 3 FDI	

DATE

SIGNATURE OF ANALYST

100-[redacted]

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

SECRET

SOURCE SODB-44664

MEMORANDUM

SUBJECT: DANKIW, Anna nee MUSYKA alias STETKO

1. The files of OSO-CIA reflect the following information on the subject of your request.

a. At the request of the Visa Section of the American Embassy in London, in July 1951, a check was made on Subject when she applied for a visa to the United States. Records of a Foreign Government Agency indicate that Subject arrived in England from Dunkirk on 22 June 1951 and was granted permission to stay in England for two months only, provided she did not take up any form of employment. She said she was on the staff of the Ukrainian paper Suspilnyk in Munich. The purpose of her visit was to see friends and to visit the Scottish League for European Freedom in Edinburgh. The latter is an anti-Communist organization conducted by Mr. John STEWART of Edinburgh, to look after the interests of emigres from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

b. Subject's husband, Yaryl DANKIW alias Jaroslaw STETKO, is a former Ukrainian Prime Minister, a prominent member of the Bandera Group of Ukrainians, and is now the president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Munich. He has paid a number of visits to this country to see Ukrainian emigre groups in England and to visit Mr. John STEWART mentioned above.

c. According to sources, Subject is strongly anti-Communist but he noted that it is possible that the A. B. N. organization in Germany has been penetrated by the Soviet through certain Ukrainian nationalists.

NOT TO BE DISSEMINATED NEITHER OR EXHIBITED TO ANYONE WITHOUT PRIOR PERMISSION OF THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY.

ABSTRACT INDEX

OCT 1955

RI COPY

SECRET CONTROL

FULL NAME OF PERSON OR FIRM	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH
SEE BELOW DANKIW, Anna nee Uzyka	8-14-00	Ramaniuka, West Ukraine

ALIASES AND NICKNAMES	DATE	SEX
SUMMARY OF REFERENCES nee MUZYKO		

ADDRESS	OCCUPATION	EMPLOYER
N	Housewife	

TYPE OF INFORMATION FOUND	CITIZENSHIP STATUS	NAT. CERT. NO.	MARITAL STATUS
☐ All information ☐ Derogatory	Stateless, formerly Ukrainian		

NAME OF ORGANIZATION	ORGANIZATION ADDRESS

REPLY	SUPPLEMENTAL PURPOSE
☐ Material attached ☐ No record ☐ No derogatory information ☐ Other	DANKIW, Anna - 100-151-173 (WEL-21CT) (nee MUZYKA) NAME OF LEADER OR MEMBER OF AFFILIATED ORGANIZATION

State

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Dates & Places of Residence: 1900-1944 Ukraine; Sept 1939 until Aug 1944 Lviv, Ukraine, Ukr; Sept 14; Aug 1944 until summer 1945 Vienna, Austria, Friedlgasse 40; summer 1945 until Aug 1951 in Munich, Germany, Landstrasse 5; Maria Wardstrasse 5; Triftstrasse 9/11.

Applying at: London, England

VISA CASE

COORDINATION STAMP
ANALYST (initial)
FOREIGN DIVISION REVIEW
NO
TYPIST

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B28 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2007

OCT 1 [redacted]

DATE	CHECKED BY

ENCL 1

GPO 63-022167

FOR COORDINATION WITH State.

SECRET [redacted]

Chief, Munich Base

OGA/A [redacted]

Chief, SR

Operational/[redacted]
Reports on ABN

See below

1. There has been a recent quickening of interest here in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) due largely to the presence of Yaroslav STETSKO in the United States and the highlighting of this organization which he is leading in his wake. A perusal of our files shows that we have no recent, up-to-date study of the ABN available for readily obtaining proper background information. We therefore request that you have a reconnaissance on qualified agent personnel such as [redacted] and whenever also you deem worthwhile, to draw up a study of the ABN and its activities, especially since 1955. This should include information on how the ABN is financed, the number and political orientation of its adherents, and an analysis of the ABN as an anti-Communist political force in contrast to a front organization for the Ukr/[redacted]. We are not looking for any another series of reasonable-individual reports consisting of 5-15 pages should serve our purpose nicely. We also realize that there will be a certain amount of duplication but we believe that this is a case where there is an advantage in engaging the general body of the reports and taking the point of view that the "truth lies somewhere between the two extremes". Another advantage we believe is to have each agent concentrate on the area of his specialty in the categories in this way the Ukrainian, Baltic, Caucasian and Central European reports (in the latter case, Russian émigré attitudes towards the ABN) will be covered.

2. The alignment of the ABN with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACL) and the Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent is also of considerable interest. In March 1956 the three organizations met in Madrid at a preparatory conference for the purpose of convening a World Anti-Communist Congress in October 1956. Any information on the site, time, and place of such a Congress should also be submitted.

3. In the interest of timeliness we would like the various reports forwarded as they are received and in the original language if translations will involve delay.

[redacted]

Distribution:
2 - MUR

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE

13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

SYETSKO VAUDSLAV

SEX M DOB ?

CIT ?
OCC ?
HEAD OF ABN WAS AN EARLY MBR OF OUN
AND WORKED IN OUN-POLAND UNDER BANDERA
AS POLITICAL LIAISON WAS ARRESTED WITH
BANDERA IN PIERACKY AFFAIR WHEN INDEPEN-
DENCE OF UKRAINE DECLARED ON 3 JUN 41
BECAME HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR THIS
GESTAPO ARRESTED HIM NOW LIVES AT MUNICH

WAS 32-7-10-42

J74-124-029/03
MGH - 00391
NOV 46
P24

R 7? 928)311

FILE IN

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 0-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-60)

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION

2. RI FILE NO.

3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. 4. DATE

7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM 8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION

5. ANALYST 10. DATE PROCESSED 11. DISSEMINATED IN 12. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

13. CROSS REFERENCED TO THIS FILE

15. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB ?

074-124-029/03
MGMA-00793
20 OCT 48
PIO

CIT ?
OCC ?
EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF ABN. MBR OF ZPUHVR.
ALSO A LEADING MBR OF OUN/BANDERA.

WAS 32-6-2-303Y

R 6705251277

FILE IN

16. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 0-27 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

SECRET

16 JUNE 1949

Jaroslav STETSKO, alias Lysowiv KARBONTYSCH, alias Mirosiav PAWLOWSKY

16 JUN 49

Jaroslav STETSKO, alias Lysowiv KARBONTYSCH, alias Mirosiav PAWLOWSKY, was born in Tarnopol, Poland, (Polish Ukraine) on January 19, 1912. He completed grammar and high school in Tarnopol in 1929, after which he studied at the Universities of Lwow and Krakow. During his university period he became a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and worked in its headquarters at Lwow. Shortly thereafter Stetsko illegally published propaganda tracts against the Soviets.

In the 1932-33 famine, Stetsko organized an anti-Soviet demonstration in Lwow which ended in the assassination of the Soviet Consul General there. Until 1934 Stetsko engaged in the smuggling and distribution of anti-Soviet literature in the Soviet Ukraine. In 1934 he was sentenced, together with Stefan BANDERA, a violent anti-Soviet, to 5 years imprisonment for conspiracy against the Polish government. They were released by general amnesty in 1936, and immediately took up their anti-Soviet activities.

In 1937, Eugen KONOWALETZ, then leader of the OUN, appointed Stetsko to take charge of the "ideological-political" department of OUN headquarters. After war began, LWOW was occupied by Polish insurgents. Stetsko, on June 30, 1941, proclaimed an independent Ukrainian State, with himself as Prime Minister. The Germans ordered this provisional government dissolved; but Stetsko and Bandera (who had in the meantime become head of the OUN with Stetsko as his deputy) resisted and on July 13, 1941, were arrested by the Gestapo in Lwow. After a short period of imprisonment in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp they were transferred to Berlin where the Germans asked them to form a "Ukrainian National Committee" to fight on the German side. They refused and were kept in prison. Shortly thereafter they escaped with the aid of OUN agents and lived in Krakow, Bratislava and Prague. In April 1945 they were again found and arrested by the Gestapo. The transport which was taking them to Germany, however, was attacked by an American plane and Stetsko was wounded. Bandera escaped. In June of 1945 Stetsko was taken to the American Zone of Germany by agents of the OUN where he subsequently met Bandera. Stetsko, Bandera, and a certain Taras TSCHUPRINKA formed themselves into a "council of three" which they claimed operated as the supreme command of both the OUN and the UPA (Ukrainian Anti-Soviet Army). In April 1949 Stetsko was elected president of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations) which position he still holds.

In actual fact STETSKO has never occupied any official position in the UPA or the UNVR, although he is still regarded as a member of the

SECRET

Provid of the entire OUN. The Stetsko-Bandera claim concerning the Biuro Provodu has been refuted by the homeland that the Biuro Provodu ceased to exist after the deaths of RAYEVSKY and VOROBEIN in 1956. A friend of Stetsko says that Stetsko is a priest's son, is very ambitious, and a theoretician.

Message from Mr. Guenthner:

They have received State Report No. 182 from the American Consulate General in Munich, Germany, dated 16 June 1949, classification SECRET, on Jaroslav STETZKO.

Mr. Todd received some papers from overseas on this individual and the matter discussed in the report. Todd knows that Messrs. [ ] and [ ] have been working on this matter.

Since CIA is not listed on the distribution, you may want to pass this info along to the interested parties so they can request copy of the report from State.

Rec 20/7/49 from JD 36

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

326309

800 42 International of Chicago Inc.

No. 102

[illegible] Consulate General,
[illegible], Germany, June 16, 1949.

[illegible]

REC'D
JUN 29

SUBJECT: Jaroslav Stetzko

ACTION
ITP

RETAIN OR DESTROY

State

INFO
DCR
GA
OLI

THE HONORABLE

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

WASHINGTON.

C

SIR:

I have the honor to refer to the Department's restricted airgram A-187, dated May 2[illegible], 1949, Munich's secret telegram No. 376, dated June 15, 1949, and Munich's despatch No. 111 dated April 13, 1949, entitled "Displaced Persons Demonstrate Against Soviet Union in Munich," and to report as follows on the personality of Jaroslav STETZKO and on the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations" which he heads.

005910

Jaroslav Stetzko, alias Joseph KUPIANSCH, alias Miroslav PAWORSKY, was born in [illegible], Poland, (Polish Ukraine) on January 19, 1912. He completed grammar and high school in Tarnopol in 1929, after which he studied at the Universities of Lwow and Krakow. During his university period he became a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and worked in its headquarters at Lwow. Shortly thereafter Stetzko illegally published propaganda tracts against the Soviets.

In the 1932-33 period, Stetzko organized an anti-Soviet demonstration in Lwow which ended in the assassination of the Soviet Consul General there. Until [illegible] Stetzko engaged in the smuggling and distribution of anti-Soviet literature in the Soviet Ukraine. In 1934 he was sentenced, together with Stefan BANDERA, a violent anti-Soviet, to 5 years imprisonment for conspiracy against the Polish government. They were released by general amnesty in 1936, and immediately took up their anti-Soviet activities.

In 1937, Eugen KONOVALETS, then leader of the OUN, appointed Stetzko to take charge of the "ideological-political" department of OUN headquarters. When war began, Lwow was occupied by Polish insurgents. Stetzko, on June 30, 1941, proclaimed an independent Ukrainian state, with himself as Prime Minister. The Germans ordered this provisional government dissolved; but Stetzko and Bandera (who had in the meantime become head of the OUN with Stetzko as his deputy) resisted and on July 13, 1941, were arrested by the Gestapo in Lwow. After a short period of imprisonment in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp they were transferred to Berlin, where

00119 Central (Germany)

SECRET

SECRET FILE

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

SECRET

Munich
Despatch No. 182
June 16, 1949

where the Germans asked them to form a "Ukrainian National Committee" to fight on the German side. They refused and were kept in prison. Shortly thereafter they escaped with the aid of OUN agents and lived in Krakow, Bratislava and Prague. In April 1945 they were again found and arrested by the Gestapo. The transport which was taking them to Germany, however, was attacked by an American plane and Stetzko was wounded. Bandera escaped. In June of 1945 Stetzko was taken to the American Zone of Germany by agents of the OUN where he subsequently met Bandera. Stetzko, Bandera, and a certain Taras [redacted] formed themselves into a "council of three" which operates as the supreme command of both the OUN and the UPA (Ukrainian Anti-Soviet Army). In April 1949 Stetzko was elected president of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations) which position he still holds.

Stetzko, who is armed with several false documents and who is extremely well hidden in Munich and therefore difficult to contact is now stateless and gives as his occupation "publicist." His religion is Greek-Catholic. The ABN, which, as reported in Munich's despatch No. 111, cited above, held an anti-Soviet demonstration in Munich on April 10, 1949 is composed of Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Slovaks, Hungarians, Baltics, Georgians, and others from the satellite nations. By far, the greatest support of the ABN is from the dissident Ukrainian displaced persons here. Obviously the ABN is tied up with the OUN and the UPA both of which organizations still exist and according to information given the Consulate General have been continuously engaged in subversive activity and occasionally even guerrilla warfare in the Ukraine. The Consulate General has been given to understand that Stetzko has powerful backing in the Ukraine.

American Intelligence agencies here originally felt that Stetzko might be a Communist agent masquerading as an anti-Soviet. This attitude has changed completely and Stetzko is looked upon as completely anti-Soviet, as is Bandera, whose present whereabouts is unknown. As far as can be determined here, Stetzko has no direct connection with American agencies. The fact of his writing a letter to Mr. Thorp is rather unusual since Stetzko surrounds himself with so much secrecy and so many precautions as to make such a move appear unwise. In any case the Consulate General feels, as stated in its secret telegram No. 376, cited above, that a reply by Mr. Thorp or by the Department to Stetzko's letter would be ill-advised. It is felt that since Stetzko is undoubtedly sought after by Soviet agents and since he is one of the most important and most active anti-Soviets here, a reply to him of any kind would be injudicious in that should it be discovered or should Stetzko feel from the contents of such a letter that he has official American support, the Department might be placed in an embarrassing position.

Very truly yours,

Sam E. Woods,
American Consul General.

gwm

Original to Department
Copy to GAP, Mr. Trivers
Copies (2) to USPOLAD, Berlin
Copy to Mr. Calhoun, Berlin
Copy to Supervising Consulate General, Frankfort

File No. 350.3/350.21
R/Beghtel:sar

SECRET COPY

MGL-A-44

PROSPECTIVE USSR AGENTS file

28 June 1949

Chief, FBM
COS, Karlsruhe

Operational
ODEUM - Stefan BANDERA Group

1. The following information was submitted by two reliable Ukrainian sources of ODEUM whose identity cannot be revealed for security reasons.

2. On 18 May 1949 KAJUM KHAN toldour source that ~~STETZKO and~~ KAJUM KHAN were requested by Professor von MENDE to go to London in June in order to take part in certain anti-Bolshevist discussions. ~~STETZKO~~ is said to be in possession of a passport, and KAJUM KHAN was promised a passport though Prof. v. MENDE. The preliminary arrangements for this trip were made by MENDE and STETZKO during MENDE's visit to Munich around the middle of March 19491

3. BANDERA who is said to be still in the Munich area will not make this trip to London.

4. Another Ukrainina source reported that some personal difference seem to exist between BANDERA AND STETZKO.

Dist:
2 - FBM (please pass to London)
1 - COS Karl
1 [redacted]
2 - POB files

Asked POB by cable 6 July to pass copy to MOB

SECRET

OUTGOING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

Androgen

SECRET

File No.

To:	MUNICH, KARLSRUHE	ROUTINE
From:	SPECIAL OPERATIONS	1 JULY 49
Confirmation:	FBM (1-2)	OUT 84392
Information:	ADSO (3-4), COPS (5), CRD (6), FBS (7)	

Paraphrase Not Required. Handle as SECRET Correspondence per Para. 38 (2) (b) AR 380-5

WASH 6056

TO: MUNI INFO: KARL CITE: WASHF

RE MUNI 578 (IN 35438).

1. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED FOLLOWING REPORT FROM ARMY I.D.:

A. U.S.M.A., PARIS, HAS BEEN IN CONTACT SINCE AUGUST 1946 WITH UHVR REPRESENTATIVES WHO PROVIDED PERIODIC INTELLIGENCE REP[illegible] ALLEGEDLY RECEIVED VIA COURIERS FROM CLANDESTINE ESPIONAGE ORGANIZATION ACTIVE WITHIN USSR. RECENTLY JAROSLAV STESKO, VAGUELY REPRESENTING SELF AS UPA AND UHVR LEADER, PERSONALLY APPROACHED M.A. PARIS, TO SUMMARIZE AIMS AND MEANS OF UHVR IN DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE RESISTANCE AND ESPIONAGE ORGANIZATION IN UKRAINE IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH [illegible]

STEZKO

B. INTELLIGENCE PROVIDED BY STESKO AND SUBORDINATE REPRESENTATIVES CONTAINS SCATTERED INFO ON STRENGTH AND ORGANIZATION [illegible] IN SPECIFIC AREAS, GENERAL DESCRIPTION OVERALL UHVR ORGANIZATION WHICH BASICALLY SIMILAR TO INFO PRESENTED IN ICON REPORT MGMA-73. ALSO DETAILED INFO ON ACTIVITIES SOVIET SECURITY ORGANS. NO MENTION MADE ZPUHVR NOR OF CARTELS.

C. STESKO HAS REQUESTED ASSISTANCE IN TRAINING 20 RADIO OPERATORS, NECESSARY W.T. EQUIPMENT AND USE OF AIRPLANES FOR DROP PURPOSES TO IMPROVE PRESENT COURIER COMMUNICATION SYSTEM WHICH ALLEGEDLY RUNNING INTO UKRAINE.

STEZKO

2. ARMY TAKING NO ACTION BUT MAINTAINING PARIS CONTACTS WITH STESKO AND OTHER UNIDENTIFIED REPRESENTATIVES UHVR UNTIL WE INFORM

RELEASING OFFICER COORDINATING AND COORDINATING OFFICERS AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

TOD: **SECRET** Copy No.

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE

WASH 6056 OUT 84392

THEM WHAT ACTION WE PLAN TO TAKE. PERTINENT INTELLIGENCE REPORTS THUS FAR RECEIVED BY ARMY FROM ABOVE SOURCE BEING TRANSLATED HERE AND EVALUATED. COPIES WILL BE FORWARDED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

3. PARA 1 ESPECIALLY INTERESTING IN VIEW OF STATEMENTS MUNI 578; PARAS 4 AND 10, UNSPECIFIED GROUP REFERRED TO BY CARTELS COULD CONCEIVABLY BE THAT OF STESKO. IMPORTANT YOU ASCERTAIN DISCREETLY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STESKO AND CARTELS. ALSO EXTENT LATTER'S KNOWLEDGE, IF ANY, OF PARIS PROPOSALS. ASSUME STESKO UNAWARE OF ANDROGEN OPERATION. IF NECESSARY, YOU MAY INDICATE IN GENERAL TERMS UHVR APPROACH TO U.S.N.A. PARIS. ADVISE US YOUR AND CARTEL'S VIEWS THIS MATTER SOONEST SO WE CAN ADVISE ARMY ACTION WE PLAN TAKE. WE CONSIDER THIS AS PART OF CONTINUED ASSESSMENT UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE ELEMENTS WHICH OBVIOUSLY NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN PROPER POLICY ON EXTENT AND NATURE OF OUR RELATIONS WITH LATTER.

STEZKO
STEZKO
STEZKO

[OPERA] HR [ ]

TOR: 2331Z 1 JULY 49

FORM NO. 35-5
DEC. 1947

INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET

Page No.

FROM:	MUNICH	ROUTINE
TO:	SPECIAL OPERATIONS	16 JULY 49
ACTION:	FBM (1-2)	IN 57267
INFORMATION:	ADSO (3-4), COPS (5), CRD (6), FBS (7), FBW (8)	

Paraphrase Not Required. Handle as SECRET Correspondence per Para. 13 (1) 604 AR-380-5

MUNI 607

TO: WASHF INFO: KARL CITE: MUNI

RE WASH 6056 (OUT 84392).

1. CARTEL 1 STATES THAT STETSKO NEVER EVEN MEMBER MUCH LESS LEADER OF UHVR OR UPA. UHVR WAS FOUNDED IN JUNE 44, UPA IN 42. STETSKO WAS WITH BANDERA AS GERMAN INTERNEE IN SACHSENHAUSEN CAMP FROM 41 THRU AUGUST OR SEPT 44 AND HAS NOT BEEN IN UKRAINE SINCE JULY 41. NO ONE OUTSIDE UKRAINE HAS JOINED UHVR OR UPA.

2. STETSKO WAS TEMPORARILY HONORARY NON CHARTER MEMBER OF ZPUHVR BECAUSE OF HIS POSITION IN ABN. ZPUHVR REPUDIATED STETSKO IN LATE SPRING 48 AND FORMALLY OUSTED HIM IN EARLY 49. ALTHO HE CAN SPEAK AS REPRESENTATIVE OF OUN/BANDERA AND ABN HE HAS NO RIGHT SPEAK FOR UPA OR UHVR. FURTHERMORE BY ORDER OF THE C.G. OF UPA ALL MEMBERS UPA ABROAD FALL UNDER THE JURISDICTION OF MILITARY SECTION OF ZPUHVR HEADED BY CARTEL 1.

3. STETSKO AND BANDERA REPRESENT PRE-42 UKRAINIAN POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF ULTRA-NATIONALISM ON NAZI PATTERN AND MONO (RCVD MGNO) -PARTY GOVT BY FORCE. GERMAN OCCUPATION CURED POPULACE TO HOME OF THIS ATTITUDE DURING YEARS STETSKO AND BANDERA INTERNED. BY 43 PEOPLE WANTED REPRESENTATIVE GOVT BY CONSENT AND YEAR FOLLOWING UHVR FORMED. CARTEL 7 AND 8 CONFIRM THAT POL'TICAL PRINCIPLE OF BANDERA AND STETSKO NO LONGER CURRENT IN UKRAINE.

4. SECURITY OF STETSKO BANDERA CLIQUE BAD. CARTELS CLAIM THEY ALREADY AWARE OF VAGUE CONTACT BETWEEN OUN BANDERA AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS IN PARIS ALTHO NO DETAILS KNOWN TO THEM.

TOR:

SECRET

Copy No.

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE

SECRET

MUNI 607 IN 37267

5. SEE MGMA-793 PARAS, 9, 29, 30, 31, FOR CARTEL STETSKO INTER-RELATIONSHIP INTERALIA.

6. CARTELS 7 AND 8 ARE FIRST COURIERS TO MAKE SUCCESSFUL MISSION EITHER WESTWARD OR EASTWARD SINCE 47. THEREFORE ANY HINTING AT IMPROVEMENT OF PRESENT OUN BANDERA COURIER CONTACT PREPOSTEROUS.

7. RE PARA 3. UNSPECIFIED GROUP WHICH OFFERED PLANE TRANSPORTATION TO CARTELS HAS NO CONNECTIONS WITH STETSKO.

8. TO DEMONSTRATE UNPOPULARITY OF BANDERA-STETSKO IN UKRAINE SEE PARA 3 SECTION IV IN ATTACHMENT TO MGMA-4864 DATED 8 NOVEMBER 48.

9. [ ] ANXIOUS TO SEE STETSKO REPORTS.

TOR: 1510Z 14 JULY 49

SECRET

FORM NO
DEC. 19 39-9

INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET

PAGE No.

FROM:	MUNICH	ROUTINE
TO:	SPECIAL OPERATIONS	31 AUG 49
ACTION:	FBM (1-2)	IN 41665
INFORMATION:	ADSO (3-4), COPS (5), CRD (6), FBS (7)	

Paraphrase Not Required. Handle as SECRET Correspondence per Para. 32 (f) 604 AR-380-5

MUNI 698

TO: WASHF INFO: KARL CITE: MUNI

RE: MUNI 685 (IN 41191)

1. IN EARLY AUGUST 49 STETSKO RETURNING FROM PARIS AND LONDON BOASTFULLY RELATED TO CARTEL 2 THAT HIS AMERICAN CONTACTS IN PARIS WERE VERY INTERESTED IN A REPORT HE GAVE THEM COMPILED BY CAPTAIN PRIRYA OF UPA INFORMATION SERVICE WHO HAS COMPILED REPORT FROM INTERROGATION OF TWO PARTISANS STRAGGLERS OF 1947 RAID WHO ARRIVED IN SUMMER 49 FROM KIELCE; POLAND AREA. THIS ARTICLE APPEARED IN SEVERAL UKRAINIAN PAPERS IN GERMANY IN EARLY JULY.

2. [ ] AWAITING TRANSLATION OF THIS ARTICLE FROM CARTEL 3.

38K
1 Sept.

TOR: 1314Z 31 AUG 49 **SECRET**

AIR

2843

Chief of Station, Ludwigsburg 2 September 1949

Chief, Foreign Branch M

Operational

Transmittal of Stetchin Reports

REFERENCES: WASH 8088, MUNI 898, MUNI 899

1. Transmitted herewith are two translated copies of the reports (mentioned in WASH 8088, Para. 3.) as they were received by the Paris HA's office from Stetchin.

2. Although we now have several leads concerning the source of the above reports, I now feel that they were probably compiled from various sources, some of which were undoubtedly former members of the Ukrainian resistance forces. We are awaiting translations mentioned last sentence of Para. 1, MUNI 898. This, together with the enclosures D, E, and F to MUNA-793 (1948 report), should provide a good picture of the information brought out by Cartels 7 and 8.

3. Following are some comments on other possible sources advanced by CARTELS 1, 2 and 3:

a. Vasyl Shalagin--Your suggestion to have Cartel 3 query Shalagin is certainly sound. A thorough debriefing of him should disclose exactly what intelligence information was allegedly stolen from him by "Russian people" or volunteered by him to members of the Stetchin group or any other persons. Aside from this, it would be very desirable to have Shalagin thoroughly debriefed on his detailed knowledge of the UPA and his own full account of his escape from the Ukraine into Austria. It would be far preferable to have this done by an American Case Officer rather than by one of the Cartels but we are leaving this decision up to you. You can better judge what action to take in this respect after you have received a preliminary report including his exact address from Cartel 3. Incidentally, our files contain no record of Shalagin.

b. Capt. Prirva--Although this name is unknown to us, it is possible that Prirva is the alleged UPA Captain who brought the attached reports from the Ukraine. We have had no previous mention of two "partisan smugglers" arriving from the Kielce, Poland Area during the summer of 49, but are looking forward to receiving a translation of the article you mention which is allegedly based upon their information.

SECRET

4. In para 5 of [illegible] it is not clear which reports you plan discuss with Gartele 1 and 2 after the dispatch of 7 and 8 has been accomplished. If the attached Stetsko reports are meant, it is important that you use sufficient precaution in discussing them. I think it would be unwise and probably embarrassing to us vis-a-vis the MA's office in Paris if Stetsko or one of his close followers should learn that his reports are being passed to a rival Ukrainian group by another American office. Keep us fully advised in this matter.

5. Stetsko's trip to London and Paris early August, 1949, again brings up the very important question already brought to your attention in VASH [illegible], Para 4 and [illegible]-44, namely, Gaprifoma must be debriefed on his past activities in behalf of the British. According to the latter report (East states FOB was asked by cable 8 July to pass copy to HQS) Gaprifoma arranged for Stetsko and Kafan Khan to go to London in June, 1949 in order to take part in 'anti-Bolshevist discussions' there. This was approximately the time when Gaprifoma was transferring his loyalties to the 'American I.S.' in Munich. His failure to report such activities to you naturally raises certain suspicions that he may still be conducting certain activities for the British, if not working for them while being supported and sponsored by us. Please advise us contact concerning the action being taken in this matter.

6. The foregoing is clearly but an example of the problem faced both here and in the field in acquiring the necessary information to guide us in determining the current major political alignment among Ukrainians—and other anti-Communist groups for that matter—abroad and, even more important, in the USSR itself. This means that, whenever possible, members of the anti-Communist resistance forces or organizations who make their way to Munich must be thoroughly debriefed, among other things, on their knowledge of resistance activities in the homeland. As you can well realize, there is a continuous stream of intelligence proposals being made to the Americans by these numerous groups, organizations or individuals throughout Europe which affect FRN directly or indirectly. The office of [illegible] is setting up a desk in the next week or two to collate and analyze all such information in an attempt to give us current expert advice on which individuals and organizations to exploit as well as to prepare overall studies of specific groups considered to have some operational potential, such as the [illegible] headed by Isaac Mazepa. We will keep you fully informed on developments.

Encl: 2 cs (Tabs a,b,c,d,f)

[ ]

SECRET

SECRET

AIR MGM-A-1579

16 September 1949

file

Chief, FBM

COS, Karlsruhe

Operational
A Report allegedly Handed by Jaroslav STETZKO
to UCMA in Paris
MUWI-698; MGK-A-10448

1. The unimpressive attached report is one which STETZKO claimed to have handed over to American authorities in the American Embassy in Paris, according to CARTEL 2. The report was compiled by one Capt. PRIBYA, the information officer of the UPA detachment here in Germany of which CARTEL 3 is the head. This report can be considered unclassified, since it has already appeared in local Ukrainian newspapers and in its present form as a distribution of the Ukrainian press service.

2. To date, [redacted] has not received that translation referred to in WASHF-6056 para 1b.

3. On 14 September 1949, CARTEL 1 and 2 unwittingly gave case officer another interesting sidelight into STETZKO's contact with Americans in Paris. CARTEL 2 stated that the original contact man was Pawel SZEWCZUK (or Pawel SHEVCHUK), a courier for OUN/Bandera. In the light of Exhibit "E" to the CIC Region VI report dated 20 June 1949 on Gregor DOBROWOLSKI, which is attached to MGK-A-10448, it seems quite possible that DOBROWOLSKI, an agent of the Polish IS, has already reported on OUN/Bandera's contact with the persons in the American Embassy, Paris. Fortunately, SZEWCZUK has never been a courier for UHVR and is in no way connected with the CARTELS.

Distribution:
4 - FBM w/ att
2 - COS
1 - MOB

original w/att sent to FDS & Registry

~~This~~ all attachment is not the same material received as BLCTS-227 Tab, forwarded to field as MGKW-2843.

[redacted]

SECRET

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

[redacted]

VIA: AIR
SPECIFY AIR OR SEA POUCH

DISPATCH NO.: KGK-A-1673

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

DATE: 12 October 1949

TO : Chief, FBM

FROM : COS, Karlsruhe

SUBJECT: General – Operational
Specific – Yaroslav STETZKO & Miroslav PAVLOVSKII, & Zinovii KARBOVICH.

REF : WASHF-6056

1. The attached photostatted report was procured from CIC Region IV Headquarters on 10 October 1949, and since it contains information on the subject of WASHF-6056, has been forwarded for your information. STETZKO has been an occasional source of Spec. Agt. John Spiegler, the author of the report, and turned in to him information on the Ukrainian emigration and on suspected Soviet agents in the American Zone of Germany. In late summer or early fall 1949, STETZKO suddenly and inexplicably, from Spiegler's point of view, ceased cooperating and gave the impression that he would like to terminate this contact with American intelligence. Spiegler naturally interpreted this to mean that STETZKO had found another more fruitful contact. [redacted] did not confirm this suspicion and requested copies of this report on the basis of his known interest of two years standing in the Ukrainian emigration. No photograph of STETZKO, listed as Exhibit "A" on the photostat, was received from CIC.

2. If the information on STETZKO supplied by CARTEL 1, 2, and 3 is correct, he is not a member of UHVR, as stated in Para 5a, nor has he been in constant contact with anti-Soviet revolutionary elements in the Ukraine, as alleged in Para 12a. Otherwise the case officer is not aware of possible inaccuracies in this report.

Distribution:
1 - FBM w/one six-page attachment
1 - COS "
1 - MOB "

Lgm for PNK

12 Oct 49

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

INDEX

FOR COORDINATION WITH Army

SECRET

MGMA-1673

HEADQUARTERS
COUNTER INTELLIGENCE CORPS REGION IV
7970th CIC GROUP

APO 407-a
19 May 1949

File No. IV-4171

SUBJECT: STETZKO, Jaroslaw.
RE : Personality Report
(Complete Background
and Present Activities).

[redacted]

CROSS REFERENCE NOS: IV-7027, IV-4490,
IV-4596, IV-4932,
IV-918.01, IV-918.02.

1. Full name (with aliases): Jaroslaw STETZKO, alias Zynowij KARBONTSCH, alias Miroslaw PAWLOWSKYJ.

2. Present address or possible whereabouts: No permanent address. Subject can be reached through the League of Ukrainian Political Persecutees, MUNICH (M49/Y45), Dachauerstrasse #9/II, or through members of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations) in MUNICH, or at one of Subject's occasional addresses MUNICH-MOOSBACH, Weisshauptstrasse #5, c/o. KOBAK.

3. Former address: TARNOPOL and LWOW, Poland (Polish Ukraine).

4. Personal data:

Height: 173 cm
Weight: 63 kg
Eyes: Gray
Hair: Blond
Build: Slim
Date of Birth: 19 January 1912
Place of Birth: TARNOPOL, Poland (Polish Ukraine)
Nationality: Ukrainian
Occupation: Publicist
Religion: Greek-Catholic
Marital status: Married
Citizenship: Stateless
Identity Documents: German identity card, issued by the MUNICH police presidium No.HV 22284 on the name Miroslaw PAWLOWSKYJ, date of birth 10 January 1912, place of birth TARNOPOL, Poland. (Subject has in his possession several other identity documents, bearing different names, dates and places of birth. However, the above mentioned identity card is the one used by him most of the time.)

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SUBJECT: STETZKO, Yaroslaw Date submitted: 19 May 1949
RE : Per Quality Report. File No. IV-4171

Distinguishing characteristics: Has a moustache, wears glasses, left hand crippled.

5. Political affiliation:

a. Present affiliation: Member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), member of the UHC (Ukrainian Central Liberation Council), and president of the Central Committee of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations).

b. Previous affiliation: Since 1929 member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

6. Friends, relatives, and associates:

a. Friends:

(1) Dr. Ivan BUCHKO, the Greek-Catholic bishop in O.N., Italy.

(2) Alexander NIKOLAIJ (pronounced GRIGAPLJ), the orthodox Archbishop in MUNICH (1949/1945).

(3) (Monsignore) Nikolaus WOJAKOWSKYJ, the head of the Greek-Catholic church in Germany.

(4) Wasyl KOHUTJ, the former president of the central representation of the Ukrainian emigration, and the former vice-president of the Polish parliament.

(5) (Monsignore) Jakob PERIDON, the head of the Greek-Catholic church in France.

(6) Yvon DELBOS, the French minister of education.

(7) Stepan BANDERA, the supreme leader of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), and the commander of the UPA (Ukrainian Revolutionary Army).

(8) General Taras CHUPRYNKA, commanding general of the UPA (Ukrainian Revolutionary Army).

b. Relatives: No information could be obtained on Subject's relatives.

c. Associates: Same as under paragraph 6, sub-paragraph a.

7. Previous history: Subject was born on 19 January 1912 in TARNOPOL, Poland (Polish Ukraine - until 1939 the city of TARNOPOL

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was a geographical part of Poland). Subject completed grammar and high school in TARNOPOL in 1929. Subject continued his studies at the universities of LWOW and KRAKOW. During this time he became a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). As a university student Subject worked in the OUN headquarters for the West-Ukraine (commonly known as the Polish Ukraine) in LWOW. At this time he started with his first publications which were directed against the Polish as well as the Russian government. During the big famine in the East-Ukraine (commonly known as the Soviet Ukraine) in the years of 1932/33 Subject organized in the West-Ukraine an anti-Soviet demonstration. This demonstration ended with the assassination of the Soviet consul general in LWOW, who was killed by one Nikolas LEMYK, a member of the OUN and a close co-worker of Subject (Nikolas LEMYK was killed by the Germans in 1942 in the Soviet Ukraine). Between the years 1931 and 1934 Subject was in charge of an OUN group, smuggling and distributing anti-Soviet propaganda material in the Soviet Ukraine. For his political activities, which were directed against the Soviet Union as well as against Poland Subject was arrested in 1934 together with Stepan BANDERA by the Polish political police and charged with conspiracy against the Polish government. He and BANDERA were tried by a Polish court and sentenced to five years imprisonment. However, in December 1936 Subject was given an amnesty and was released from imprisonment. After his release Subject continued his political activities, which as before were directed against Poland and the Soviet Union. In consequence of these activities Subject was forced to live illegally. In 1937 Eugen KONOWALETZ, at that time the leader of the OUN, appointed Subject to take charge of the ideological-political department of the Central Committee of the OUN (Eugen KONOWALETZ was killed by the Communists in ROTTERDAM, Holland, in 1938). Before the outbreak of the German-Polish war Subject and Stepan BANDERA (who in the meantime escaped from a Polish prison and lived in hiding in LWOW) were approached by Colonel Andrij MELNYK, a leading Ukrainian politician, who suggested that the OUN should establish a contact with Germany. Subject and BANDERA disagreed with MELNYK'S proposal and broke their relations with MELNYK. After the outbreak of the German-Russian war and the occupation of the city of LWOW by Ukrainian insurgents, Subject presided the Ukrainian National Assembly and on 30 June 1941 proclaimed the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state. Subject formed the first provisional Ukrainian government, in which he held the position of the prime minister. At that time Stepan BANDERA was the supreme leader of the OUN and Subject his first representative. The first proclamation of the provisional Ukrainian government was the establishment of an Ukrainian army, which would fight against any power occupying the Ukraine. The government of Germany opposed this proclamation and gave the order to dissolve the provisional Ukrainian government. Subject in his capacity as prime minister of this provisional government refused to comply with Germany's order. On 13 July 1941 Subject was arrested by the Gestapo

SUBJECT: STETZKO, Jaroslaw. Date submitted: 19 May 1949
RE : Personality Report, File No. IV-4171

in LWOW. After his arrest Subject was held for a short time in the Alexanderplatz jail in BERLIN (N53/Z75), and later transferred to the concentration camp SACHSENHAUSEN-ORANIENBURG. His co-inmates in the SACHSENHAUSEN-ORANIENBURG concentration camp were Stepan BANDERA and the present French minister of education Yvon DELBOS. In Fall 1944 Subject and BANDERA were taken to BERLIN. In BERLIN they were requested to organize an Ukrainian National Committee, which would fight on the side of the Germans for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state. Subject and BANDERA refused their cooperation on the German proposal. With the help of some OUN members Subject and BANDERA succeeded to escape from BERLIN. After the escape Subject lived illegally for some time in KRAKOW, Poland, then in BRATISLAVA, Czechoslovakia (at that time the capital city of Slovakia), and later in PRAGUE, Czechoslovakia (at that time occupied by the Germans). In April 1945 Subject was arrested again by the Gestapo in PRAGUE and escorted to Germany. However, the transport was attacked by an American airplane, and Subject was wounded. He was brought to a hospital in SUSICE, Czechoslovakia (at that time occupied by the Germans). In June 1945 with the help of some OUN members Subject was brought to the American zone of Germany. In 1946 Subject was elected by the General Assembly of the OUN to become a member of the "Council of Three", consisting of Stepan BANDERA, Taras TSCHUPRYNKA, and Subject. The "Council of Three" is the supreme executive authority of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and of its army the UPA (Ukrainian Revolutionary Army). In April 1946 Subject was elected president of the Central Committee of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations). Since that date (April 1946) Subject stays most of the time in MUNICH (M49/Y85), where on 10 April 1949 he organized the DP demonstration against the persecution of the church in the countries behind the iron curtain.

8. Reference to previous reports: Subject was previously reported in various reports in 1946, at which time the arrest of Stepan BANDERA was a priority mission of CIC. However, the information contained in Subject's dossier File No. IV-4171 and in the cross reference dossiers Nos. IV-7027, IV-4490, IV-4596, IV-4932, IV-918.01, and IV-918.02 is out of date. Therefore a new investigation was initiated which resulted in the above findings.

9. Reason for investigation: Reference is made to TWX, dated 4 May 1949, from CO 7970th CIC Gp Hq EUCOM, Gp Ot 72, Ref.Nr.F-155, in which an investigation is requested concerning Jaroslaw STETZKO'S background, influence and reliability.

10. Results of investigation:

a. In the course of this investigation no derogatory information concerning Subject was found. A check of German police and other German agency records in the city of MUNICH was made with

negative results.

b. A check of 7970th CIC Group Hq. Region IV files was made with the following result: Dossier IV-4171 contains a top secret letter from Hq. 970th CIC Detachment USFET, APO 757, dated 30 October 1946, File No. 350.09 (CIC/S-3/RG), Subject: STETSKO, Yaroslav, Re: IRS, file 350.09 (GRI/CIB/RS/700/9), dated 24 October 1946, To: Commanding Officer CIC Region IV, APO 205, US Army, stating that STETSKO, Yaroslav, alias KARBOVITSCH, Zinoviy, is believed to be a Soviet agent and a chief of the ABN organization, which is extremely anti-Soviet in its propaganda, but believed to be penetrated and sponsored by the Soviets. Furthermore according to this letter, STETSKO has one hand amputated at the wrist. Between the date of the above mentioned USFET letter (30 October 1946) and the present date (19 May 1949) the allegations that Subject is a Soviet agent and that the ABN is a Soviet-sponsored organization were disproved. On the contrary, it was learned, that Subject as well as the organization ABN are extremely anti-Soviet. In the above mentioned USFET letter Subject's name is spelt as STETSKO, Yaroslav, alias KARBOVITSCH, Zinoviy, however the correct spelling of Subject's name is STETZKO, Jaroslaw, alias KARBOWITSCH, Zynowij. Furthermore the information that Subject has one hand amputated at the wrist is not correct. Subject has no amputated hand, but his left hand is crippled.

11. Action taken: None with this headquarters.

12. Comments:

a. According to O-0018-IV-Hq., who stands very near to Subject, Subject is in constant contact with the anti-Soviet revolutionary elements within the Ukraine. Subject is the most radical fighter against Communism. In his capacity as a member of the "Council of Three" of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and its army UPA (Ukrainian Revolutionary Army) Subject is highly respected and influential not only among the Ukrainians, but also among the emigration from other Soviet dominated countries. Furthermore according to O-0018-IV-Hq. Subject is absolutely reliable, especially as far as his anti-Soviet attitude is concerned.

b. Subject is using different aliases and false identity documents (see paragraph 4 of this report) for security reasons, as he fears that otherwise the Soviet authorities could locate him.

c. A Photograph of Subject is attached to this report as Exhibit "A". This photograph shows Subject with a beard. However, Subject's beard is presently shaved.

d. The above information with the exception of paragraph 10 of this report, was obtained by O-0018-IV-Hq. through a direct

MGHA-1673

SUBJECT: STETZKO, Jaroslaw. Date submitted: 19 May 1949
RE : Personality Report. File No. IV-4171

contact with Subject and through a discrete investigation of Subject's surroundings.

e. Sources: O-0018-IV-Mq. German Police and other German Agency Records (see paragraph 10 a of this report) — Eval
Evaluation: B-2.
Mq. Region IV Files (see paragraph 10 b of this report) — Evaluation: A-2.

JOHN L. SCHIFFLER
Special Agent, CIC

APPROVED:
THOMAS V. MULLEN
Special Agent, CIC
External Case Officer

Inclosure: One (1)

Exhibit "A" - Photograph of Jaroslaw STETZKO.

12 Oct 49

secret

extract

Memo to Chief, Foreign Divisions, from EDM subject [ ] te - 8 Sept. 1950

[ ] apparently working on the development of British Redbird activities, had STETSKO on a visit to London (and concluded that STETSKO as an ineffectual theoretician has Redbird defection and propaganda interests).

secret

[ ]

SECRET

16 October 1950

TO: ARDO

FROM: FDX

SUBJECT: Jaroslaw Stetko

REFERENCE: Letter from Jaroslaw Stetko to the Director dated 25 August 1950

1. In accordance with your request, we are submitting the following brief background information on subject and recommendations concerning an approach to him.

2. Stetko was born January 19, 1912 in Tarnopol. He is a well-known leader of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and has been serving as president of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) organization since early 1949. The latter organization is known to be a mouthpiece for and largely under the control of the OUN/Bandera.

3. Subject has been living in England during the past year, where he has made apparently unsuccessful attempts to solicit British financial and other assistance for the ABN and particularly for OUN/Bandera. He has made several appeals to United States authorities in behalf of OUN/Bandera since the end of the war in an attempt to obtain assistance in developing extensive intelligence and resistance operations into the Ukrainian SSR. Arrangements have already been made whereby subject will soon be debriefed by a representative of our British Operations Base in an attempt to have him prove his allegations, i.e. that OUN/Bandera maintains W/T and courier communications with the Ukrainian underground.

4. In view of the foregoing and in line with United States policy to give positive support to bona fide anti-Communist émigré organizations, we recommend that the Director inform Stetko that he has no objections to Stetko's visit to this country. This would further afford us an opportunity to cover the conference he plans to hold in the United States and thereby learn additional details about ABN political aims and connections with OUN/Bandera. We further

SECRET

recommend that the Director invite Steele to visit him while in this country, at which time appropriate representatives of OSO (and OPC ?) would be present in the final attempt to discuss and assess with him the capabilities of OSO/Bonn for conducting intelligence and resistance operations inside the Reich. Such a meeting could possibly also serve as a suitable occasion to arrange direct discussions with Bonn in Germany. In the final analysis Bonn will probably decide what operational information can be given to the American I. S. in return for assistance Steele will undoubtedly seek while here.

Richard Helms
Chief, FBS

Attachments

DEC 11 1950

SECRET

File

[redacted]

[redacted] Lt. General Walter B. [redacted]

1. The information concerning the death of General Sanjurjo is general knowledge, having appeared in several émigré publications as well as in the NEW YORK TIMES.

2. Mr. Statsko is scared to [redacted] by the extreme right wing faction of the [redacted] (SNE). He is also active as the leader of the [redacted] (NSE), which is a loose amalgamation of right-wing anti-Soviet nationalist groups. Although OPC/Madrid pretends to represent the Internal Spanish resistance movement, this claim is not valid. The only émigré group which has been given a specific mandate by the resistance is the foreign representation of the Spanish Supreme Liberation Council (SSSL), which we are using operationally.

3. OPC/Madrid has in the past consistently attempted to undermine the position of SSSL, even to the extent of using Spanish authorities. For this reason we do not wish in any way to assist Mr. Statsko or advance the standing of OPC/Madrid.

4. We believe that any reply from the Director of Central Intelligence may be used by Mr. Statsko as evidence of interest in him or his organization, and will probably be publicized in an attempt to improve his position in the Spanish émigré society. Since this would adversely affect our plans for using the SSSL and might prove embarrassing for CIA, it is recommended that no acknowledgement of Mr. Statsko's communication be made.

Assistant Director for
Policy Coordination

Attachment - 1
Orig. Lt. Gen. Smith from Statsko

DEC 12 1950

8 December 1950
Distribution
OCT - 2

SECRET


MIT TUFTPOST
Lt. General
Walter B. Smith
Governors Island
New York 4
USA

November 15th, 1950

Dear Sir,

I beg to inform you of tragic news that is an overwhelming blow for the Ukrainian people and all the other peoples oppressed by Bolshevism.

On March 5th, 1950 General Taras Osuprynka fell as a hero in his headquarters near Lviv (Western Ukraine), in an action against NKWD troops. He was the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), president of the secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), secretary general for war affairs of the UHVR, and president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Sent in proud grief, the Ukrainian people and all the peoples united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) here vow to continue the struggle until the Russian imperium is dissolved and until an independent Ukrainian state and sovereign states of all peoples oppressed by Bolshevism shall be re-established.

I write on behalf of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHWR), the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, and remain,

Yours truly

Yaroslav Stetzko,
Former Ukrainian Prime Minister
President of the Central Committee
of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko
Lechauerstr. 9/II
Munich, Germany

L.S.
1.3.1951

JAN 3 1951

Subject: The attempt of Jaroslav STETSKO, member of ZCHOTF Provid and ABN president, to make contact with the Yugoslav consulate in Dusseldorf and with the German Social-Democratic party in Hannover

Source of information: Boris LEVITSKI - Munich

As I reported in January, Jaroslav STETSKO tried to establish a contact for collaboration with the Yugoslav consulate in Dusseldorf in western Germany. STETSKO offered the cooperation of ABN with the Tito regime and requested a passport to Yugoslavia in order to make contacts with the Bachvanski Ukrainians in Yugoslavia.

Before giving STETSKO a definite answer, one of the people at the Yugoslavian consulate in Munich called Boris LEVITSKI, Denkelstr. 4, asking him for a reference on STETSKO and the work of ABN, specifically, the attitude of ABN toward the present Tito regime.

Boris LEVITSKI, who is a Ukrainian socialist and is sympathetic to the present Tito government, wrote a report for the Yugoslav consul and in the middle of February 1951 gave it to a man at the Munich consulate. In this report he gave an objective evaluation of STETSKO and the activities of ABN. In writing on the attitude of ABN, he emphasized that ABN is unfriendly toward the Yugoslav regime and that he regards it as sympathetic to Moscow Stalinism. ch 2.

Along with this Boris LEVITSKI enclosed a clipping from the article by STETSKO in Surma, No. 13-14, 1 November 1950, titled, "Titoism as it appears in world politics." In this article, Surma severely criticises Titoism and calls it Stalinism. Levitski's opinion on Jaroslav STETSKO was so convincing that the Yugoslav consul in Dusseldorf refussed STETSKO's proposition for ABN collaboration and denied him the visa for Yugoslavia.

While in western Germany, Jaroslav STETSKO went to Hannover where he contacted the German Social- emocratic party. The SPD headquarters in Hannover has charge of the underground work of the party in the East Zone of Germany. SPD has its own staff which has had remarkable success in its work in the East Zone.

I do not know till now through whom STETSKO contacted SPD. However, he met with the SPD underground representative in Hannover and offered the ABN and the Ukrainian underground cooperation with the SPD in the Soviet Zone.

In collaborating, ABN would print anti-bolshevik leaflets in the Ukrainian, Bile-russki and Kruzinski (~~Crouny, Caucausus~~ Georgian?) languages, and the SPD underground in the EAST Zone would distribute them. In this way they would begin the demoralization of the Red Army. STETSKO introduced himself as former prime minister and ABN president who has contacts with all underground groups behind the iron curtain.

SPD has not as yet accepted STETSKO's proposal. They are more interested in him personally.

Probably as a result of this meeting, the Offenbacher Tagenblatt carried an article by their correspondent, written as an interview with STETSKO, and titled: "Secret Radio Transmitter in West. Germany - Ukraine? Having introduced himself to the correspondent of the Offenbacher Tageblatt" as prime minister of Ukraine and president of ABN, Jaroslav STETSKO went on to say:

1) He, STETSKO, has a secret radio transmitter which brings secret messages from the Ukraine daily and then sends out instructions

2) Other than this, regular couriers who travel between the Ukraine and Munich bring new information

3) ABN also maintains regular contact with anti-bolshevik groups in the homeland.

4) STETSKO has worked out a plan for the organization of a Foreign-Legion for Gen. Eisenhower. This Legion is to be composed exclusively of persons from behind the iron curtain. In other words, these are ABN people.

5) STETSKO is against a preventative war with the USSR. This type of warfare will not be to the advantage of the Americans.

6) Partisans of STETSKO's, who are behind the iron curtain, are in a position in the USSR to organize a "second front." They need help.

7) The Americans should:

a) let J. STETSKO organize an army contingent of emigrants from Eastern Europe for Gen. Eisenhower

b) instruct a partisan parachute group who could be dropped over the Soviet terrain to help the partisans

c) send trained agents into the USSR who are acquainted with the area to carry on reconnaissance and sabotage activities.

In his conclusion, STETSKO criticizes the BBC and Voice of America transmissions.

This interview was to be an advertisment for STETSKO to convince the German Socialists that they should cooperate with him.

Army

Ac 5

4 January 1951

SUBJECT: Interview with Representatives of Underground Movement in the Ukraine

TO: Operations Officer
7880 HQD
APO 742, US Army

Army Copy - Air Army

1. The undersigned officer arranged a second interview with Messrs. STETZKO and PIDHAJNYJ on the 3rd and 4th of January 1951.

2. The following additional information was obtained with reference to activities and/or data of interest as presented by Messrs. STETZKO and PIDHAJNYJ:

a. Mr. STETZKO lives under the name of Mayl DANKIW at Mannheim 22, Triftstrasse 9, second floor. No telephone. (Can be reached at office phone - 72558 by leaving message for "Mosha".)

b. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ lives under his real name and can be reached at Mannheim 2, Sachsenstrasse 9, second floor, room #8. (Can be reached by asking for PIDHAJNYJ or "Mosha".)

c. ABN, as represented by Messrs. STETZKO and PIDHAJNYJ, has had no contact with the Ukraine since their visit to Berlin on 24 and 25 November 1950. Reason is given that because of the winter season the courier runs are at a standstill and that radio contact has been very poor.

d. Correspondence from Poland shows conditions very trying for members of the Underground:

(1) Possession of dollars is a death penalty, consequently

FOR COORDINATION WITH Army

there is no exchange of the American dollar and for all practical purposes, at present, it is worthless. (Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that his people in Poland have some three thousand dollars ($3,000) which would have carried them through the winter -- were the dollars usable.)

(2) Underground members have had to sell cameras, watches, and personal possessions to exist. (Mr. PIDHAJNYJ claims that his organization has sent used clothing parcels and shoes, with an occasional watch in clothes linings, to his people in Poland from Germany, France, Belgium, and the USA.)

(3) Polish mail at present (Dec 1950) has to be taken to a city post office by the sender, or dropped in a rural mail box unsealed. (Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that he and his correspondents utilize codes and chemicals.)

(4) Polish correspondence is at a minimum -- not more than one letter a month to or from any one address in Poland.

(5) Letters to and from Poland (as well as packages as mentioned in para 2 d, sub-para (2)), are dispatched and received at various cities and/or districts.

e. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that he has contacts in the following cities of Poland:

(1) WARSAW - best point of contact, here definite points of contact, time and specific agents are supposedly on the job.

(2) STETTIN.

(3) MEHLOSTOCK.

(4) BRESLAU.

f. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that he can send a man to Poland to organize an OB net. He qualifies this statement by saying that this man must be trained by us in order to operate efficiently and to fulfill our directives. He states that he can furnish an additional 2 or 3 men — but that these men must also be trained. He further states that all of these men are tried and reliable Poles and/or Ukrainians.

g. At this point, Mr. PIDHAJNYJ stated that he knows of one man who was trained and sent to Poland on a specific mission in the BRESLAU - OPELN area. He was sent there by a "Munich Organization" and an "American Organization", that employs a former Ukrainian Colonel and some German personnel. This man was trained in radio code sending, "chemical letter writing", and intelligence. He was also provided documentation upon arrival in Poland and all necessary aid to carry out his mission. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that he aided this man by giving him his one "initial" contact, but that he did this only to help him — as this man was not to work in the capacity of a representative of ABN. This man, at this writing, has been in Poland over six months — his initial reports were excellent (this Mr. PIDHAJNYJ was told by the Ukrainian Colonel of the "American Organization"). Now Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that his operators in Poland are asking for aid and/or disposition for this man and that this man has not been given any aid since his arrival in Poland. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that he can contact this man through his agents in Poland — this he has not done directly yet — however, he feels that he must help this man for morale and security reasons.

h. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that any and all directives relative

to intelligence work in Poland and/or Ukraine should be screened through his organization because all of his people in Poland and the Ukraine are security conscious to a point where they trust only their own inner organization.

i. Messrs. STETZKO and PIDHAJNYJ again both stressed the importance of a "Second Front" - the fight behind the lines - the preparedness of which must be attained now instead of "too late". They stressed that "diversionary groups" with equipment can be quickly organized in France, Germany, Austria, and Belgium because their cell-framework is already established.

Here Mr. STETZKO stated that the OB, Political and Economic information is only 50% of the "battle", the other 50% of the goal should be to organize and to know how much potential strength is there for combat behind the lines and how much enemy fighting strength can be diverted from the fighting front.

Mr. PIDHAJNYJ added that the factor of "areas" must be considered, practically one-third of the world "space" is Communist controlled and that the "A-Bomb" is not enough to win a war.

j. There are three Soviet Colonels of the Soviet General Staff residing in Western Germany (who had defected - not known when) that Mr. PIDHAJNYJ can contact. Mr. PIDHAJNYJ states that they have not been and are not being contacted. Known information as given about these men is as follows:

(1) Soviet Colonel - former instructor at the Military Academy USSR - taught "Airport Construction".

(2) Soviet Colonel - topography expert (probably engineer

SECRET

officer).

(3) Soviet Colonel - expert on aero-dynamics.

k. It was ascertained that ABN is operating a station in Belgium. This station is located at the junction of the borders of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Germany. It has transmitting power of 1 KW. To date, the Belgian authorities have condoned its operation, but Mr. STETZKO feels that the station may be confiscated in the near future. He states that he shall try to obtain permission to operate in Western Germany. The station is located in an isolated mountain-forest area and is manned by three (3) covert operators. It broadcasts in seven foreign languages.

l. With reference to Poland and its relation to ABN activities, Messrs. STETZKO and PIDHAJNYJ state that in Poland they have some fifty (50) agents underground and about three hundred (300) operators that live here legally. The three hundred odd people are not being utilized, but are "on call" when needed. The Polish mission is twofold:

(1) A base for Ukrainian contact and "pipe-line".

(2) A base for Polish underground movements.

m. Attached are copies of:

1. Photostats-Propaganda leaflets. Exhibits "A to E"
2. Photostats "Ukrainian Regional Report. Exhibits "F"
3. Photostat Propaganda Pamphlet, Exhibit "G"
4. Propaganda leaflets. Exhibits "H to "N"
5. Photostats Propaganda leaflets. Exhibits "O to R"
6. Propaganda Pamphlets. Exhibits "S to T"
7. Copy of ABN Mission. Exhibits "U"

THOMAS V. MERSER
1st Lt SC

Ап. III

SECRET

ABN MISSION

1. Assisting in spreading and strengthening of the A.B.N. propaganda amongst the nations enslaved by Bolshevism, among the whole population behind the Iron Curtain and the soldiers of the Soviet and satellite armies. Mass-printing of propagandive material and its transporting to the countries concerned, by land, air and sea. Distribution on the spot will be taken over by the Resistance Movements and underground organisations of the A.B.N.

2. Establishing of radio services broadcasting of the A.B.N. programs to all A.B.N. member-nations in their own languages. Neither the Voice of America nor the B.B.C. are broadcasting programmes in their overseas services which would correspond to the true feelings and yearnings of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain to gain the full national independence and liberation from oppression.

3. Propagandive action amongst the service men of the Soviet Army in occupational zones and satellite armies.

4. Creating of branches of A.B.N. in the countries of Europe, Near and Far East which are neighboring with the USSR and are in the allied sphere of influence, for the purpose of penetration into the USSR, and the satellite countries, and encircling her in our political and ideological vices from all sides.

5. Assistance in perfecting the contacts with native lands (by planes, drilling of parachutists, airmen, etc.)

6. Drilling of insurgent officers (for instance taking as basis formations of Ukrainian Insurgent Army which came from behind the Iron Curtain) and giving special consideration to military matters.

7. To help the insurgents in their native lands by supplying them with weapons, planes, ammunition, radio transmitters, clothing, etc.

8. Assistance in establishing an Institute for Eastern Nations' Affairs where it could be possible by scientific methods to explore and learn the problems of the USSR, its policy, military potential, strategy, etc.

9. To help to establish a Publishing Center in the West which would publish periodicals and books about the problems of the peoples enslaved by Bolshevism, "Sovietology", etc.

10. To assist to build up a) Propagandive Centers and b) Diplomatic Centers of all kinds in the Western countries.

11. To ask one of the States to put the matter of the Nations enslaved by Bolshevism on the agenda of the UNO.

12. To help to establish immediately diplomatic relations with the real national representatives of the enslaved peoples with one of the free countries which have no diplomatic relations with USSR.

13. To get (for instance, Chile or Bolivia) to recognize as legal the representatives of the Resistance Movements in exile, and by this to help to establish official diplomatic relations of the A.B.N. Nations with the West.

14. To permit the authorized persons of the A.B.N. to use the Western broadcasting services and to give them an easy approach to the Western press.

15. To make military training of our exiles possible.

16. To create the possibility of defending the rights and interests of the A.B.N. nations on the forum of UNO. To recognize the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Insurgent Movements of the other nations as fighting armies (Hague Convention).

SEC

SECRET

AIR

MOB-A-4957

Chief, Foreign Division M

12 February 1951

Acting Chief of Station, Karlsruhe

HEIBIRD/Operational
CAVATINA

References: MOB-A-7442, MOB-A-7855, MUNIF-2567

1. The first three attachments to this pouch consist of material on the Ukrainian Resistance Movements obtained by S-2 in Berlin from CAVATINA 2 and CAVATINA 5, mentioned in MOB-A-7442. Copies of this material may have been forwarded with MOB-A-7442 to F M, but in any case those hereby forwarded are duplicates.

2. Attachments 4 and 5 consist of two photostatic copies with file of background information on the ABN obtained from the same sources in Berlin and forwarded to MOB with MOB-A-7855.

[ ]

Reference to this dispatch made in Cavatina 5's folders

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COPY

1 May 1951

Information containing biographical data on Dr. ZOZULA

1. Dr. ZOZULA was born 18 March 1889 in the Poltava area of the Ukraine. He completed the Gymnasium at Poltava in 1907, and entered the University of Kiev. During his college days he became interested in political affairs and was chosen a member of the Ukrainian Parliament. He remained at Kiev until November 1918, leaving at this time for Lwow, Poland, to escape the Bolsheviks. He continued his education at Lwow until 1923, when, on 23 September, he went to Prague. He established his station in Prague University in 1926, receiving his doctorate in law. He moved to Ruth, in Sub-Carpathia, where he practiced law from 1928 to 1939. He drafted the constitution for Sub-Carpathia, which he secured the autonomy from Czechoslovakia in October 1938, and [illegible] on until March 1939, when the Sub-Carpathia area was given to Hungary by Hitler. He was imprisoned by the Hungarians in April 1944, and sent to a concentration camp in the interior of Hungary. Because the Hungarians did not have a case against him, and he was released, returning to Prague. From 1940 to 1945 he was chief of the legal staff for Czech Assembly. In April 1945, he left Prague for Bavaria, as he was upset by friends belonging to the Social Democrat Party that President Benes had agreed with Moscow to return all old Russian refugees to the Soviets. From Bavaria he went to Augsburg, where he was a Professor of Law at the Ukrainian Technical University, which had been removed from Prague to Augsburg. He taught there from 1945 to 1948. He arrived in the US in February 1949.

2. In 1948 Dr. Zozula was a delegate to the Ukrainian National Council, whose headquarters is at Augsburg, Germany. According to him, this Council was convened to bring together all elements of the Ukrainian movement. He states that the Council presently is unofficially recognized by the French, British, Swiss and Belgian governments, but is now seeking American recognition. The headquarters of the Council will shortly be moved from Augsburg to England, as permission has already been received from the British for such a move. Dr. ZOZULA states that there is no direct tie-in with the British Government.

3. Dr. ZOZULA is strongly of the opinion that the reported break between Lebed and Bandera is phony. He substantiated this opinion by reading an excerpt from a recent letter from Germany, wherein it was stated that Bandera has been openly endorsing statements of policy recently made by Lebed in this country. Dr. ZOZULA also stated that the American Government is making a grave mistake if it is supporting the cause of either Lebed or Bandera.

Excerpt from memo. res. from Contact Div./OO, 1 May 51

SECRET

SECRET

9 May 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Robert L. Joyce
Policy Planning Staff
Department of State

SUBJECT: Ukrainian National Council

I am enclosing, for the information of the officers interested in Ukrainian affairs, two memoranda containing information relative to the Ukrainian National Council, furnished by Mr. [illegible], who was a delegate to the Ukrainian National Council prior to his coming to the United States in February 1946. There is attached, also, a memorandum containing biographical data on Mr. [illegible].

file MEP

Encl.
As stated above

CP/PO/WWK:ha

Distribution:
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1 - [illegible]
1 - [illegible]

Memoranda recd. from [illegible] May 51

Copy

Stetsko

Cor. d

15 JULY 1951

INFORMATION GIVEN TO AMERICAN EMBASSY, LONDON BY STETZKO AROUND 13 JULY 1951

SUBJECT: Account of Ukrainian Resistance Activities

Mr. Yaroslav STETZKO, president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), called recently at the Embassy. His principal purpose was to urge his organization's argument that the United States and Western powers should support the "National Liberation" movements within the Soviet orbit. It is believed that this argument is quite familiar to the Department.

Mr. STETZKO also stated that the present tactic of the Ukrainian resistance, with which he is chiefly concerned, is to discontinue the insurgent efforts, at least on the scale which they have been attempting, and to undertake "mass underground preparations for liberation". He stated that it has become necessary to reorganize the larger insurgent bodies into smaller fighting groups, usually from ten to twenty persons each, because the Soviets have now placed such strong military forces effectively against them. Several divisions of special MVD troops have been stationed in the insurgent areas and have conducted most thorough-going searches of all places and persons. The consequence has been that the past year has been the most difficult of their existence, and approximately fifty per cent of the insurgent forces have been lost. Therefore, they have broken up into smaller groups and are now engaged only in quickly moving raids, chiefly for purposes of propaganda and for such unsettling effect on the Soviet security forces as they can accomplish. That they are still effective in this way, he said, is evidenced by the recent Soviet pamphlets and newspaper articles attempting to belittle the Ukrainian insurgent forces. But besides this, the "Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council is directing political, social, economic and cultural resistance" throughout the Ukraine, and in this way preparing the people for the expected liberation in the future. He maintained that the Soviets will not be able to eliminate this type of resistance.

Embassy comment: This account appears to be of interest as confirmation of other reports that the Russian authorities have, in fact, succeeded in putting down, or at least greatly reducing, the Ukrainian insurgent activity.

R. F. Courtney
Second Secretary of Embassy

13 July 1951

Мені Василь зараз,
Якщо ні, то і говорити Ви
мою інструкції.
Я хотів би зайти з областями
говорити. Тоді може при-
знайти на нічитацтво для
мене рішення дати з Вами
краще, бачте знати, а так
з можем. – Не мені необхідно
Зле, що так зорієнтуй Вами
ду мені. Вже краще
оце і ні, поки що, Дя-
Вам і, ~~краще~~
Вам ~~[illegible]~~
С. Г. Ст.
1/2 X 47

Мені Василь зараз,
Єрмо ні, ні годиться Ви
мою інструкції.
Я хотів би бачити з обласним
говорити. Тоді може при-
дбають на-пієтицю дуже
мене рішну думки з Вами
вранці, бачте знаєш, а так
з можеш. – Не мені необхідно
Зле, що так зоріентуєшся
до мене. Вже краще
було і ні поночуєш, а то
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Sept. 51

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Washington (2)
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State/London (in ltr form)
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JACKPOT

COPY

[ ]

Anna DANKIW nee [illegible] KEL-21636

27 July 1951

Reliable 31 July 1951

Foreign Government Agency

1. At the request of the Visa Section of the Embassy here, check was made on subject who is applying for non-immigration visa to the United States. Subject was born 14 May 1920 at Romaniwka, Ukraine, and presently resides at Triftstrasse 9, Munich 22, Germany. She was in Lemberg (or Lviw), Ukraine from 1941-1944; in Vienna from 1944-1945; and in Munich from 1945-1951. Her husband, Mayl DANKIW is presently at 28 Minster Road, London N.W. 2. She plans to join the Organization for the Defence of the Four Freedoms, P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y. Her nationality is Stateless and occupation housewife.

2. Source advise their records show that subject arrived in England from Bunkink on 23 June 1951 and was granted permission to stay here for two months only, provided she did not take up any form of employment. She said she was on the staff of the Ukrainian paper SVOBODA in Munich. The purpose of her visit was to see friends and to visit the Scottish League for European Freedom in Edinburgh. The latter is an anti-Communist organization conducted by Mr. John STEWART of Edinburgh, to look after the interests of emigres from countries behind the Iron Curtain.

3. Subject's husband, (according to source) Mayl DANKIW, alias Jaroslav STETKO, is a former Ukrainian Prime Minister, a prominent member of the Banders Group of Ukrainians, and is now the president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A.B.N.) in Munich. He has paid a number of visits to this country to see Ukrainian emigre groups here and to visit Mr. John STEWART mentioned above.

COPY

-1112-

4. Source state that subject is strongly anti-Communist but it is possible that the A.B.N. organization in Germany has been penetrated by the Soviet through certain Ukrainian nationalists.

SECRET

Doc 7-31-1972

Allies We Don't Need—2

By Fred Forrest

ROSENBERG: HIS MEMORY LINGERS

Intolerance, Incorporated

Former Nazi minions, still in business, advocate the dismemberment of Russia

While West European statesmen attempt to eliminate the vestiges of ultra-outside nationalism through the Schuman Plan, the European Customs Union, the Council of Europe, the Atlantic Union movement and the United Nations), various American and British politicians are trying to whip up old national and ethnic hatreds in East Europe as a way of beating Stalin and the Cominform. They are doing so by supporting certain self-appointed spokesmen for non-Russian Eurasian ethnic groups in an effort to oppose not Stalin but the Russian people. The leading group in this category bears the name of "The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations," or ABN. Although its paternity is shadily Nazi, it has received concrete aid from the so-called Scottish League for European Freedom, and its viewpoint has been most sympathetically presented here by the Ukrainian National Congress (a group of American citizens of Ukrainian or Galician descent) and its chairman, the influential Dr. Lev Dobriansky of Georgetown University.

ABN was formed in 1946 by the so-called Banderovite Ukrainians, in order to rally the remnants of the various "national committees" that operated under the direction of Dr. Alfred Rosenberg's Nazi Ministry for the East. The Banderovites, openly anti-Russian, anti-Polish and anti-Semitic, got their start through the Nazis before the war. During the 1930s some of their members specialized in assassinating Polish parliament members and officials of Ukrainian origin who favored coalition between the Poles and the Ukrainian minority. After a brief fling [illegible] (1942-44) due to Hitler's contempt for all Slavic nationalities, the Banderovite Ukrainians hastened to return to the service of the Nazis in 1944-45. Now they have rallied other Rosenberg minions in what promises to be an international of separatists.

The Banderovite paternity of ABN is undisputed. ABN's first publications were printed by the Banderovite UHVR. As lately as June 1951, the *ABN Correspondence* noted that the Bandera group was receiving publicity "through the ABN." Nominal chairman of ABN is Jaroslaw Stetzko, a politician from the Western (Galician) Ukraine, which was a part of Austria-Hungary until 1914 and of Poland until 1939. Interestingly enough, while one of the organization's major aims is the carving of a Ukrainian state out of present Soviet territory, *Soviet Ukrainians play almost no role in the whole movement*, preferring to join more democratic groups (separatist or federalist).

Stetzko first achieved notoriety when the Germans occupied Lvov (Lemberg) in 1941. He proclaimed himself prime minister of a "Ukrainian government," achieved the support of the Bandera bands, and within a few days managed to pile up an impressive record of wholesale extermination of Poles, Jews, Russians and anti-Bandera Ukrainians. Despite Stetzko's repeated eulogies of Hitler, however, the "government" was soon dissolved and Stetzko arrested.

The head of ABN's "Council of Nationalities" is [illegible]

Last week, Fred Forrest, former U.S. intelligence agent and veteran student of Soviet affairs, exposed the NTS—a Russian-designed group with fascist origins which opposes minority rights. Now he turns another spurious group, posing as the spokesman for ethnic minorities. Both organizations receive material support in the West.

Berzins, in the 1930s Public Affairs Minister of Latvia under the fascist Ulmanis regime. Berzins was responsible for the confinement in concentration camps of the democratic and Socialist deputies of the Latvian parliament, as well as the leading Latvian trade-union and co-operative leaders. Other ABN luminaries include Veli Kayum "Khan," wartime Führer of the Turkestani, who was reared in Germany and was a special Nazi favorite; Vladimir Glazkov, the "inventor" of the Cossack "nation" and an agent of various intelligence services; and Fatali-Bey, an Azerbaijani officer and intimate associate of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem.

ABN's slogans reveal a single-minded preoccupation with one issue: "independence" for any and all who want it, a splitting up of the present Soviet Union into twenty-odd states, with "Russia" reduced to a landbound Switzerland in the area of Moscow. Stetzko, writing under one of his many pseudonyms, Z. Karbovich, explained the basis of this new Morgenthau plan a few years ago. The only organic unit of organization, he said, is the National State. "The National State is a dogma, the truth of our political faith." The slogan "Freedom of nations" invariably precedes any and all references to fundamental human rights. "Objectively," says Stetzko, "there cannot exist any higher ideal than the Nation." The ABN, interestingly enough, lists Czechs and Slovaks as separate nations, and likewise Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. (Why the Yugoslavs are listed as "Russian-oppressed" is a mystery.) But when the ABN members converse with each other, they do so in German (thanks to their wartime services) or in Russian—the language they claim to despise most.

ABN hates all things Russian—not Bolshevik, but Russian. It proclaims: "We are fighting for the complete annihilation and partition of the Russian empire. . . . We reject on principle all federations, blocs, confederations. . . ." Such a claim for independence is made indiscriminately for large nationalities with a contiguous territory, as well as for scattered and ethnically mixed groups; for nationalities with some historical tradition and others that are little more than a synthetic amalgam of peoples which never formed separate states. The whole course of Russian history is portrayed as one of popular aggressions—it is the nature of "that people." Bolshevism is a typically Russian phenomenon, for "every nation has the form of government it deserves." They overlook, of course, the non-Russians in the Soviet high command from the Georgians Beria and Stalin up down; just as they damn such non-Russian leaders of the Russian liberation movement as the Ukrainian Korolenko and the Georgians Chkheidze and Tseretelli. Nor do the legions of the Cominform or the millions of Russian victims of Communism figure in ABN calculations. ABN declares that the Russian people are responsible for the crimes of the present rulers and claim "reparations for all the injustice suffered" by the Georgians, Volga Tartars, or Kara-Kal[illegible] ever since they were absorbed into the Russian state.

The ABN has a curious doctrine about Europeans and Asiatics. "The Russian people," *ABN Correspondence* says, "has never been able to evolve what the West considers to be an order of society worthy of human beings." The refrain continues: "There is only one inveterate enemy of humanity in this world—Moscow." *All* the "nations" of ABN "had long reached a stage of civilization far ahead of Moscow." By this token, the Asiatic members of ABN become Europeans, whereas "the Russians are not really Europeans at all." But occasionally, the Banderovite bosses of ABN forget their Asian colleagues and accuse Stalin of sending "into the Ukraine battalions of Far Eastern semi-savages putrid with Siberian syphilis."

Never is there a question of Bolshevism being a danger *per se*, and in the pedestrian jingoism of the ABN one cannot expect any serious discussion of totalitarianism as "a disease to which all humanity is in some degree vulnerable"—as George Kennan put it. The separation of all ethnic groups into autonomous units is "the only reason for fighting against Moscow." Privately, a Georgian officer of ABN declares that he prefers Stalin to a Russian non-Communist ruler because "at least Stalin is a Georgian." Publicly, they are all promised "absolute, full, unconditional" independency (that is, without the "condition" of a free plebiscite among the actual residents of the Soviet areas affected). ABN says, "what should our people fight for in common with the West?"

'RUSSIANS ARE ALL THE SAME'

It does not matter to ABN what type of government is established in Russia, for "Russians are all the same," and "no Russians fight against Stalin." According to ABN, all Russians, "be they of Tsarist, socialist, 'democratic,' solidarist or Soviet stripe," have the same interest in "oppressing" all other nations. Victor Chernov, Alexander Kerensky, Irach Tseretelli, Raphael Abramovitch (the latter two are not Great Russians) are indiscriminately bunched with Nicholas II and General Vlasov—the latter considered a Russian chauvinist by the ABN, while other pro-Ukrainian propagandists make the equally false claim that his entire Russian Liberation Army was fighting for Ukrainian separatism. Russian democrats are but "the sixth column of Russian imperialism"; "Social-democratic liberation would be nothing but a fourth form of Russian imperialism and megalomania." This despite the fact that all the Russian democrats, including Kerensky, Chernov and Abramovitch, have publicly advocated national self-determination by a plebiscite under the supervision of the United Nations.

Such is the line of intolerance which the Banderovite leaders propound for ABN. But many, if not most, of the non-Banderovites (with the possible exception of the Turkestanis, who preach their own kind of imperialism)

have grave reservations about the program of Stetsko and Company. If they remain in ABN, it is largely because there is no other "active" international of East European or Asian nationalists for them to join. Many are antagonized by Bandera's refusal to deal with the Present International, with anti-Communist socialists, and even with anti-Bandera separatists, including Ukrainian democrats. Crimean Tartars, North Caucasians (Chechens, Kabardians, Balkarians and Ingushes), Cossacks and Rumanians look warily at the Banderovite map of a future "Greater Ukraine" which would include areas from the Danube and Carpathians to the Volga, including large slices of the Northern Caucasus, Russia proper and the Crimean peninsula. Moslem groups fear the encroachment of Ukrainian imperialists, but remain in ABN because it "drives a wedge among Slavic forces." There is no *bona fide* Polish representation in ABN because of the traditional anti-Polish edge of the Banderovites. Among Ukrainians themselves, Bandera's group has been rapidly losing support.

COMMUNIST INFILTRATION

Finally, there is ample evidence (partly presented by former Banderovite officials like Petro Yurov) who have broken with that organization) that there has been a considerable penetration into ABN by Soviet agents, who have attempted to neutralize effective anti-Communist movements in exile and to attack leading anti-Communist statesmen like George Kennan (who has pleaded for friendship with all the peoples of the Soviet Union, including the Great Russian majority, and who has recommended free self-determination by the peoples concerned as the only solution to the nationalities problem).

Whatever one may think of creating new national states, organizations of democratic separatists from among the peoples of the U.S.S.R. are legitimate—when they recognize that the question must be decided by the peoples living in the U.S.S.R. There can be no objection to organizations which, after Stalin's fall, aim to convince Soviet Ukrainians, Soviet Georgians, Soviet Kazakhs that their lot would be better if they broke their bonds with the Russians. But organizations which demand *a priori* "recognition" of their country's independence (without regard for the desires of the population concerned) are quite another matter.

Actually, the ABN would be completely impotent without the aid it has received from foreign sources, notably from the so-called Scottish League for European Freedom (22 Young Street, Edinburgh). Its eighty-year-old chairman, John F. Stewart, heads a board that includes the Earl of Mansfield as well as other MPs, such as Major Guy Lloyd and Lt. Col. Sir Thomas Moore. The Scottish League has been instrumental in financing both the ABN publications and the ABN conferences in Edinburgh (June 1950) and Munich (June 1954). ABN now publishes a monthly bulletin out of Munich in English, German and French; places articles in numerous publications, describing non-existent "underground armies" behind the Iron Curtain; sends delegates to any meeting that will have them (such as the World Conference of Moral Rearmament at Caux); and distributes posters bearing the flags of the 24 "sovereign nations" represented—including the State of Idel Ural, Cossackia, the Union of North Caucasian Mountaineers et al.

Reports that more influential British circles are behind ABN are persistent. The implication is that ABN's program of severing the Caucasus, Central Asia and Ukraine from Russia would fit into the plans of British economic and power interests. This may not be true, but if it is not, the Labor Government must soon make its position explicit on this issue. Meanwhile, ABN leaders like Stetsko, Keyum "Khan," and the Hungarian chief of the ABN "military department," Ferenc Farkas-Kiabarnak, have been making visits to Britain.

The great danger of the ABN separatists is that, like the NTS chauvinists I reported on last week, they have no complete disregard for popular sovereignty and are ready to stir up any kind of racial, religious or national hatreds to achieve their ends. This undoubtedly explains the collaboration of both groups with the Nazis, but it cannot explain their continued support by powerful elements in democratic society. The future of the peoples of the Soviet Union, if it is to be fashioned constructively, must be fashioned by the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves in an atmosphere of complete freedom. That applies to the problem of union or federation for nationalities as well as it does to other problems of post-Stalinist Russia. The totalitarians of the ABN and the NTS would never permit such an atmosphere: they are thus the enemies both of their own people and of world democracy. If we are fighting for democracy and for peace among all peoples, we must look to our allies to democratic spokesmen abroad and, more important, to the freedom-seeking millions of Russians and non-Russians in the Soviet Union today.

IT'LL ALL COME OUT IN THE WASH

Senator McCarthy angrily charged that the committee trying to "whitewash" his charges that Senator Tydings "washed" his charges against the State Department.—News

It makes, indeed, a very bright wash
When there's a whitewash of a whitewash.
As white in fact as virgin snow is,
It could appear that brother Joe is.
No clothes-peg or fence is safe to see on,
It's hard to see why he is sore on
But maybe what is giving trouble
Is that, with charges whitewashed double,
The utter blackness of the rest of him
Will stand out more, and get the hate of him

—Richard A.

SEP 25 1951

SOURCE SOOB-42582 (Encl.)

[redacted]

[redacted] BAUER, Wangt

The files of CIA contain voluminous information concerning the subject of your request. The general background of information reflected in our files concerning this individual is substantially the same as that set forth in your Requests No. 188 from the American Consulate General, Munich, Germany, June 14, 1949. There is no information available to indicate that Subject's proposed visit to the United States would constitute a security threat. If further information concerning Subject is desired, it is requested that the specific type of information desired be stated.

R/N — AP
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ABSTRACT INDEX
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SECRET

April 10, 1952

YAROSLAV STETSKO, HEAD OF THE ABN, IN CANADA

Echo of Ukraine of April 5, 1952 reported that Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the Central Committee of the ABN and top-notch leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), arrived in Canada on March 23, 1952 from Great Britain. He was greeted at the Montreal Airport by Dr. R. Malaschak and I. Klish, representing the Central Committee of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine, and Dr. I. Dochev, representing the Central Committee of the ABN in Canada. Stetsko went to Toronto where on Sunday, April 13, 1952 he was the principal speaker at a mass Ukrainian anti-Soviet Rally at Massey Hall.

Mr. Stetsko is an outstanding leader of the OUN ever since the inception of this organization. As a member of the illegal national Executive Committee of the OUN in Western Ukraine, he was in charge of the ideological education of the OUN. In 1934 he was arrested by the Polish police and condemned to a five-year prison term. As a result of amnesty, he was released from the prison in 1936. At the end of 1937, upon orders of Colonel Eugene Konovaletz, then head of the OUN, Stetsko was given the tasks of elaborating upon the program and ideology of the OUN and of preparing the second congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

On June 30, 1941, upon the invasion of the USSR by the German armies, a provisional Ukrainian national assembly, called by the OUN, proclaimed the restoration of the Ukrainian independent state and appointed Stetsko head of the Ukrainian government.

But very soon the provisional government ran into conflict with the Nazi administration. The latter issued an ultimatum demanding that the Stetsko government rescind its proclamation regarding the

restoration of the Ukrainian independent state, and dissolve itself. When Stetsko refused to comply with this ultimatum, he was promptly arrested, together with others members of his government, by the Gestapo, and sent to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen.

Shortly before the collapse of Germany, Stetsko was released from the concentration camp, and the Nazis did everything possible to convince him to join their cause but to no avail.

After World War II Stetsko remained in Germany, devoting himself to the organization of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a group of political organizations of the non-Russian peoples which was organized in Ukraine in 1943, when Stetsko was in Sachsenhausen. Through his initiative, two ABN congresses were held: one in Munich in 1948 and the other in Edinburgh in 1950. At the latter, representatives of some 23 peoples enslaved by Russia took part, and the congress itself had considerable repercussions the world over.

The purpose of Mr. Stetsko's visit to Canada is to "strengthen and expand the activities of the ABN on the anti-communist and anti-Russian front," according to Echo of Ukraine. He plans to visit major Ukrainian-Canadian communities where mass meetings are being planned for him by the League for the Liberation of Ukraine (Bandera's group) and the ABN itself.

May Try to Visit The United States

That Mr. Stetsko would try to visit the United States became apparent a few days ago when Mr. Alfred Berzins, former Latvian minister now on the staff of the National Committee for a Free Europe, approached some of the Americans in Free Europe as to the possibility of sponsoring Stetsko to the United States by Free Europe. Berzins is also a prominent member of the ABN's Executive Committee, and

before coming to the United States, he was in charge of the nationality department within the Central Committee of the ABN. He also shared the concentration camp days in Sachsenhausen with Stetsko, and has remained on very cordial personal terms with him ever since.

SECRET

Chief, [illegible] Division, OPC
Attn: [redacted]
Chief, Contact Division, OO

24 April 1952

Yaroslav STETSKO

1. Attached hereto is a copy of a memorandum prepared by a reliable source of this office and referring to subject's visit to Canada. A copy of this report has been sent to the SR Division for their information.

2. We have requested our field office to contact the above-mentioned source for additional information concerning the mass Ukrainian anti-Soviet Rally held at Massey Hall, Toronto, Canada on Sunday, 13 April 1952, [redacted] Mr. STETSKO was the principal speaker. This information will be passed to you on receipt.

[redacted]

ATTACHMENTS: As listed above.

PSivess/llk

cc: Index
(Dushnyck file)
SR.Division
Attn: [redacted]

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

SECRET

24 April 1952

24 APR 1952

To: Chief, Special Security Division

Attention: Alien Affairs Officer

From: Chief, SK

Subject: Yaroslav [illegible]

Ref: HUNI 7897 (IN 35317A)

1. It is requested that Yaroslav STETSKO be denied an entry permit into the United States until further notice. It is believed that the subject will attempt to get a visitor's visa from one of our Consulates in Canada in order to attend a political meeting of the "American Friends of the ABN" scheduled to be held 4 May 1952. STETSKO's presence at this meeting would be considered inopportune by this Division since it might jeopardize our existing relations with the Ukrainian emigration.

2. Yaroslav STETSKO aka Lynowiv KARBOWYCH, aka Miroslav PAVLOWSKY, was born 19 January 1912 in Tarnopol, Poland. While still a young man he became a member of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in which he was active in the 30's and during the first part of World War II. In June 1941, STETSKO was the Premier of the Independent Ukrainian State declared in Lvov, formerly Poland. In 1943 STETSKO was elected (in absentia since he was in a German concentration camp at the time) to the Provid (Directorate) of the OUN in the Ukraine; in 1944 (again in absentia) he was elected to the UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation). Since 1945 STETSKO has been the second in command of the ZCHOUN (Foreign Sections of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), e.g. OUN/ABN. There is reason to believe that since 1947 STETSKO has been the leader of the anti-American faction of the ZCHOUN. Since, at the present time, there is friction between the pro-American and anti-American factions of the ZCHOUN and the pro-American faction is trying to oust STETSKO from leadership in the ZCHOUN, STETSKO's itinerary through the United States might gain him enough prestige in his organization so that he would not be ousted. This would not be to the best interests of the United States.

SECRET

2 May 1952

STETSKO obtained visa to U.S. for ABN Conference scheduled for 4 May 1952, NYC under name of DANKIW, Vladimar.

Form No.
Dec. 1947 39-4

INCOMING CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

MAY 1952

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

Page No.

From:	OPERATIONS	5 MAY 52
To:	SR (5-2-5)	13 40538 A
Action:	RI (4-5-[illegible]) EI (7-8-[illegible]) AD/SO (1[illegible]), OGS ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible] SAS ([illegible] 4-15[illegible]) DOP ([illegible]), AD/PC ([illegible]), [illegible] ([illegible])	
Information:		

Paraphrase Not Required. Handle as SECRET Correspondence per Para. 22 (2) (b) AR 380-5

MUNI 8208 CORRECTED COPY

TO: 4.3HFG INFO: FRANER, KAUFFG CIT MUNIFB

REDSOX AERODYNAMIC

REF: MUNI 7897 (IN 35377)

1. INFO FROM SOURCE [illegible] U.S. INDICATES THAT UNFAVORABLE PLANNING MAY 4 DEMONSTRATION IN NEW YORK AIMED PRINCIPALLY AT AMCONSUL (ALSO REPORTED AT UNITED NATIONS). STETSKO ALLEGEDLY ATTEMPTED ENTER U.S. FROM CANADA TO ATTEND.

2. RE PARA 2 REF, HAS HEADQUARTERS SEEN ABLE GET LIMAROW ALERT CANADIAN CONSULATES? IF SO AND STETSKO ARRIVES U.S., POSSIBLE USE PSEUDONYM AND FALSE PAPERS SHOULD BE CHECKED

13492 5 MAY 52

TOR:

SECRET

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

Chief, Operations Division, OPC 14 May 1952

ATTN: [redacted]

Chief, [redacted]

General Ferenc Farkas - ABN (Antibolshevist Block of Nations)

REF: [redacted]CE: Our Memorandum of 24 April 1952, Subject: Jaroslav Stetsko

1. A reliable source advises that an article favorable to Jaroslav Stetsko, Ukrainian ABN leader presently in Toronto, Canada, appeared in the 1 May issue of Maclean, a publication presumably published in Toronto. The article was written by one Mackenzie Porter.

2. Our source further advises that General Ferenc Farkas, alias Farkas de Kisbarnak, chief of the Military Commission of the ABN and leader of the Hungarian Freedom Movement and next in rank to Stetsko, is presently in the US for a short visit. General Farkas was present at the 4 May 1952 meeting of the American Friends of the ABN, Inc., held at the Manhattan Center, 8th Avenue and 34th Street, New York. General Farkas is presently in Washington at the specific request of Congressman W. M. Armstrong of Missouri, who was also present at the above-mentioned rally. Our source adds that General Farkas will shortly leave for Portugal for an undetermined reason. Source further adds that the presence of General Farkas has created considerable uncomplimentary comment on the part of other Hungarian refugee leaders presently in the US.

3. Source also states that one Pavel Josef Vlas, 201 East or West 82nd Street, New York, waiter in the University Club, 4th West 47th Street, New York, is attempting to visit Toronto, Canada, then Cuba by way of Munich Germany. Despite his present menial position, Mr. Vlas is reported to have donated $40,000 to one Father Sullivan in the mid-1940's. According to source, Father Sullivan was a representative of the NCWC (perhaps National Catholic Welfare Alliance). In the event that Mr. Vlas obtains a re-entry permit to the US, he will make the projected trip. Source's opinion is that if Vlas leaves the US, he will not return. Source also adds that Vlas desires to have one John Seiranka, editor of the Slovak-American, published in New York, accompany him on this trip. Our files reveal no additional information on Mr. Vlas. There is some information on Seiranka.

SECRET

SECURITY INFORMATION

4. Source of the above information is expected in Washington in the near future. In the event that he contacts this Division, it is hoped that additional information concerning Glas, Weirauch and Parkes will be obtained.

[ ]

OO/C/PS:llk (14 May 1952)

cc: 1 - Alien Chrono
1 - Chrono (Yell[illegible])
1 - SR Division, [illegible]
2 - Index (Dushayek file)

Comment on General Farcas

General Farcas commanded the 4th Army Corps and in June 1944 was awarded the Iron Cross by Hitler. This award was for his brave leadership in the Carpathians. He commanded both German and Hungarian units.

In October 1944 he was appointed Premier by the Germans, when HORTHY resigned and Hungary changed sides.

At the end of 1944, he was a member of a military court that ordered the execution of a number of non-Nazi officers and civilians.

In August 1947 subject started the Anti-Bolshevist Hungarian Liberation Movement, this movement was extremely nationalist, anti-Seminic, Anti-Communist, Anti-Slav and Pro-German.

In 1948, Subject tried formulating a Hungarian Government-in-Exile, this promtion failed .

Subject is disliked by other resistance groups.

Subjects name appeared on several War Criminal Lists issued by post war coalition non-Communist Goverhment in Hungary.

Comment by the Hungarian Desk-------

Subject currently pro-Fascist. Hungarian desk was greatly perturbed about his entry to the U.S. They feel that He is a definite war criminal and should be tried as such,

COPY

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)
CENTRAL COMMITTEE
THE UKRAINIAN DELEGATION

Toronto, 30th May, 1952.

Sir:

The object of my visit to the United States is to inform the government and the political circles of the United States, interested in effective action against the Soviet Union and a positive solution of the Eastern European and Soviet Asian problems about the following items:

1. The situation in the Ukraine and other countries occupied by Russia; their attitude towards the Western powers, particularly the U.S.A.
2. Political aims of the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations (A.B.N.).
3. Tactics and strategy of the A.B.N. in its struggle against Bolshevism and the Russian imperialism.
4. Possibilities of coperation between the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations and the West, as well as coordination of their efforts for common advantages.
5. Possibility of actions against the Soviet regime inside the Soviet Empire with the purpose to ensure their greatest effectiveness.
6. Problem of effective tactics in psychological war.

In connection with the above mentioned items, I would like to discuss with the political circles the following topics:

I. Prospects and chances to defeat the Russian Empire with the help of the forces within the Soviet Union itself.
II. Advantages of synchronized actions of the forces acting inside the Soviet Union and those of the Western World.
III. Possibility of including Russians into the common front against the Soviet regime from the point of view of the non-Russian peoples of the U.S.S.R.
IV. Conditions which would favour a revolution against the Soviet regime and the problem where the decisive blow of the Allies should be directed in case of a military conflict between the U.S.S.R. and the Western World.
V. Necessity to coordinate the efforts of the insurgent armies of the nations dominated by Russia and the armed forces of the Western World in case of such conflict and political conditions of that coordination.
VI. The problems of national, economic, military and political order in the Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia after the military defeat of Soviet Russia.

In our opinion, all these problems should be discussed and solved now in order to avoid possible military and political blunders

in the present cold war as well as in the possible war between the Soviet Union and the Western World and to ensure the establishment of such conditions in the whole world which would guarantee the realization of the just political objects of all nations and bring about a lasting peace.

I presume that responsible political circles in the U.S.A. realize the importance of the forces organized in the A.B.N. for the struggle against the U.S.S.R. and the necessity of coordination of all respective actions. In consideration of the above mentioned problems, I expect that you would like to facilitate my entrance to the U.S.A. and to procure the necessary visa.

Expecting your favourable answer, I remain,

Yours respectfully

(signed) Jaroslav Stetsko (Wasyl Dankiw)

Jaroslav Stetsko
President of the A.B.N.

Passport name

6/19/52--Mr. Jester, formerly American Consul General Dakar, was cl for consultation with CIA on French West African matters in 1952.

THE FOREIGN SERVICE
OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American Consulate,
Hamilton, Ontario, Canada,
June 12, 1952.

State

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO

Strictly Confidential & Personal.

Dear Chief:

I enclose a copy of a communication which is intended for whatever official of the U.S.Government it would interest (hence not specifically adressed) from Mr. Jaroslav Stetsko, the President of the A.B.N. Bloc of Nations, and a former Prime Minister of the Ukraine, concerning his interest in contacting appropriate officials of our Government while he is on this side of the Atlantic. I am in touch with him. He is in Canada with his wife on a two months visa which expires at the end of this month. He is due to return to Europe at that time. he may have to fly to London for a few days around the 17th of this month for a conference of all the heads of the various national groups in the A.B.N. organization, but if he does so, plans to return to Canada immediately for the completion of his visit and work of contact here. There is something of an urgent nature stirring within that organization at this time, reacting as I understand it, to some forthcoming pressure tactic on the part of the Soviet Union.

Mrs. S. applied for him and herself for a visa for the States at the American Consulate General at Toronto about six weeks ago, and was given a brush off. Was told to come back in two months and they (Vice Consul) would see what could be done. x

I have reported the desire of Mr. S. to contact our people, together with an earlier draft of the enclosed communication, but almost identical- which came to my hands thru the intermediary assistance of a local contact who is closely intouch with these people,-to Amb. Woodward who in turn has referred it to Washington for instructions. We are awaiting Washington's reply. I am fearful that our political boys, will, out of excessive caution, miss a fine opportunity to make direct contact with an exceedingly valuable source of information. These people are receiving information all the time from behind the Curtain. With encouragement and direction, they could obtain a great deal more. What's more, with encouragement they could create a better and more effective underground. What's wrong with the idea of encouraging people who are willing to risk their lives in order to fragment the enemy- and who themselves seek the freedom and independence that we talk about so much?

I can see a reason for caution in not appearing openly to flaunt the leaders of the insurgent groups in the enemy's face. But what are they doing to us in sending in Zarubin? However, Mr. S. is here under a passport bearing another name. Also his wife. Passport was issued by the West Germany Government, and has been visaed by the British and Canadians. They are in the know. If desired, this man's presence in the States could be kept under wraps, and if further desired, he could surely be brought in for contact by our people without making contact with his own groups while there,- for fear that they might attempt to publicize and exploit his presence. I am sure that he would agree to any formula that might be suggested,

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

for he is serious in his desire to contact the proper parts of our organization, and I believe sincerely that he has got something to give.

You will know how to handle this, and whom to approach. Please keep me out of it, since I am working through the other channels,- but without much hope. If there is to be a firming up of policy and proceedure, now is a good time to begin, while at least one key peg is on the doorstep. This man can speak with considerable authority for the insurgent, and underground operations, and I think he would impress with his quiet sincerity and determination.

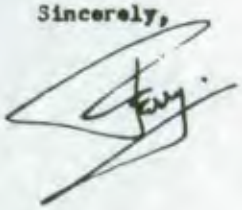
His wife, who is also a very shrewd and knowledgeable person, (although seemingly a quiet hausfrau) would accompany him if at all possible. She apparently sustains him a great deal in his endeavors. They fear the M.V.D. here. He sleeps, I am told, not more than twice in the same place. A couple of husky youngsters accompany him quietly wherever he goes. If he could go to Washington, he might wish to bring his own interpreter. He speaks Ukrainian, and I believe a little German. Understands a little English, but does not speak it sufficiently well to make use of it.

I would suggest a party of three (Mr. & Mrs. & interpreter) very quietly arranged, and to guard against unfortunate eventualities, some of our own people to take over at the border, if travel should be by surface. It would be much better to fly them direct to Washington. Why couldn't the M.A. at the Emb. be instructed to quietly bring them down. Keep them under wraps, and set them back down in Canada with few in the know. They are in Toronto, but that airport is too busy. If this method were used, some quieter spot such as Ottawa or even this place, should be set-up.

This, I suppose, is another one of these attempts to help the cause which went register in the press of the pursuance of present policies, but I thought I would at least have a try at it, and I know that you will know how and where to work, if the idea is any good.

All the best to you,

Sincerely,



[redacted]

CONFIDENTIAL

CANADIAN EMBASSY
Washington, D.C.

October 6, 1952.

State

Visit of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko to Canada

When Mr. Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, arrived in Canada, he paid a visit to the Department and spoke to the Head of the European Division and other officials. The main points which he brought out were the following:

(a) The A.B.N. is carrying on a struggle against Bolshevism and imperialism (Russian).

(b) The A.B.N. seeks the liberation of all peoples enslaved by Bolshevism, including all the national minorities of the Soviet Union, and the transformation of the Soviet Union into some thirty successor states within their "ethnic boundaries".

(c) War is inevitable and, in fact, the Third World War has already begun, and will progress to more violent stages.

(d) One of the purposes of his trip to North America is to help correct the misunderstandings about the A.B.N. found here and in Europe and to try to gain for it the support which it does not always find in official circles.

(e) The West should realise that it now has two main organisations for defence against Bolshevism: N.A.T.O., and the A.B.N.

(f) The A.B.N. and the underground movements and forces which it controls would help the West to localise hostilities when they break out and to reduce human sacrifice.

(g) Whether or not the A.B.N. finds official support, it will continue its determined struggle to free the peoples it represents and to confine the Russians to a new Muscovy with ethnic frontiers.

(h) The western frontier of the Ukraine must be the present one, including the city of Lwow.

Mr. Stetsko

[redacted]

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

Mr. Stetsko made a tour of Canada and addressed audiences in larger centres which are sufficiently populated by Ukrainians to warrant meetings being held. Apparently each speech followed political lines in conformity with the widely publicised objectives of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. In each instance major emphasis was devoted to the A.B.N.'s contention that a third world war is inevitable and to the part which the A.B.N. expects to play in that war. Moral and material assistance was solicited to assist the A.B.N. in conducting its struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism. At each meeting a resolution was adopted demanding the banning of the Communist party in Canada (the L.P.P.) and its affiliates.

Stetsko and the A.B.N. are afforded major support in Canada by the "Canadian League for the Liberation of the Ukraine". This organization has its headquarters in Toronto and is made up largely of ultra-nationalist Ukrainian Displaced Persons who were responsible for arranging Stetsko's tour.

Stetsko remained in Canada for about six weeks and returned to Munich early in June.

Memorandum of Conversation

J-14

MEP

DATE: October 7, 1952

SUBJECT: Activities of Yaroslav Stetsko in Canada

PARTICIPANTS: Mr. Doris Wallis, Second Secretary, Canadian Embassy
Mr. Richard H. Davis, SE

State

COPIES TO: SE - Mr. Barbour
A/P - Mr. Joyce
VD
EUA
American Embassy, Paris, Mr. Merriman
HICOG, Frankfurt—PS Suit, Mr. Stefan
HICOG, Bonn, Mr. Chapman
US Consulate General, Munich, Mr. Kendric

At his initiative Mr. Wallis came in today and handed me a memorandum dated October 6, a copy of which is attached, outlining the activities of Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, on his recent visit in Canada.

Mr. Wallis volunteered that of course the visit of Mr. Stetsko to the Department of External Affairs in no way committed the Canadian Government to any policy toward Stetsko or his political aims. He said that Stetsko had desired to be received by the Prime Minister or by Mr. Pearson, but having been told they were not available, he agreed to call on Mr. Watkins, Chief of the European Division.

In reply to my question about visa requirements for aliens active in political movements abroad, Mr. Wallis said he was not entirely familiar with the Canadian visa requirements but he thought that if an alien could show that he was a bona fide visitor, had ample means of support, and was sponsored by a Canadian organization or source, he could receive a visitors visa without difficulty. He cited in this connection that there had been foreign communists admitted to Canada for the purpose of making speeches or lectures.

Mr. Wallis' call and the attached recital of events in connection with Mr. Stetsko's visit to Canada were the result of my inquiry to Mr. Wallis some weeks ago.

RHR:EJK:RHDavis:la

CONFIDENTIAL - SECURITY INFORMATION

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

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DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB ?

DST -18626
12 FEB 53
STATE

CIT ?
OCC ?
UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST EMIGRE LEADER

WAS STATE D 839 200-7-229-Y

R 7007301283

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15.

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FORM 9-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-48)

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. [redacted]	SOURCE [redacted]	DATE OF DOCUMENT 25 [redacted] 53	ANALYST
SUBJECT [redacted]			DATE 7 JUN 1954

PERTINENT INFORMATION

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 59-54
DEC 1952

(28)

RI ROUT' SLIP

DATE 1 May 1953

FILE NO [ ]

TO: RI/AE

FROM: SR/W3 (Balaban, x2839, 1509J)

SUBJECT: Yaroslav STETSKO @ Vasyl @Vladimir DAMKIW @ Zinoviy KARBOVICH @ Miroslav PAVLOVSKY

REMARKS: Wife: Anna nee [redacted]

Please open a [ ] file on Subject. The number listed above was assigned to Subject on even date. This file will be restricted to SR/W3 and SR/W2.

Please return the duplicate copy of this memo for verification of the 201 number.

Additional material beyond your section's traces may be found in the files of the requestor and SR/W2.

Thank you,

[ ] INDEX AS MARKED

[ ] REFILE IN FILE INDICATED

[ ] OPEN NEW FILE AS INDICATED

[ ] COPY RETAINED IN DIVISION

FORM NO. 35-40
FEB 1952

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. [redacted]	SOURCE [redacted]	DATE OF DOCUMENT 8 May 53	ANALYST
SUBJECT Transmittal of two CAPELLIN Productions			DATE 21 MAY 1953

PERTINENT INFORMATION

Current head of the Provid - has been in England negotiating with the English government re issuance of visas to participants in ZChOUN conference to be held in London last half of May 1953.

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 80-34
DEC 1952

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST
73-6-33-2-518	EGMA-5632	15 May 53	
SUBJECT			DATE
CAPELIM Report on Opposition in the ZChOUN			26 MAY 1953

PERTINENT INFORMATION

Ferment in the ZChOUN/London Conference, May 1953
before

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			

FORM NO.
DEC 1962 80-39

(30)

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(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERENCED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSYK, YAROSLAV
[redacted]
SEX M DOB ?

074-006-130/04
EGMA-05706A01
21 MAY 53

CIT ?
OCC ?
MEMBER OF BANDERIVCI, MENTIONED AT
OUN/MELNYK PROVID HELD IN MUNICH FEB
53

WAS 74-6-33-2-450

R 7008250437

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

FILE IN [redacted]

15.

FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-40)

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. 200-7-4-100	SOURCE [illegible]	DATE OF DOCUMENT [illegible]	ANALYST [illegible]
SUBJECT Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists in London			DATE

PERTINENT INFORMATION

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

CROSS REFERENCE FORM

FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

[illegible]

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST
74-6-33-2- 560	KONA-6389	26 June 53	
SUBJECT			DATE
Preparations for the LONDON ZChOUN Conference			- 9 JUL 1953

PERTINENT INFORMATION

Yaroslav STETSKO and Stepan BANDERA will travel by individual passports to the ZChOUN Conference which is supposed to take place in LONDON early in July.

As reported previously, the ZChOUN is now holding pre-conference discussions. A number of reports highly critical of the present leadership were read and discussed. When HARABASH gave a report on the deviation of the ZChOUN from homeland positions. STETSKO himself was HARABASH's opponent.

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 59-34
DEC 1952

1381

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST
74-6-33-8-566	[redacted]	30 Jun 53	
SUBJECT			DATE
Transmittal of report on: Andriy [redacted], [redacted] Leader in Argentina			10 JUL 1953

PERTINENT INFORMATION

In early June 1953 there arrived in MUNICH from BUENOS AIRES, Argentina, for the general ZChOUN Conference Engineer Andriy MIKULIN, a member of the Argentine ZChOUN Territorial Provid. He was asked the following question:

Do BANDERA and STETSKO have, or can they have, popularity among the Eastern Ukrainian population?

To this question, MIKULIN replied negatively. He stated that neither is popular in the Ukraine.

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.			
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FORM NO. 59-34
DEC 1952

(38)

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST
[illegible]	[illegible]	15 July 1953	
SUBJECT			DATE
[illegible] London Conference.			

PERTINENT INFORMATION

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 90-91
DEC 1952

(90)

AIR

SECUR[illegible]

SR/3

Chief, FE (ATTN: Chief, SR)

1 AUG 1953

Chief of Base, Munich

REIS-EX/AERODYNAMIC/CAPAILIN/Operational

Conflict within The ZCHOUN

Transmitted herewith are two documents pertaining to ferment within the ZCHOUN. Attachment A represents a photo-copy of the original language text of a lengthy letter sent by Stepan BANDERA to ZCHOUN members in February 1953. Attachment B, in both the original-language text and English translation, is a broadside distributed among ZCHOUN members by the anti-BA[illegible] and anti-ST[illegible] opposition.

[ ]

4 August 1953

Attachments: As stated above

Distribution:

2 - SR (w/2 atts.)
1 - KE (w/o atts.)
3 - CCH (w/1 att.)
2 - MOB (w/1 att.)

File
Caratsia 2

gc

COPY

[ ]

Attachment 6 to MA-6551

Secret

Whither Goest Thou, O Bandera movement? The [illegible] have tried for a long time to convince us that there is demoralization, decay, and disorganization in all Ukrainian parties and that only in their party all is in best order, all is perfect and that only they flourish. Lead, good Ukrainian citizens, all that is to follow without prejudice and without malice towards that group. Forgot for a moment, as you read, all the evils caused by this group to you or your relatives. Do not take into consideration the critical—sometimes very critical, but correct—remarks about this political group. Read it quietly and look over every sentence. Then you will find the answer why there is evil among us, what is the cause of the many misfortunes, failures and unused opportunities. This information comes from a man who not long ago was a great proponent of the [illegible]-movement. The following materials were collected during three months from the outstanding members of OUN ( ) who are members of "OUN" and of the A".

The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists headed by Stepan [illegible] has been worm-eaten for some years and rolls down furiously to destruction. The OUN, which at first in the emigration distinguished itself by great energy, dynamism and systematic work, today fades and drags to an end. All this goes along in the presence of great internal clashes, expulsions, intrigues, calumnies, voluntary resignations, and removals. Once upon a time, all the members of the organization, united by their idealism stuck tightly to their ideology, had great faith in their beliefs in the correctness of their political line; their cause for was honest and worth imitation; they observed all regulations of conspiracy. And today? Internal hatred, depressed spirits, unwillingness to work, lack of party discipline, incoherence; everywhere and in all respects, members talk about the tragedy in the organization and in this way lessen the pain in their hearts.

But what is the reason for this evil, this disaster, who caused it? Let us turn to the past. In the spring of 1941 Yaroslav STETSKO left for Czechoslovakia from Vienna, in order to meet some liaison personnel. His car was fired on by an American and that a [illegible] was seriously wounded. During the operation the surgeon removed STETSKO's genitals. The patient was transported to Munich. There, Mrs. [illegible] as a nurse, insinuated herself into STETSKO's favor. From the very beginning, she aimed at winning STETSKO for herself. Thinking of the opportunity that there would be no children, Mrs. [illegible] agreed to marry STETSKO with the proviso that he make a great politician of her, bring her to the world political chessboard, and, that she occupy the second place in the organization after STETSKO.

Here is the beginning of the organization's tragedy. From the very beginning [illegible] met coherently opposition from the ranks. Mrs. [illegible] is a person who has no cause for her dreams as it seems: physically not beautiful, with miserable talents, unfamiliar with the rules of political survivor, capable of the worst, she intrigues, gossips, invents various untrue stories, in this way forcing all people to oppose her, disunition the whole organization she

Security Information

Secret

demands that STRIKO remove all those who are against her. STRIKO does it. If STRIKO sometimes opposes MUNKA, she threatens that she will reveal that she married him not from love, but because he promised to make a great "politician" of her. STRIKO is between hammer and anvil; he gives in to MUNKA. This has been taking place for a long time. MUNKA is ill accepted by all members; there are even cases when she is driven out of the room and kicked at the backside. She is never asked to sit down in the office. She is called mean, a female vain, stupid, dull and the like. The terrible atmosphere grows more and more. There is no stop to it. MUNKA also slanders BAUMERA before each member, saying that MUNKA is nothing but an ordinary technician and driver; STRIKO is, allegedly, a politician of a higher calibre. Shouting, she said once to Mr. [illegible], who dealt with the compensation to political prisoners: "You should trouble yourself most that my husband receives money—others can wait. What are all of them, together with BAUMERA, worth, if there is no [illegible] among you?" After such and similar remarks, the members answer her: "Mrs. MUNKA! You are an ordinary woman, uneducated, a door, a goal." All this was said to her face. In the beginning they spoke in a civilized and serious way, but it did not help and did not influence her. Nobody is able to offend MUNKA.

She is to become a great "politician", and she will attain that goal even dead bodies. The organisation has little cash. However, this does not prevent STRIKO from taking MUNKA with him on trips he makes to Europe, and to Canada and the USA. The members, having learned that MUNKA is going to take a trip to Canada and the USA, protest, saying that there is no money and that all the members suffer want; that in addition to this nobody wants that MUNKA represent the organisation and speak in the name of the organisation. BAUMERA could not prevent MUNKA from going because STRIKO maintained that MUNKA threatens that she would make known publicly that she did not marry him from love and BAUMERA agreed upon MUNKA's going but he forbade her to speak on behalf of the organisation. From Canada MUNKA wrote to BAUMERA: "allow MUNKA to speak because she threatens me...."

And now: was MUNKA idle there? NO! She was occupied with her material affairs. She sought among OUN members people who would send parcels to her and STRIKO, people who would make dollar collections and of other things to be sent directly to her. She continues to propagandise against all the OUN members in Germany and USA who are against her and STRIKO—and there are many of such. In the USA alone, among them are outstanding members such as WOVCHUK; Dr. [illegible]; [illegible]; and others. On the other hand MUNKA indulges herself too much with foreigners. The demoralisation is too great.

She supports [illegible] and [illegible] of particularly says MUNKA (he lived in Austria and used to visit them). In the organisation MUNKA has a reputation of a dull, stupid man, a swindler. MUNKA told ladies in LVOV, in the office of the committee at Rusko Street, that he was the OUN commendant for Poland and demanded that the ladies stand at attention before him. Among the OUN members MUNKA has a reputation of a man who is not able to fulfill the duty of a squad leader, and [illegible] made him the OUN organisational officer. The members reacted to this with humour. Mr. DRAGAT-

DNIP-NOVY in England is ZUKHA's second support. He diligently informs the members about the situation in England and strongly supports ZUKHA and STETSKO; he is one of those responsible for the current state in the organization. (He is the territorial leader in England.)

Besides, there is Oleks. A. KALYNYK. This poor beggar as he is called in the organization. Once he threw ZUKHA out of the room, but today he needs STETSKO and therefore supports him. The organization is against KALYNYK because he compromises SUM ("Union of Ukrainian Youth") and has distorted its purpose. It would be worth while to have a talk with such outstanding members of SUM as VALTCHUK, [illegible], Nykola [illegible] and KOVED (the last one in Belgium). A year ago STETSKO ordered KALYNYK to be again elected head of SUM because KALYNYK is, in [illegible]'s opinion, a great orator, a strong intellectual, and besides this, an Easterner. If necessary, STETSKO will be able to set KALYNYK against [illegible] and Nykola [illegible] in order to incite political rivalries.

Other lackeys of ZUKHA are Mr. [illegible] and Volodymyr [illegible]. STETSKO relies completely on the [illegible], naturally on two members, thereof [illegible] and MUDRYK. STETSKO attracts them by large sums of money. However, some people think that the NB officers support ZUKHA and STETSKO not only because of money but primarily because of lack of political experience and because of plain stupidity. Recently a division of informers has been organized in the organization. Everyone who says anything against ZUKHA, STETSKO and TYTYNA falls down and the informers are promoted. TYTYNA himself is chief of this division of informers. In August 1952 in Munich cafes general sessions of the ZChOUN provid were held; STETSKO invited only faithful and obedient lackeys, who supported him, voted for him and "predetermined" matters. Editor Roman ILNITSKY was removed from the AVN, and Dr. Bohdan KORDIUK from the "Ukrainsky Samostiinyk". STETSKO was against the suggestion of one of those present that the following outstanding and criterious members of the organization be invited to the session: Roman ILNITSKY, Dr. Yaroslav DZYNDRA and Stepan PROCYK. The history of this event was as follows: STETSKO, leaving for Canada, appointed A. ILNITSKY his representative in the AVN, Dr. DZYNDRA he named secretary and Dr. KORDIUK, director of foreign policy. All of them soon realized that there was no order in the AVN. There was neither a statute nor any book of regulations, nor any protocols: there was but a hotchpotch never seen before by anybody. They started to work to clean house, to organize from the bottom. Thereat they published in the book of regulations that ZUKHA was not allowed to be an employee of NB in the good interest of the organization. ZUKHA, having returned from her trip, for four hours attacked and spat at Dr. ILNITSKY, threatening him in an unheard way, for removing her from AVN. She said: "If you succeed in removing me, I shall destroy your whole life, I shall take revenge on you and your children for your whole life". And she took revenge. ILNITSKY and Dr. KORDIUK had to leave.

Dr. DZYNDRA protested a few times orally and in writing against the improper removal of Dr. ILNITSKY and Dr. KORDIUK. He wrote a big letter to STETSKO who was still in Canada, in which he described the state of affairs and advised STETSKO to get finally rid of ZUKHA and drive her away from the

organization. [illegible] advised that [illegible] resign from the post of [illegible] providnik because [illegible] is not qualified for that post because he has no talent; is poorly educated; has small knowledge; and has a weak character. [illegible] tried to mend everything in the organization. He made various intelligent and sound proposals to liquidate the pigsty created by [illegible], STETSKO and [illegible]. But all this was rejected by [illegible] and [illegible]. [illegible] was a great idealist and exemplary citizen, an experienced organizer, a great personality and a sincere man. Above all, he was very disciplined. Seeing the hopelessness of his work, his endeavors; not believing in an improvement in the situation, [illegible] put an end to his life by a shot from a revolver on December 13, 1952. A great fighter for freedom, truth and justice—one of the greatest followers of [illegible]—died in a tragic way. And why? Because [illegible] must be a great "politicism" and [illegible], completely henpecked, must eternally be the head of something.

During [illegible]'s stay in Canada there were negotiations between the members of [illegible] and the so-called opposition with regard to the liquidation of the quarrel. Some members of the opposition criticised vehemently STETSKO for the lack of order in the organization. Mr. [illegible] fervently defended STETSKO—perhaps against his own conviction—and at the same time STETSKO and [illegible] gave secret oral instructions to all members in Canada and USA to to write [illegible] and to declare that they would stop selling the [illegible] newspaper if the provid did not remove Mr. [illegible] from the editorial office of that newspaper. [illegible] was accused of being an opportunist. Such are STETSKO's and [illegible]'s morals. Zenon [illegible], during his stay in London, became aware of the fact that the ABN is a great idea, but that STETSKO had bungled it, did nothing or rather did very little. He learned there that if one had already once talked with STETSKO, that party did not want to speak to him for the second time. [illegible] contributed most to such a situation; by her behavior (diplomatic efforts) she made already a good reputation for the ABN, the [illegible] and STETSKO. In London [illegible] wanted to arrange for a meeting between STETSKO and a minister. Since [illegible] was already known there, the porter did not want to admit her to the minister. [illegible], taking advantage of a moment when the porter was speaking to newcomers, sneaked through and ran [illegible]. However, the porter caught up with [illegible] and drove her out behind the gate. And once [illegible] came to an American dignitary in Munich and also wanted to arrange a meeting with STETSKO. The new dignitary, having heard about [illegible], did not want to receive her. But persistent [illegible] found out that he had gone to the toilet; and so she waited until he came out. As soon as the dignitary appeared, [illegible] told him that she "is the wife of STETSKO, president of the entire Ukraine and president of the ABN". At that moment the dignitary interrupted her speech: "Excuse me, madam, I cannot shake hands with you, because I still did not wash my hands after having concluded my physiological functions", and added "good-bye".

People write from [illegible] and the [illegible] that [illegible] told them there, everywhere, that Jaroslav [illegible] and [illegible] are the greatest deceivers in the organization; that they steal the last penny. [illegible] prevented the [illegible] and the "opposition" from coming to an understanding; her argumentation before

SE [illegible]

STETSKO was as follows: in the "opposition" there is Omelan LOGUSH, whose wife, according to the information received from the homeland, from late Ignole MOSANYCH-KOVINSKYY, leader of SS, is a Communist agent. KUKHA always adds that she is the only person who can properly and successfully represent the Ukrainian nation because she surpasses PAVLYKORSKA, SILABOVA, P. MOSHITSKA and [illegible] (the last an outstanding member of OUN [illegible]),— all of them in intelligence and diplomatic talents. She often says of Daria MOSHT: "Daria MOSHT is now at a place where the horns of rams are straightened".

All OUN members consider KUKHA the greatest disaster ever recorded in the whole time of existence of the OUN. They wait for the war, when it will be possible to put an end to KUKHA, [illegible] and their followers— as the Germans put an end to Rosa LUXEMBURG and LIEBKNECHT. After the removal of STETSKO and KUKHA the following persons deserted the OUN Provid: Zenon MATLA, [illegible], [illegible], Bohdan [illegible], Stepan [illegible], Oleksa VIRTOTIAK. The members of the organization are still uneasy, although KUKHA has allegedly stopped her organisational work and studies the English and German languages, she actually continues to intrigue and to order STETSKO and the whole organization about. Did MANDEKA take any measures in order to improve this situation? There was a time when BANDERA advised STETSKO to remove KUKHA from work and from the organisation because she spoiled everything; she has no ideals; no character; and wants only to become a great "politician". Besides, KUKHA intrigues dishonestly and, as the members of the OUN say, there is only bad smell around her. But STETSKO always replies: "She threatens me..." KUKHA, on the other hand, visited MELNYK in person and, weeping, asked him not to remove her from the organisation because she was not guilty of anything and has been such since her birth. STETSKO spent 97,000 DM (ninety-seven thousand DM) from OUN funds in 1952 for AUN purposes. He does not want on purpose to take money from the representatives of other nationalities because then they will elect another AUN head from among themselves. The members see it, and their reaction against it is still unsuccessful.

MANDEKA is guilty—all the members see it—in this situation. He was not able to put the organisation in order and unable to drive away KUKHA with STETSKO after her. As punishment, MANDEKA should be removed for ever from the organisation and KUKHAshould be given 25 strokes on the naked..... Not long ago SAMUFKA said to STETSKO: "Resign from the Provid and from its chairmanship or put a final end to yourself."

Some OUN members wait for the new conference which originally was to take place a year ago, but STETSKO postpones it constantly and hopes that it will be possible to improve everything. But they deceive themselves because STETSKO and KUKHA will summon such people who will help STETSKO and KUKHA to liquidate everything valuable and good. Besides this, STETSKO wants very much to hold the conference in England so that from Germany only his lackeys could participate in it. STETSKO's opponents think that the henchmen there of KUKHA, DRA AT-KNIPNOVY, will help STETSKO to achieve his purpose.

Secret

Whi in fact is MUKHA? The name of this great "individual" is Evhenia WORYONKH. She is a na ive of the Western territories (we d not name the place on purpose). We are not going to write much about her suspicious past in the Homeland, but we stat the sad fact that, being the daughter of a poor peasant, who, if he is still alive, does heavy work and suffers under the Bolsheviks, she here destroys all the achievements of OUN(R) paralyses the whole movement. Such is the story of MUKHA. You see, what a fine "music" is played by Mrs. Yevhenia MUKHA.

Ivan KANDIY

FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
OPERATIONS MEMORANDUM

State

OMV No. 266

OCT 8. 195

SECURITY: CONFIDENTIAL

TO: Department of State OMV No. AIR PRIORITY

FROM: AMCONGEN, Munich, Germany

REF: Par. 3.1 Visa Circular No. 323 dated April 18, 1951; HICOG Frankfort Despatch 2617 of Mar. 17, 1953, subject Peripheral Biographic Roster of Russian and National Minority Emigre Personalities, Part 6.

SUBJECT: VISAS: Request for Security Advisory Opinion.

STECKO STISAK STESK

1. Name: Yaroslav STETZKO, a.k.a., Vasyl Dankiw (Non-immigrant)
(1) Stecko, (1) Karbovytch, Zenon

2. Birthplace: Tarnopol, Ukraine 3. Date: January 19, 1912

4. Occupation: Editor STECHKO STECZKO STECZO 5. Sex: Male
@ Zinovyi KARBOVYTCH

6. Nationality: Stateless (formerly Ukrainian)

7. Identifying data: Left elbow stiff, wears glasses

8. Past residence:

1924-1930	Tarnopol, Ukraine
1930-1934	Lwiw, Ukraine
1934-1937	Lwiw prison, Ukraine
1937-1941	Lwiw, Ukraine
1941-1944	Sachsenhausen, concentration camp.
1944-1953	Germany, England, Canada

INFORMATION CONCERNING		
Date	Place	Status
Dir.	Branch	
SR	WZ	

Memo Attached

9. Affiliations:
Ukrainian Military Organization (VVO)
Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)
Former Ukrainian Prime Minister
Presently President of the Anti-Bolshevist Block of Nations.

10. Names of parents: Semen STETZKO and Feodosie, nee CZARNA

11. Name of spouse: Anna née Dankiw, ANNA - née Muzyka, ANNA -

12. Destination: Tenth Anniversary dinner of the activities of the Anti-Bolshevist Block of Nations, New York City, Thursday, November 26, 1953.

13. Reference: Dr. Nestor PROCYK, Chairman Ukrainian Division AFABN.

CONFIDENTIAL

COORDINATION WITH State

CONFIDENTIAL

OMV No. -2- OCT. 28. 1953

14. Accompanied by: None

REMARKS:

The subject, one time Prime Minister of the Ukraine during the initial days of the German occupation and presently President of the Anti-Bolshevist Block of Nations, has submitted application for a non-immigrant visa for the purpose of attending the Tenth Anniversary dinner commemorating the activities of the ABN.

The invitation was extended by Dr. Nestor Procyk, Chairman of the Ukrainian Division of the American Friends of ABN. The dinner will be held at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York, Thursday, November 26, 1953.

Since the Department has in its files biographic data on the subject it is not felt necessary to further describe the subject or his activities. However, this office understands that the subject experienced some difficulty in obtaining a visa previously in Canada and as a result returned to Germany without having visited the United States. Does the Department have any objections at the present time to the issuance of a non-immigrant visa to this man for the above purpose.

Since the Dinner is to be held November 26th, expeditious action is respectfully requested.

STETZKO, Yaroslav 200-7-4-26
200-7-39 (270 CLL-1 270.450)
200-7-2-969 (p3)
200-7-3-85
200-7-4-28
38-7-0-667
200-7-4-35
200-7-39-37
~~OMV 84392~~ 16 July 49
~~IN 3726 7~~
~~IN 4841~~
211 STETZKO, Yaroslav
TABeHartshb 10/28/53

~~OMV 84392~~ 16 July 49
~~IN 41005~~
38-120-4 27 Oct 50
74-7-5-11
11-79-18
32-6-2-1506
32-6-2-1521
Yaroslav 32-7-10-56 gl
Jaroslav 200-7-4-27
74-6-13-350
32-130-2 N Jan 52
74-130-2 N Dec 50
200-7-4-110
100-134-1 28 Feb 57
74-139-4 17 May 57
74-139-4 24 Sept 20

CONFIDENTIAL

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE	DATE OF DOCUMENT	ANALYST
74-6-33-2-755	BGMA-8979	10 Dec 53	HB
SUBJECT			DATE
STETSKO & KORDYUK on the ZCHOUN-ZPUHVR Controversy			DEC 23 1953

PERTINENT INFORMATION

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 80-3A
DEC 1952

(30)

SECRET
Security Inf.

DEC 11 1953

TO: The Secretary of State
Attention: Mr. Stanley E. Seigel

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: STRZEKO, Tarasiaw aka Wasyl DANCIW

1. Reference is made to your SY memorandum ASE/A1, dated 10 November 1953, subject as above, whose name you desired checked against the files of this office.

2. The files of this office contain voluminous information concerning Subject. As stated in a previous memorandum from this office ([redacted]-[redacted], dated 30 August 1951, subject: [redacted]), the general background of information is essentially the same as that presented in Department of State Despatch No. 182 from Munich, Germany, dated 16 June 1949.

3. For additional information concerning Subject and his wife Anna STRZEKO, you are referred to our [redacted], dated 3 December 1951, subject: [redacted]. You are also referred to the Department of State Memorandum of Conversation, dated 7 October 1952, subject: [redacted].

GS [redacted]

Encl: 1 name check

RI/SC: AMJ/VL/bkp
Based On: 200-7-4-91y

RI [redacted]

SECRET

AIR SECRET [redacted]

19 FEB 1954

Chief, KS (Attn: Chief, SR)

Chief of Mission, Frankfurt

Attn: [redacted]

INFO: CCN

[redacted]/GARY/ARBAIN

Anti-STETKO Opposition in the ARB

ROUTING

1 3

2 B/CE/PA/S

3

4

Transmitted herewith is an ARCAPELIN report on opposition to Yaroslav STETKO, president of the ZDROJ-dominated ARB, by elements favoring a more equitable nationalities policy.

[redacted]

Enclosure:
ARCAPELIN Report

18 February 1954

Distribution:
3 - MAGH w/2 encl.- HIRSOT
3 - CCN w/2 encl.
2 - HRB w/1 encl.

SECRET

COPY [redacted]

SECRET

File cy 1

[redacted]

BAR 992
23 Feb 54

MEMORANDUM FOR: The Chief
CIA Liaison

SUBJECT: THEI ITTIFAK

1. It is requested that this office be furnished with a loan of all information available on the organization THEI ITTIFAK. If the material available is extensive information dated 1950 to date and a list of other references will suffice.

2. THEI ITTIFAK is an organization of people of the Caucasian nationals, currently in Germany and with some branch probably in Turkey.

[Chief, XX/CSS]

DO NO-[illegible]

XX/jm

SECRET

COPY

MEMORANDUM

1-792 3P

February 23, 1954

Re: ABN.-UNRADA.-UCCA.-Bandera.-Turkestani in U.S.A.-

The Kozekis Cossacks came out into the open with their fight against the present leadership of the ABN headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. In a public statement datelined in Munich February 5th, Post-Office Box 574, telephone 28071, the delegations of the Cossacks, Croatians, Lattians, Udel-Ural, Rumanians, Czechs, Byelorussians and Estonians declared their withdrawal from the ABN. The reasons given are (a) refusal of the present management of ABN to call a congress and order new elections, overdue since 1949. Demands of the above groups to hold an election before January 31st, 1954 were ignored. (b) the leadership of ABN adheres to totalitarian and dictatorial principles and methods which are similar to communist ways and procedures. (c) in order to strengthen their position, the present leaders of ABN included into their organization the R. Astrousky group of the Byelorussians, the Latvian group of A. Bersins, the Cossacks of I. Bilyj and the Croatian supporters of Ante Pavelich. They all are of decidedly totalitarian outlook. The groups that signed the above statement professed their support to the idea of self-determination of nationalities and to strictly democratic principles.

According to well-informed sources, S. V. Sosontiev, who expects to be elected chairman of the Executive Organ will visit in March the United States in order to establish normal relations with the UCCA and ACLB. He will arrive here together with Dr. S. Hytwycky who expects to be elected president of the Ukrainian government-in-exile.

According to rumors, the leadership of UCCA, expecially Dr. L. Dobriansky, is helping Representatives Timothy R. Sheehan, Republican of Chicago and Michael A. Feighan, Democrat of Cleveland in their investigation of activities of the ACLB. Both Congressmen are prominent in Catholic circles.

The negotiations between representatives of the OUNr and UBVR conducted by Dr. Rebet (UBVR), Dr. Matla (OUNr) and S. Bandera himself broke down because of Bandera's refusal to give up his position as the leader of all Unrianian nationalists. The organs of both groups started already sharp polemics which promised to disclose the real reason behind the breakdown. It is interesting to note that in the split Dr. Matla sided with Dr. Rebet, thus, creating a split in the Bandera group.

Some Turks and Turkestanis (Uzbeks, Tadjiks and Hasakks) now in the United States are in the process of organizing a Turkeli Association. Mr. Rusi Hesar is slated for a prominent post in the association. It is interesting to note that the idea of such association emerged after President's Bayar's talk with some of the Turkestanis here.

COPY MEMORANDUM

February 26, 1954

Re: Dismissal of Zolotarenko from KCAB.-Strong Arm Tactics of the Bandera Group in Germany.-Intrigues of Col. Nicholas Chebotariv Against Gen. C. Udovichenko.-Plans for an ABN Congress.-

The executive committee of the Ukrainian Liberation Movember (UVR) dismissed V. I. Zolotarenko as their representative in the Coordinating Center For Anti-Bolshevist Struggle (KCAB) and replaced him with V. P. Vasylaky. The alternate representative in KCAB remains Dr. L. N. Bondarenko. The dismissal took place on February 2nd and includes exclusion from the executive committee of UVR.

According to reliable sources, leader of the OUNf, Stephen Bandera decided to break the agreement of December 26th, 1953 which he signed with the representatives of the UHVR and which proposed democratization of both factions of Ukrainian nationalists and their union under leadership of Dr. Leo Robet, Dr. Z. Matla and Stephen Bandera. The latter declared that the agreement was a mistake and that he should remain the leader of all nationalists in Ukraine and abroad. A meeting of 47 nationalist organizations held in Munich on February 10th accepted the agreement despite opposition of S. Bandera ~~and his friends~~ ~~Kostenko~~ his Steako, president of ABN. In response, Bandera ordered the commanders of his "security service" N. (?) Kashuba and Dr. H. Vaskovich to see to it that nationalist organizations follow the orders of Bandera. The "strong arm" units of the security service in Munich and in the vicinity did not follow their orders. Then Kashuba and Vaskovich called in the units from other cities which on February 16th wrecked the office of the newspaper Ukrainsky Samostiynyk in Munich and broke up in the printing shop of the publication the articles describing the whole affairs The matter is now in the hands of the German police. It seems that the majority of the Bandera group and the whole UHVR group are in support of the "democratic agreement" of December 28th.

Forrer chief of secret service and military intelligence, in the government of the Ukrainian republic in the years 1918-1920, Col. Nicholas Chebotariv now in Ben Ulm, Germany started a whispering campaign against Gen. Udokichenko as candidate for vice-president and chief of the army in the Ukrainian government-in-exile. Chebotariv who, during the last 30 years, served with the Polish German, and probably some other European secret services, often simultaneously had ambitions to succeed A. Livitsky. Now he tries to convince some Ukrainian emigre circles that Gen. Udovichenko was in contact with the Soviets and is a bolshevik agent. When requested to prove his accusations, Chebotariv refused to appear before a Ukrainian committee investigating his charges. During some phases of Chebotariv's career, he was closely associated with Nicholas Kovalevsky, present candidate for chief of the Ukrainian desk of Radio Liberation.

In order to strengthen their position, the Bandera group is pressing for an early congress of ABN whichwill represent the rightist nationality groups still in that organization. Besides mentioned previously, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Hungarians and Slovaks, the Latvian group headed by A. Berzins (now in the United States), the Estonian headed by Oscar Lorits and the "Iron ~~Bandits~~ Guard" of the Rumanian Leader, Horia Sima, are mentioned/

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. 74-6-33-1-1438	SOURCE EXEMA-10328	DATE OF DOCUMENT 22 Mar 54	ANALYST PB
SUBJECT Oberon HERBERT			DATE 29 Mar 54

PERTINENT INFORMATION

This document exflows the Stetsko-Herbert ideas on " the ZPVHVR Connections with American Intelligence"

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 80-54
DEC 1962

(1961)

ABSTRACT OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENT			DOCUMENT FILED BY
FILE NO.	SOURCE 00	DATE OF DOCUMENT 4 NOV 54	ANALYST JB
SUBJECT SOKOLYK, Andrij			DATE 18 NOV 1954

PERTINENT INFORMATION

CROSS-REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. JS

FORM NO. 59-34
REV 1961

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. 74-6-31-641	SOURCE EGMA-11490 EGMA-11490	DATE OF DOCUMENT 20 July 54	ANALYST JB
SUBJECT Michael MATTHIAS			DATE 27 JUL 1954

PERTINENT INFORMATION

CROSS REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM NO. 30-36
DEC 1952

(301)

7 January 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Security
Attn: Alien Affairs Officer

SUBJECT: Yaroslav Stelmaho

1. It is requested that Yaroslav Stelmaho be denied an entry permit into the United States for a period of at least one year. It is believed that he is now attempting to get a visitor's visa from one of our consulates in Canada to visit the United States.

2. As a member of the Bandera/Bandera (foreign section of the organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists led by Stefan Bandera -- this is not to be confused with the newly formed organization with a similar title as authorized by the JCS in the Ukraine to supersede the one formerly headed by Stefan Bandera), it is suspected that he desires to visit the United States to contact certain Ukrainians here who are either members of this organization or who are sympathetic to it for the purpose of strengthening the Bandera/Bandera in its opposition to the new Bandera. At present, the new Bandera is in accord with the CPUL (Foreign representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of Liberation) which organization CIA is and has been supporting, while the Bandera/Bandera is in opposition to it. Thus any suspected action by Yaroslav Stelmaho against the Bandera in behalf of Bandera/Bandera would be detrimental to the best interests of CIA and the United States.

3. It must be said in all fairness to Yaroslav Stelmaho that while certain principles of his organization, as applicable to how an independent Ukraine should be governed, are contrary to that of the United States, he by no means is pro-Communist and should not be considered a threat to the security of the United States. Therefore, after certain problems are settled in the Ukrainian emigre organizations, namely after the new Bandera has become well grounded as a successor to the organization once headed by Stefan Bandera, there is no reason why Yaroslaf Stelmaho should not be granted permission to visit the United States if he so wishes. It is believed that within a year this should come to pass, at which time this request to deny him a visitor's visa should no longer be valid.

Chief, [redacted]

SECRET

ABSTRACT OF DOCUMENT BEING CROSS FILED			CROSS FILED BY
FILE NO. 74-6-31-1344	SOURCE EGMA-18939	DATE OF DOCUMENT 5 Apr 55	ANALYST B
SUBJECT AEDAPELIN Reports - Pro-BANDERA ZCh/OUN Conference			DATE

PERTINENT INFORMATION

CROSS-REFERENCE FORM	FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

NS

SECRET 59-34

WE/5

CONTROL
U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

SECRET

ITR

[redacted]

MAY 16 1955

[redacted]

Chief, WE

Operational
Jerusalem [illegible]

Ref: [redacted] dated 15 April 1955

1. Attachments A and B to this report contain the full information received at Headquarters on Subject's trip to Madrid. With reference to Attachment B, para. 2, this is the first information received indicating a long period of negotiations, exchange of letters, etc., between the ICN OUN, ABN, and the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

2. A. [redacted]'EA mentioned in Attachment B, is undoubtedly Andre [redacted]'EA, delegate for Belgium of the Ukrainian National Council. The UN Sub Executive Organization which he is supposed to represent in Spain, is the Council of the Ukrainian Nationalist Party. The only information in Headquarters files on [redacted]'EA's activities in Spain, is a report from Paris, 16 October 1952; B source. According to this source [redacted]'EA "often goes to Madrid to assist in anti-Soviet broadcasts over the Spanish radio." The same report mentions that another informant says "[redacted]'EA will not return to Spain because, while there, he was arrested as a Soviet agent. He was released after direct intervention of agents of the British I.S. and left Madrid immediately, with no intention of returning." It is commented that the validity of this last statement is questionable because other informants claim that [redacted]'EA is honest and politically dependable.

3. The Station will be kept informed of any further reports of Ukrainian exigre activities in Spain involving the Spanish Government.

4. Headquarters would be interested in any further information Station can provide on Subject or on [redacted]'EA. CASTELON may be able to provide additional information regarding [redacted]'EA's connection with Radio Nacional.

Attach: 2
28 April 1955

[redacted]

Distribution:
3 - Madrid w/attach. [illegible]/3/W3

[redacted] C/WE/PI [redacted] /WE/3

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PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

SYETSKO, VARDSLAV
SEX M DOB ?

074-006-130/04
EGMA-17621
27 OCT 55
SER 3Y

CIT ?
OCC ?
DOCUMENT CONTAINS INFO ON SUBJS TRIP TO
MADRID IN 55

WAS 74-6-130/4

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PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB ?

EGMA-17632A01
28 OCT 55
P1

CIT ?
OCC ?
ABOUT 1952 DELEGATES OF ZCH OUN, HEADED BY YAROSLAV STETSKO WENT TO PARIS WHERE THEY HAD NEGOTIATIONS WITH VARIOUS FRENCH REPRESENTATIVES OF DE GAULLES PARTY. HOWEVER NOTHING CAME OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS.

WAS KAPOK

CORR CARD R 7101190749

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FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-60)

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DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

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PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB

EGMA-17632A40
28 OCT 55
P40

CIT ?
OCC ?
ATTACHED I AM SENDING YOU A TYPEWRITTEN COPY
AND A PHOTOCOPY OF THE ORIG LETTER OF COL
MYKOLA CHEBOTAREV TO MRS STETSKO, WIFE OF
SUBJ, PRES IF ABN, REGARDING THE INTERVENTION
OF ABN IN BEHALF OF CHEBOTAREV IN THE DP
COMMISSION IN FRANKFORT

WAS KAPOK

CORR CARD R 7101190892

FILE IN

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 0-87 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-60)

SECRET

VIA: Air

DISPATCH NO. FCTA-9491

TO : Chief, FE

DATE NOV 22 1955

FROM [redacted]

Info: [redacted]

SUBJECT: General - Operational/PSYCH/INTEL
Specific - Chinat Dealings with Representatives of ABN and NTS

References: A. ID-723
B. DIR-33054

1. Following is the gist of comments made by [redacted] at a meeting with [redacted] the [redacted] operations house on 17 November 1955, the meeting being held in compliance with [redacted] instruction and in line with request contained in para 5 of Ref B:

A. [redacted] himself had sat in on some talks held by certain Chinats with ABN representatives in October 1955 and with NTS representatives in May 1955. These talks were held by [redacted] and members of [redacted] usually [redacted] the latter in connection with [redacted] activities. [redacted] was not present when [redacted] talked with the NTS reps in May or with the ABN reps in October.

B. An NTS representative, a Dr. Redlich, is expected to arrive "soon" in Taipei for permanent residence to work with the Chinats in a joint effort against communism.

C. The head of ABN had requested and had received Chinat approval to send a permanent representative to Taiwan, but to date no word has been received as to when this representative will come or who he will be.

D. [redacted] expressed himself as concerned over what will be the NTS' reaction over the Chinats' working with both NTS and ABN, since the two groups are opposed to each other with respect to policy and aims. "We must have an answer for the NTS", he said, "when they inquire about our working with the ABN and perhaps ask: Who's double-crossing whom?"

E. Presently, the Chinats maintain contact with both the NTS and the ABN through [redacted] In anticipation of NTS questioning the Chinats regarding their working with both NTS and ABN, it is planned to let [redacted] continue contact with only NTS, and to designate another group - non - government and non - party - to work with ABN. Suggested for this designation is the Chinese People's Foreign Relations Association, the head of which is HUANG Ch'ao-ch'in, a Taiwanese.

[redacted] 22 Nov 55

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SECRET

F. If and when the NTS asks the big question re the Chinats and the ABN, the Chinats can say: "Oh, there's nothing in that to bother you. The ABN is working with the Taiwanese. That's strictly internal. The government and party are working with you (NTS) internationally, on a world scale."

G. The Chinats want to work with anybody and everybody against the Communists, and that's why they want to work with both the ABN and the NTS. However, with respect to working with one or the other, some prefer the ABN, others prefer the NTS.

H. There is considerable sympathy among the Chinats for the ABN because, among several reasons, the Chinats and the ABN use identical slogans, summed up in "Oppose Communism, Resist Russia". The ABN is particularly favored by German-educated Chinats because the ABN chief while in Taipei preferred to speak German in contacts with the Chinats. At his initial meeting with [redacted] the ABN chief said he could not speak Russian, nor Chinese, so suggested that talks be held in German. At a later meeting, however, when there seemed to be some confusion on interpretation, he switched the talking to Russian. His Russian was good enough, although interspersed with a lot of Ukranian colloquialism.

I. The ABN chief's claim that his organization has more than 400,000 supporters in Canada and considerably more in the United States holds tremendous appeal for the Chinats, who are anxious to win more sympathy for their cause everywhere, particularly in such countries as Canada and the United States. (In this connection [redacted] talked about a boost in funds for the Chinat Government Information Bureau to step up overseas publicity. This was reported in FCT-3636.)

J. Chinat contact with the ABN was initiated by Bishop Paul Yupin, who, a Catholic, was impressed with the ABN's claim to tremendous support among Catholics. Proving that there is some substance to this claim is a big office and staff which the ABN maintains in Spain.

K. The Chinats do not know the extent of help the ABN can give to the Chinat cause, but it is planned initially to supply the ABN with favorable materials for dissemination through ABN publications.

L. What the Chinats can do specifically for the ABN is not yet clear. Perhaps the ABN chief sees the collapse of communism coming sooner than anyone else expects and then he will be in a very favorable position vis-a-vis his own government (Ukrania) and so strong and powerful a government as that which the Chinats will reestablish on the China mainland.

M. With respect to the NTS, contact was first established by the Chinats at a radio conference held in Europe in 1953 (Tennille and Gonerhode at ZI are familiar with this). The Chinat reps were so favorably impressed with the work of the NTS and had such a good time while in Europe for that conference that they have since been singing the praises of the NTS and the good impression they reported was received very favorably by [redacted] and [redacted]

FOIA-9491

N. The Chinats have supplied, and plan to continue to supply, the NTS with materials for broadcast and publication.

2. [ ] also spoke at some length on the differences which keep the NTS and ABN apart - these being based primarily on the NTS' advocacy of a Greater Russia, including all alien peoples, European and Asiatic, who had been under Russian control in 1914, and the ABN's espousal of a Free Ukrania, consisting of both the western and eastern parts of the Ukraine, and of free countries to be established with non-Russian peoples presently forming parts of the USSR. Since Headquarters presumably has detailed information regarding these differences, [ ] lengthy comments on them will not be included in this dispatch.

3. Taba will endeavor to cover further developments with respect to Chinat dealings with the ABN, as requested in Refs A and B, and advise higher headquarters accordingly.

[ ]

21 November 1955

Distribution:
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3 - [illegible]
2 - [illegible]

22 Nov 55

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VIA AIR

DISPATCH NO. FOTA-9647

SECRET

DEC 8 1955

TO : Chief, FE

IN REPLY [redacted]

FROM : [redacted]

SUBJECT: General - Operational/PSTCH

Specific - Activities of Bronislaw Stetsko on Taiwan

REFERENCES: A. [redacted]
B. [redacted]

1. From [redacted] in Reference A, above. [redacted] activities during his visit to [redacted]

2. It is felt that the reports of the China News and the Chung Yang Jih Pao (Central Daily News) will reflect the official coverage given Stetsko and the reports of the China Post and the Lien Ho Pao (United Daily News) will reflect the coverage of the independent press. These newspapers were selected for the screening in order to obtain a representative sampling of local press coverage.

3. Reference B, above, contains statements relevant to Stetsko and ABN/PTS relationships as seen by the Chinese [redacted]

Attachment: Summary of press coverage on Stetsko's activities on Taiwan

5 December 1955

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[illegible] w/o attachment

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DATE 2007

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PRESS SURVEY OF YAROSLAW STETZKO

October 9

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko, leader of resistance in 17 Communist-enslaved nations and former premier of the Ukraine, is arriving here this afternoon to discuss with Free China on ways and means to form a united front of resistance behind the Iron Curtain.

Stetzko, chairman of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations having staunch followers in 17 European nations now under the rule of the Kremlin, will stay here ten days. He comes in just in time to watch tomorrow's big show of Free China strength which will be eventually hurled against the Communists.

The Ukrainian leader will call on government and civic leaders here, join in the National Day celebrations tomorrow, discuss blueprints for victory with Chinese strategists, inspect the armed forces and hold an anti-Communist meeting.

Stetzko's visit coincides with that of Herbert Hoover, Jr., whose China-reared father, former American President Herbert Hoover, headed a US mercy mission to save millions of starved Ukrainians after the first world war. The case had not been fully known but a conservative count showed that at least 3,000,000 Ukrainians died in the 1920's due to Communist persecution.

During the last war, Stetzko organized a resistance movement in the Ukraine. At one time, 500,000 people fought under his banner.

China Post Yaroslaw Stetzko, chairman of an anti-Bolshevik bloc of nations and Premier of Soviet Ukraine in 1941, is scheduled to arrive here from Hongkong today.

Coming at the invitation of the APACL (The Asian People's Anti-Communist League) Chinese Chapter, Stetzko will take part in tomorrow's National Day celebrations. For the next 10 days, he will pay a round of calls on governmental and social leaders and exchange views with APACL members. He will go down south to see China's ancient art treasures at Taichung and make a trip to the famous Sun Moon Lake.....

The anti-Communist bloc is composed of 17 anti-Communist organisations from countries enslaved by Soviet Russia, including Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Esthonia, Ukraine, and Latvia.

United Daily News At the invitation of the APACL Chinese Chapter, Yaroslaw Stetzko, chairman of an Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik league, who left Madrid for London last Friday and departed London for Hongkong yesterday morning, is expected to arrive at Taipei at noon today on a 10-day visit to Free China.

Stetzko was Premier of Ukraine in 1941, though deported later by Soviet Russia on the charge that he was leading Ukrainians in an anti-Communist movement. During World War II, he organized an anti-Communist guerrilla unit in Ukraine to rouse up the enslaved peoples of East Europe to the anti-Communist Movement. After V-E Day, his anti-Communist guerrilla unit broke up and turned into underground activities, which is now still an internal canker of the Soviet Communist regime.

The headquarters of the Anti-Bolshevik League is established in Munich, West Germany, with a history of more than ten years.

October 10

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko...flew in from Hongkong yesterday at 4:50 p.m. to attend Chinese National Day celebrations as the guest of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League China Chapter.

Stetzko called for "cooperation of uncompromised anti-Communist and anti-Russian forces of Europe and Asia". Lashing out at neutralist and wavering nations, he declared that "he who defends the co-existence with Communism and Russia becomes responsible for the crimes and aids the tyranny."

The central committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, of which Stetzko is president, is a coordinating center of liberation movements of nations which have been subjugated by Communism and Russian imperialism. Its membership consists of 19 political organisations including the Committee Free Armenia, the Bulgarian National Front, the Byelorussian Central Council, the Czech National Committee, the Hungarian Liberation Movement, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

Stetzko will stay in Free China for 11 days, during which he will visit central and southern parts of the island, and also address public gatherings. He praised Taiwan as "the island of liberty and hope for the persecuted and oppressed" and said yesterday that he was greatly honored for the opportunity to participate in Double Tenth celebrations. "Our aims are similar, and our roads of liberation are identical," he told his hosts.

United Daily News Yaroslaw Stetzko...yesterday told the press at the airport that he believes the Communist bloc can be defeated earlier if East European nations enslaved by Soviet Russia wish to struggle against the Communists in cooperation with the anti-Communist nations in Asia. He declared that Free World nations would be unable to co-exist with Soviet Russia under any circumstances. Among the Soviet people, he pointed out, only 80,000,000 are Russians, and the other 120,000,000 are of different races unwilling to follow the Russians; the imperialist Russia would eventually collapse if Free World peoples do not collaborate with Russians at any cost.

Originally Stetzko was scheduled to come here to attend the 2nd APACL meeting as an observer at the invitation of the APACL China Chapter, but failed to show up on account of illness.

Central Daily News Stetzko called on CHANG Yen-yuan (1728/3508/0337), chief of the 6th section of the KMT Central Committee, and HUANG, Ch'ao-ch'in (7806/2600/3830), chairman of the Chinese People's Foreign Relations Association, yesterday morning, and Legislative Yuan President CHANG Tao-fan (1728/6670/5672) and CHU Chia-hua (2612/1367/7520), chairman of the World Federation of United Nations Associations, in the afternoon. In the evening, he was the guest of the Foreign Relations Association at a dinner party. His schedule for today will be calls on the Mainland Broadcasting Department of the Central Broadcasting Station and Governor Yen in the morning, a luncheon by CHANG Yen-yuan, calls on Premier O.K. Yu, CHIANG Ching-kuo, Director of the National Salvation Corps, and Mayor KAO Yu-shu in the afternoon, and a dinner party by CHU Chia-hua in the evening.

Stetzko had a 50-minute talk with President of Legislative Yuan yesterday to exchange views on anti-Communist cooperation, and an half-hour talk with HUANG Ch'ao-ch'in and CH'IU Han-p'ing (8003/3353/1627), secretary general of the Foreign Relations Association. He declared that he would cooperate with all anti-Communist organizations of Free China, overseas and domestic, to free the Chinese people now on the mainland and behind Iron Curtain, overthrow the international Communism, and lay a foundation for an ever-lasting peace of the world. He will, he added, establish closer relationship with the Chinese People's Foreign Relations Association to exchange anti-Communist information, and constantly baffle the Chicom attempt of getting into the United Nations. Finally, he signed a document written in German to express his determination of fighting for anti-Communist cause in collaboration with the Foreign Relations Association.

October 11

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko...paid courtesy calls on Acting Foreign Minister SHEN Ch'ang-huan (3088/2490/3562), Legislative Yuan President CHANG Tao-fan, and Provincial Assembly Speaker HUANG Ch'ao-ch'in this morning. Stetzko will be the guest of Speaker Huang at dinner tonight.

The Ukrainian Anti-Communist leader will leave for southern Taiwan Thursday to visit armed forces bases.

October 13

United Daily News Dr. Yaroslaw Stetzko called on Premier O.K. Yu at 4.30 p.m. yesterday. During their 15-minute talk, Premier Yu emphasized the firm anti-Communist stand of Free China, and Stetzko told the Premier that the anti-Bolshevik organization under his leadership would cooperate with Free China to fight for the anti-Communist cause and to exchange anti-Communist experience and information. After the conversation, Stetzko told the press that there were several viewpoints in common between Premier Yu and him. They both considered that the cooperative strength of Free World Nations was not enough to stand against the Communist aggression, and that the weak-point of the Free World nations had been disagreement with one another.

Stetzko also had a 15-minute talk with Governor Yen yesterday morning, and called on CHANG Yen-yuan to exchange views on anti-Communist psychological warfare. At 10.30 yesterday morning, he visited the Mainland Broadcasting Department of the Central Broadcasting Station to discuss how to cooperate for a Broadcasting toward the Communist Chin

Stetzko is scheduled to visit central and southern parts of Taiwan this morning, and is due back here on October 15.

The APACL China Chapter will sponsor a forum on October 17 for Stetzko to exchange views with Chinese leaders of various circles.

Central Daily News Stetzko visited the headquarters of the Chinese Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps yesterday. He was received by HU Kuei (5170/6510), deputy director of the said corps, and other section chiefs. During their talks, they introduced to each other the nature, task, and present anti-Communist operation of their respective organizations. Stetzko showed his respect to the heroic anti-Communist spirit of the Chinese youth, and emphasized that the anti-Bolshevik League would fight together with Chinese youth against the Communists and Russians.

October 16

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko, president of the central committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, will talk on a united anti-Communist front by Eastern and Western peoples at 3 p.m. October 18 at the City Hall.

The open forum is sponsored by the China Chapter of the Asian People's anti-Communist League. Discussions will include the Russians' intrigue of "peaceful coexistence" and their internal unrest, anti-Communist campaign behind the iron curtain, and how to unite the peoples east and west for liberating their brethren from under the Soviet rule.

China Post The APACL Chinese Chapter is sponsoring a public forum on the general subject of how to promote anti-Communism among Eastern and Western peoples at the City Hall at 3.00 p.m. next Tuesday. Mr. Yaroslaw Stetzko will be the principal speaker at the forum.

October 17

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko...returned to Taipei yesterday after a five-day tour of southern Taiwan visiting the Tsoying naval base, new industries and life of workers and farmers. He went to Taoyuan this morning to observe results of Free China's land reform program.

The former Ukrainian prime minister who organized his countrymen against both Nazi invaders and Russian Communists during the last war said yesterday, "All of the 12,000,000 non-Russians within the USSR are opposed to the Kremlin and would arise against the tyranny if given a chance." The main purpose of his visit, Stetzko said, is to establish and maintain contact with the Asian People's Anti-Communist League, on behalf of his Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

He called for a "common organization or liaison center between anti-Bolshevik peoples of the East and the West, to exchange information and to map out a combined strategy in our common fight against world Communism." "I hope that my visit here will mark the beginning of cooperation between the APACL and the ABBN," he concluded.

Stetzko is scheduled to call on Acting Foreign Minister SHIEH Ch'ang-huan this afternoon.

China Post Yaroslaw Stetzko advocated an East-West center to streamline consolidated tactics and strategy for fighting against international Communism..... Stetzko said that the anti-Communist movement in Europe has long been formed... He also urged that the Asian peoples should forget their old wounds and join hand in hand to fight the Communists.

October 18

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko will be the principal guest of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League open forum sponsored by the China Chapter at 3.00 p.m. today at the City Hall on "Uniting the People's of East and West in the Anti-Communist Struggle."

Leaders of Chinese political parties, cultural and economic organizations have also been invited to attend. KU Cheng-kang, chairman of the APACL's China Chapter, will preside.

Stetzko...visited JCRR projects and the land-to-the-tiller program in Taoyuan yesterday. In the afternoon, he met with representatives of the 14,000 ex-POW's from Korea and exchanged with them experiences of Communist tactics.

United Daily News Accompanied by HU Cheng-lei (0149/1125/7191), deputy director of Taiwan Provincial Land Administration Bureau, and LIU Te-chih (0491/1795/2535) of the APACL China Chapter, Yaroslaw Stetzko went to Taoyuan yesterday morning to observe the results of Free China's land reform program and call at local farmhouses. After the visit, Stetzko lauded the land reform carried out in Free China as the most perfect, most reasonable, and most successful policy in the world, saying that the land reform results should be widely publicized for other Free world nations to learn something from it. He pointed out that the so-called land reform enforced by the USSR for her East European satellites was to industrialize agriculture and strengthen her control over the peoples through collective farms, and absolutely not to raise the farmer's living standard as it is now materialized in Free China. The successful land reform, he added, would be the main factor for Free China's victory over Communism and the Russians in the future.

Stetzko yesterday was entertained to luncheon by HSU Chung-te (1776/1504/1795), magistrate of Taoyuan Hsien, who also accompanied Stetzko to visit farmhouses. He returned to Taipei at 2 p.m., interviewed anti-Communist loyalists at 3 p.m. and called on SHEN Ch'ang-huan, Vice Minister of Foreign Ministry, p.m. for a 30-minute talk.

President Chiang will give audience to Stetzko at 10 a.m. today, and the APACL will sponsor a forum from 3 pm. to 6pm. at the City Hall for Stetzko to discuss anti-Communist problems with Chinese political leaders and experts on anti-Communist strategy. At 7 p.m., Stetzko will interview some pro-freedom crewmen of the Russian tanker "Tuapse".

Central Daily News ...Stetzko interviewed two farmers, K'ANG Liang (1660/5328) and LI Kuei (2621/6311). When asked about their opinion on the land reform, LI Kuei said, "Our life has been stabilized since the land reform. We are now making every effort to increase agricultural production. We also raise many hogs, chickens, and rabbits as our sideline to earn some extra money." "Our kids", he added, "have now more chances to go to school for education."...

October 19

China News President Chiang Kai-shek yesterday granted an audience to Yaroslaw Stetzko...The President welcomed Stetzko's visit, expressed hope for closer cooperation in the anti-Communist campaign and wished the anti-Bolshevik leader success.

Stetzko expressed his confidence in Free China's cause of liberating the mainland. He said the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations would come up with moral support and coordinate with Free China's efforts once the bugle of counterattack is sounded.

The free Ukraine leader praised the progress made in Free China as encouraging examples. "The success of land reform here can serve as a guide for the eastern European peoples to follow in dealing with land problems after liberation." He said he was deeply impressed with the military might and social stability he observed during his short stay here.

At an open forum sponsored by the APACL yesterday afternoon, Stetzko said the free world can help avert an atomic global war if peoples suffering under Soviet yoke are aided in their liberation movements. He said there are widespread revolts behind the iron curtain.

The forum ended with three conclusions calling on the free nations to concert their efforts, pleading for support to anti-Communist campaigns behind the iron curtain and advocating the formation of a world anti-Communist league. The peaceful coexistence was branded as a Soviet intrigue to divide the democratic world and soothe its own internal unrest

Stetzko is speaking to students of Free China on the life under Soviet rule and anti-Communist campaigns behind the iron curtain at 4 p.m. today at the City Hall. The lecture is sponsored by the China Youth Anti-Communist and National Salvation Corps.

October 20

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko...said Taiwan is the symbol of victory in the world's anti-Communist campaign. At a public speech yesterday, he lauded Free China as the beam of hope for not only Asia, but also the whole world. "The unflinching anti-Communist stand of Free China has towered as a guide to the world's struggle against Communism."

Addressing a gathering of over 2,000 Chinese college and middle school students at the City Hall, Stetzko said "Today people in Free China have won freedom, and I believe peoples the world over will also enjoy free life in the foreseeable future."

The ex-premier of Ukraine condemned the Soviet plot of peaceful coexistence. "There will be no peace on earth as long as the Soviet aggressors exist." He said peoples fighting Communism should hold their fate in their own hands. "Our own freedom and liberty should not be traded for 'peaceful coexistence' with Russia."

At the forum sponsored by the China Youth Anti-Communist and National Salvation Corps, Stetzko said the youths of China and Ukraine are not fighting their battle alone. "Although the anti-Communist campaign has not yet won common support by democratic nations", he said, "youths of the world will eventually come to our assistance."

Reporting on the life behind the iron curtain, Stetzko said at least some 30,000,000 people have been massacred under the Soviet rule, and still more are either exiled or thrown into concentration camps. He predicted widespread revolts will burst out when the opportune moment arrives.

October 21

China News Vice President Chen Cheng yesterday received Yaroslaw Stetzko...and exchanged views with the latter on anti-Communist activities in the East and West. Stetzko praised the land reform in Taiwan as highly successful and worthwhile for many European countries to follow.

The free Ukrainian leader is scheduled to meet ex-POW's from Korea today. He will be the guest at an APACL forum this afternoon. Stetzko will leave for Europe on Oct.23.

China Post Vice President Chen Cheng Stetzko...in an hour talk yesterday.

October 22

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko... is meeting the press at 3p.m. today at the Railway Hostel to report on the impression of his visit to Free China. Stetzko is returning to Europe tomorrow.

United Daily News Yaroslaw Stetzko yesterday told the ex-POW's that the anti-Communist work under way in Free China was the most important ring of the world's anti-Communist struggle. "President Chiang knows not only the historical development of Soviet Russia but also the strategy and tactics used by Soviet Communists for world domination. I believe the struggle under the leadership of the well-experienced President will win the final victory in the anti-Communist war and national revolution as predicted by President Chiang." When calling on the 14,000 freedom-seeking ex-POW's, Stetzko lauded their daring action in breaking the iron curtain for freedom as a significant event not only in Free China and Free Asia but also in the free world. "This would tell the whole world that the 450 million freedom-loving Chinese people behind the iron curtain will certainly fight for freedom in the future and do their part in the forthcoming counterattack of Free China."

After visiting the ex-POW's Psychological Warfare Material Office, Stetzko stated that psychological warfare would be the most important work against the Communists. "Most of the people under the Communist rule are anti-Communist, but they feel they are isolated because the iron curtain has prevented them from knowing the real situation in the free world. Only by means of psychological warfare can we build up their confidence in seeking freedom and let them know that our present work will bring them some hope."

In analyzing the anti-Communist resistance movement in Soviet Russia and her satellites Stetzko said, "Among Ukrainians and Caucasians, who have long been ruled by the Communists, there are still anti-Communist activities with sabotage against their Communist regimes. This anti-Communist strength may be utilized to disturb the Soviet Proper when the free world forces match against Moscow."

. . In answer to a question about living conditions of the peoples in Soviet Russia and other satellites, Stetzko said, "In the area under the Russian Communist rule for 30 years, the people have not had their living conditions improved. It is much worse than that under the Czar. For instance, Ukrainians did stand against the famine systematically created by the Russian Communists in 1932-1933. There were 8,000,000 who died of starvation within a year. Five million of them were Ukrainians, and the rest Caucasians. At that time no bread could be obtained in Ukraine, though it was the granary of Europe. Even laborers were unable to get any. The satellities were equally suffering from starvation."

In conclusion, Stetzko declared that Free China had obtained excellent results in her military, economic and political buildup. "Free China's armed forces are the greatest strength among the anti-Communist nations in Far East, taking no compromising attitude in the anti-Communist war. They are not only well-equipped but also in high morale. All the reformation accomplished by Free China will be good enough to win over the people oppressed by the Communists on the mainland."

October 23

China Post A force built on the conceptions of self-determination and social equality by the Free World is stronger than that built on an atomic bomb, said a staunch anti-Communist leader of Europe yesterday.

Yaroslaw Stetzko...reiterated his political beliefs in a press conference held at the Taiwan Railway Hotel yesterday afternoon.

The visiting anti-Communist leader of Ukraine told Free China's newsmen that President Chiang Kai-shek who has had 30 years experience in fighting against Communism is a great leader of the Chinese people. He also highly commended the political, economic, military and social progress made by the Chinese Government on this island.

Pointing out the weakness of Soviet Russia, he said more than three-fifths of the peoples in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics are oppressed minorities and are fighting against the despotic rulers of the Kremlin. In Siberian and Vladivostok concentration camps, he said, the slave laborers are all anti-Communist "heroes". Thus, he believes not only the island of Taiwan is a stepping stone back to the Chinese mainland, but also the northern part of Asia is an ideal springboard for any eventual counteroffensive action provided unity and coordination can be worked out.

Stetzko is scheduled to depart here for Europe tomorrow.

United Daily News In a 1-hour press conference, Stetzko repeatedly explained that anti-Communist operation should be equipped with a lofty ideal, i.e. to fight for the independence and freedom of the oppressed peoples.

October 24

United Daily News Stetzko who was scheduled to leave for Europe yesterday postponed his departure until tomorrow because of the airliner's delay. He will continue his discussion with Chinese authorities concerned on how to establish a proper contact system between Free China and his anti-Bolshevik bloc.

October 27

China News Yaroslaw Stetzko.. yesterday donated US$100 for the relief of Chinese people on the mainland. The Free China Relief Association has accepted the donations and wrote the Ukrainian leader of its appreciations.

October 28

United Daily News Yaroslaw Stetzko...accompanied by HUANG Yu (7806/0147), secretary of the Ministry of Interior, arrived at Keelung from Taipei at 12:30 yesterday. YANG Lung-hu (2799/7127/4375), director of Construction Bureau in Keelung, acted as a guide to show Stetzko the Ship-Building Company and the Tunghsin (2639/0207) Public School. Stetzko left for Taipei at 4 p.m.

Stetzko made a farewell broadcast through the Chinese Broadcasting Company from 6:30 p.m. to 6:43 p.m. yesterday. He is scheduled to leave Taiwan for West Europe via Hongkong today.

October 29

China Post Yaroslaw Stetzko...left here for Europe yesterday after more than a fortnight's visit to Free China.

United Daily News Yaroslaw Stetsko left Taipei for Europe by Thailand Airlines at 7:30 a.m. yesterday. Sent off by KU Cheng-kang, chairman of the APACL China Chapter, Stetsko made a written statement to laud the progress of Free China.

Central Daily News In his farewell statement, Stetsko said that Taiwan had been an island under the Japanese reign in the past, but now is not only an anti-Communist stronghold under the leadership of President Chiang Kai-shek but also the Mecca of the Asian peoples.

CFE

VIA: AIR (Specify air or sea pouch) Dispatch No. FCDA-1979

CLASSIFICATION

DEC 27 1955

To : Chief, FE Date

From : [redacted] INFO: [redacted]

SUBJECT: GENERAL- Intelligence/ [redacted]
SPECIFIC- Transmittal of Report on Yaroslaw Stetsko

1. Forwarded herewith is FCS-329, from FCT-3692, containing information on Yaroslaw Stetsko.

2. This report is submitted for your retention and possible use in research.

for [redacted]

Enclosure:
FCS-329

23 December 1955

Distribution:
3 - Chief, FE, w/encl in 1 cy.
1 - [redacted] w/o encl.

1 Encl. INDEX

27 Dec 55
[redacted]

CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR 1946

Enclosure to FCSA-1979

2P

FCT-3592

3

5 December 1955

[ ]

Yaroslaw STETZKO

FCS-329

1 December 1955

Late October 1955

Late October 1955

Dist: Taipemb

[ ]

[ ]

Yaroslaw STETZKO, Chairman of the Central Committee, of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, arrived Taiwan 9 October 1955 as a guest of the China Chapter of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League for the 10 October Holiday. Subsequently, he made inspection trips to various parts of Taiwan. He departed Taiwan 23 October 1955.

Received by Intell 2 December 1955

Encl. 1 INDEX

CS COPY

27 Dec 55

[ ]

FESA-1979

SECRET/CONTROL - U. S. OFFICIALS ONLY
CONTROLLED AMERICAN SOURCE

December 1955

FCT-3692. Dist: Taipeh. Source: Japanese educated Chinese Nationalist with access to mid-level Chinese Govt officials (F). Date Of Information: Late October 1955. Appraisal of Content: 3 .

Yaroslaw STETZKO

1. Late October 1955, Mr Larikov, FBD a white Russian, one time resident of Ukraine, who is an employee of the Ordnance Department, Ministry of National Defense, since WWII days in Chungking stated that:

   A. To the best of his knowledge he had never heard of a politician named STETZKO in Ukraine, unless STETZKO is a Galician.

   B. According to a former crew member of the Soviet tanker Tuapse' STETZKO does not speak perfect Ukrainian.

   C. Most of the white Russians in Taipei are very dubious about STETZKO and consider him more as an opportunist.

2. According to CHU Hsin-min (2612/2450/5046), Deputy of the Government Information Bureau, Stetzko was very favorably recommended by Bishop YU Pin (0060/2430) who was very much impressed with STETZKO's big office in Madrid.

27 Dec 55

SECRET/CONTROL - U.S. OFFICIALS ONLY

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

199

31 JAN 56

SECRET

ROUTING

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

TO : DIRECTOR

*STETSKO, YAROSLAV

FROM : [ ]

ACTION: FE 7

INFO : I&R, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC, CI/OA, FI/RI 2, S/C 2

MICROFILMED
JUN 20 1963
DOC. MICRO. SEC.

[ ]23 (IN 17700) 15352 31 JAN 56

ROUTINE
PRECEDENCE

TO: DIR

CITE: [ ]

SQUDGE

1. JAROSLAV STECKO HAS APPLIED FOR VISITORS VISA AUSTRALIA. APPLICATION RECEIVED THRU ANTI-BOLSHEVIK NATIONS FRIENDSHIP SOCIETY AUSTRALIA organization AND STATES SUBJ WAS WORLD PRES OF SOCIETY AND UKRAINIAN.

2. SUBJ PRESENTLY VISITING FORMOSA AS GUEST KU CHEN KANT, PRES ASIAN ANTI-COMMIE LEAGUE.

3. [ ] REQUESTS TRACE ON SUBJ AND CABLE REPLY.

END OF MESSAGE

INDEX

CS COPY

23 MAR 1956

SECRET

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE Copy No.

628

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

SECRET

ROUTING

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

UNIT : FE/LAB
EXT : 4320
DATE : 14 FEBRUARY 1956

TO : MELBOURNE

°STETSKO, YAROSLAV

FROM : DIRECTOR

CONF : FE 7

INFO : 16R, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC, CI/OA, FI/RI 2, SR 3, S/C 2

MICROFILMED
JUN 20 1963
DOC. MICRO. SER.

DIR 37869 (OUT 69029) 21 44Z 14 FEB 56

ROUTINE
PRECEDENCE

CITE: DIR

TO: [ ]

RE: [ ] 323 (IN 17900)

SQUIRE

1. IDEN HEADS ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC NATIONS AND CONCURRENTLY IS DEPUTY TO BANDERA WHO LEADS UKRAINIAN TERRORIST SUBGROUP WITHIN ABN. ACTIVITIES THERE CROSS FOR COMMUNIST INTERESTS ODACID/KURARE.

2. FYI only SMOTH FORMERLY USED BANDERA-STECKO GROUP BUT DROPPED THEM 54 SINCE WHEN TIME THEY SEEM HAVE BEEN SOLICITING FUNDS, WORKING ARRANGEMENTS WITH VARIOUS FREE WORLD GROUPS. [ ] could check Smoth for opinion.

3. IF STECKO GIVEN VISA WOULD APPRECIATE DETAILED REPORT ACTIVITIES THERE.

END OF MESSAGE

ABSTRACT X INDEX X
DATE

INDEX

CS COPY

SR/3/WS

COORDINATING OFFICERS

SECRET

RELEASING OFFICER

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE Copy No.

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

SEA H DOB ?

074-124-029/03
EGMA-19377A01
20 FEB 56

CIT ?
OCC ?
KASHUBA [ ] CELEBRATED CHRISTMANS
IN INNSBRUCK AT THE RESIDENCE OF GSYP
TYUSHKA THAT HE TRAVELED THERE TOGETHER
WITH SUBJ WHO DEPARTED 05 JAN 56. SUBJ
POSSIBLY INVOLVED WITH DISAPPERANCE OF SKOB

WAS KAPOK

R 7004220119

FILE IN [ ]

19. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 867 SEE PREVIOUS EDITIONS. SECRET (7-60)

VIA AIR

DISPATCH NO. FCT-1816

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO Chief, FE

DATE [illegible] 25 1956

FROM [redacted]

INFO: [redacted]

SUBJECT [redacted] Intelligence
[redacted] Additional Information on Yaroslaw STETZKO

Reference: A: FCTH-1343
B: FCT-3[illegible] (FCD 3[illegible]) NO
C: ID-[illegible]23

MICROFILMED
JUN 20 1983
DOC. MICRO. SEC.

Chief, FE Action Required:

For your information

[redacted] Required:

None

In reply to reference A evaluation comments on reference B, the following information is forwarded:

A. The crew member who considered that STETZKO's Ukrainian was imperfect is Vladimir [illegible]VICH, who is now using the alias [illegible]VIMDERIVSKY while in Taipei.

B. According to Georgi [illegible]ARTIKV, the reasons why the White Russians in Taipei are dubious concerning STETZKO are that they are not sure what he is trying to accomplish and they consider him to be an opportunist because he was reported to have worked with the Nazis during the occupation of the Ukraine.

[redacted]

21 April 1956

Distribution:
3 - CFE
2 - C/FE

INDEX

[redacted]

COPY
SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

24439

25 Apr 56

[redacted]

[illegible] 51-28A

[ ] 13 June 1956 SOURCE STATE

Memorandum

13 June 56

Subject: STETZKO, Yaroslav aka Wasyl DANKIW

2. The files of this office contain no additional information concerning the subject of the request subsequent to that which was forwarded to the Department of State in SO DB- 42582 dated 30 August 1951, subject: DANKIW, Wasyl and in SO DB - 44664a dated 3 December 1951, subject: DANKIW, Anna nee MUZYKA aka STETZKO. However, Subject's primary purpose in requesting a visa, in all probability, is to strengthen the influence of his emigre group (OUN/Bandera) which, although strongly anti- Communist, has engaged in methods considered objectionable by this Agency and has furthered objectives detrimental to the interests of this Agency.

Based on [ ]

Prepared by [ ] SR
Memorandum devised per
CI/Liaison Staff
June 1956.

[ ]

2 F

IN COPY

secret | no form | control

AIR POUCH — CONFIDENTIAL (Security Classification)

DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE 761.00/6-1556

State

FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM Amembassy, MADRID — 1367 DESP.

TO THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. — June 15, 1956 DATE

REF -

1509734

For Dept. Use Only — ACTION DEPT EUR-5 RMR-2 OLI-6 U/OP-1 P-1 NO-1 SCA-2 — REC'D OTHER 6-20 CIA-7 OCB-1 USIA-10

SUBJECT: Conversation with Former Ukrainian Prime Minister Yaroslav STETZKO.

Upon the warm recommendation of the Chinese Ambassador to Spain, Dr. YU Tsung-Chi, Ambassador LODGE received the call of Mr. Yaroslav STETZKO, whose visiting card describes him as former Ukrainian Prime Minister and President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). Mr. Stetzko has his home in Munich, at Zeppelinstrasse 67, but had been visiting Spain to attend the recent Fifth Meeting of the European Center of Documentation and Information, on which a separate report is being prepared.

During the course of the conversation, Mr. Stetzko, who was accompanied by Mr. Wladimiro PASTUSCHUK, a Ukrainian who has been living in Spain for some eight years, stated the conviction of his group that Russian imperialism is the real threat to world peace, and that communism, bad as it is, is only the current weapon used by the Russians to further their aims of world domination. The elimination of communism, were it not accompanied by the disintegration of the Russian "Empire", would solve no problem. He requested information regarding American groups or individuals who share this point of view.

A further meeting was arranged between the two Ukrainians and the reporting officer. The former reiterated their point of view, and added that it was extremely discouraging to the various national minorities within the Soviet Union to realize that their hopes of achieving autonomy were not generally favored by the United States. They found it strange that the United States should contemplate with relative equanimity the break-up of the French, British and Dutch colonial empires, while there seemed to be no intention of freeing areas such as the Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia and Turkestan from the Russian yoke. In Mr. Stetzko's opinion, which he expressed before the European Center of Documentation, the only way the West can prevail against the Soviet Union is to bring about the latter's collapse from within. He developed this idea to the reporting officer by stating that the underground movement in the Ukraine is a very real force, and that his organization is the only one which is in contact with the leaders of the movement, with whom it communicates by means of couriers.

TJDuffield:smb — CONFIDENTIAL

INFORMATION COPY
Retain in divisional files or destroy in accordance with security

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

He felt that it would be extremely helpful if the United States could assist in the transportation of these couriers, and in providing them with appropriate currency for use in Eastern Europe. At present, they are obliged to obtain this currency on the black market, and there have been several instances in which the notes secured by them were later found to be counterfeit.

In the opinion of Mr. Pastuschuk, the reluctance of the United States to encourage local nationalism within the Soviet Union can be traced in large part to a number of American bankers who still hold obligations of Czarist Russia, and who retain hopes that these obligations might some day be honored by a Russian government which would succeed the Soviets. He insisted that this was a fact, although it might sound ridiculous. These bankers, he confided, "had the ear of the State Department."

Ukrainians in Spain number about fifty. They are not molested by the Spanish Government, but they do not receive any particular encouragement.

Mr. Stetzko stated that he had been encountering difficulties in securing a non-immigrant visa from the American Consulate General in Munich. Otherwise, he had been able to travel fairly widely, and had made trips to most of Western Europe, and also to the Far East, where he visited Taiwan, South Korea and South Vietnam. In this latter connection, he asserted that the Asians today consider the Americans as their only friends in the West.

With regard to his personal background, he expressed surprise that his unblemished record as a foe both of Nazism and of Communism should not have secured for him favorable consideration such as was extended by the United States several years ago to Mr. Ferenc NAGY, former Prime Minister of Hungary, whose past he considered somewhat less savory than his own. He concluded, however, that this attitude was not directed against him personally, but was simply in keeping with the general disinclination of the United States to favor nationalist aspirations of minorities within the Soviet Union. He volunteered the information that he had sought to secure backing from HITLER at the time of the German invasion of the Ukraine, but that the Nazi leader had preferred to send him to Sachsenhausen Concentration Camp. The Germans, he asserted, had made blunder after blunder in their handling of the Ukrainians, executing a number of them without rime or reason, in spite of the fact that the Ukrainian components of the Red Army had obviously given ground on the front to favor the German advance, which they hoped at first would lead to their final liberation from Russian domination. A free Ukraine, he believed, would be an eminently democratic nation, with a two-party system similar to that existing in the United States. It would be prepared to maintain peaceful relations with a Russia freed from Communism, and especially

one which had been cut down to its proper size.

Finally, Messrs. Stetzko and Pastuschuk suggested that the United States could do a great deal in the cause of freedom by sponsoring, openly or covertly, a refugee organization located in Spain or some other appropriate country, preferably at some distance from the U.S.S.R. and its satellites, which could serve as a propaganda mouthpiece for the cause of the minority groups in the Soviet Union and possibly maintain contacts with the underground groups in that country. They added that the current activities of Radio Free Europe and especially of Radio Liberation tended to defeat the purposes of ABN, and that a different approach was needed if the fight against Russian imperialism was to be successful.

For the Ambassador:

Roswell D. McClelland

Roswell D. McClelland
First Secretary of Embassy

cc: Amcongen, Munich
Amcongen, Frankfort (For SHD)

VIA AIR POUCH
(Specify Air or Sea Pouch)

DISPATCH NO. OSMA-5985

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief, WE

DATE JAN 21 1956

FROM : [redacted]

INFO: COS, Frankfurt

SUBJECT | GENERAL - Operational/QUICKLIME
| SPECIFIC - Visit to Madrid - Jaroslav STETZKO

1. Attached is copy of a report prepared by Thomas J. Duffield, Second Secretary of Embassy, concerning a visit recently made to the Embassy by Yaroslav STETZKO, President of the Anti-Bolshevist Bloc of Nations (ABN).

2. The reported purpose of STETZKO's trip to Madrid was to attend the Fifth Meeting of the Centro Europeo de Documentacion e Informacion (CEDI) which was held 4-7 June in El Escorial. [redacted] reported, however, that on 18 June STETZKO called on Jose Angel CASTRO Farinas, Chief of Eastern European broadcasts, to request ABN representation on Radio Nacional broadcasts to the Ukraine.

3. [redacted] explained that Wladimiro PASTUSCHUK (Vladymiro PSTUSZCZHUK), a member of the ABN residing in Spain, had been a Radio Nacional collaborator but was "fired" about three weeks ago by Castro. According to Castelon, PASTUSCHUK had created considerable dissension in the Ukrainian Section over the broadcast line followed by Bohdan CYMBALISTYJ, who is chief of the section. STETZKO offered to replace PASTUSCHUK with another ABN man, but Castro stalled him off, advising that Radio Nacional does not select personnel according to membership in emigre organizations.

4. Castro later consulted with [redacted] on the question of STETZKO/ABN collaboration with Radio Nacional. [redacted] then advised against accepting ABN participation since STETZKO is a political extremist and was responsible for the murder of "thousands of Ukrainians" during the Nazi occupation of the Ukraine. This, according to [redacted], was enough to convince Castro that STETZKO is an undesirable.

5. At first opportunity, [redacted], informally discussed STETZKO's proposal with [redacted] who immediately agreed with [redacted] that ABN should be denied collaboration. Following this conversation, [redacted] made his...

INDEX

CS COPY

CLASSIFICATION

21 Jan 56

[redacted]

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

made his views known to Castro.

6. [ ] believes that Castro will give STETZKO an outright refusal, should the latter return to Radio Nacional to press the matter further.

7. [ ] has been instructed to keep [ ] fully informed on any future negotiations between Castro and STETZKO.

8. Headquarters Action Requested: Bring this dispatch and attachment to the attention of the KE and SR Divisions for information.

[ ]

Attachment:
1. Report. - NSM

20 June 1956

Distribution:
3 - Wash w/1 cy. att.
1 - Fran w/1 cy. att.
2 - Files w/1 cy. att.

N COPY
[ ]

AIR

SR

KUQA-5015

Chief of Base, Munich

19 July 1956

Chief of Station, Germany

INFO: MOB
KE (SR)

Operational/QUICKLINE

Visit to Madrid - Jaroslav STUTZMC

Reference: QMMA 5285, dated 21 June 1956

A copy of reference is forwarded herewith for your information.

[ ]

Attachment:
As noted above

Distribution:
2 - MOB (w/2 atts)
2 - SR (w/o att)
1 - KE (w/o att)

RI COPY [ ]

VIA AIR POUCH
(Specify Air or Sea Pouch)

DISPATCH NO. OSMA-

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

TO : Chief, WE

DATE 7 SEP 56

FROM [redacted]

INFO: COS, Frankfurt

SUBJECT | GENERAL - Intelligence
| SPECIFIC - Yaroslav STETZKO

ACTION REQUESTED: Bring attached letter to the attention of interested Desks.

1. Attached hereto are copies in Spanish and English of a letter which subject wrote to the U.S. Ambassador in Madrid, requesting his assistance in gaining entrance to the U.S. Of possible interest to Headquarters is the agreement which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) concluded in October 1955 with the Anti-Communist League of Asian Nations, Nationalist China (APACLROC).

2. Also attached for Headquarters information is a copy of name check on subject prepared by Research for the Consular Section.

3. According to T. J. Duffield of the Political Section, subject brought up the question of obtaining a U.S. visa when he called on Ambassador Lodge in June (see OSMA-5285). At that time, subject was advised that consular officials in Munich had jurisdiction for granting him a U.S. visa. Because he received a verbal reply, the Embassy does not plan to take any action on subject's letter.

[redacted]

Attachments:
1. Spanish text of letter.
2. English translation of letter.
3. Memo to Consulate.

6 September 1956

Distribution:
3 - WE w/2 cys. ea. att.
1 - Fran w/1 cy. att. No. 2.
2 - Files w/1 cy. ea. att.

SECRET
CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

[redacted]

NE
ALT. #2

August 15, 1966

MEMORANDUM

TO: Consular Section

FROM: Research

SUBJECT: Yaroslaw STETZKO (Jaroslav STETZKO)

Reference your recent request for a name check on subject individual, our files contain the following information:

1. STETZKO was born in Tarnopol, Poland (Polish Ukraine) on 19 January 1912. He completed grammar and high school in Tarnopol in 1929, after which he studied at the Universities of Lwow and Krakow. During his university period he became a member of the OUN(Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and worked in its headquarters in Lwow.

2. In the 1932-33 famine, STETZKO organized an anti-Soviet demonstration in Lwow which ended in the assassination of the Soviet Consul General there. In 1934 he was sentenced with Stefan BANDERA, a violent anti-Soviet, to five years' imprisonment for conspiracy against the Polish Government. He was released by general amnesty in 1936.

3. On 30 June 1941, after the war began, STETZKO, acting with BANDERA, proclaimed an independent Ukrainian State with himself as Prime Minister. He and BANDERA were arrested by the Germans for their activities. They refused to cooperate with the Germans and were kept in prison until 1945 when they managed to escape with the aid of OUN agents.

4. STETZKO became a leader in the OUN in 1945. When it split into two factions, OUN/Melnyk and OUN/Bandera, he followed the more radical group headed by Stefan BANDERA. In 1946, he became president of the A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) and brought this group under the control of the OUN/Bandera faction.

5. The A.B.N. claims to have been organized in the Ukraine in the fall of 1943 through the efforts of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. The basic idea of the A.B.N. is the union politically of all the non-Russian peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and of Asia against Russian imperialism whatever its shape or line. The ultimate

goal of the A.B.N....

: the A.B.N. is the creation of a series of national sovereign upon the complete and unconditional dissolution of the Soviet The A.B.N. now maintains its headquarters in Munich, Germany. .ishes anti-Soviet propaganda and allegedly engages in underground :ies into Iron Curtain areas.

. STETZKO travels constantly in his work for the organization.) he expressed a desire to hold an A.B.N. congress in the United . Although he is completely anti-Communist, and his presence in ited States could not be considered a security threat, he was d a visa to make this trip.

7. Early in 1954 the OUN in the Ukraine ordered the reorganization ı counterpart operating outside the Ukraine, the ZCHOUN. The ZCHOUN be headed by a triumvirate, including Stefan BANDERA. BANDERA ed with the reorganization plan bringing about the split of the ıts the ZCHOUN and the ZCHOUN/Bandera. STETZKO continued to BANDERA.

Distribution:
Orig - Consulate
2 - Wash
2 - Files

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Munich 8, Zeppelinstraße 67. Tel. 61060—292310 · Cablegram Address: ABN Tel 61060 Munich

No.

Munich

Madrid, 11 de Junio de 1956

Excelencia : -

La crítica situación existente hoy día dentro de la U.R.S.S. brinda posibilidades de desintegración del sistema comunista desde dentro, creando oportunidad para las revoluciones nacionales de los pueblos oprimidos por Rusia, con el fín de reconstituirse como Estados nacionales independientes, basados en la moral religiosa, en la justicia social y en la libertad del individuo.

Con el fin de coordinar el frente mundial contra el comunismo y el imperialismo ruso y mejorar su compenetración desde todas las partes en la esfera de las influencias comunistas, el ABN ha firmado, en Octubre del pasado año, un acuerdo con la Liga Anticomunista de los Pueblos de Asia, República de China (APACLROC), en Taipei, cuya copia adjuntamos para la información de V.E.

Miembros de la Liga Anticomunista de los Pueblos de Asia (APACL) son: Corea del Sur, China Nacional, Filipinas, Vietnam, Tailandia y otros. APACL es la contraposición a la Conferencia de Bandung.

Hasta ahora se han celebrado dos conferencias constituyentes. la primera en 1955, en Seoul; la segunda en 1956 en Manila y la tercera, en la que tomará también parte el ABN, tendrá lugar en Saigón en enero de 1957.

I - El ABN tiene la intención, con objeto de extender el frente coordinado de la lucha contra el imperialismo ruso y el comunismo, de entrar en contacto y colaboración con los círculos semioficiales o particulares de los Estados Unidos y poder organizar para un futuro próximo :

a) Una conferencia anticomunista mundial con el fin de elaborar conceptos más eficaces de la lucha contra el imperialismo ruso y comunismo, en contraposición a la coexistencia y

b) Empezar la publicación de un órgano anti comunista mundial en los principales idiomas occidentales y asiáticos, publicación que será editada por los mencionados círculos norteamericanos, ABN y APACL.

II - Le quedaría muy agradecido si V.E. me facilitara la entrada en los Estados Unidos y el contacto con los círculos americanos que tienen la misma postura que V.E. hacia los problemas de la Europa Oriental, y con los cuales se podría elaborar un plan de colaboración para llevar a la práctica los proyectos mencionados anteriormente.

El Comité Central del ABN se siente obligado ante la persona de V.E. porque jamás se olvida de nuestras naciones oprimidas por el imperialismo y comunismo ruso.

Ruego a V.E. acepte la expresión de mi estimación más profunda.

(Yaroslaw Stetsko)

Presidente del Comité Central del ABN

C O P I A

ACUERDO SOBRE LA COLABORACION ENTRE LA "LIGA ANTICOMUNISTA DE LAS NACIONES DE ASIA, REPUBLICA CHINA (ARACLEDC)" Y EL "BLOQUE ANTIBOLCHEVIQUE DE NACIONES (ABN)" EN LA LUCHA CONTRA EL COMUNISMO E IMPERIALISMO RUSO

ARACLEDC y ABN declaran que la finalidad común por ellos perseguida es la división del imperio ruso en los Estados nacionales independientes de todos los pueblos oprimidos en sus fronteras etnográficas, derrumbamiento del comunismo en el mundo y recuperación de la soberanía de todos los pueblos de Europa y Asia oprimidos por el comunismo e imperialismo ruso.

ARACLEDC y ABN deben colaborar y ayudarse mutuamente en la lucha contra el comunismo e imperialismo ruso, dada la comunidad de intereses de ambas organizaciones.

Por ello, ambas partes declaran su acuerdo de realizar las medidas siguientes como el primer paso en la misma colaboración :

I - ACCIONES COMUNES PARA LA LIBERACION

1) ARACLEDC ayudará por todos los medios a su alcance, al cumplimiento de los deseos de las naciones del ABN de liberarse y fundar sus Estados nacionales independientes dentro de las correspondientes fronteras etnográficas. ABN, por su parte, apoyará a la China Nacional en la reconquista del Continente Chino, en la destrucción de los comunistas y también a los demás pueblos de Asia en su lucha contra el comunismo e imperialismo ruso.

2) Las acciones importantes que en la lucha contra el comunismo e imperialismo ruso sean emprendidas por una de las partes, encontrará en la otra la correspondiente y simultánea acción para entender el radio de acción de las mismas.

3) El movimiento creado por ARACLEDC "todos los caminos hacia la libertad" será apoyado en Europa por ABN. ARACLEDC propagará y aplicará la "Carta de la Libertad del ABN" en Asia.

El lema del ABN: "Libertad para las Naciones - Libertad a los individuos", será propagado al mismo tiempo como el lema común.

4) Ambas partes deben utilizar todas las oportunidades convenientes para desenmascarar los crímenes del imperialismo ruso y del comunismo. (p. ej.: trabajos forzados, persecución de la fé, genocidios, etc.).

II - INTERCAMBIO DEL MATERIAL INFORMATIVO SOBRE EL COMUNISMO E IMPERIALISMO RUSO

1) Las dos partes se comprometen a intercambiar entre sí todo el material (libros, folletos, fotografías) sobre el comunismo e imperialismo ruso y aprovecharlo debidamente.

2) Cada parte puede encargar a la otra la colección del material de estudio sobre un tema determinado. La parte que encarga correrá con los gastos.

3) Nuevos métodos, Teorías, descubrimientos y experiencias en la lucha contra el comunismo y el imperialismo ruso serán comunicados entre ambas partes.

III - COLABORACION EN LA GUERRA PSICOLOGICA Y EN EL CAMPO DE LA PROPAGANDA

1) La Unicom "China Libre" se compromete a transmitir el material facilitado por AEN en un programa especial en los idiomas de las naciones del AEN y en chino, para lograr un efecto político más amplio dentro del telón de acero.

2) AEN ayudará en la guerra psicológica de la China Nacional por medio de sus relaciones y de sus actividades tras el telón de acero y en particular entre los chinos, por medio de la propaganda clandestina u otros medios.

3) Ambas partes aprovecharán la oportunidad de realizar la propaganda en beneficio común.

IV - SOBRE LA COLABORACION INTERNACIONAL

1) Ambas partes presentarán o pondrán en contacto, una a la otra, las organizaciones anticomunistas y antiimperialistas y a las personalidades principales para profundizar y ampliar la colaboración entre las naciones.

2) Ambas partes procurarán reforzar la unión de los pueblos de Asia y Europa en la lucha contra el comunismo e imperialismo ruso, para ampliar la creación de un frente común internacional sobre la base de la colaboración de las naciones.

3) Para alcanzar las finalidades mencionadas, ambas partes decidirán en acuerdo sobre el intercambio de representantes fijos para llevar a cabo con más vigor la lucha emprendida.

V - OTROS PROBLEMAS

1) Ambas partes declaran en conformidad a que este acuerdo puede ser mejorado y ampliado en cualquier momento de este acuerdo.

2) Este acuerdo se escribe en inglés, alemán y chino. En cualquier caso de duda, decide el texto en inglés.

3) Este acuerdo se compruebe por los representantes de ambas partes en dos ejemplares (alemán y chino), el veintidósimo de Octubre en Taipei. El acuerdo será presentado a los órganos competentes para la decisión final, en tres ejemplares (redacciones). Después de la decisión y del mutuo intercambio de las notas correspondientes entrará en vigor.

24 de Octubre de 1986

Taipei, Taiwan
República de China.

Firmado: Jürgen Stötzbe
por el BLOQUE ANTICOMUNISTA
DE NACIONES (ABN).

Firma: Hu Chang-Ching.
Por la LIGA ANTICOMUNISTA DE
LAS NACIONES DE ASIA, REPUBLICA
DE CHINA (ABACHARC).

TRANSLATION
Attachment No. 2

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)
Central Committee

Madrid
June 11, 1956

Your Excellency:

The critical situation which exists today in the USSR suggests evidence of disintegration of the Communist system from within, creating the opportunity for national revolutions among the peoples oppressed by Russia, with the end of constructing national independent states based on religious morals, on social justice, and on individual liberty.

In order to coordinate the world front against Russian communism and imperialism and better its combined penetration within all parts of the sphere of communist influence, the ABN signed in October of last year an agreement with the Anti-Communist League of Asian Peoples, the Republic of China (APACLROC), in Taipei, a copy of which is attached for your information.

The members of the Anti-Communist League of Asian Peoples (APACL) are: South Korea, Nationalist China, the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and others. APACL is the counteraction to the Bandung Conference.

Up until now two conferences have been held to start the foundation work: the first in 1955 in Seoul; the second in 1956 in Manila and a third one, in which the ABN will take part, will take place in Saigon in January, 1957.

1. The ABN intends, with the purpose of extending the coordinated front in the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism, to make contact and collaborate with semi-official circles or groups of private individuals in the United States and to be able to organize for the near future the following:

a. An anti-Communist world conference to create more efficacious concepts of the struggle against Russian imperialism and communism, in opposition to coexistence and for the independence of oppressed peoples.

b. To begin the publication of an anti-Communist world organ in the principal Western and Asiatic languages, which will be edited by the above-mentioned American circles, ABN, and APACL.

2. It would be greatly appreciated if you would make it possible

for me to...

for me to enter the United States and contact American circles that maintain the same position as you do toward the problems of Eastern Europe, and which would be able to set up a plan of collaboration to put into effect the above-mentioned projects.

The Central Committee of the ABN feels obligated to you because you never forget our nations oppressed by Russian imperialism and communism.

Please accept this expression of my great esteem for you.

/s/ Yaroslaw Stetsko
President of the Central Committee
of the ABN

His Excellency Mr. John Davis Lodge
Ambassador of the United States of America in Spain
Madrid

Copy

Agreement Concerning the Collaboration of the "Anti-Communist League of Asian Nations, Nationalist China (APACLROC)" and the "Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)" in the Struggle against Russian Communism and Imperialism

APACLROC and ABN declare that the common end pursued by them is the division of the Russian empire into independent national states of all the oppressed peoples in their respective ethnographic limits, destruction of Communism in the world, and the establishment of the sovereignty of all the peoples of Europe and Asia oppressed by Russian communism and imperialism.

APACLROC and ABN must mutually collaborate and equally help one another in the struggle against Russian communism and imperialism since there exists a similarity of interest on the part of both organisations.

Toward this end both parties declare that they agree to put into effect the following practices as the first step in the mutual collaboration:

I. Common Action for the Liberation

1) APACLROC will help in every way possible to fulfill the desires of the member nations of ABN to free themselves and found their independent national states within their respective ethnographic boundaries. ABN on its part will support Nationalist China in the reconquest of the Chinese mainland, in the destruction of the communists, and also will aid the rest of the Asian peoples in their struggle against Russian Communism and imperialism.

2) Each party to this agreement in its respective area will take upon itself the important tasks which the other party undertakes to accomplish in the struggle against Russian communism and imperialism, with the end of extending the sphere of combined action.

3) The movement started by APACLROC, "All roads leading to liberty", will be supported in Europe by ABN. APACLROC will spread information and explain the "Charter of Liberty of ABN" in Asia. The theme of ABN: "Liberty for Nations - Liberty for Individuals", will be disseminated as the common theme at the same time.

4) Both parties must utilise every opportunity that presents itself to unmask the crimes of Russian imperialism and communism (for example, forced labor, religious persecution, genocide, etc.).

II. Exchange of Information on Russian Communism and Imperialism

1) Both parties agree to exchange between themselves all

material (books,...

material (books, brochures, photographs) concerning Russian Communism and imperialism and to use it to the best advantage.

2) Each party has the right to request the other party to collect study material on a certain theme. The Party which so requests this will be responsible for the expenses involved.

3) New methods, theories, discoveries, experiences, etc., gained in the struggle against Russian communism and imperialism will also be exchanged.

III. Collaboration in Psychological Warfare and in the Field of Propaganda

1) Radio "Free China" agrees to transmit material provided by ABN in a special program in the languages of the ABN nations and in Chinese to accomplish a wider political effect behind the Iron Curtain.

2) ABN will help in the psychological warfare of Nationalist China by means of its connections and activities behind the Iron Curtain, and in particular among the Chinese by means of clandestine propaganda and other ways.

3) Both parties to this agreement will attempt to make the best of every opportunity to effect propaganda for the common end.

IV. Concerning International Collaboration

1) Both parties will try to effect mutual contact of anti-Communist and anti-Russian-imperialist organizations and of important people to widen and deepen the collaboration among nations.

2) Both parties will make an effort to reinforce the union of Asian and European peoples in the struggle against Russian communism and imperialism to better create a common international front based on the sovereignty of nations.

3) To strengthen the above-mentioned agreements, both parties declare that they agree to exchange certain representatives to carry through with more vigor the struggle undertaken.

V. Other Problems

1) Both parties agree that this agreement can be improved and amplified at any moment by mutual concurrence.

2) This agreement is endorsed in English, German, and

Chinese....

Chinese. In case of doubt the English text will be used to make a decision.

5) This agreement is verified by the representatives of both parties in two copies (German and Chinese), the 24th of October in Taipei. The agreement will be presented to the appropriate organs for a final decision, in three copies (Printings). After the final decision and mutual exchange of notes, it will be put into effect

Signed: Jaroslaw Stetsko
for the Anti-Communist Bloc
of Nations (ABN)

Signed: Ku Cheng-Kang,
for the Anti-Communist League
of Nations of Asia, Republic
of China (APACLROC)

October 24, 1955
Taipei, Taiwan
Republic of China

AIR SECRET KQA-08128

Chief of Base, Munich

Chief of Station, Germany

Operational/REDWOOD

Yaroslav STETZKO

17 September 1956

INFO: [redacted] (SK)

Reference: GERMA 5655, 10 Sept 56 (not to MOB)

Forwarded herewith for MOB files is a copy of reference, which forwarded a letter from Subject to the U. S. Ambassador in Madrid.

APPROVED:

Attachment:
As noted above h/w

Distribution:
2 - MOB (w/1 cy att)
2 - SR (w/o att)
1 - KK (w/o att)
2 - WK (w/o att)

COPY
PP
PP
PP
B/PP

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

CONFIDENTIAL - DST

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 20, 1956

State

TO: Deputy Director, Plans
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington 25, D.C.

FROM: E. Tomlin Bailey
Director
Office of Security

SUBJECT: Wasyl DANKIW aka Yaroslav STETZKO

Reference is made to your Memorandum SOUB 42582 dated September 25, 1951, Subject: "DANKIW, Wasyl," in which it is stated: "If further information concerning Subject is desired, it is requested that the specific type of information desired be stated."

In connection with the above, there is attached a copy of a memorandum dated August 29, 1956 to VO, Mr. Welch from EE, Mr. Freers, outlining information desired from your agency.

Attachment:

Memo dated August 29, 1956

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

RI COPY

CONFIDENTIAL

Encl.

CONFIDENTIAL

WO - Mr. Welch

August 29, 1956

EE - Mr. Freers

Visa case of Vasyl Hankiw (aka Yaroslav STETZKO)

You will recall that EE has recommended over the past several years that the various applications made by Yaroslav Stetsko for visitor's visa to the US be handled by delaying tactics. To our knowledge, however, no formal decision has ever been taken on his application.

EE tentatively believes that Stetsko's entrance into the US would be prejudicial to the public interest. However, before recommending that Stetsko formally be denied a visa under Section 212(a)(27) of the Nationality Act, EE suggests that the factual information regarding Stetsko and the views of the other interested government agencies be requested. Since Stetsko has established some influential friends in the US, who are not all aware of his background, grounds for denial for a visa to him should be well documented. In addition to any other checks which WO may wish to make on Stetsko the following features of his career might with some profit be checked through CIA, FBI, and DOD (CIC):

1) Stetsko's role in the Ukrainian Government which was established in Lemberg in 1941; character of this government, particularly its relationship to the Nazi Government and its policies toward the people. (There are persistent stories that upwards of 130,000 Ukrainians were assassinated by the government in the few weeks it was in power.)

2) The activities of Stetsko and his political organizations in intimidating entire refugee camps in the post war years; the use of assassinations and gangster-like methods to keep Ukrainians in line during this period; the extent and nature of Maffia-type operations, possibly extending into the US; and Stetsko's connections and control over these forces.

3) Attitudes of Stetsko and the press organs controlled by him toward the foreign policies and objectives of the US.

4) Probable impact on the Ukrainian Community of Stetsko's entrance into the US.

When... Encl. /

CONFIDENTIAL

DST

CONFIDENTIAL

- 2 -

When all the evidence appears to be available on Mr. Stetsko EE would be pleased to review the case with WO with a view to reaching a final decision on his application for visa. In the meantime, if there are phases of the investigation with which EE could be of assistance please let us know.

EE recommends that no answer be made to Mr. Stetsko's letter to the White House of July 23, 1956.

WOR:EE:JTKendrick:esh

CONFIDENTIAL

VIA _____ (Specify Air or Sea Pouch)

DISPATCH NO. EGMA-21157

CLASSIFICATION

TO Chief, SR
Attn: [redacted]
FROM Chief of BND, Munich

DATE 21 November 1956

Info: COS/G, EE

SUBJECT | GENERAL Operational/REDWOOD
| SPECIFIC Transmittal of letter intercept re ABN.

References: A. EGQA-82128, dated 17 September 1956
B. EGMA-19170, dated 3 February 1956

1. Forwarded herewith is a reproduction of a letter (picked up via CIS coverage on Zeppelinstrasse 67) from Julian ZABLOCKY (ZABLOTSKIY) of Paris in which he forwards to Yaroslav STETSKO a letter received earlier by STETSKO from Ku Cheng-kang, president of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League of the Republic of China. See reference A for earlier information on STETSKO's activities. Among other items, please note that STETSKO and the ABN apparently have influenced the above-mentioned Chinese group to take action on the documents which are contained in reference B.

2. Please inform the appropriate division of the above if such action is deemed advisable.

[redacted]

Approved: [redacted]

Attachment - as stated - HEREWITH

Distribution:
2 - SR w/Att. h/w
2 - EE w/o Att.
2 - COS/G w/o Att.
2 - MOB w/Att. h/w

MW

CLASSIFICATION

FORM NO. 51-28A
MAR. 1949

COPY

ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE
REPUBLIC OF CHINA
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] proposal that you will send instead Mesers [illegible] representatives, and enthusiastically welcome their presence here at an earlier time. If you decide to tour Australia, it will then be our earnest hope that on the way of your trip to Australia we will make a stopover in Taiwan so that we will be able again to get together for a personal talk.

In regard to the invitation of your Organization for setting up a delegation to attend our third Conference, which has been tentatively to be held in Taipei from March [illegible] to April 1, next year, we have already informed you by a separate letter, expressing our sincere desire for your personal attendance. Presumably, we have also contacted Mr. Argin of Turkey regarding its admission to our League, which was strongly recommended for our consideration by your August 20 letter.

Concerning your suggestion that we invite Mr. Ambaff Hilf to pay a visit to Taiwan, we shall be glad to invite him. We shall notify him later when the time is fixed and other arrangements are properly made. Please convey our welcome for him in advance.

The copy of an open letter [illegible] Peoples' concentration camp is now being referred to our representatives in the UN by our Ministry of Foreign Affairs for appropriate action.

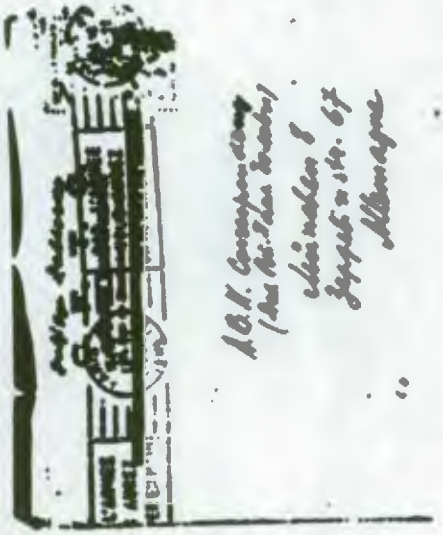
Last month I went to Manila attending the meeting of the Committee of Four. Immediately after that, I went to Manila on another mission, and not until early this month I have been able to come back. Being not able to write you then, I hope you will forgive me.

With warm personal wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Ku Cheng-hong, President
Board of Directors
Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist
League, Republic of China

CHK/ofc



SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
[ ] STATUS REPORT	1. RI FILE NO. 074 067 107 /03
	2. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. ZGMA-24994 — 4. DATE 13 FEB 57
	5. SOURCE CRYPTONYM — 6. DATE OF INFO. — 8. EVALUATION
9. ANALYST — 8. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED TO — 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. COPIES REFERRED TO THIS FILE [ ]

13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO. JAROSLAV [ ]
[ ] REPORTED THAT SUBJ WAS IN MUNICH AND THAT HE PLANNED TO HAVE A MEETING WITH HIM. HE HAD CHATTED BRIEFLY WITH STETSKO AT THE ABOVE MENTIONED PRESS CONFERENCE AND LEARNED THAT STETSKO HAS BECOME A MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY OF THE USA, WHOSE LEADERS WERE ALLEGEDLY MCARTHUR, MCCARTHY, ETC. SUBJ CLAIMED TO BE VERY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE EVENTUAL SUCCESS OF THIS PARTY AND THAT SOME TWENTY SENATORS HAD ALREADY BEEN LINED UP FOR A LATER SWITCH OVER TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY.

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [ ]

FORM 0-57 067 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS. SECRET (7-001)

567 ED/OM/BJ

ORIG : [redacted]
UNIT : SR/3/W-3
EXT : 3839
DATE : 14 FEBRUARY 1957

CLASS: SECRET

TO : [redacted]

FROM : DIRECTOR

COMP : SR 6

INFO : COP, A/DD/P/P, C1, C1/OPS, C1/IC, F1, F1/OPS, F1/R1 2, PP 2, PP/OPS, PP/AMD 2, SE 4, S/C 2

DEFERRED		PRIORITY	INITIALS
X ROUTINE		OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE	INITIALS

FROM OUT 77514

TO AMKA INFO

CITE OIR 02995

15 FEB 57

REDWOOD LCDOPROUE ARCARTHAGE/IMMEDIATE ACTION

REF AMKA 3172 (IN 46182)

1. FYI: ERTHORIY VASKOVICH NOW OUN/BANDERA OPERATIONS CHIEF RESIDING MUNICH. ASSUME HIS KEELF CONTACT RESULT RECENT VISIT TURKEY YAROSLAV STETSKO, PRESIDENT ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS AND NUMBER TWO MAN OUN/BANDERA. PARTLY RESULT KUBARK PRESSURE SMOTH DROPPED BANDERA OPS 1955 AND SINCE BANDERA FEVERISHLY TRIED OBTAIN SUPPORT FROM AT LEAST FIVE OTHER SERVICES. WE USED OUR GOOD OFFICES FRUSTRATE OUN/BANDERA OP PLANS AND DESIRE DISSUADE TURKS FROM SUPPORTING BANDERA OPS.

2. VIEW ABOVE SUGGEST TAKE FOLLOWING LINE WITH KEELF:

A. ODEOKE AID NOT POSSIBLE.

B. WE STRONLY RECOMMEND AGAINST TURK INVOLVEMENT OR SUPPORT BANDERA OPERATIONS SINCE ALLEGED ASSETS IN USSR EITHER NON-EXISTENT, NON-EFFECTIVE, OR KGB-CONTROLLED. OUN/BANDERA UNRELIABLE OP PARTNER INTERESTED IN EMIGRE POLITICAL PRESTIGE RATHER THAN GENUINE INTEL RESULTS. WE ALSO NOTE RAPIDITY AND THOROUGHNESS SOVIET ROLLUPS PAST BANDERA OPS INDICATE WEAK SECURITY, POOR PREPARATION, AND LOW-LEVEL AGENT MATERIAL.

FEB 18 1957

COORDINATING OFFICERS

RELEASING OFFICER SECRET AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

IT IS FORBIDDEN TO MAKE A COPY OF THIS MESSAGE Copy No.

CLASS

SECRET

ROUTING

1		4	
2		5	
3		6	

ORIG :
UNIT :
EXT :
DATE :

TO :

FROM : DIRECTOR

CONF :

INFO :

	DEFERRED		PRIORITY	INITIALS
X	ROUTINE		OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE	INITIALS

DIR 02995 OUT 77514

PAGE TWO

TO AMKA INFO CITE DIR

3. REF PARA 4: WE HAVE STRONG INTEREST DEVELOP BALLOON OPERATIONS TURKEY BUT DESIRE SEPERATE THIS COMPLETELY FROM BANDERA OFFER. POUCH ON BALLOON OPERATIONS TO FOLLOW.

END OF MESSAGE

SR/T (COORDINATED IN DRAFT)

SR/COP/CE

SR/T

SR/4

COORDINATING OFFICERS

A C/SE

RELEASING OFFICER

SECRET

CSR

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
PAVLOVSKY, Miroslav	2. RI FILE NO. [redacted]
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. BDM 27220
	4. DATE 6 June 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM
	8. DATE OF INFO.
	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST [redacted]	6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58
	10. DISSEMINATED IN
	11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED RI FILE NO. [redacted]

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

6 June 57

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [redacted]

FORM 9-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-46)

SECRET

1 July 1957

TO : U. S. Department of State
Attention: Mr. A. N. Abajian
Office of Investigation
Refugee Relief Program

FROM : Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT: Yaroslav STETSKO aka Wasyl DANKIW

1. Reference is made to your memorandum, Subject as above, dated 20 November 1956.

2. The files of this Agency reflect the following information on Subject's personal and political background:

a. Subject's real name is Yaroslav STETSKO. Aliases used include Wasyl DANKIW, Miroslav PAWLOWSKY, and Zenon KARBOVYCH. He was born on 19 January 1912 in Tarnopol, Galicia, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Subject is of Ukrainian nationality. Residences include: Austro-Hungary (1912-18); Independent Ukrainian Republic (1918-1920); Poland (1920-39); Italy (1939); Krakow, Poland (1939-41); Lvov, Ukraine (1941); internment at Sachsenhousen-Oranienberg, Germany (1941-45); Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia (1945); Munich, Germany, 1945—). Subject is the son of Semen STETSKO and Feodosia STETSKO, nee CHUBATA. Subject's wife is Anna STETSKO, alias Anna DANKIW, nee MUZYKA, born 14 May 1920 at Romaniwka, West Ukraine, of Ukrainian nationality.

b. Subject completed secondary school in Tarnopol, Poland in 1929, and continued his studies at the universities in Lwow and Krakow, and while a university student became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), primarily as a publicist writing anti-Polish and anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda. In the years 1932-33 Subject was prominent in the orgainsation of an anti-Soviet demonstration which ended with the assassination of the Soviet consul-general in Lwow, who was killed by one Mykola LEMYK, an OUN activities (subsequently killed by the Germans in 1942). In the period 1931-34 Subject was in charge of an OUN group engaged in smuggling anti-Soviet propaganda into the Soviet Ukraine, as well as in anti-Polish activities. He was arrested and tried by a Polish court and

SECRET

sentenced to five years of imprisonment. In December 1937 he was released under an amnesty enactment. He continued his political activities and lived in Poland illegally, for a time occupying the position of head of the ideological-political department of the central committee (Provid) of the OUN. In 1939 the OUN split into two rival factions, one headed by Andriy MELNYK and the other by Stepan BANDERA, Subject siding with the latter faction. With the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, Subject, as a prominent OUN/BANDERA member, presided over an assembly convoked in Lvov on 30 June 1941 to proclaim an independent Ukrainian state, in which Subject occupied the post of prime minister. This government was dissolved by the German authorities in less than two weeks, Subject being arrested by the Gestapo in Lvov on 13 July 1941. He was held briefly in the Alexandarplats jail in Berlin, and later was transferred to the Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg detention camp. In the autumn of 1944 Subject, along with Stepan BANDERA, was taken from Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg to Berlin in connection with German efforts to establish an Eastern policy more palatable to Ukrainian politicians. Subject and his group refused to accept German conditions. He escaped German control and went from Berlin to live illegally in Krakow, Poland, and Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia. In April 1945 Subject was rearrested by the Germans and while being escorted to Berlin his train transport was bombed from the air, allegedly by American planes. Subject was wounded and taken to a hospital in Susice, Czechoslovakia (at that time still under German occupation). In June 1945, with the aid of OUN/B members, he was taken to the American zone of Germany, spending most of his time in Munich, where he has been prominent in emigre politics. Reliable reports indicate that the train bombardment result in permanent injury of Subject's genitalia and left hand.

c. Subject's political associations include active membership in various Ukrainian nationalist organizations including the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the predecessor of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He has been chairman or president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) since its foundation in Western Germany in 1945. The files of this Agency suggest that Subject's claim that he had been a member of the UPA (an anti-Soviet Ukrainian partisan group founded in the Ukraine in 1942) and of the UHVR (an illegal anti-Soviet government formed in June 1944 in the Ukraine) are without foundation, Subject having been an internee in Sachsenhausen from 1941 through August or September 1944. He has not been in the Ukraine since July 1941. Agency files reflect, however, that Subject was for a brief period an honorary member of ZPUHVR (The Foreign Representation of the UHVR), a membership given him because of his position as president of the ABN. ZPUHVR repudiated STETSKO in spring, 1943, and formally ousted him in 1949. Subject's conflict with ZPUHVR and UHVR has its roots in his and the OUN/BANDERA efforts to control the policies of those [illegible]ies, STETSKO representing the ultra-nationalism and one party-governm[illegible] [illegible]aracteristic of the OUN prior to the formation of the UHVR in the Ukrain[illegible]

3. In regard to the specific problems recorded in referenced memorandum, the following observations are noted:-

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b. The files of this Agency do not reflect direct personal participation by Subject in the excesses and objectionable activities attributed to the OUN/BANDERA group. However, as the second in command of that group, it is felt that Subject was and is knowledgeable in regards to all of its activities, and therefore must share responsibility for all of its activities. There is no record of Subject's ever having been a member of the security service of that group (Sluzhba Bezpeky), which must be held accountable for the intimidations and excesses within the organization, but Subject's high position in the OUN/BANDERA group excludes his not becoming aware of such excesses. Nor do Agency files reflect any effort by Subject to eliminate, or diminish such objectionable activities or expose and punish those directly responsible for their perpetration.

c. The political implications of Subject's proposed visit to the United States appear to be closely connected with OUN/BANDERA principles and policies. Agency files reflect that the BANDERA organization is based on principles directly contradictory to American beliefs, such as dictatorial rule, veneration of the leader, blind fulfillment of instructions, and intolerance of contrary opinion. Totalitarian tendencies are evident in that organization's efforts to control every aspect of emigre life, in its unbridled use of slander and calumny, and in frequent use of threats and outright terror. Its spokesmen, including Subject, have consistently advocated a one-party dictatorial type of government in a future liberated Ukraine. The group has used force and terror against other emigres whose political beliefs do not coincide with its own. Force and terror have also been applied in order to influence persons not of that group's persuasion to perform certain specific activities deemed beneficial to the group.

d. Liquidation and kidnapping of personalities in the emigration have been reported by reliable sources. Among such victims is alleged to be Prof. Viktor PETROV, a prominent literary historian. A particular case is that of the physical attack upon the emigre leader D. GULAY, who was beaten up by OUN/BANDERA members at their superiors' specific instructions, and as an example of the cynicism characteristic of the organization's leaders, those on trial for committing the act were instructed by their superiors not to reveal that they had acted under instructions.

e. The record of the OUN/BANDERA group includes the following types of activity, of which STETSKO can be expected to be aware: - theft of private mail addressed to political opponents and subsequent publication of the content of such intercepted mail; agitation for the boycott and forcible destruction of newspapers opposed to the OUN/BANDERA group; dissemination of instructions to members throughout the Free World on the stealing of property and papers of individuals and groups opposed to it; in 1949-1950 the BANDERA organization, with the connivance of its leaders, engaged in the counterfeiting of U.S. dollars.

f. In addition to the counterfeiting of U. S. money, the files of this Agency show that the OUN/BANDERA group has engaged in the following activities directly detrimental to the interests and security of the United States: attempts to penetrate American civil and military establishments in Europe in order to obtain secret information and learn the activities of American personnel; attempts to intimidate and control Ukrainian emigres employed by American installations in Germany; in several instances, publication of information obtained from such emigres when it was felt that publication would increase the organization's prestige, or lower that of its opponents; discouragement of Ukrainian emigres from collaborating with the American authorities and a concerted campaign to convince these emigres that American policy is injurious to the vital interests of the Ukrainian people; establishment of an underground group in the United States blindly loyal to the parent OUN/BANDERA organization and executing all orders obtained without regard to American legal realities; manipulation of emigre groups in the United States in such a way as to direct them to perform hostile acts or engage in non-democratic disruptive tactics, such as definite attempts to break up meetings and provoke riots, and to use threats in an effort to prevent individuals from attending meetings considered negatively by the OUN/B organization; OUN/BANDERA publications have consistently followed a recognizably anti-American line in that the Americans are blamed for all activities that are not pro-BANDERA. (These press organs include Shlyakh Peramohy, Munich; Ukrainska Dumka, London; Ukrainets-Chas, Paris; Homin Ukrainy, Toronto; Vyzvolna Politika and Vistnyk OOChSU, New York.)

4. With reference to your question 4), it is conceivable that Subject's main purpose in applying for a visitor's visa is to contact his followers in the United States in order to bolster their activities, strengthen their position in the American-Ukrainian community, and in order to strengthen the moral and financial position of the OUN/BANDERA group, as well as of the ABN. Grant of a visa to Subject might be construed as a reward for a decade of disservice to American interests, as well as an insult to those Ukrainian emigre groups and individuals that for years, with or without American encouragement, have been trying to sanitize the Ukrainian emigration in an effort to make it a more effective instrument in the world-wide struggle against Communism.

CS CI-3,745,446

SR/3-W3 Ref: DST 04907 [redacted] Distrib: orig & 1 - addressee, 1-CI/L, 1-RQM/RC, 1-RI/Files, 1-SR/3-W3, 1-SR/CE/RED, 1-Comeback

written by [redacted]

SECRET

JUL 1957

TO : Secretary of State
Attention: Mr. [illegible] Tomlin Bailey
Director, Office of Security

FROM : Deputy Director, Plans

SUBJECT : Ivanslav SYNYSKO aka Maryl DANKIN

1. Reference is made to your memorandum, Subject as above, dated 20 November 1956.

2. The files of this Agency reflect the following information on Subject's personal and political background:

a. Subject's real name is Ivanslav SYNYSKO. Aliases used include Maryl DANKIN, Mirosław PAWŁOWSKY, and Zenon KARPOVICH. He was born on 19 January 1912 in Tarnopol, Galicia, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Subject is of Ukrainian nationality. Residences include: Austro-Hungary (1913-18); Independent Ukrainian Republic (1918-1920); Poland (1920-39); Italy (1939); Kraków, Poland (1939-41); Lvov, Ukraine (1941); internment at Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg, Germany (1941-45); Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia (1945); Munich, Germany, 1945--). Subject is the son of Zenon SYNYSKO and Feodosia SYNYSKO, nee GERBATA. Subject's wife is Anna SYNYSKO, alias Anna DANKIN, nee MERIKA, born 14 May 1920 at Rozwadów, West Ukraine, of Ukrainian nationality.

b. Subject completed secondary school in Tarnopol, Poland in 1929, and continued his studies at the universities in Lvov and Kraków, and while a university student became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), primarily as a publicist writing anti-Polish and anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda. In the years 1932-33 Subject was prominent in the organization of an anti-Soviet demonstration which ended with the assassination of the Soviet consul-general in Lvov, who was killed by one Mykola LEMYK, an OUN activitist (subsequently killed by the Germans in 1943). In the period 1933-34 Subject was in charge of an OUN group engaged in smuggling anti-Soviet propaganda into the Soviet Ukraine, as well as in anti-Polish activities. He was arrested and tried by a Polish court and

SECRET

sentenced to five years of imprisonment. In December 1937 he was released under an amnesty enactment. He continued his political activities and lived in Poland illegally, for a time occupying the position of head of the ideological-political department of the central committee (Prezid) of the OUN. In 1939 the OUN split into two rival factions, one headed by Andriy MELNYK and the other by Stepan BANDERA, Subject siding with the latter faction. With the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, Subject, as a prominent OUN/BANDERA member, presided over an assembly convoked in Lvov on 30 June 1941 to proclaim an independent Ukrainian state, in which Subject occupied the post of prime minister. This government was dissolved by the German authorities in less than two weeks, Subject being arrested by the Gestapo in Lvov on 13 July 1941. He was held briefly in the Alexanderplatz jail in Berlin, and later was transferred to the Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg detention camp. In the autumn of 1944 Subject, along with Stepan BANDERA, was taken from Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg to Berlin in connection with German efforts to establish an Eastern policy more palatable to Ukrainian politicians. Subject and his group refused to accept German conditions. He escaped German control and went from Berlin to live illegally in Krakow, Poland, and Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia. In April 1945 Subject was rearrested by the Germans and while being escorted to Berlin his train transport was bombed from the air, allegedly by American planes. Subject was wounded and taken to a hospital in Sudice, Czechoslovakia (at that time still under German occupation). In June 1945, with the aid of OUN/B members, he was taken to the American zone of Germany, spending most of his time in Munich, where he has been prominent in emigre politics. Reliable reports indicate that the train bombardment result in permanent injury of Subject's genitalia and left hand.

c. Subject's political associations include active membership in various Ukrainian nationalist organizations, including the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the predecessor of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He has been chairman or president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) since its foundation in Western Germany in 1945. The files of this Agency suggest that Subject's claim that he had been a member of the UPA (an anti-Soviet Ukrainian partisan group founded in the Ukraine in 1942) and of the UNVR (an illegal anti-Soviet government formed in June 1944 in the Ukraine) are without foundation, Subject having been an internee in Sachsenhausen from 1941 through August or September 1944. He has not been in the Ukraine since July 1941. Agency files reflect, however, that Subject was for a brief period an honorary member of ZPUNVR (The Foreign Representation of the UNVR), a membership given him because of his position as president of the ABN. ZPUNVR repudiated STETSKO in spring, 1948, and formally ousted him in 1949. Subject's conflict with ZPUNVR and UNVR has its roots in his and the OUN/BANDERA efforts to control the policies of these bodies, STETSKO representing the ultra-nationalism and one party-government characteristic of the OUN prior to the formation of the UNVR in the Ukraine.

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SR3/W3 Ref: DST 04907 Distrib: orig & 1 - addressee, 1-CI/L, 1-RQM/RC, 1-RI/Files, 1-SR3/W3, 1-SR/CE/RED, 1-Comeback

28 July 1958 JPRS/DC-L-567

28 JULY 1957

YAROSLAV STETSKO WITH PRESIDENT CHIANG KAI-SHEK

for Stetsko file

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[illegible]

Shlakh Peremogy
[The Road to Victory]
23 July 1957, Munich

Unsigned article

Upon completion of his trip to Australia, Mr. Y. Stetsko, former chief of the Ukrainian Government and presently chairman of the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, arrived in Taipei, the capital of Free China, on 21 June. At the airport he was greeted by members of the ABN Mission, Central China, and prominent leaders of ABN/KLIOK such as Ku Cheng-kang, Chen Chien-chung, director of Section Six of the Kuomintang, doctor Pao Hua-kuo, Tan Ye-ming, professor Pao, professor Lin, Hwang Yu, Kuneng Sung, Liu Chua-chan, Madam Tsai, representing the Women's League, and about a score of other representatives of Chinese organizations. A little Chinese girl presented the guest with a bouquet of roses.

At the airport the Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN soon gave an interview to numerous Chinese newsmen. According to the daily China Times of 22 June, he "called upon the free world actively to support the anticommunist movements behind the Iron Curtain, because this is the only way to avert World War III." The same paper quoted Mr. Stetsko as having "warned the Western nations of an imminent danger of an atomic war" unless they heed the suggestions of Free China. Those suggestions were voiced by President Chiang Kai-shek in his book "Soviet Russia in China," which was published recently in the US. President Chiang Kai-shek believes that the policy of coexistence will lead to an atomic war which can be prevented only by national revolutions and a policy favoring collapse of the Soviet empire.

The same day the Anticommunist League of Asian Nations honored Mr. Stetsko with a dinner which was attended also by members of the ABN Mission. The following day, Mr. Stetsko and the ABN Mission members laid wreaths at the foot of the monument dedicated to dead Chinese freedom fighters. They then paid a visit to Mr. Hwang Kuo-shu, chairman of the Chinese National Organization for International Relations. According to the China Post of 23 June, Mr. Hwang and Mr. Stetsko exchanged views on how to strengthen friendly cooperation between the anticommunist nations of Europe and Free China.

also on the same day, the Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN, accompanied by Mission members, called on Mr. Simpson Chen, Director of the Information Office, and informed him about ABN activities in Europe, Australia, and other countries. After dinner, Mr. Stetsko and Mission members had a lengthy talk with Deputy Foreign Minister for Political Affairs, Mr. Sheng Chang-hsun, on the possibility of reviving discussion of the problem of subjugated nations at the United Nations.

On Monday morning 24 June, Mr. Stetsko conferred with professor Pu, who heads the Institute for International Relations, and is an expert on East European affairs. They discussed among other things the problem of the subjugated peoples of the USSR. Later Mr. Stetsko visited the Academy Sinica -- the top scientific institution of Free China. He was accompanied by the president of the academy, doctor Chu Chia-hua, who also heads the Chinese Association for the United Nations. Doctor Chu Chia-hua honored the guest with a reception, which was attended by Koo Cheng-kang and other prominent personalities, in addition to the members of the Mission. After the dinner, Mr. Stetsko and the Mission members met with professor Pao, chief of the news agency, and discussed with him cooperation between the ABN Press Service and the Chinese newspapers.

The following day Mr. Stetsko presented General Chou Chi-Jou, Secretary General of the Chinese Council of Defense and President of the Chinese National Federation of Amateur Athletes with so-called Ukrainian Freedom Cup. The ceremony had been announced in advance by the China News, which wrote: "Yaroslav Stetsko, former Ukrainian premier and (presently) Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN will present Chinese athletes with a silver cup from Ukrainian patriots as a token of their friendship."

On the same day, Mr. Stetsko and the members of the Mission were received by Vice President Chen Cheng and Prime Minister O.K. Yui. In the evening, President Hwang Kuo-shoo of the Chinese National Organization for International Relations, who is also Vice Chairman of Parliament, honored the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN with a reception.

On Wednesday, 26 June, the Presidium of APACLEOK invited some 60 members of parliament and professors to a tea party in the Taipei City Hall, at which Mr. Stetsko addressed the distinguished audience on the Prospects for National Revolutions and the Situation behind the Iron Curtain. In the evening the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN met with Mr. Chen Chien-chung, director of Section Six of the Kuomintang. After the talks Mr. Stetsko and members of the mission were invited to a supper which was also attended by other Kuomintang leaders.

The following day, 27 June, Mr. Stetsko was received by the President of Free China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. According to the China News of 27 June, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN "discussed the methods and means of combatting Moscow imperialism."

The same day, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN met with the president's son, General Chiang Ching-Kuo. The president's second son, Chiang Wei-Kuo, invited Mr. Stetsko to a dinner at the International Rotary Club in Taipei, which was attended by representatives of 11 nations (US, France, Britain, Japan, Turkey, China, Korea, Viet Nam, the Philippines, and others), as well as by members of the diplomatic missions in Free China. As an honorary guest, Mr. Stetsko delivered a short address on The Moscow Subjugated Peoples and the Free World. The next day, Friday, 28 June 1957, Mr. Stetsko spoke as an honorary guest to a group of the most recent refugees from the Chinese mainland who had come to Taipei via Hong Kong after killing the captain of their ship and neutralising the crew. The list of the guests of honor included the Interior Minister of Free China, Wang Tei-poo, an American lady representative, Mr. Koo Cheng-Kang, and others. The ceremony was broadcast to the Chinese mainland. In the evening of the same day, Mr. Stetsko, in accepting an invitation from the Chinese Association for the United Nations, gave a lecture on The International Status of the Ukraine and Other Peoples Subjugated by Bolshevism.

On Sunday, 30 June, Mr. Stetsko was visited at the headquarters of the ABN Mission by the President of the Academy Sinica, doctor Shou Chia-hua, former Minister of Education, advisor to the President, and President of the Chinese Association for the United Nations. Their discussions concerned the question of cooperation between Ukrainian and the Chinese scientists and scientific institutions.

After dinner the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN and members of the mission called on professor Lin, and in the evening they attended the first part of the contest for the Ukrainian Freedom Cup between 2 top basketball teams. The Chinese press, in giving advance notice of the event, wrote: "The first part of the contest for the Ukrainian Cup will take place tonight at 8 o'clock. Y. Stetsko, Chairman of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, who has donated the cup, will open the game at the Armed Forces Stadium tonight" (China News, 30 June 1957).

In the presence of some 2,000 onlookers, including generals of the General Staff of the Chinese Army, Mr. Koo Cheng-kang, and the Mayor of Taipei, Mr. Stetsko opened the game by a short speech,

Thereupon General Yi, Deputy Chief of the Political Section of the National Defense Ministry, handed the Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN 3 flags: one from the Chief of the Political Section of the National Defense Ministry, the second from the Chief of the General Staff, and the third from the Chinese Youth Organization. The orchestra played a march. The ceremony was photographed by many news reporters and newsreel men and the next day the Chinese newspapers published the pictures along with the score of the game.

China News of 1 July reported: "In the first part of the contest for the Ukrainian Freedom Cup the army team defeated the civilian team by 3 points (62-79). The victory was won only after 5 minutes of overtime play. At the end of the regular playing time (40 minutes), the teams were tied (6[illegible]-69)."

On Tuesday, 2 July 1957, Mr. Y. Stetsko presented Madam Chiang Kai-shek, wife of the president, with a gift from the Ukrainian women of Australia and talked to her at the headquarters of the Chinese League against aggression.

On the same day, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN and the mission members were dinner guests of General Chiang Chien-shen, Chief of the Political Section of the Defense Ministry. After the dinner Mr. Stetsko and the general discussed at length the possibilities of cooperation in the field of psychological warfare.

In the evening professor Koo gave a reception in honor of the Chairman of the Central Committee of the ABN. The party was attended by Koo Cheng-kang, doctor Koo Kuo, professor Lin, the director of Section Six of the Kuomintang Chen Chien-chung, General Chang, and the members of the mission.

During his Taipei sojourn, the ABN chairman held several talks with the leaders of APACL and discussed various aspects of cooperation between the ABN and the anticommunist League of Asian Nations, which is a Chinese-sponsored organization. Mr. Stetsko and the members of the Mission also met with US ambassador K. Rankin (on 7 July 1957) and French ambassador [illegible] Bolieu (on 2 July).

In addition to his news conference Mr. Stetsko spoke over 3 different radio stations in Ukrainian with simultaneous Chinese translation of his speeches. The speeches were beamed to the Chinese people on the mainland as well as to the other peoples dominated by communism and red Russia.

On 7 July 1957 the Chairman of the ABN initiated radio programs of the ABN Mission for the population of Siberia, prisoners of Soviet concentration camps, and Soviet missions on the Chinese mainland.

The official organ of the Kuomintang of 1 July 1957 published a comprehensive article entitled "Forty Years of Ukrainian Struggle for Freedom and Independence from Soviet Russian Tyranny." The article was based on the materials published by the Canadian League for the Liberation of the Ukraine.

On 6 July 1957, Mr. Stetsko held a news conference attended by representatives of all the free Chinese press. The conference lasted more than one hour. Mr. Stetsko first made a statement concerning the latest purge in Moscow, the liberation movements among the subjugated peoples, his impressions of Taiwan, and the new book by Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek which had been just published in both Chinese and English. He then answered numerous questions asked by the news men.

On the previous day Mr. Stetsko had attended the last reception in his honor, at the League (the anticommunist League of Asian Nations).

On Sunday, 7 July Mr. Stetsko left by plane for Hong Kong. At the airport he was seen off in addition to the members of the ABN Mission, by President Koo Cheng-kang, the President of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, professor doctor Chou, the director of Section Six of the Kuomintang, the director of the Eastern Institute for Foreign Relations, the Secretary General of APACLEDK, doctor Pao, and many other prominent political and military leaders of Free China.

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ХЗГИ

Der Weg zum Sieg
Ukrainische Wochenschrift
*
The Way to Victory
Ukrainian Weekly
*
Адреса Редакції і Адміністрації
Ukrainische Wochenschrift
„SCHLACH PEREMOHY"
München 8, Zeppelinstr. 67. Tel. 44 1038

липня 1957 р. Ціна 50 пф.

кої фарси

...ння». Сталін був на тільки хитрий, ...о зрозумів одну важливу істину: раб ...усить бути не тільки закований в ...айдани, але й голодний. В протилеж...ому випадку, набравши сил, він ро...

Генерал І. заступник шефа політичного департаменту міністерства націо...нальної оборони Вільного Китаю вручає Голові ЦК АБН п. Я. Стецькові три шовкові прапори.

Ярослав Стецько у президента Чянґ Кай-шека

Тайпей, 2. 7. 1957. Закінчивши свою поїздку по Австралії, колишній Голова Українського Державного Правління і теперішній Голова ЦК АБН п. Я. Стецько прибув 21. червня ц. р. до Тайпею, столиці Вільного Китаю, де його привітали на летовищі члени Місії АБН, ген. Чанг та визначні лідери АПАКЛРОК — пп. Ку Ченг-кант, Чен Чиґ-чунґ (керівник 6-го відділу Куоміньтангу), д-р Пао-Гуа-кує, Тан Є-мінґ, проф. Пао, проф. Лін, Гванґ Ю, Фунґ Сунґ, Ліо Хуа-Чан, пані Тсай від Жіночої Ліґи та біля двох дюжин інших представників китайських організацій. Маленька китайська дівчинка вручила гостеві китицю рож.

Незабаром на летовищі Голова ЦК АБН дав інтерв'ю китайським представникам журналістам, в якому, як пише щоденник «Чайна Ньюз» за 22. 6. ц. р., «закликав вільний світ дати активну підтримку антикомуністичним рухам поза залізною заслоною, бо тільки цим способом можна оминути третю світову війну». Ця сама газета пише, що п. Я. Стецько «перестерігав західні нації перед близькою небезпекою атомової війни», коли вони не підтримають ідей вільного Китаю. Ці ідеї висловив президент Чянґ Кай-шек у своїй книжці «Совєтська Росія в Китаї», яка недавно появилася в США. Президент Чянґ Кай-шек думає, що коекзистенція доведе до атомової війни, яку можна б оминути тільки національними революціями та політикою розвалу совєтської імперії.

Ще цього самого дня Антикомуністична Ліґа Народів Азії влаштувала на честь п. Я. Стецька прийняття, на якому були теж члени Місії АБН. Наступного дня п. Я. Стецько і члени Місії АБН склали вінки у стіп пам'ятника на честь полеглих китайських борців за свободу і опісля відвідували голову ки[illegible] національної організації для міжнародніх зв'язків п. Гванґ Кеч-шу з яким, як пише «Чайна Пост» за 23. 6. 1957 р., п. Я. Стецько обмінювався думками про те, як зміцнити дружбу, співпрацю поміж [illegible] комуністичними [illegible] в Европ[illegible]ним Китаєм.

Того ж самого дня Голова ЦК АБН, у супроводі членів Місії, склав візиту директорові державного бюро інформацій, п. Ґанґ-ін Шенові та поінформував його про працю АБН в Европі, [illegible] та інших країнах. Після [illegible] Я. Стецько, в присутності членів Місії, мав довгу розмову з політичним заступником міністра за-

вордошних справ, п. Шенг Чанг-гуан про можливості актуалізації питання поневолених народів на форумі ОН.

У понеділок вранці, 24. 6. ц. р. п. Я. Стецько мав розмову з проф. Пу, директором Інституту Міжнародніх Зв'язків і спеціялістом для справ Сходу Европи, в якій заторкнув питання поневолених народів у СССР. Згодом відвідав найвищу наукову інституцію Вільного Китаю — «Академія Сініка» в товаристві д-ра Чу Чія-гуа, який є головою Академії і головою китайської асоціяції для ОН. Д-р Чу Чія-гуа влаштував на честь гостя прийняття, на якому, крім членів Місії АВН, був п. Ку Чанг-кванг та інші визначні особистості. Після обіду п. Я. Стецько і члени Місії відбули нараду з проф. Пао, шефом пресової агенції, обговорюючи співпрацю поміж пресовим бюром АВН і китайською пресою.

Наступного дня п. Я. Стецько вручив генеральному секретареві Китайської Ради Оборони, ген.-полк. Чов Чі-Джов, який є теж головою китайської національної федерації атлетів-аматорів спортову чашу т. зв. «Українську Чашу Свободи». Ще перед самим врученням «Чайна Ньюз» писала: «Ярослав Стецько, колишній український прем'єр і президент ЦК АВН, вручить у знак признані китайським атлетам срібну чашу від українських борців».

Цього самого дня п. Я. Стецька і членів Місії прийняв віцепрезидент Чен-Ченг та прем'єр О. К. Юй, а увечорі президент китайської національної організації для міжнародніх зв'язків, який є також віцепрезидентом парляменту, Гванг Куо-шу влаштував прийняття на честь Голови ЦК АВН.

В середу, 26. червня, Президія АПАКДРОК запросила на чай до міської ратуші міста Тайпаю понад 60 китайських послів і професорів і перед цією добірною публікою п. Я. Стецько мав доповідь на тему «Перспективи національних революцій та становище за залізною заслоною». Увечорі Голова ЦК АВН мав розмову з керівником 6-го відділу Куомінтангу п. Чен Чіен-чунгом, який вгостив опісля п. Я. Стецька і членів Місії вечерею, на яку були запрошені й інші лідери Куомінтангу.

Наступного дня, 27. червня ц. р. п. Я. Стецька прийняв президент Вільного Китаю маршал Чанг Кай-шек. Під час розмови Голова ЦК АВН «дискутував про методи і засоби поборювання комуністичного імперіялізму», як пише «Чайна Ньюз» з 27. 6. ц. р.

☞ на 2. стор.

(v See over.

Я. Стецько в Чянґ Кай-шека

Чяк з 1 стор.

Цього ж дня голова ЦК АВН мав розмову з сином президента, ген. Чянґ Чінґ-куо. Другий син президента, Чянґ Ва-го запросив його на обід міжнародного Ротарі-клюбу в Тайпеї, де були присутні представники 12 націй (США, Франція, Англія, Японія, Туреччина, Китай, Корея, В'єтнам, Філіппіни й інші) та члени дипломатичних представництв у Вільному Китаї. Я. Стецько, як почесний гість, виголосив коротку доповідь на тему «Поневолені Москвою народи і вільний світ». Теж наступного дня, в п'ятницю 28. 6. 1957 р., п. Я. Стецько промовляв, як почесний гість до новоприбулих китайських утікачів, які нещодавно, після вбивства капітана корабля і знаварізування залоги прибули з комуністичного Китаю, через Гонґ Конґ, до Тайпею. Між почесними гостями були міністер внутрішніх справ Вільного Китаю Ванґ Тег-Пу, представниця від американців, п. Ку Ченґ-канґ та інші. Урочистість була передавана на китайський континент. Цього ж дня ввечері, на запрошення китайської Асоціяції для ОН, п. Я. Стецько мав доповідь про «Міжнародне становище України та інших поневолених большевизмом народів».

В неділю 30. червня, в приміщенні Місії АВН, відвідав п. Я. Стецька д-р Чу Чіа-гуа, президент «Академії Сініка», колишній міністер освіти, дорадник президента, президент для китайської асоціяції при ОН. Під час розмови були заторкнені питання співпраці поміж українським і китайським науковцями і науковими інституціями.

Після обіду голова ЦК АВН і члени Місії відвідали проф. Ліня, а ввечері були присутні на першому змаганні за «Українську Чашу Свободи» двох найкращих спортових дружин кошиківців. Китайська преса вже наперед повідомляла про це: «Сьогодні ввечері, о год. 8-й відбудеться перша партія змагань дружин за «Чашу України». Я. Стецько, Президент Антибольшевицького Вільного Народів, який подарував цю чашу, відкриває змагання сьогодні ввечері на стадіоні збройних сил» («Чайна Ньюз», 30. 6. 57).

В присутності біля 2.000 глядачів, генералів головного штабу китайської армії, п. Ку Ченґ-канґ і посадника міста Тайпею, п. Я. Стецько відкрив змагання коротко промовою, після якої заступник шефа генерального політичного департаменту міністерства національної оборони, ген. І, вручив голові ЦК АВН під звуки маршу 3 прапори: від шефа політичного відділу міністерства національної оборони, від шефа генерального штабу і від організації китайської молоді. Численні фоторепортери і кінооператори зафіксували церемонію передачі прапорів і ці знімки появилися наступного дня в китайській пресі, разом з висліддом перших змагань.

«В перших змаганнях за «Українську Чашу Свободи» — писала «Чайна Ньюз» з 1. 7. 57 — військова дружина побила цивільну на 3 пункти (82-79) під час додаткової п'ятихвилинної гри. Змагання в рамцях нормального часу (40 хвилин) закінчилося рамісом на 69 пунктів».

У вівторок 2. 7. 57 р., п. Я. Стецько вручив дружині Президента надану Чянґ Кай-шеком нагороду від українських вішок в Австралії, та відбув з нею розмову в приміщенні китайської вішкової Антикомуністичної Ліґи.

Цього ж дня ген. Чянґ Чієн-жен, шеф політичного відділу міністерства оборони, вручив голову ЦК АВН і членів Місії обіди, після якого відбув п. Я. Стецько із генералом довшу розмову про можливості співпраці в галузі психологічної війни.

Увечері влаштував проф. Пу прийняття на честь голови ЦК АВН, на якому були присутні пп. Ку Ченґ-канґ, д-р Пао Гуо, проф. Лія, керівник шестого відділу Куомінтангу, Чен Чієн-чуан, генерал Чанґ і члени Місії.

Президент АВН під час свого перебування в Тайпеї відбув кілька довших нарад з лідерами АПАКЛРОК, на яких були продискутовані різні точки співпраці поміж АВН-ом і китайською організацією Антикомуністичної Ліґи Народів Азії. Крім цього, п. Я. Стецько і члени Місії АВН відбули довшу розмову із американським амбасадором К. Ранкином (1. 7. 57) та з французьким амбасадором А. Вольс (2. 7. ц. р.).

Крім пресової конференції, п. Я. Стецько виголосив 3 промови через 3 різні радіостанції українською мовою в синхронізованому китайському перекладі. Ці промови були призначені для китайського народу та для народів поневолених комунізмом і червоною Росією.

6. 7. 57 р. голова ЦК АВН відкрив радіопередачі Місії АВН, призначені для поневолених Совдепу, в [illegible] концентраційних таборів для совєтських місій на китайському континенті.

Офіційний орган Куомінтангу повістив 1. липня ц. р. обширну статтю під заг.: «40 років національної боротьби України за свободу і самостійність, проти совєтсько-російської тиранії» на підставі матеріялів Ліґи Визволення України з Канади.

6. 7. 57 відбулася пресова конференція п. Я. Стецька, на якій були присутні представники всієї вільної китайської преси, що тривала понад годину. Після пресової заяви, пов'язаної з чисткою в Москві, виголошено боротьбою упривлених народів, зображеним Тайваню, як чин оцінкою нової кит[illegible] маршала Чянґ Кай-шека, що якр[illegible] появилися китайською і англійськ[illegible] мовами, ставили журналісти числе[illegible] запитти. День перед тим відбулося останнє прийняття, влаштоване [illegible]гою. В неділю 7. 7. відлетів Я. Стец[illegible] до Гонґ Конґу. На летовищі ок[illegible] членів Місії АБН прощали гости з[illegible]зидент Ку Ченґ-канґ, президент [illegible]тайської Академії Наук, проф. д-р [illegible] директор 6 відділу Куомінтангу, [illegible] ректор Східнього Інституту закор[illegible]ких зв'язків, генеральний секре[illegible] АПАКЛРОК, д-р Пао, і інші числе[illegible] видатні китайські політики і військ[illegible] мужі.

Зернова криза в СССР про

У [illegible] 57-ому [illegible] роботу [illegible] партії [illegible] Малянов [illegible] біжучому [illegible] р. [illegible] на [illegible] в мільйонів пудів [illegible] — [illegible] СССР, запитується [illegible]

Зернова криза в СССР про

У звітній доповіді XIX з'їзду ВКП(б) про роботу Центрального Комітету партії тодішня права рука Сталіна Г. Маленков бундючив заявлявся: «В біжучому 1952 р. валовий урожай зерна виносив 8 мільярдів пудів (131 [illegible] кг.)... Таким чином зернова проблема, яка раніше рахувалась [illegible] більших господарств і [illegible] проблему [illegible] 47 усіяних, [illegible] точних і біжкоротких (бурлацьких [illegible] районах).

А [illegible] по чим, бо Маленков, як і А [illegible] нашим з ЦК ВКП(б), добре знав, що урожай в СССР в 1952 р. був і 18 років тому рахував начисляді лише на корені з земельного [illegible], бо на око районні і міжрайонні оцінювачі [illegible] ті, які страха ради [illegible] органам комісарії і [illegible] ні влади завищували ці урожаї.") Таким чином Маленковський валовий урожай не був комірним, цебто, такий що є вже в засіках, а лише завищений біологічним, без врахування втрат під час збирання, молотьби і транспортування. А що в колгоспах і радгоспах СССР, в тому числі і в Україні, втрати урожаю зерна під час жнив є надмірно високі, стверджують такі особи як перший секретар ЦК КПСС Хрущов і ЦК КПУ Кириченко.

В доповіді на січневому пленумі ЦК КПСС в 1958 р. Хрущов, спираючись на даних Сивашанківської і Павлоградської сортових дільниць Дніпропетровської області довів, що затримка збору зернових культур на 20 днів після наступлення повної стиглости приводить до втрат зерна в розмірі 33-37% від біологічного урожаю. В цій же доповіді він зробив таке застереження: «Зовсім нестерпне таке положення, коли в результаті затягування жнив в багатьох колгоспах і радгоспах втрачається до чверти урожаю, а в деяких випадках і більше.") З повідомлень совєтської преси і радіо відомо, що збір урожаю зернових культур у колгоспах і радгоспах СССР затягується на 30-40 днів, а це значить, що і втрати зерна під час жнив були ще більші, ніж їх подав Хрущов. Кириченко в доповіді на пленумі ЦК КПУ в лютому 1958 р., торкаючись питання втрат зерна під час жнив у господарствах України заявив наступне: «Підрахунки показують, що втрати зерна під час збирання, молотьби і перевозок становлять до 20% урожаю, а в ряді колгоспів навіть більше.")

Що ці втрати є справді більші, видно хочби з такого повідомлення «Радянської України» від 7. 3. 1957 р.: «В колгоспі ім. Леніна Кривоозерського району Миколаївської області втрати урожаю зернових культур в 1956 р. лише через несвоєчасне і недоброякісне збирання виносили: кукурудзи не менше 6 центнерів на гектар, і колосових культур по 3-4 центнери на гектар». Тобто при низькому урожаї, який був у Миколаївській області в 1956 р. ці втрати становили не менше 30% біологічного врожаю. В колгоспі ім. Кагановича Сорокинського району Алтайського краю, де на початку жнив збирали 19 центнерів з одного гектара пшениці, через 40 днів пізніше цей збір виносив всього 4 центнери з гектара, або втрати становили 15 центнерів на гектарі (А. Ханьковский: Об экономическом значении раздельной уборки хлебов, «Вопросы экономики № 11, 1956, стор 33.)

Коли [illegible] ...ного пшениці, в'язків більше.

[illegible] заточкований безглуздою суцільною колективізацією сільського господарства, зокрема не вистачилась в 1951 р. і хліба для нормального прожиття [illegible] Совєтському Союзу, а особливо для творення військових стратегічних запасів не вистачало. В світлі цього стає цілком зрозумілою Хрущовська кукурудзяна [illegible] і ударна кампанія освоєння цілинних земель сухих степів Казахстану та інших східніх областей СССР, на які силою загнано сотки тисяч молоді зі всіх кінців СССР, з того незмірну кількість сонів і дочок українського народу.

На XX з'їзді КПСС [illegible]

8 August 1958

JPRS/DC-L-655

11 AUG 57

PIERCING THE WALL OF INDIFFERENCE

(ACCOUNT OF YA. STETS'KO'S TRIP TO AUSTRALIA)

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PIERCING THE WALL OF INDIFFERENCE

(ACCOUNT OF YA. STETS'KO'S TRIP TO AUSTRALIA)

Shlakh peremohy
/The Road of Victory/
11 August 1957, Munich

I. Savich

During his visit to Australia, which lasted from 12 April through 19 June, Mr. YA. Stets'ko visited the main centers of the Ukrainian Emigration as, for instance, in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, Brisbane, where he was greeted extremely affectionately at the airports and in Ukrainian homes by hundreds of Ukrainians scattered throughout the great expanse of Australia. The head of the ABN /Anti-Bolshevytskyy Blok Narodiv — Anti-Bolshevik Block of People/ delivered 18 major speeches before mass gatherings, at meetings, congregations, and receptions for Ukrainians, Australians, and Representatives of Emigre's from various Eastern European countries, totaling more than 8,000 persons. Aside from that, Mr. Stets'ko held approximately 100 important talks with Australian Statesmen, Ministers, the highest members of the Clergy, Senators, Envoys, leaders of political parties, and journalists. He held press conferences with representatives from the Australian and emigre' press in five state centers. An interesting fact is that the Australian press in the largest cities like Sidney and Melbourne assumed a reserved attitude toward the ABN action, whereas in the smaller cities, on the contrary, the action received a very favorable comment from the press. It follows therefore, that hostile elements to the Ukrainian cause thus far prevail in the press of Australia's largest cities.

After every speech of the head of the ABN, during every meeting with the citizenry, many of our people approached the popular guest to ask him an endless number of questions, and to renew in him the faith in our ultimate victory which prevailed in all his speeches. The best reaction was displayed by our youth, women, and workers; only a few Party die-hards were not able to discard their worn-out Party dogmas, and sought spots on the sun. Their prejudiced stand during the discussions, however, only prompted a general condemnation and embarrassed them completely, even in the eyes of those who shared their views.

Support of the revolutionary liberation struggle in the Ukraine and the foreign action of the ABN — this has the uniting

platform for all Ukrainians of good will, which had won over the hearts of the overwhelming majority of the Ukrainians in Australia. And the proof of that were numerous declarations and touching gifts from the natives of all parts of the Ukraine.

These were some of the great unifying moments that cemented our ranks in far-off foreign lands and guided them onto the right road. There was not a single Ukrainian in Australia during those two months who had not re-examined his attitude toward the Fighting Fatherland; who had not asked himself the question, "And what have I done for our holy cause of liberating the Fatherland?"

In connection with the trip of the head of the ABN, contributions for ABN's cause, especially for the ABN mission on Formosa, had grown considerably.

The most significant result of Mr. Stets'ko's stay in Australia, however, was his piercing of the "Chinese Wall" of indifference among Australians to the Ukrainian cause, to the fight against Russian imperialism and Communism, which seriously threatens Australia, which, although completely defenseless against the Communist threat from the north, does not take seriously the warnings of the immigrants from behind the Iron Curtain.

In Melbourne alone, the following facts should be noted: On 25 May a group of Ukrainians were invited to the Parliament of Victoria where, following the debate, a reception attended by Premier of Victoria Bolte and other delegates took place. On 22 June the Liberal and Labour parties arranged in the Ukrainian House in Melbourne a reception for Ukrainians, which featured a speech by Senator Gorlou, who is the head of the foreign-affairs-commission in the Federal Parliament of Australia. Other outstanding Australians also participated.

Following that evening many Ukrainians received invitations to join the Liberal Party, which is now in power, and takes an anti-Communist stand. The leader of the Liberal Party, the present premier of Australia, made a statement at the conference of the Premier of the British Commonwealth, that the conference ought to issue a common declaration condemning Russia, which is now the sole colonial empire. Senator McManus of the anti-Communist Labour Party took a stand in the senate against the policy of coexistence, and called for the support of the struggle of the peoples enslaved by Moscow. In addition, he demanded a governmental declaration against the Moscow imperialist system. Senator Gorton supported Senator McManus's demands.

The examples cited above prove that the trip of the ABN head achieved considerable success in Australian political circles.

In conclusion it is necessary to affirm objectively that the trip was a great triumph for ABN ideas, not only among Ukrainians, but among other emigre's from states and nations enslaved by Moscow, as well as in the ranks of the Australian political elite. There now stands before the Ukrainian emigration in Australia the important task of consolidating these great achievements of the head of the ABN's central committee, Mr. YA. Stets'ko, in the interior as well as exterior sectors.

"Shlakh Peremohy" - 11 Aug 57

Проламання муру байдужости

ПІДСУМКИ ПОЇЗДКИ п. Я. СТЕЦЬКА ПО АВСТРАЛІЇ

Під час своєї окружної поїздки по цілій Австралії п. Я. Стецько від 12. 4. до 19. 6. ц. р. відвідав головні скупчення української еміграції, як Сідней, Мельбурн, Аделяйда, Перт, Брізбейн, де його вітали незвичайно сердечно на летовищах і в українських домівках сотні українців, розкинених по широких просторах Австралії. Голова АВН виголосив 18 великих промов на многолюдних вічах, зібраннях, зустрічах і прийняттях для українців, австраліїців і представників емігрантів з різних східньоевропейських країн — разом понад 8.000 осіб. Крім цього візит п. Я. Стецько біля сотні важливих розмов з австралійськими державними мужами, міністрами, найвищими церковними достойниками, сенаторами, послами, лідерами політичних партій та журналістами. У 3 стейтовім центрах відбув він пресові конференції з представниками австралійської та еміграційної преси. Цікаво, що в найбільших містах, як Сідней і Мельбурн, австралійська преса поставилася здержливо до акції АВН, навпаки в менших містах преса писала про неї дуже прихильно. З того виходить, що ворожі українству впливи переважають досі в пресі найбільших міст Австралії.

Після кожної промови Голови АВН, під час кожної зустрічі з громадянством — багато наших людей підходило до дорогого гостя, щоб ставити йому безконечну низку питань, та зачерпнути від нього тієї сильної віри в нашу остаточну перемогу, яка домінувала в усіх його промовах. Найкраще реагувала наша молодь, жіноцтво, робітництво, тільки деякі заскорузлі партійники ніяк не могли позбутися своїх заялозених партійних догм і шукали плям на сонці. Одначе їхні упереджені виступи в дискусіях викликали тільки загальний осуд і компромітували їх дорешти навіть в очах їхніх однодумців.

Підтримка революційно-визвольної боротьби в Україні і закордонна акція АВН — це була ця об'єднуюча платформа для всіх українців доброї волі, яка завоювала серця великої більшости українців в Австралії. А доказом того були численні заяви, та зворушливі дари уродженців усіх земель України.

Це були великі об'єднуючі моменти, які зцементували наші лави на далекій чужині та направляли їх на правильний шлях. Упродовж двох місяців не було українця в Австралії, який не перевірив би свого ставлення до Визвольної Батьківщини, який не поставив би собі питання: «А що я зробив для нашої святої справи визволення Батьківщини?»

У зв'язку з поїздкою Голови АВН значно зросла жертвенність на цілі АВН, особливо для Місії АВН на Формозі.

Одначе маркантнішим результатом перебування п. Я. Стецька в Австралії є проламання ним «китайського муру» байдужости серед австраліїців до української справи, до боротьби проти російського імперіялізму і комунізму, що серйозно загрожує Австралії, яка, хоча зовсім безборонна проти комуністичної загрози з півночі, легковажить усі перестороги емігрантів з-поза залізної заслони.

Тільки в одному Мельбурні треба залотувати такі факти: 23. 5. групу українців запрошено до парляменту Вікторії, де відбулося після дебати прийняття з участю прем'єра Вікторії п. Волте й інших послів. Ліберальна і Селянська Партії влаштували в українському домі в Мельбурні 22. 6. прийняття для українців з промовою сен. Гортона, голови комісії закордонних справ федерального парляменту Австралії, та з виступами інших визначних австраліїців.

Після цього вечора багато українців дістало запрошення вступити у члени Ліберальної Партії, що тепер є при владі, та займає протикомуністичне становище Лівого Ліберального Канадського Комонвелту, що конференція повинна видати спільний маніфест з осудженням Росії, яка є єдиною тепер колоніяльною імперією. Сенатор антикомуністичної Лейбористської Партії Мек Манус виступив у сенаті проти політики коекзистенції і закликав підтримати змагання поневолених Москвою народів та домагався заяви уряду проти московської імперіялістичної системи. Сенатор Гортон підтримав аномоги сен. Мак Манус.

Наведені вище приклади свідчать наглядно, що поїздка Голови АВН має поважні успіхи серед австралійських політичних кіл.

Вкінці треба об'єктивно ствердити, що ця поїздка була великим трюмфом ідей АВН не тільки між українцями, але також серед інших емігрантів з поневолених Москвою держав і народів та австралійської політичної верхівки. Перед українською еміграцією в Австралії стоять тепер важливі завдання — закріпити ці великі осяги Голови ЦК АВН п. Я. Стецька як на внутрішньому, так і на зовнішньому секторі.

І. Сазич

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Miroslav PAVLOVSKY	2. RI FILE NO.	
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. EE/C	4. DATE 4 Sept 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED/ RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2D
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

4 Sept 57

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS
6-57

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DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
TO: DIR	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. FMAE 2044
	4. DATE 23 Oct 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM
	8. DATE OF INFO.
	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58
	10. DISSEMINATED IN
	11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED RI FILE NO.

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14

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

23 Oct 57

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FORM 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

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(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION	
Name Trace Request	2. RI FILE NO.	
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. BOMA 29702	4. DATE 5 Nov 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM	8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST	6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

5 Nov 57

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FORM 9-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-46)

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
Trace Reply Miroslav PAVLOVSKY	2. RI FILE NO. [redacted]
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. HQMA 46090
	4. DATE 22 Nov 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM
	8. DATE OF INFO.
	9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST [redacted]	6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58
	10. DISSEMINATED IN
	11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED RI FILE NO. [redacted]

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

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DATE 2007

22 Nov 57

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [redacted]

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SECRET

(7-48)

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
Name Trace Reply Miroslav PAVLOVSKY	2. RI FILE NO. [redacted]
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. RDQA 93287 — 4. DATE 10 Dec 57
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM — 8. DATE OF INFO. — 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST [redacted] — 6. DATE PROCESSED 18 Aug 58	10. DISSEMINATED IN — 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO FILE NO. [redacted]

PERTINENT INFORMATION

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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

10 Dec 57

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [redacted]

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SECRET

State

☆ U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1954-897068

FORM DS-939
12-4-51

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION OF SECURITY

REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION

To:	From:	Date:
DEPUTY DIRECTOR OF [illegible] (CIA)		2/11/58

DO NOT WRITE ABOVE THIS LINE

I NAME (If married women include maiden name)	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH
[redacted] (Check only Cons	January 18, 1913	[redacted]

ALIASES AND NICKNAMES		STATUS	CITIZENSHIP
[redacted]	May 1, 1956 to present. M		[redacted]

ADDRESS	OCCUPATION AND NAME AND ADDRESS OF EMPLOYER
[redacted]	

ADDITIONAL IDENTIFYING DATA

CONTROL: THIS REQUEST PLACED WITH THE DIVISION OF SECURITY BY:

DIVISION OR AGENCY	REASON FOR REQUEST, OR TYPE OF PROGRAM
[redacted]	VISA - Security Cons
DATE [redacted]	
NAME OR REQUESTING OFFICER [redacted]	

II RESULTS OF THE REQUEST FOR SECURITY INFORMATION:

- ☐ NO RECORD
- ☐ NO DEROGATORY INFORMATION
- ☐ SECURITY INFORMATION ATTACHED
- ☐ OTHER (Use reverse side for reporting)

CHECKED BY	DATE

III FOR USE OF DIVISION OF SECURITY:

VISA OFFICE
SECURITY BRANCH
FEB 11 1958
DEPT. OF STATE

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

(Date)

13 FEB 1958

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
PROGRESS REPORT, 1-28 FEBRUARY 1958.	2. RI FILE NO. [redacted] 3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. EGMA-32039 4. DATE 05 MAR 58 7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM 8. DATE OF INFO. 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. [redacted]	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV [redacted]

BANDERISTS: [redacted] MENTIONED THAT THE BANDERISTS ARE EXTREMELY ANGRY AT THE AMERICANS AT THE MOMENT, BECAUSE YAROSLAV STETSKO /DOB, 19 JANUARY 1912; POB, TARNOPOL/ APPLIED FOR A VISITOR'S VISA TO THE USA, BUT AT THE LAST MOMENT THE REQUEST WAS DENIED BY THE US CONSUL GENERAL IN MUNICH. [redacted] ASKED HOW THE BANDERISTS MANAGE TO KEEP GOING AND SENDING THEIR REPRESENTATIVES ALL AROUND THE WORLD WHEN SUCH PROJECTS COST MONEY AND ALLEGEDLY NO ONE IS SUPPORTING THE BANDERSITS ANY LONGER. [redacted] REPLIED THAT THE BANDERSITS CLAIM THAT THEY RECEIVE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM INDIVIDUAL UKRAINIANS NOW IN THE USA. THE BRITISH SUPPORTED BANDERA UP UNTIL ABOUT 1951, BUT [redacted] WAS RECENTLY ASSURED BY A BRITISH REPRESENTATIVE THAT THIS SUPPORT IS NO LONGER BEING RENDERED IN ANY FORM.

15.

FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO. [redacted]

FORM 0-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS. SECRET (7-46)

615/SE/OB/

CLASSIFIED MESSAGE

SECRET

ORIG :
UNIT : [redacted]/3/OB
EXT : [redacted]
DATE : 20 March 1958

615

TO : [redacted] FRANKFURT

FROM : DIRECTOR

CONF : SR 6

INFO : C., CI/OPS, FI, FI/OPS, EE 4, S/C 2

21 20 52 58

SECRET CABLE SECT

DEFERRED		PRIORITY	INITIALS
ROUTINE		OPERATIONAL IMMEDIATE	INITIALS

OUT 57878

OUT57878

TO [redacted] INFO [redacted] CITE DIR 13898

13898

REFWOOD LCEMPROVE AERODYNAMIC ARCHAVATIRA

1. [redacted] RECEIVED PRIORITY REQUEST UNDER TRUE NAME INDICATING CONFIDENTIAL INTEREST FROM STATE DEPT VISA OFFICE FOR POST 1956 TRACES ON STEFAN BANDERA. NO FURTHER INFO.

2. PLS CHECK AMONGST [redacted] FOR MORE DATA SUCH AS LENGTH AND PURPOSE VISIT.

3. [redacted] MAY WISH CONSIDER TAKE ADVANTAGE THIS DEVELOPMENT INTERVIEW BANDERA.

[redacted]

4. [redacted] PREVIOUS APPLICATION 1955 WHICH REFUSED WAS FILED UNDER BASE NAME. OUR FILES REFLECT NO DEROG INFO SINCE 1956 AND WE PLAN NO ANSWER SINCE UNLESS HQS HAS INFO NOT KNOWN HQ.

END OF MESSAGE

[redacted]/OSP/OS

[redacted]/O/OS
COORDINATING OFFICER

[redacted]/OS
RELEASING OFFICER

SECRET

[redacted]
INITIATING OFFICER

DM/A/203/RLG/DV/SA
DATE 27 MAR 58

S-E-C-R-E-T

TO : DIRECTOR

FROM : MUNICH

ACTION: SR 6

INFO : CI, CI/OPS, FI, FI/OPS, EE 4, S/C 2

MAR 27 17492 58

ROUTINE

IN 49176

TO DIR INFO FRAN CITE MUNI 6373

REDWOOD LCIMPROVE AERODYNAMIC AECAVATINA

RE DIR 13898 (OUT 57878) •

1. RE PARA 1 REF, CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST APPARENTLY PROMPTED BY LEV DOBRIANSKY INTERCESSION BEHALF AECAVATINA 1 AND 2. THIS DISCERNED VIA LETTER INTERCEPT FROM DOBRIANSKY TO AECAVATINA 2 WHICH REVEALED DOBRIANSKY LOOKING INTO MATTER VISA FOR BOTH 1 AND 2. DATE OF LETTER 10 MARCH. LETTER FURTHER REVEALED AECAVATINA 2 TO PARTICIPATE MEXICAN ANTI COMMUNIST CONFERENCE SCHEDULED LATE MARCH 1958 AND THAT HE TO OBTAIN VISA FROM THAT REGION.

2. ALTHOUGH NOT SPECIFIED IN LETTER WHEN AECAVATINA 1 AND 2 DESIRE VISIT U.S. IT APPARENT THIS TO BE IN NEAR FUTURE. AECAVATINA 1 MADE NO VISA APPLICATION MUNI AMCONGEN FOR THIS TRIP BUT WILL PROBABLY DO SO WHEN RECEIVES FAVORABLE REPLY FROM DOBRIANSKY. STATE DEPT VISA OFFICE REQUEST FOR POST 1956 TRACES AECAVATINA 1 MADE FOR THIS REASON AFTER RECEIPT OF WHICH THEY PROBABLY TO INFORM AMCONGEN HERE GRANT VISA WHEN REQUESTED.

3. RE PARA 4 REF, MOB HAS NOTHING NEW TO ADD TO HQS FILES RE AECAVATINA 1. SEE NO KUBARK REASON BLOCK VISA.

4. RE PARA 3 REF, WILL TAKE STEPS INTERVIEW AECAVATINA 1.

END OF MESSAGE

S-E-C-R-E-T

 Copy No.

C/S COMMENT: • PRIORITY REQUEST UNDER TRUE NAME INDICATING CONGRESSIONAL INTEREST FROM STATE DEPT VISA OFFICE FOR POST 1956 TRACES ON STEPAN BANDERA.

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	1. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERRED TO THIS FILE

13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETSKO, YAROSLAV
19 JAN 22
TARNOPOL POLAND

074-006-0067/25
EGMA-33358
02 APR 58
ATT.

STETSKO HAS ALREADY OBTAINED A VISA AND EXPECTS TO VISIT THE USA WHEN THE ANTI-COMMUNIST CONGRESS ENDS IN MEXICO. STETSKO RECEIVED A VISA EVEN THOUGH THE AMERICANS HAD INTENDED TO DENY HIM ONE FOR THE REST OF HIS LIFE BECAUSE HE HAD ENTERED THE US ILLEGALLY FROM CANADA /SEVERAL YEARS AGO/. THE FACT THAT HE GOT A VISA NOW HAS CREATED QUITE AN IMPRESSION HERE AND IS VIEWED WITH OPTOMISM BY BANDERA LEADERS.

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 9-57 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-46)

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

(Separatist Movements in the U. S. S. R.)

CONSULTATION WITH YAROSLAV STETZKO

FORMER UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FIFTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MAY 14, 1958
(INCLUDING INDEX)

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1958

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, Chairman

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GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio
ROBERT J. McINTOSH, Michigan

RICHARD ARens, Staff Director

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MONO SECTION

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (June 4, 1946), chapter 753, 60 statutes, which provides:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

* * * * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

* * * * * * *

(k) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(2) Un-American activities.

(3) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (A) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (B) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and secret propaganda that is designed to undermine the foundations of a democratic, religious and political system and the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (C) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities or any subcommittee thereof is authorized, to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpoenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * * * *

RULE XII

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS OF SPECIAL COMMITTEES

SEC. 2(b). To assist the Congress in exercising the affirmative duties of the legislative and in developing such recommendations to current legislation as it may from time to time, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives (except committees of conference) shall submit to the Congress, not later than March 31 in the first session of any long and present session of which it is within the jurisdiction of such committee, and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

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MONO SECTION
NEW ODD PAGE

INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM

(Separatist Movements in the U. S. S. R.)

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14, 1958

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

CONSULTATION

The following consultation with Yaroslav Stetzko, former Ukrainian Prime Minister, was held at 2:10 p. m. in room 226, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., pursuant to the authorization of the Committee on Un-American Activities, composed of—

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Pennsylvania, Chairman

MORGAN M. MOULDER, Missouri	BERNARD W. KEARNEY, New York
CLYDE DOYLE, California	DONALD L. JACKSON, California
EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana	GORDON H. SCHERER, Ohio
WILLIAM M. TUCK, Virginia	ROBERT J. MCINTOSH, Michigan

Staff members present: Richard Arens, staff director; William F. Heimlich, consultant; and Richard S. Weil, staff member.

Also present: Walter Dushnyck and Ignatius Bilinsky, interpreters for Mr. Stetzko; and Johanna S. Wissenbach, of the Alderson Reporting Co., reporter and notary public.

Mr. ARENS. Gentlemen, the notary public will administer an oath.

Miss WISSENBACH. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. STETZKO. I do.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. I do.

Mr. BILINSKY. I do.

STATEMENT OF YAROSLAV STETZKO, GIVEN THROUGH INTERPRETERS, MESSRS. BILINSKY AND DUSHNYCK

Mr. ARENS. Will each of you gentlemen kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation?

Mr. STETZKO. I am Yaroslav Stetzko, presently residing in Munich, Germany, as an official address.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. My name is Walter Dushnyck, 2164 Caton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. I am a writer and journalist; an American citizen.

Mr. BILINSKY. My name is Ignatius Bilinsky. I reside in Philadelphia City, 5018 North 11th Street; and I hold the office of managing editor of the Ukrainian Catholic daily newspaper, *America*. I am an American citizen.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Dushnyck and Mr. Bilinsky, you gentlemen are thoroughly conversant with both the Ukrainian and the English language?

Mr. BILINSKY. That is correct.

Mr. DUSHNYCK. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And you appear here as friend and translator for Mr. Stetzko, who does not speak English?

Mr. DUSHNYCK. Correct.

Mr. BILINSKY. Correct.

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MONO SECTION

Mr. ADAMS. The first question I normally pose in this type of proceeding, and which I shall now pose, is that the principal witness, who is Mr. Stetsko in this case, give a word on his own personal background.

Mr. STETSKO. My name is Yaroslav Stetsko. I was born on January 19, 1912, in Tarnopol, Ukraine, and attended there the grammar school and also graduated there from the gymnasium in 1929. Subsequently I studied law and philosophy at Lviv University.

From 1926 onwards I was an active member of the Ukrainian underground movement, at first in the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and later in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Both organizations continued to struggle for attaining national independence lost in the early 1920's to the Russian Communist and other invaders of Ukraine.

For my patriotic activities I was arrested and imprisoned by the invaders in 1930, 1932, and 1933. In 1934 I was arrested for being the chief editor of the illegal periodicals of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and one of the leaders of the Western Ukrainian center of this organization.

During my activities in the liberation struggle, I made frequent visits to various European countries where I endeavored to organize political and material support for the Ukrainians fighting for their freedom. In August 1939, I prepared a political platform for the Second Congress of the OUN.

When the war between Germany and Russia broke out I entered the Ukraine, and on June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian National Assembly, under my presidency, proclaimed the independence of Ukraine.

On the same day I was elected Prime Minister by the same Ukrainian National Assembly. On July 12, 1941, I was arrested by the Gestapo and deported into Germany.

On September 15, 1941, I was sent to a concentration camp at Sachsenhausen, having refused Hitler's ultimatum to resign my office as Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and revoke the act of proclamation of Ukrainian independence. There I was imprisoned until September 30, 1944.

Released from concentration camp, I was again placed under tight police surveillance when I refused to cooperate with the Hitler government.

In December 1944, I fled from Berlin to Bratislava and from Bratislava to Vienna and from Vienna to Prague and from Prague to Munich. During my escape from the oncoming Russian armies, I was seriously wounded.

Meanwhile, in 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was organized and rapidly developed into a powerful military and political force. In the fall of 1943 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, under the leadership of Gen. Taras Chuprynka, called a conference of the liberation movements, in consequence of which the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was created with the sponsorship of the 13 nationalities.

In 1946 I was elected president of the Central Committee of ABN, as well as a member of the presidium of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists together with Gen. Taras Chuprynka and Stepan Bandera.

In 1951 I was elected the chairman of the OUN Units Abroad for the period of 2 years.

8 ZY
MONO SECTION

In the meanwhile the ABN soon developed into a large anti-Communist force, attaining considerable organizational, political, and diplomatic successes. Its membership grew so that presently it does include many national liberation organizations of 15 different nations; namely, Armenia, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, the Cossacks, Croatia, Slovakia, Czechia, Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Serbia, Turkestan, and Ukraine. Specifically, these nations are represented by the following organizations: The Committee for a "Free Armenia"; the Bulgarian National Front; the Byelorussian Central Council; the Cossack National Liberation Movement; the Czech National Committee; the Estonian Liberation Movement; the Georgian National Organization; the Hungarian Liberation Movement; the Hungarian Minority Movement; the Latvian Association for the Struggle Against Communism; the Lithuanian Rebirth Movement; the Organization of Serbian Nationalists; the Croatian National Liberation Movement; the Slovak Liberation Committee; the Turkestanian National Unity Committee; the Ukrainian Hetman Union; and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

In 1950 at a conference of the ABN with the Scottish League for European Freedom, the two participants resolved to stimulate their idea for a world anti-Communist movement.

Having this great idea in mind, I forwarded it since then to many nations during my several journeys to Free China, [illegible] Vietnam, Australia, Thailand, Hong Kong, Singapore, Turkey, Italy, Great Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, West Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Mexico, Canada, and the United States.

In Taipei, Formosa, I met President Chiang Kai-shek, and concluded an agreement of cooperation between the ABN and the "Asiatic Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China," in a common fight against communism and Russian imperialism.

In 1961 I signed a similar agreement of friendship and cooperation with the "Inter-American Confederation of the Defense of the Continent," headed by Carlos Penna Botto, a Brazilian admiral, and Dr. Jorge Prieto Laurens, a Mexican statesman, with headquarters in Mexico City.

Simultaneously the ABN was active in Europe, where a unity of action was established with influential Dutch, German, Italian, Spanish, and other anti-Communist organizations.

Finally, in March 1963, I took part in the Preparatory Conference in Mexico, when the participants of 65 nations resolved to organize a World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation, with the aim to establish a World Anti-Communist League.

Mr. ARENS. May I inquire as to the nature and purpose of your visit to the United States?

Mr. STETSKO. The purpose of my visit to the United States is triple: First, I came here to seek contacts with American anti-Communist organizations if possible; second, to seek the support for the planned World Anti-Communist Congress for Freedom and Liberation; I am a member of the Steering Committee of the World Anti-Communist Congress, of which Hon. Charles Edison, former Governor of the State of New Jersey, is chairman. The third purpose is to strengthen cooperation with all American organizations and groups deriving their descent and origin from the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

An overall purpose is to win or gain the sympathy and support of the American public opinion for the movement for national liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism; and for the full restoration of national sovereignty and independence not only for the so-called satellite nations, but also those nations which are in the Soviet Union proper.

Mr. ARENS. Do you presently have sources of direct information in those countries which have been subjugated by Soviet Russia?

Mr. STETSKO. We do have direct contact with liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, particularly with the Ukrainian nationalist underground which is fighting for freedom and independence.

Mr. ARENS. How strong is the anti-Communist movement behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. STETSKO. This question could be answered under two aspects: First, in the ideological aspect and, second, in a practical application of their activities and actual possibilities of organizing a national revolution against the Communists and the Russian imperialists.

As far as ideological attitude is concerned, I could say most certainly that in the overwhelming majority the populations of these countries are inimical to the Communist regimes, and this is particularly true in the case of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian people, as a whole, reject communism and Russian imperialism as a foreign dominating force; and the same goes for other subjugated countries. Only a very small number who are in the leadership of the Communist Party support the regime. We call them the "Quislings of Moscow."

As proof that the resistance is very active, we might cite not only the overt outbreaks in Hungary, Poland, East Germany, and Ukraina, but we also have numerous proofs of large-scale resistance and strikes in concentration camps among prisoners in the U. S. S. R.

In 1953, 1954, 1955, and 1956, after the death of Stalin, there occurred large-scale uprisings in several concentration camp areas. This is something that the free world has yet to realize—that not only these people who are still free are fighting for their freedom but even prisoners in concentration camps are included in this all-embracing anti-Russian and anti-Communist movement.

I might cite several resolutions which were passed by the non-Russian prisoners in one of the camps which they forwarded to the West, expressing concrete and specific demands.

Mr. ARENS. The documents which you have there, Mr. Stetsko, will be incorporated in this record by reference. How many people are in slave labor camps or concentration camps behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. STETSKO. We estimate over 15 million people.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a breakdown of the general areas from which these 15 million people in slave labor camps are incarcerated?

Mr. STETSKO. There are an overwhelming majority from the non-Russian countries dominated by Soviet Russia; such as Ukraina, the Baltic countries, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and others.

Mr. ARENS. And where are they incarcerated or imprisoned in these slave labor camps?

Mr. STETSKO. The great majority of them are in the Siberian complex and second in the Kazakhstan area. The best known and the largest are in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Kingir, Kolyma, Mordovia, Karaganda, Taishet, and so forth.

We especially want to underscore that in Kingir (Kazakhstan), in June 1954, 500 Ukrainian women prisoners were slaughtered by 7 Russian army tanks when they went on strike. They had tried to protect other strikers and thought that maybe the guards, who were Russian security police, would respect women. We have a very detailed description of this massacre from a participant who came out in the West. He is Dr. F. Varcony, a Hungarian doctor, who came back to West Germany and told us about this uprising.

Mr. Chairman, if you are interested we could enclose the complete description. As a matter of fact we do have a complete situation map with location of slave labor camps. We will provide this map and all documents. We have an ethnographic map of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union made by our organization. (See maps at end of text.)

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you observed a few moments ago that most of the people in Ukraine are against the Communist regime. May I pose this rather simple and naive question: Why, then, if this is a fact, do the Communists maintain power?

Mr. STETZKO. First, the Communist regime in Ukraine is a modern form of Russian imperialism, and all power in Ukraine is maintained by the Russian occupation forces, especially the MVD, which rules by terror and which is an instrument of the central Russian Government in Moscow.

In no country behind the Iron Curtain was there a Communist revolution made by the peoples themselves, but always the revolution was brought by Russian bayonets as in Ukraine, Bulgaria, Poland, Turkestan, Hungary, and other countries. If there would be no Russian troops and Russian pressure in these countries, the people would never vote for a Communist government.

Mr. ARENS. Where is the hope of the forces of freedom to conquer the rising tide of communism?

Mr. STETZKO. The only hope to overcome this Communist tide is by a unified front of both the enslaved peoples and the free world. We contend that there is no unification of these forces; and while the enslaved peoples are fighting for the restoration of their rights as human beings, the free world is not doing a bit. Only with simultaneous national revolutions in the countries behind the Iron Curtain and with the support of the free world can communism be overcome and eventually defeated from within.

Only after the defeat of Russian imperialism, disintegration of the Russian Empire, and the restoration of national independence of the enslaved nations, can we have durable peace and security in the world.

Mr. ARENS. What effect on the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain do the international conferences have, in which the leaders of the free world and the leaders of the Kremlin sit down to negotiate?

Mr. STETZKO. The effect is totally negative because it demoralizes these peoples as they see in those conferences the approval by the West of their enslavement.

I believe very firmly that the principal goal of Russian foreign policy conducted by Khrushchev is to obtain the approval and sanction of the political status quo, which is highly in favor of Russia now. The Russians themselves cannot maintain the status quo at present inasmuch as the liberation forces are undermining their empire; therefore, they want to preserve their domination with the assistance of the free world.

Because the national liberation movements are still very strong, despite persecution, and the hope still persists that the West eventually might help, the Russians by driving the free world toward the "summit" meeting are trying to quell that last hope that these enslaved people entertain.

Mr. ARENS. If, as you say, all that the Russians and the Kremlin want now is the status quo, what do we as a free people in the United States have to fear?

Mr. STETZKO. My answer to this is that the Russians will never be content with the status quo permanently. The status quo for them is only a stepping stone for further conquests of the free areas of the world.

When we look on the political map, it will show that in 1939 the political frontiers of the U. S. S. R. were very much smaller than they were in 1945 or are today in 1958. In a few years they will be God knows where, because Russia will always strive to expand; that is her nature.

Mr. ARENS. It is suggested, Mr. Stetzko, in some quarters that the free world is faced with one of two alternatives at the present time; namely, to negotiate at another "summit" meeting or to engage in an all-out war of staggering destruction. Do you see any possible third course for the free world?

11 ZY
MONO SECTION

Mr. STETSKO. The straightest road and the most direct road to an atomic juggernaut war would lead through "peaceful coexistence," one manifestation of which is a future "summit" conference.

Mr. ARENS. Why?

Mr. STETSKO. In my opinion the key problem in today's world is the enslaved nations, a powerful partner, which could help the free world from inside to dislodge and destroy the Russian Communist empire without atomic warfare.

By ignoring the enslaved nations as its partner, the free world, by conducting joint conferences, is actually negating this powerful force and inviting its own disaster by playing the Russian game. By so doing the free world is removing the third alternative, national liberation revolutions inside the Soviet Russian empire which should receive all possible active assistance from the free world.

By supporting these national liberation movements the West must be prepared to back them up not only morally, but materially and militarily as well; not like in Hungary when the chips came down and the West did not do anything.

The Russians could never drop atomic bombs on revolutionaries and freedom fighters behind the Iron Curtain because they will have their own occupation forces there guarding these Moscow-dominated countries.

I am quite convinced that sooner or later the West must be confronted with the necessity to wage an armed conflict with Communist Russia, which might be localized if the West will support the national revolutions of the enslaved nations.

Only a decisive policy, a policy of strength, could convince and deter the Russians from actually launching another war; not debating and negotiation.

Mr. ARENS. How far is the Kremlin in its schedule for complete domination and control of this planet?

Mr. STETSKO. Russia has already attained sufficiently numerous springboards from which she could launch a final attack upon the free world.

Lenin once said that the road to Paris leads through New Delhi and Peking. Peking now is entirely in the Russian orbit, and New Delhi is half-and-half.

In the Middle East, in their plan to conquer the world, the Russians went so far as never before in history. Also in Korea they are realizing most of Czarist Russia's policies in securing this vital bridgehead in the Far East. Today, Southeastern Asia is becoming their sphere of influence too.

Finally, through the fifth columns and various front organizations they succeeded in demoralizing considerable numbers of people everywhere, with results which we have just witnessed during the recent trip of Vice President Richard M. Nixon of the United States in Latin America.

Mr. ARENS. Can the free world coexist with the Soviet Russian empire?

Mr. STETSKO. Coexistence with Communist tyranny is not possible. The only coexistence Russia wants is a coexistence on her own terms, when the entire world is reduced to slavery like the people who live in the concentration camps.

Mr. Chairman, I would say that the nations enslaved by Russia present the main problem of the world politics. So far the policy of the free world is totally ineffective in regard to this problem; therefore, the West has to change it. I think that American policy should be oriented toward strengthening these forces of freedom which are behind the Iron Curtain; and the United States and the free world should totally negate, and not have any dealings, with, the Russians and their Communists puppets.

In order to implement this a series of important steps on an international scale should be taken: First, for example, the expulsion of the Soviet Union from the United Nations; breaking of diplomatic relations not only with the Soviet Union, but with all its satellites and breaking of all cultural and economic ties with the Communist world.

By doing so the United States will win the millions of new allies, true allies, behind the Iron Curtain, because they will see that America really stands for freedom and has no dealing and truck with Russian Communist oppressors.

In contrast to Russia, which has only her fifth columns in the free world, the United States has entire nations as friends and allies behind the Iron Curtain. The United States should proclaim a universal charter of national independence for all the peoples enslaved by Communist Russia and her puppets. The more radical is the United States Government in its international dealing and policy, the less there is danger of an atomic war.

There is no doubt in my mind of the overall purpose of the present Soviet Russian leadership, which is the creation of the World Union of Soviet Socialist Republic.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, would you give us your views on how and why the Russian Empire grew so rapidly?

Mr. STETSKO. During and after World War II Russia annexed such a great number of new countries that she will not be able, without the support of the free world, especially the United States, to keep them under control for a considerable time. Prior to 1939 Russia kept under her control the overwhelming part of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, and other non-Russian lands, which she controlled with difficulty by suppressing the national liberation movements for independence through systematic terror, genocide, manmade famine, concentration camps, and prisons. Collectivization was nothing else but a refined method of enslaving the conquered nations on the one hand, and of militarizing the entire population on the other.

In order to cope with the perennial crises created by the permanent struggle and resistance of the enslaved nations, which not only resist communism and Russian imperialism, but fight for their national independence, Russia from time to time needs a respite. Russia will obtain a respite from the free world if the latter accepts the Russian bid for "peaceful coexistence." In the past Russia has availed herself of such political "breathers," which in turn have enabled her to expand her ever-growing territorial empire. In the last 500 years Russia has grown enormously through annexations and conquests of non-Russian lands and territories.

Thus, chronologically speaking, Russia conquered:

	Square miles
In the XIVth century	216,000
In the XVIth century	3,275,000
In the XVIIth century	6,256,000
In the XVIIIth century	6,964,000
In the XIXth century	8,644,000
In the XXth century	9,620,000
In the XXth century (1945)	10,070,000

It is estimated that for the last 500 years the Russian state has expanded at the rate of 49 square miles a day.

After the subjugation of Ukraine, which began relentlessly after the fateful Battle of Poltava in 1709, in which Peter I defeated King Charles XII of Sweden and Ukrainian *Hetman* Ivan Mazepa, Georgia fell in 1801, and was followed by the incorporation into Russia of Finland (1809), Northern Caucasus (it was subdued after 14 years of bloody fighting in 1864), and then Turkestan and completed the conquest of Siberia, not to mention the seizure of Poland, Byelorussia, and Baltic lands, which preceded the Asian conquests.

13 ZY
MONO SECTION

Mr. ARENS. Do you believe that the Western Powers in any way contributed to the growth of Russian imperialism?

Mr. STETSKO. Regrettably, the Western Powers have always been prone to provide Russia with respites and support, often motivated by their own political interests or by Russian promises of support of the same.

But the peoples and the lands which Russia acquired with the acquiescence and assistance of the Western Powers in the last 20 years for sheer size surpass everything Russia conquered previously. To digest these conquests in short order and with mortal convulsions is quite impossible, unless the Western World, and the United States in particular, willingly allows such digestion to take place by accepting the Russian offer of "peaceful coexistence."

The more Russia grabs of foreign lands, the more her internal situation becomes complex and difficult; the front of the enslaved nations is widened and the pressure of the Russian imperialist center must, of necessity, thin out. The number of the dominating Russian people does not increase proportionately with that of the non-Russian peoples who are added to the new empire; therefore, their hold upon the conquered nations cannot be so strong as before. Eighty to ninety million Russians cannot dominate as efficiently the Russian Communist empire of 1958 as they could dominate that of 1939, their proved methods of mass terror, deportation, and genocide notwithstanding. The strength of the Communist Quislings of the enslaved nations rests on the blades of the Russian bayonets. In consequence, without the West's assistance, Russia would be unable to maintain her vastly overextended colonial and slave empire.

We thus find Russia resorting to all sorts of international blackmail, creating dangerous and explosive situations or presenting the world with a policy of accomplished facts. We watch her creating the illusion of a peace-loving nation, while she makes tactical maneuvers aimed at the psychological disarmament of the West. However, her primary goal, conquest of the world, remains unchanged.

By withdrawing the Berlin Blockade in 1948, Moscow gained more than one advantage. First, by blockading Berlin, Russia forced the attention of the world upon the German capital, while at the same time she proceeded unhampered to complete the conquest of China. Furthermore, she was able to create a widespread illusion that the West accepted only too readily: "Russia does not want a war, Russia is willing to compromise." Eventually, we were presented with the "Korean compromise," and then with the "Vietnamese compromise," which, in fact, illustrated a classic Bolshevik tactic devised by Lenin: "One step backward in order to march two steps forward."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, why is Communist Russia exerting such a powerful drive for a "summit" meeting at this time?

Mr. STETSKO. The powerful current Soviet Russian drive for a new "summit" conference is but another deceitful maneuver of Moscow. The Russian tyrants have amassed a variety of topics which they want discussed at the new "summit" conference: disarmament, control of thermonuclear weapons, and "peaceful coexistence," all of which are being presented as an alternative to all-out war. Yet the overall purpose of these maneuvers is only too well known: to force the United States and the entire free world to recognize the political status quo of the Russian looting and the Russian colonial empire in its present-day boundaries, and to compromise the United States in the eyes of the enslaved nations as coguarantor and supporter of the validity of the present Russian Communist empire. In so doing, the United States and the free world would become synonymous with the Russian enslavers, and the good name of the United States as a defender of the freedom of individuals and the independence of nations would be a thing of the past.

14 ZY
MONO SECTION

The key problem of world politics today is that of the enslaved nations, especially those kept in Russian captivity. As a matter of fact, world politics revolve around them, and for them the struggle ever goes on.

East Germany belongs to this category of the enslaved nation, as does North Korea and North Vietnam. There is no doubt that the liberation of East Germany or North Korea and North Vietnam could be effectuated only with the disintegration of the Russian Empire, which is the last remaining great empire in the world. Also liberated would be Ukraine, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and the other non-Russian nations enslaved in the U. S. S. R., not to mention the liberation of the more recent requisitions, the so-called satellites—Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, Slovakia, Bohemia, and the others. One can hardly conceive of any local liberation, effected through some evolutionary method ("mellowing out process"). You cannot stop Russia halfway: either you destroy the Soviet Russian empire, or it will conquer you and the entire world. There is no hope for, or possibility of, achieving a victory over the Soviet Russia without the liberation of the enslaved nations dominated and enslaved by Moscow.

This is well known to the Russian Communist leaders, particularly to Khrushchev, who on every possible occasion stresses that the U. S. S. R. will not discuss the problem of Eastern Europe at any "summit" meeting that might be called in the future. We repeat, Moscow has no other purpose in calling a new "summit" meeting than that of obtaining an assurance, a pledge from the United States and the free world at large, that the status quo is inviolable, and that in the event of national revolutions behind the Iron Curtain—such as the Berlin uprising, the Poznan rebellion, the Hungarian revolution, or the Ukrainian revolts in the Soviet Russian concentration camps—the United States will observe a strict neutrality and "will not interfere in the domestic affairs" of the U. S. S. R.

It is not at all impossible that the Russian tyrants might be dreaming about a new "Holy Alliance" of the Great Powers, who would pledge themselves to a common action against the enslaved nations and their national liberation revolutions. Certainly Khrushchev well remembers how the Czarist Russian armies helped to suppress the Hungarian revolution of Kossuth in 1848.

Thus the major moves of Soviet Russian foreign policy are dictated by two principal considerations:

1. The pressure and incessant opposition mustered by the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations;
2. The ever-increasing power of the defense and military capabilities of the free world under the leadership of the United States.

Russia would score a major victory if President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan agree to sit at the same table with Khrushchev and Mikoyan, the international murderers and genocidists. Hope and faith in the truth would assuredly suffer a mortal blow, not only on the part of the enslaved nations but ultimately on the part of the whole free world.

In his own time Lenin urged the Bolsheviks to employ every possible trick in order to disarm the "capitalist world," including holding of as many conferences and diplomatic parleys as possible. These would serve, Lenin advised, to confuse the Western diplomats and thus make them less resistant to the Russian pressures.

Mr. ARMS. Mr. Stetsko, in your opinion does the fear of a thermonuclear war justify a new "summit" conference?

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Mr. STETZKO. One of the phenomena capitalized upon by the Russians is the horror of thermonuclear war. This vision of future war, the Russian know, has already created vertiable panic among the Western nations, a condition which eases them forward to the Russian trap. The fear of atomic war is so great that many in the West are inclined to forget the whole infamous record of Russian treacheries and blackmail, broken promises, and shattered diplomatic pacts.

On the other hand, if the "summit" conference could not materialize because of a Western refusal to accept the Russian terms, specifically refusal to accept as final the enslavement of the nations in the satellite countries and in the U. S. S. R. itself, this would constitute a tremendous victory for the West. Such a refusal cannot but strengthen the resistance movements behind the Iron Curtain and so would run directly counter to Kruchshev's plan of consolidating the Russian Communist empire as it now exists.

And yet the West not only is in possession of the superior thermonuclear weapons, but it has something the Russians can never destoy: priceless freedom.

If the counterattack of the West would be directed at the winning of the sympathies and loyalties of the enslaved nations, rather than that of the murderers of the Kremlin, the result of the cold war would be quite different and, to be sure, advantageous for the West. The Russians, we find from history, understand only one language, the language of threat and force.

Moreover, were the Western leaders possessed of more courage, they would openly declare if another "summit" conference does take place that in the event of an atomic war, they will direct it against the Russian state proper, and not against the non-Russian nations, both in the U. S. S. R. and in the satellite countries. Such clear and unmistakable language would have an incalculable effect upon the enslaved countries—Ukraine, the Caucasus, Hungary, Poland, Turkestan, Bulgaria, Rumania, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Slovakia, and others.

We must not forget that in our struggle against Russia we should not only think in terms of technical superiority but we should also try, equally positively, to diminish the human potential and the reservoir of the vast Russian-controlled armies by attempting to win them over to our cause. At present there is no possible doubt that, from the viewpoint of manpower, the Soviet Union with Red China and satellites is superior to the West; hence the course of the political program of the West is obvious. In 1941, it is to be recalled, some 2 to 3 million soldiers deserted from the Soviet armies and went over to the Germans voluntarily, hoping that by doing so they were helping to fight their oppressors, the Russian Communists, for the liberation of their enslaved countries.

Also, the Western Powers, especially the United States, in their "policy of liberation" tend to limit their pronouncements to the satellite countries complex exclusively, thus leaving the first victims of Russian communism, the enslaved nations in the U. S. S. R., outside the sphere of their political interest.

Mr. ADAMS. From what position, Mr. Stetzko, should the West combat the Russian Communist totalitarianism, if you think that a new "summit" meeting is detrimental?

Mr. STETZKO. Our struggle against Russian Communist totalitarianism can be waged only in the name of eternal and absolute values, truth and freedom pitted against the enslavement, persecution, and the totalitarian domination of Moscow. Communism is the faith of evil, and a dynamic movement of the Devil which must be opposed not merely by technical weapons, but by moral values and human dignity as well.

16 ZY
MONO SECTION

The Western World—at least, some of its leading powers—have relinquished their colonial possessions and given way to the emancipation of the once colonial peoples. The only remaining empire in the world today is the Russian Communist empire.

The U. S. S. R. as the basic empire of Moscow is a powerful threat today simply because it dominates vastly extended areas, which it exploits for the purpose of continued aggrandizement and expansion. This threat would be removed in the moment the Russian Empire ceased to exist as such. Moreover, all the enslaved nations, once liberated from the Russian Communist yoke, would not only deprive Russia of powerful economic and human resources, but would be great contributing factors toward a stable peace and security in the world. None of these nations would be in a position to manufacture the atomic weapons, inasmuch as they would be expending all their efforts in building up their own welfare and prosperity, rather than in seeking foreign conquests and domination, as does Russia today.

Any other approach would surely lead to appeasement, as best exemplified by the English philosopher, Bertrand Russell, who said the other day that he would rather accept Communist slavery than resist it, inasmuch as the latter course might touch off an atomic war.

The "summit" conference, we think, is a political matter. But there are other imponderables in the development of political events that have an equally important significance, perhaps even greater than the stockpiling of A- and H-bombs. In the present game the worst possible thing that could happen is to lose one's moral position. This is well known to perfidious Russia; and therefore she deceitfully juggles with such phrases as "integral liberty," "social justice," and "independence of nations," although all who are familiar with Russia's history know all this to be sheer nonsense. But the systematic repetition of these slogans leaves an imprint on people's minds and undermines the opposition to Russia, especially in the so-called neutral nations on this side of the Iron Curtain. It is immoral to condone any crime; it is also immoral to enslave the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R.: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Turkestan, the Cossack lands, Northern Caucasus, Armenia, and others. Yet the Western World seems to be inclined to forget these nations and their enslavement by Russia, so long as the Russian Communist leaders stop rattling their atomic or nuclear sabers. Only those with invulnerable moral positions can expect to win in this struggle for survival; no halfway measures or compromises can bring an equitable and just solution to world problems.

Therefore, the "summit" conference and its agenda, which is supposed to deal with the problems of the global struggle between opposing forces, should be viewed not only in its political and military aspect, but in the light of moral and ideological principles as well. It has a direct relation to the fate of the enslaved nations, the acknowledged ally of the free world in the struggle against Russia. The prisoner in prison wants freedom more than he wants bread. The enslaved and oppressed man is more sensitive to injustice and slavery than the free man. And those who themselves suffered are likely to find a better way of reaching the minds of those who are oppressed now. There is no force in the world more dynamic than the yearning of people for freedom and independence. People will hardly die for bread or for some material luxuries, yet they are willing to sacrifice everything for their freedom. The West has a glorious opportunity to dynamically propagate the day of general freedom and liberation that is to come to all nations and people.

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The Geneva summit conference 3 years ago was a devastating blow to the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain, because the Kremlin, recognizing its superior propaganda potential, trapped the West into recognizing the status quo. The Russian tyrants, Khrushchev and Bulganin, attained a diplomatic victory when they succeeded in convincing President Eisenhower to withdraw his proposal, which had been inserted in the agenda, dealing with the problem of the enslavement of the satellite countries. Then followed a recognition on the part of the West of the "sincere desire" of the Kremlin leaders for general peace and security in the world. And yet these same men, Khrushchev and Bulganian, were the right-hand henchmen of Stalin in his brutal program of genoside and destruction of entire peoples.

Furthermore, we must not forget, that without a common front with the enslaved nations, the free world can never achieve a victory over bolshevism. Russia is doing everything possible to wedge apart these two freedom-loving forces. The ideals of freedom and national independence are stronger than the atomic bomb. They constitute the most disruptive force which, with the all-out support of the free world, can successfully shatter the Russian prison of nations from within.

These facts should not be underestimated by the free world. During the Korean war, in which the powerful United States and the entire United Nations participated, there were no internal revolutions behind the Iron Curtain, because the enslaved nations had lost confidence in and hope for any assistance from the West. On the other hand, after the death of Stalin and the liquidation of Beria, a series of strikes and uprisings erupted in concentration camps, creating a very conducive atmosphere for a general revolution. It is an undeniable fact that the enslaved nations are beginning to rely more and more on their own strength rather than on assistance from the West. The general fear prevails that a new "summit" conference may widen this chasm between the enslaved nations and the West, which has already lost a great deal of its original prestige through the bungling of the Hungarian uprising in the fall of 1956.

Mr. ARENS. From your expression it would appear that the psychological warfare of the West is ineffective. Would you be willing to comment on its shortcomings?

Mr. STETSKO. The much heralded psychological warfare effort of the West and the general lack of any planning of Western propaganda broadcasting are so evident that one can scarcely talk seriously of any Western propaganda.

History discloses that no country has ever gained anything by sitting down at the same table with the Russian leaders. We recall the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the conferences of Yalta and Potsdam, the 10-month-old coexistence of Chiang Kai-shek with Mao Tse-tung, and so on. Any attempt to appease Russia necessarily evokes defeatism in the eyes of the free world and demoralizes the honest people everywhere who cannot conceive of decent diplomats negotiating with the Russian murderers. One cannot neglect the moral principles in this gigantic game for survival, inasmuch as no conference can ever solve the problems that create conflict with Russia.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, we would appreciate your views on NATO and disarmament from the viewpoint of the Russian psychological warfare.

Mr. STETSKO. One of the primary goals of Russian foreign policy is the dissolution of the NATO military and defensive alliance and the removal of United States troops and bases from Europe and North Africa. All sorts of Russian machinations are being employed toward accomplishing this purpose, such as the proposal for the creation of "neutral" and "demilitarized" zones, all of which tend to render Western Europe defenseless. The Russians hope to achieve this objective at the "summit" conference.

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The disarmament talks can surely lead to no positive result, if the cause of armament is not removed. Otherwise disarmament talks serve only as propaganda channels for the Russians, whereby they make deep impressions upon the "neutral" and noncommitted nations which see in the Russian proposals a "genuine" approach toward achieving world peace.

The present status quo must undergo a thorough change, if the nuclear armament race is to stop. As long as it remains unchanged, the armament race must go on, since otherwise the free world would be conquered eventually by Communist Russia. Armament is also necessary to help in the liberation of the enslaved nations from Russian domination; the enslavement of these nations by Russia is in great measure due to the faulty and incredibly irrational policy of the Western nations.

Although the Western nations entertain no aggressive designs and are arming themselves for the purpose of their own defense, and do not support the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, as was so amply demonstrated in the case of the Hungarian revolution, Russia is arming for purely aggressive purposes and is organizing her fifth columns the world over for the "day." As long as a free West exists, Russia cannot but press for its destruction, simply because the ideals of freedom menace the Russian despotic empire. Russia is confronted with a harsh set of alternatives: either the entire world will be free or it will be conquered by her. Thus all the conferences and the diplomatic bargaining with the West serve only to confuse the world, so as to make it easier for Moscow to conquer it.

The road to disarmament does not lead through conferences, but through liberation. Disarmament will never bring liberation. On the contrary, it will enable Russia to conquer the entire world. The superiority of Russia in conventional armaments makes the discussion on thermonuclear armaments useless, inasmuch as Russia could never be trusted in the matter of the strict control of atomic disarmament or its limitation. Strict control will always be impossible for the Russian Empire, since it is based on a totalitarian and despotic system which precludes the possibility of such a voluntary control. The inherent nature of Russian totalitarian tyranny does not accept, and cannot accept, any control by an international body. Hermetically sealed isolation and the absence of any control are the essential elements of the Russian despotic system, which could not be democratized, as such a process would mean suicide. This most elementary factor in Russian behavior is totally ignored by the West; without an understanding of this element, one can hardly begin to grasp the essence and meaning of bolshevism.

Russia today is governed by Communists, who are the heirs of the Czarist regime. Communism is not an international movement which usurped the power in Russia and in other countries; communism represents a new philosophy adopted by Russians which, in every vital respect, is for Russian imperialism more successful, intellectually stronger, and more creative than ideas of Czardom (Orthodoxy, Pan-Slavism, etc.) ever were. Bolshevism, which is a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, aspires to world conquest, in which endeavor it is supported by the Russian people, a fact which is corroborated by Nicholas Berdyaev, an outstanding Russian philosopher. In his book, *The New Middle Ages*, Berdyaev wrote on the subject of bolshevism:

> Bolshevism is a distorted and subversive realization of the Russian idea, and for this reason it has triumphed.
>
> Bolshevism is in keeping with the mentality of the Russian nation; it is merely an expression of the spiritual disunion of this nation, of its apostasy of faith, its religious crisis, and its extreme demoralization. Bolshevik ideas are completely in keeping with Russian nihilism.

Dostoyevsky was the prophet of the Russian revolution and he realized that socialism in Russia is a religious problem, a question of atheism, and that the Russian revolutionary intelligentsia is not concerned with politics but solely with the question of saving mankind without God.

The Russian emigres are not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the case of the Russian problem it is by no means a question of a small group of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and infinitely large class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown. The Communist revolution has, above all, materialized out of Russian life.

Therefore, all speculations on Russia's agreement to a successful international control and inspection of armaments are mere wishful thinking. All the noise around the alleged suspension of thermonuclear tests in the U. S. S. R. is designed to serve as a smokescreen and a propaganda stunt to impress the neutral nations and to lessen the resistance against Russia in the West. The opportunistic and unthinking leaders of some Western European countries are so uncritical of these Russian maneuvers that they would readily countenance the removal of American troops from Europe and the disbandment of NATO in the futile belief that such moves would appease the Russians and thus banish the danger of an atomic war.

There are no words to express the extreme danger of such thinking and assumptions. We do not have to dwell upon the moral and psychological impact such moves would have upon Western Europe's morale. But from the viewpoint of the military situation, it would invite conventional Russian arms to be put to the test; Western Europe could be invaded by the Russians in a matter of hours. Whoever wishes the disbandment of NATO and the removal of the United States bases from Europe works for the interest of Russia, knowingly or unknowingly.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, do you believe that atomic disarmament is inadvisable because Communist Russia is superior in conventional arms? What is the equivalent that the West possesses to offset this Russian superiority?

Mr. STETZKO. The West should seek a counterpart to Russia's superiority in conventional armaments, because a situation is being created in which Russia can wage a war with conventional arms, while the United States would have to resort to nuclear weapons exclusively. As a result the free world, and the United States especially, would have to be the first to use the thermonuclear weapons. But the free world does possess weapons in the form of the enslaved nations, which have Russian arms in their hands. In the final hour of test, the enslaved nations can turn with their arms against their oppressors and alongside the freedom-loving West.

In this respect I fully subscribe to the views of my friend, Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, the well-known British military authority with whom I had several informative and exhaustive talks on this subject. General Fuller gave his view in a brilliant fashion:

> No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national State, but a State of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century back: "The Russian Empire is a dust-bin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Czardom." Break that hoop and its Imperium is at an end. When last autumn the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced, that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which on arrival forthwith called upon them for military support, rather than risk a nuclear war the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel. * * *

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Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian fighting manpower, they have decided to make good their deficiency in it by relying on what they call tactical nuclear weapons; in other words, less powerful nuclear weapons than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which they call strategical nuclear weapons. This is to tackle the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is not to increase weapon power, but to reduce Russian superiority in manpower, and so indirectly increase Western manpower. This can be done by subverting the Russian fighting forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the U. S. S. R. and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of Soviet Union in 1941 well over 2 million prisoners were claimed by the Germans. This is an unbelievable figure until it is realized that the vast majority of these men were deserters—Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Cossacks, Georgians, Turkestanians, and other subjugated peoples.

The policy of liberation would not only not provoke an atomic warfare, but it is an argument of the most explosive force, of which Russia is always afraid. When in the summer of 1941 the Russian Communist leaders found out that Hitler refused to recognize a newly established Ukrainian national government on June 30, 1941, in Lviv, Western Ukraine, they were elated. They then waited to see what would happen when Hitler took Kiev, the ancient capital and center of Ukrainian history and culture. When in Kiev Hitler also repeated his insane policy of suppressing Ukrainian aspirations for freedom and independence, the Russians were all but certain that the Germans had lost the war. It was not Stalingrad that was the graveyard of Hitler's ambition of dominating all Europe, says a German general, but Hitler's incredible policy in Ukraine, and the fact that in Kiev, instead of the blue-and-yellow Ukrainian national colors, the Nazis hoisted their swastika.

A similar situation exists today, despite the fact that history provides instructive lessons how not to handle the Russian problem.

Mr. ABBOTT. Do you see, Mr. Stetsko, any alternative to atomic warfare?

Mr. STETSKO. The national liberation revolutions behind the Iron Curtain are the only alternative to an atomic war. If the free world is afraid of an atomic and nuclear war and will not start a thermonuclear Armageddon against Russia, then it must elect the only alternative it has: the support of the national independence movements of the peoples enslaved by Russia. There is no third way. "Peaceful coexistence" would lead to the acceptance of the political status quo, which would sanction all the conquests of Moscow and would in turn enhance the prospects of further Russian aggressions in Europe and Asia. To hope that a "political evolution" within the Soviet Russian empire would lead to a gradual disintegration and collapse of the Soviet power is sheer wishful thinking, leading to disaster.

Only disintegration of the Russian Empire, which could take place only through an anti-imperialist and anti-Communist revolution, can eventually effectuate the elimination of the Russian danger forever.

Anti-Russian forces are in existence behind the Iron Curtain; there are millions of non-Russians in the Soviet army with arms in their hands who would not hesitate to use them against their Russian oppressors at a proper moment.

The ideals of freedom and independence are stronger than atomic and hydrogen bombs. The West possesses in its hands this powerful weapon, which the Russians do not have, but which they are employing deceptively in propagandizing the Asian and African peoples. What the West must do is to properly utilize it toward the objective which can be accepted by all the peoples of the world: genuine freedom and liberation from Russian Communist tyranny and oppression. Mr. Kennan's "disengagement" thesis is as dangerous as Khrushchev's "peaceful coexistence" proposal.

In his article, "What the Kremlin Fears Most," Gen. J. F. C. Fuller writes:

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Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so the A. B. N. * * * is the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western Powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim—not the containment of communism, but the complete elimination of bolshevism, without which there can be no peace in the world.

Mr. Asava. Mr. Stetsko, coming back to the Russian drive for "peaceful coexistence," what is your opinion of the so-called "cultural exchange" program between the Western nations and the Communist blue?

Mr. Stetsko. The integral part of the "peaceful coexistence" policy is the so-called "cultural exchange" between the Soviet Union and the West. In point of fact, this "cultural exchange" is one of the forms of Communist infiltration in the West. The Russians are provided with unlimited opportunities to propagate their views, such as the American TV program of Nikita Khrushchev, but no such opportunities for the Americans exist in the Soviet Union. Even if this particular opportunity were provided, it would mean little. Only privileged Communists own TV sets in the U. S. S. R., and they know what life in the United States is like anyway. Furthermore, one can hardly compare the methods of propaganda in the free world with those existing in a totalitarian country. We must distinguish between a cultural exchange among democratic states, where there exist equal and objective opportunities and equal situations, and a cultural exchange with a totalitarian country. The Russians, as a rule, accept only such visitors from the West who are not seeking the truth but are looking for confirmation of their illusions about the "Communist Paradise." These would be content with the "Potemkin villages," or at least would try to justify the "shortcomings" of the Soviet system. The seekers of truth would be shown a few exemplary collective farms and a "model prison," as was the case with German newspapermen some time ago. Upon their return these German journalists created such propaganda ballyhoo about the "normal conditions" in the U. S. S. R. that the German Communists could never hope to equal it in terms of good for the Russian cause.

The so-called cultural and artistic groups which Moscow is sending out into the free world will impress a number of Americans and other Westerners by their artistic performances and "cultural" appearances. This in turn will create a doubt in the minds of the American people as to whether communism is an evil after all, since it produces such superb artistic performers and actors.

With its "cultural exchange" program Moscow implements its policy of "peaceful coexistence"; it is directed by Moscow and is limited to such an extent as is beneficial to the Russians. One of the purposes of the "cultural exchanges" is to soften the anti-Communist and anti-Russian attitude of the West. Abroad, the Soviet Government is pursuing a policy of "peaceful coexistence" and amity; inside the U. S. S. R., the Communist-controlled press is continuing the systematic anti-American campaign of slander and vituperation.

On the other hand, the attitude of the non-Russian nations, in both the U. S. S. R. and the satellite countries, is wholly pro-American, and never anti-American. In point of fact, the enslaved nations are always friendly toward the United States, inasmuch as they know that the United States is not a colonial power. Any resentment that may exist usually stems from the fact that the United States was led into a trap set by the Russians and is conducting a policy which is not favorable to the liberation of the enslaved nations. They can be annoyed by the content of the United States propaganda broadcasting.

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The enslaved nations, with their misery, hunger, slavery, perpetual fear of arrest and deportation, and the like, are not disposed to listen to accounts of the American way of life, the high standard of living, civil liberties, and so forth. How do the enslaved nations benefit from such broadcasting? Are these good things, enjoyed by the American people, to be transferred to the enslaved nations once a new "summit" conference is held? On the contrary, these enslaved nations believe that such a conference with the Russians, their oppressors and tormentors, would strengthen their hold over them and only perpetuate their misery and enslavement.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Stetzko, would you care to comment on the "Voice of America"?

Mr. STETZKO. We in Europe have been astounded by reports that the "Voice of America" was planning to eliminate broadcasting in the non-Russian languages destined for the Soviet Union, and to concentrate all its propaganda efforts in the Russian language only. This would really be a mistake.

It is true that the broadcasts of the "Voice of America" in the various non-Russian languages to the U. S. S. R. were extremely weak and, as a rule, ineffectual. The enslaved peoples had been hoping that eventually these broadcasts would evolve into an outright support of the national liberation movements of these peoples. They waited to hear, through the "Voice of America," that the American people and the United States Government are in sympathy and accord with the struggle for national statehood and independence. This never came. But at least the broadcasting in the various non-Russian languages implied a tacit recognition on the part of the United States Government of those separate entities, the non-Russian Republics of the U. S. S. R.

If the broadcasts are eliminated, then the non-Russian peoples would have to listen to the Russian-language broadcasts, which is the language of their oppressor and enslaver. This would necessarily imply that the United States is against the national liberation of the non-Russian nations, and that America in fact supports the Russian Empire, a "one and indivisible Russia," as advocated by Russian imperialists of all hues and colors. It would convince these nations more and more that the United States is fighting solely for a change of the Communist regime in the U. S. S. R., and not for the destruction of the Russian imperialist structure.

"The Voice of America" shies away from even mentioning the term "national independence" in its broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples in the U. S. S. R. This is apparently not to "offend" the sensitivities of the Russian people who, as is well known, constitute a minority in the U. S. S. R.

A few years ago Khrushchev removed Leonid Melnikov from his post as Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ukraine for his oversealous Russification of Western Ukraine. Even for such a brutal despot and genocidist as Khrushchev, a forcible Russification program in the Ukraine was out of line. And the free world, particularly the United States, would seem to be following even a more reactionary course by resorting to the use of the Russian language in its psychological warfare.

A few years ago a critical appraisal of the "Voice of America" was submitted to the Department of State by Maj. L. Poltava of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), chief of the Information Bureau of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and member of the Supreme Council of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Major Poltava called the attention of the United States Government to a vital weakness of the "Voice of America." The weakness is the neglect by the "Voice of America" to use one of the most powerful arguments against Russian Communist imperialism: the ideal of national independence of the non-Russian nations enslaved in the U. S. S. R.

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At the present state of world politics, the United States should strengthen its psychological warfare, especially the "Voice of America," by stressing the national emancipation and independence of the subjugated nations. If it be necessary to curtail the "Voice of America" radio broadcasts, then the Russian-language broadcasts should be shortened. To broadcast only in the Russian language to the non-Russian nations is deliberately to antagonize these peoples and to help them to be led into the Russian camp, inasmuch as the Russians have been telling them all along that the United States is their "enemy" and only Moscow is their "friend and protector."

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, it would appear that you are inclined to give a priority to the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. in our psychological warfare rather than the Russians? Why is that?

Mr. STETSKO. It is absurd to believe that the Russian people would ever side with the United States against the present Russian Empire and that they would help in the disintegration of the structure. History proves that the Russians always preferred despotism to freedom. They have always been exalted with their Messianism and their mission to "make other peoples happy." In the past they were "protectors of Orthodoxy" and exerted pressure upon Turkey (Constantinople) to "liberate their Orthodox brothers." Subsequently, they realized a policy of "protecting the Slavs" (Pan-Slavism), but this did not prevent them from persecuting and enslaving the other Slavic peoples—the Ukrainians, Poles, or Byelorussians. Now the Russians are set on "liberating the proletariat of the world" and on bringing "liberation" to the colonial peoples of Asia and Africa, as well as "defending the Islamic peoples" from the wiles of "Western imperialism," and so forth.

The only effective weapon that the United States and the free world in general can successfully utilize with respect to the U. S. S. R. lies in appealing to the non-Russian nations and in supporting their unending struggle for their national freedom and independence.

If, on the other hand, the Western nations are to recognize the present status quo, they must be prepared for Russian demands in the near future for additional "spheres of influence" and "additional guarantees" of their uncontested supremacy in the entire world. If the United States rejects these Russian demands, then logically it ought pursue the other alternative in the first place: full support of the enslaved nations. Such support is unchallengeable. Moscow has been championing the cause of "liberation" of the Asian and African peoples, although its interest in them is strictly utilitarian. Any Russian assistance to them will ultimately end in their enslavement by Moscow.

These are, to my way of thinking, the proper approaches toward the Russian dilemma which should be fully emphasized by the official United States broadcasting media, such as the "Voice of America." And, I repeat, the proper assessment of the value and importance of the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. could not but lead the United States and other free countries of the West toward supporting them in their political struggle, inasmuch as their struggle is also the struggle of the free world.

There has been an ocean of criticism of the shortcomings of Western propaganda broadcasts, and I would not like to indulge in such here.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, would you care to discuss the actual significance of Russian sputniks.

Mr. STETSKO. I cannot fail to point out how much Russia gained, propagandawise, by masterfully propagandizing its sputniks. They electrified the entire world and almost tipped the balance scale of world sympathy over to Moscow. The significance of the sputnik, as we can now see, seems to be more important in the political propaganda field than in the technical. True, we should not underestimate the enemy and his vast war potentialities. But we must not be led into believing that Russia has already achieved a technological superiority over the United States and that, accordingly, the free world ought to agree to Russia's political dictation and blackmail. And yet we see just that in many of the countries of Western Europe and, regrettably, in the case of the United States as well.

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The danger of Russia lies not in her actual strength, but in Western ignorance of her perennial and unbridgeable weaknesses. The effect of the sputnik could easily be counterbalanced by proper exploitation of U. S. S. R. internal weaknesses and flaws, as we know them to be great and many-sided. The West should not forget that the sputnik was produced at the sacrifice of millions of lives and the untold misery of the enslaved peoples. Moreover, it was the German scientists captured after the fall of Germany who were principally responsible for producing the Soviet earth satellite. In fact, sputnik is by no means any indicator of the superiority of the general Soviet technology, a view which Moscow hopes gains the greatest circulation, especially among the Asian and African nations.

Of course, in rejecting the Russian claim in the matter of sputnik's alleged "originality," we do not wish to belittle the Russian achievements in the field of military science and in those branches of industry which could easily be converted into media of mass destruction. But, here, too, we must not forget for a moment that ever laboring for Russia are unknown Hisses, Fuchses, and Rosenbergs, who steal highly classified military and scientific secrets from the Western Powers. These are transmitted systematically to Moscow, where they are being analyzed and put to use. Moreover, the Soviet system employs literally millions of political slave laborers on huge and secret Soviet military developments and projects. The resources and raw materials for these projects are being taken from the occupied non-Russian lands.

Mr. ADAMS. We understand, Mr. Stetzko, that you made extensive trips to the Far East. We would appreciate your assessment of Russian political strategy and subversive actions in Asia.

Mr. STETZKO. Communism is being marketed and propagated under slogans which have nothing at all in common with the Communist doctrine. The slogans deal with national independence, antifeudalism and anticolonialism, right to private landownership for peasants, the freedom of the Islamic and other religions, and so forth. According to the instructions of the Communist Party, Communist subversion is effectively veiled by national revolutionary slogans, patriotic phrases, and remodeled catchwords of the French Revolution in social aspects. The local Communist Parties have been ordered to make a "common front" with non-Communist patriotic parties, in order to deceive the people and seize the power, after which, of course, a Communist government is mounted. These tactics were extensively practiced: e. g., China or Vietnam. The Russian Communist rulers follow the precept of Lenin, who preached that the road to Paris leads through Peking and Delhi. But Lenin was not the only Russian leader who paid a good deal of attention to Asia. Czar Nicholas II also considered it a "necessity" to annex Korea and thus solidify the Russian positions in the Far East. To this day the imperialist Russian line is being ardently pursued by the Bolsheviks.

Russian imperialism and colonialism in the Middle East is masked by deceitful and pseudo-progressive slogans. Its tactics are very clear and wholly flexible, making effective opposition difficult.

Western psychological warfare efforts in the Middle East and in the other areas menaced by Russian penetration can be successful only when the attack on communism will be coupled with an attack on traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism, which comes to enslave the Asian and African peoples in the guise of communism.

Russian dominates approximately 40 million Moslems. She is availing herself of the services of Moslem quislings from Turkestan for agitation among the Islamic population, which numbers some 350 million people outside the U. S. S. R.

Mr. ARENS. Could you say anything, Mr. Stetzko, on Russian Communist propaganda among the Moslems outside the Soviet Union?

Mr. STETZKO. The Soviet radio in Tashkent, where the Russians seem to have concentrated extremely powerful propaganda facilities, broadcasts in some 90 languages and dialects to the Moslem people in Asia and Africa. This vast propaganda work is being done by Russians who very frequently are disguised as "local Moslems."

Significantly, during my travels in Asia I never heard of any systematic propaganda effort of the United States in these areas, to offset the Russian drive; yet perhaps there is such an effort. If so, it cannot be a very great one.

Every year Moscow sends hundreds of its Moslem Quislings on the "pilgrimage" to Mecca, by which it creates the impression among the Moslems outside the U. S. S. R. that complete freedom of religion is accorded the Islamic peoples in the Soviet Union. In addition, the Russians for years have been operating through the so-called "Soviet Solidarity Committee of Asian Countries," which has been very successful in spreading Russian imperialism and communism throughout Asia and Africa. This was attested to by Veli Kayum-Khan, president of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee and vice president of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), who has made extensive visits to the Middle East in the last few months. He said that the absence of any American propaganda was in great measure responsible for the rapid spread of communism. The local populations do not know the policies and intentions of the United States, and whatever notions they possess are gained from Russian sources, which are always evidently anti-American.

The Russians pose in the Middle East as "protectors of independence and freedom." They smuggle in expert agents and propagandists, especially Moslem priests. They do not propagate communism outright, but conduct lengthy (and slanted) discussions on religious and philosophical themes, talk loftily about the "solidarity and independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa," and propagate books and pamphlets printed in Tashkent and Samarkand (U. S. S. R.). Moreover, the "Red Pilgrims" to Mecca bring appropriate letters and "greeting" to Turkestanian emigrees from their relatives in the Soviet Union, and declare that they are "not interested" in politics, but are interested, as Red mullahs, in spreading the "truth about the religious situation in the Soviet Union."

Moscow has launched a new political and religious slogan for the Moslem: "Every Moslem could be a Communist and every Communist could be a Moslem as well, inasmuch as we are not against God and the Prophet."

Regrettably, the Western diplomatic circles in these countries live in complete isolation, away from the local populations, which are subjected to the systematic Communist propaganda depicting the Americans and other Westerners as "imperialists" and as "enemies" of the liberation and independence of the Asian and African peoples.

The West must revise its attitude toward the enslaved nations in Europe and Asia. At the newly formed "Asian-African Solidarity Conference" in Cairo, both the Soviet Union and Red China have their representatives, who, however, are more than representatives; they are the real power behind the facade of the Afro-Asian representation. At the same time the West is assuming a totally indifferent, if not hostile, attitude toward the independence movements and their leaders, who are seeking support and assistance in the free world.

Moreover, in the United States the press is waging a rather systematic campaign against British, French, or Dutch imperialism, but little attention, if any, is being devoted to Russian imperialism and enslavement. Why is this so? If the little country of Ghana is allowed to realize its independence, why not extend the same right to Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkestan, Byelorussia, and the other enslaved countries in the U. S. S. R.?

On the other hand, the Russians are cleverly juggling with nationalist nomenclature and definitions. For instance, the organ of the Communist Party of Georgia, *Kommunisti* (No. 149, 1957), published an article on Lenin's views regarding national problems and foreign policy. In that article Lenin's attitude to Ukraine is cited:

> In his article, "Ukraine," which Lenin wrote on June 28, 1917, he outlined a definite program for the solution of the national question, in particular that of Ukraine: "No democrat, let alone a Socialist, can deny the legality of Ukraine's aims. No democrat can deny the right of Ukraine to severance from Russia; it is precisely the unconditional recognition of this right that creates the possibility of propagating the voluntary union of these two peoples in one state. And this is truth! It is only the complete recognition of this right that affords the only possibility of definitely breaking off relations with the past of accursed Czarism which by every means available helped to alienate these two peoples. * * *"

This is a sample of the verbal gymnastics with which the Russians fooled many peoples in the past and do so now with a dismaying success.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Stetzko, what is your view on the called "national communism" and the possibility of it being used by the West against Moscow?

Mr. Stetzko. In addition to the fact that Western psychological warfare neglects to capitalize on the most potent argument—the liberation of the enslaved peoples in the U. S. S. R.—it is committing another pshychological and political blunder. Some political circles in the West, especially in the United States, actually believe that the best way to oppose communism is not to juxtapose diametrically opposite doctrine, but a similar one. They would advance a Socialist-Marxist or "national communism" ideology, which they see as likely to supplant communism. Nothing can be further from the truth than that.

Communism, as a modern form of Russian imperialism, can be successfully opposed with a national idea, the ideal of national liberation and independence of all the enslaved peoples and the final disintegration of the Russian Empire, this "prison of nations."

From false premises follow false conclusions. This rule eminently applies to the Western attitude with regard to the human forces of national and social revolution behind the Iron Curtain. Some Western circles, for instance, are waging the anti-Communist struggle behind the Iron Curtain with the assistance and guidance of former Communist collaborators who helped the Russian Communists to install Communist regimes in various Eastern and Central European countries. We can easily imagine what the occupied countries of Western Europe would have thought of the Americans had they fought the Nazis with the assistance of their collaborators—de la Roque, Degrelle, Quisling, and the like. The Allies did not even support Marshal Petain, once the hero of Verdun, but threw their all-out support behind Gen. Charles de Gaulle, who totally and integrally opposed Hitler and everything he stood for.

But at the present time we are anxiously witnessing the very opposite. The Western democracies are shying away from stanch anti-Communists, and instead are relying on former Communists and Communist collaborators. In doing so they—unwittingly, perhaps—are manifesting a deplorable lack of faith in their own moral strength and the final victory of democracy over communism. To hold such an attitude is to tolerate, if not approve of, communism as an ideology which is here to stay; it is a shameful admission that the West cannot muster and support a better philosophy of life.

In fact, there is no "national communism," as a limited national doctrine. This is so because its roots are based in the international doctrine. There is no possible doubt that communism, without the support of the Russian force and without having become an instrument of Russian imperialism, would have remained one of the many abstract theories in the world, such as anarchism. Without Russia it would not have become a deadly threat to the entire world.

Every nation can cope with communism as such through its own means and legislation. Communism as an international doctrine, which has been imposed upon every country by the Russian bayonets and tanks—no country, except ethnic Russia, accepted communism by their own will—has become a malevolent and deceitful ideology at the service of Russian aggression, behind which lurks traditional Russian imperialism and colonialism. In this respect the only "national communism" is the "Russian national communism" posing as "international communism" directed by Moscow, inasmuch as it serves the Russian interests exclusively. All other "national communisms" are but superficial creations of Moscow, with which Moscow is endeavoring to capitalize on the yearnings and aspirations of the conquered peoples. "National communism" techniques also serve to keep the Communist Parties in the West in the Russian camp, inasmuch as they are given the illusion of a measure of independence.

From this point of view, we approach the problem of Titoism. Titoism, regrettably, has determined in no little wise the substance of the psychological warfare effort of many Western circles. Titoism has the Western Powers on a wayward path by causing them to rely on the so-called "national Communist" elements in the Communist Parties behind the Iron Curtain. In this way, Titoism added to the confusion in the Western ranks and thus helped prevent the West from integrating its anti-Communist policies. Under the influence of the Titoist experiment, the Western political circles have fruitlessly directed their anti-Communist activities toward the spurious "leading elite of the revolution." The damage done to the cause of the Kremlin by Titoism, on the other hand, has been relatively insignificant.

When at one time several hundred armed Ukrainian insurgents, members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), succeeded in penetrating into Western Germany with arms in their hands, neither the American nor the British Radio Corporations would allow them to address an appeal to the Ukrainian people, despite the fact that these Ukrainian insurgents enjoyed the overwhelming support and sympathy of the entire Ukrainian nation. Nothing was ever said in Western broadcasts of the death of Gen. Taras Chuprynka, commander in chief of the UPA, who led the Ukrainian anti-Communist and anti-Nazi resistance during World War II and who died battling the MVD security troops in March 1950; nor was mention every made of the death of Osman Batur, leader of the Turkestanian Basmach (Turkestanian insurgents), who was also killed while fighting the Russians. And yet the case of Milovan Djilas became a worldwide cause celebre overnight, simply because he became "disillusioned" in the communism. This Djilas, one of the most ruthless Communists only a few years ago, was one of the principal executioners of Gen. Draja Mihailovich, erstwhile Western ally against Hitler, whom the Western allies sacrificed to placate Stalin and his pupil in Yugoslavia, Josip Bros Tito.

Undoubtedly, the opposition movements within the Communist Parties behind the Iron Curtain create a ferment, which harms the Communist cause as a whole. But it would be grievous error on the part of the Western World to rely on such disturbance as a decisive element which would precipitate the fall and disintegration of the Russian Communist empire. The enslaved nations are fighting against all forms of communism. To impose upon them the acceptance of "national communism" as a compromise settlement—whether through a Yalta-type agreement or "peaceful coexistence"—is to undermine and ultimately paralyze the resistance of these peoples.

It is certain that these enslaved nations would oppose and resist any attempt by the West to impose on them a "streamlined" communism, in the guise of "national communism." Finally, "national communism," unsupported by either the West or Russia, has no chance of surviving whatsoever. The example of Wladyslaw Gomulka in Poland is to the point. After the Poznan upheavals his position was quite desperate. He pleaded with the Polish people to vote for him and not to demand more "freedom," because the Soviet-Russian Army would intervene and because the Poles could not ever expect to "detach themselves completely" from the "friendly" Soviet Union. Janos Kadar in Hungary also belonged to the so-called "national Communist" team, but in the decisive hour of the Communist regime he did not hesitate to appeal for Russian assistance to crush brutally the aspirations to freedom of his compatriots.

Socialism cannot effectively oppose communism any more than did the national socialism of Hitler. Hitler failed to overcome Stalin because their political systems were so closely similar that the enslaved nations saw nothing different about nazism. They, therefore, could not support the Nazis, although they hated the Bolsheviks deeply. Socialist Alexander Kerensky also opposed the national liberation of the enslaved nations, as he wanted to preserve the Russian Empire at all costs. The people socialism of Edward Benes led him to capitulate to Russia. In general, any political system which has any affinity or closeness to totalitarianism and imperialism is per se not acceptable as a weapon against communism and Russian imperialism.

Although the Kremlin is enslaving the nations which it conquered, the Russian leaders are exerting tremendous effort to give the impression that they are not enslavers, but liberators. For instance, during the celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav, Russian propaganda tried to convince the Ukrainian people that the Russians were their "true friends," and that the "Ukrainian S. S. R. is a genuine Ukrainian independent state and is sovereign." It told them that the Ukrainian state is "national in form, but Socialist in content," and that all the achievements of the Ukrainian people are due to the assistance and good heart of the "elder brother", the Russians. At the same time the Western propaganda emanating from the free capitals of the world and directed toward the Ukrainian people is simply noncommital on the subject. Can we imagine what the Ukrainian people would feel if the "Voice of America" were as active as the Russian propaganda, if it presented the true and unfalsified story of the Ukrainian people?

Mr. Agnes. In rejecting the so-called "national communism" as a weapon against Moscow, who is, in your opinion, a true and reliable ally of the West behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. Stetsko. The West thinks naively that there are many "honest" Communists behind the Iron Curtain who resent Russian intrusion and, therefore, are susceptible to Western appeals for "national communism." Needless to say, such notions are totally groundless. There are very few "idealistic" or "honest" Communists behind the Iron Curtain; the free world has a far greater number of them than can be found behind the Iron Curtain. Those who rule as Russian satraps and puppets are as ruthless and dedicated to Moscow as is to be expected; to maintain themselves in power and to escape the periodic Russian purges, they have had to be treacherous and venal—only such people can walk the Communist tightrope. To rely on them, to hope that they will eventually turn against Moscow, is as futile as to have tried to induce Quisling of Norway or Degrelle of Belgium to take arms against Hitler.

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Hence the basic line of our liberation effort must be oriented toward the national liberation forces of the enslaved nations which exist in the underground, despite their neglect by the free West for these many years. It is one thing to break down the Communist leadership and quite another to mobilize the constructive forces solely capable of wrecking the Communist system. A social revolution is impossible in the occupied countries without a national revolution, because the social system as imposed by Moscow is sustained in the enslaved nations by force of Russian arms. Mobilization and support on the part of the free world of these national elements which totally oppose and negate the Russian Empire and communism is the one, unique method which will successfully lead to the destruction of communism and the disintegration of the Russian totalitarian empire.

To believe that the West can find Russian leaders who would be willing to help bring out the fall of the Russian Empire is another dangerous illusion. It was Alexander Kerensky and Paul Miliukov who are said to have expressed the following sentiment: "It is better to have a cruel dictator (Stalin) than have a dismembered Russia" (i. e., reference is made to the Russian Empire).

There is no doubt today that underground resistance forces in the U. S. S. R. are very much a reality. If the West, for its part, ceases to appease the Russian tyranny and openly accepts the program of disintegrating the Russian Communist empire, the chances of a successful eruption of these underground forces are more than fair. If the West wants to avoid the fate of Ukraine or Hungary, and the like, it must stop dreaming about any "peaceful coexistence" with Moscow. The West must change its tactics from the defensive to the offensive, and it should fearlessly proclaim that so long as the Russians continue to enslave Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, Georgia, Turkestan, and others, so long will the West refuse to accept Russia's proposal for "peaceful coexistence." But toward that objective the Western nations should create a favorable climate and specific conditions which would help, and not impede, the announced program. Above all, the West must recognize the anti-Russian underground resistance movements and help in their operations behind the Iron Curtain at least as boldly and thoroughly as Moscow is helping Communist fifth columns the world over. The West must strengthen the centrifugal forces which the non-Russian nations of the U. S. S. R. comprise. It has to exert political pressures against the Russian Empire from all sides; it must overhaul its approach to Moscow and adopt new and dynamic tactics. The United States has to redesign its propaganda broadcasts, particularly its official and unofficial psychological warfare media, such as the "Voice of America," "Radio Free Europe," and "Radio Liberation."

One of the major steps in the new approach should be the elimination of the difference in the treatment accorded the so-called satellite countries and the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. by the United States. Up to date all the efforts of the United States Government seem to be concentrated on the satellite nations. The nations enslaved in U. S. S. R. receive scant attention on the false assumption that they are the "internal problem of Russia."

In like manner, the West should support the liberation of such people as the Slovaks in Communist Czechoslovakia, and the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Tito's Yugoslavia. In both these countries these distinct peoples are persecuted not only by Communist tyrants, but by "smaller" imperialisms as well. Slovaks or Croats have the same right to their independence as Czechs or Serbs.

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In policy planning with respect to the Soviet Union, the West must realize that its only chance of overcoming the Bolshevik scourge lies in undermining the Russian Empire. This Empire consists of many non-Russian nations and lands which were conquered by Moscow and had been held in captivity against their will. These forces are powerful and reliable, and they will always be alined with the West against the Russian enslavers. But, on the other hand, the West must finally understand their plight, and provide them with efficient assistance. Instead of supporting Communist Tito and Gomulka and other "national Communists," the West must throw its unqualified support behind the national liberation forces which exist behind the Iron Curtain. Tito and Gomulka and their ilk will exist so long as communism exists in the Soviet Union. Although it may sound somehow paradoxical, some circles in the West are supporting "national communism" for the sole purpose of having a "modified communism" in the world, even when communism in the U. S. S. R. has been destroyed.

Finally, the West must realize that the Russian Empire is the last empire that eventually will be broken up. The national revolutionary movements will constitute the bulk of the forces which will overthrow that Empire. How long it will take before the process is completed is difficult to foretell. A spark might ignite a conflagration which will send the whole unwieldy edifice crashing to the ground. Nobody knew in 1917 that the rebellion of the Urkainian Volynsky Regiment in Petrograd would start the revolution of 1917 and would precipitate the fall of the Russian Czarist Empire. National revolutions are not guided by Marxist laws of "historical and economic development," and therefore are not subordinate to the mechanical calculations of Marxism, but instead are directed by human souls and hearts.

Mr. ARENS. You mentioned, Mr. Stetzko, the demands of political prisoners in Vorkuta. Could you tell us more about it?

Mr. STETZKO. Dr. Joseph Scholmer, a noted German doctor who was arrested in East Berlin and sent to the slave camp at Vorkuta, reports that during the revolts sparked by the Ukrainian and Baltic political prisoners, camp inmates issued demands which went far beyond the character of ordinary prison strike. In his book, entitled "*Vorkuta*" (p. 194), Dr. Scholmer writes:

> Conversations with the military leaders of the resistance groups at Vorkuta give one a clear picture of their idea of the most desirable form of such cooperation, between themselves and the West. This can be summarised as follows:
>
> 1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to the prisoners to call a general strike;
> 2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta, but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southward;
> 3. Immediate formation by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1,500-mile railway line at given points;
> 4. Creation of separate Republic, independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Not tanks, aircraft, or artillery can operate in this gigantic partisan terrain;
> 5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent Republic with the aim of bringing about—
>
> (a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan, "Land for the Peasants";
>
> (b) A workers' rising under the slogan, "Factories to the Workers";
>
> 6. Proclamation of the national independence of Ukraine, the Baltic states, Byelorussia, the peoples of Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Far East;
> 7. Ultimate creation of conditions similar to civil war by an aggravation of the tension between the hard core of the Army and the peoples of the Soviet Union.

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The Ukrainian prisoners in Mordovia sent a special appeal to the the United Nations, putting forth special demands which substantiate the demands of the prisoners in Vorkuta cited above. Moreover, 500 Ukrainian women prisoners were slaughtered by Russian tanks in Kingir in June of 1954, when they joined the revolting prisoners fighting for identical purposes. These examples convincingly demonstrate that, despite Russian terror and persecution, the forces of freedom and liberation are by no means subdued or destroyed.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you mentioned about the vast anti-Russian resistance among the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. What is your opinion about the Soviet army?

Mr. STETSKO. The Soviet army is not as reliable as many in the West think it is. The West might well hope that with a proper psychological warfare and approach, the Soviet army could be demoralized and disrupted without undue effort. First of all, the majority of the Soviet soldiers are non-Russian. During the German-Soviet War of 1941–45, millions of non-Russian soldiers surrendered voluntarily to Germany. Moreover, during the Hungarian revolution of 1956 many Soviet soldiers, the overwhelming majority of them being Ukrainians, refused to fight against the Hungarian freedom fighters and went over to them, using their arms against the Russian security troops. The West has an excellent opportunity to demoralize the Soviet army by appealing to the national elements in it, and by promising them the creation of national armies, to be put at the disposal of their national independent governments on the ruins of the Russian Empire. Such an appeal would create havoc in the Soviet army.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, some leaders in the Western World, in supporting the Russian-sponsored drive for "peaceful coexistence," are expressing beliefs that communism will eventually evolve into a sort of democracy. Do you yourself think it possible?

Mr. STETSKO. Under the pressure of the national liberation and anti-Bolshevik struggle of the enslaved nations, the Russian tyrants are compelled to juggle and maneuver their way, making fictitious "concessions" here and there. This has given rise to the fallacy in the West that through evolution the Communist system may evolve into some sort of democracy. But Westerners forget one thing: these "compromises" are doled out by the Kremlin itself and only to such an extent as it is deemed safe for its own security. It is to be recalled that the New Economic Policy (NEP) was also analyzed as a retreat from communism; then we had a "Ukrainization" program in Ukraine, which, however, was followed by brutal collectivization and manmade famine in Ukraine, claiming millions of victims in Ukraine, the Don Cossack lands, Byelorussia, and so forth. The present "thaw" in Poland can hardly be compared with the powerful "changes" during NEP. The Kremlin purposely creates the illusion of "peaceful evolution" within the Communist empire in order to allay the fears of the free world. Khrushchev's downgrading of Stalin was also a very effective trick, whereby he exonerated himself and thus made himself more presentable as a "benevolent Communist," one fit for the West to do business with.

And yet it was after the death of Stalin that the Soviet Russian Empire was shaken to its foundations; that Khrushchev and Bulganin were shown to be every whit as ruthless and inhuman as Stalin, Beria, and Yezhov. When the demands of Ukrainian prisoners in the concentration camps went beyond the "evolutionary limits," the "collective leadership" did not hesitate to employ army tanks and shock security MVD troops to suppress the Ukrainian rebellion and general strikes. The process took place in East Berlin, then in Poznan, and finally in Hungary. Moreover, Khrushchev clamped down on Tito when the latter tried to walk a "neutralist" line (this was managed despite the absence of Soviet troops in Yugoslavia). How can one talk of any political "evolution" in countries choked with Soviet army garrisons and a police network? This political "evolution" operates only for the strengthening of the Russian Empire, and has also become one of the very powerful arguments of the Soviet foreign policy, aiming at an acceptance by the West of the status quo, which in fact would endorse all the Russian conquests in Europe and Asia.

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How Russia understands "peaceful coexistence" we see even on the instance of the Hungarian revolution. The bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution was decided upon unanimously by "beloved solider" Zhukov, "world peace lover" Khrushchev, "sponsor of light industry" Malenkov, and others; they all knew that a successful Hungarian revolution would spell the beginning of the decline of their domination.

Soldier

The Hungarian revolution demonstrated most vividly the total bankruptcy of communism as a social, political, and ideological system. It was directed against every and any form of communism, especially against one of its most objectionable features—collectivizations; and it was directed against the Russians as the master oppressors. The cry "Russians Go Home" underscored most emphatically the national and anti-Russian character of the revolution. Also the fact that the youth took over the leadership in the anti-Communist and anti-Russian uprising demonstrated the total failure of the Communist indoctrinations; and the fact that the workers, those "legendary" beneficiaries of the Communist regime, manned the barricades undermined the Communist ideology and its regime more than anything else has done in the last few decades.

One of the most spectacular features of the Hungarian revolution was the numerous desertions from the Soviet army of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and other non-Russian soldiers over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters—another proof of the antipathy of the subjugated peoples for their Russian masters. This occasion reminded the free world once again that the Achilles' heel of the Bolshevik empire is the struggle of the enslaved peoples.

Despite the bravery of the Hungarian people and the fact that the Western nations let them down completely, the Hungarian revolution also had other causes for its failure. Imre Nagy, to the very last minute, believed in Russia and never understood the essence of Russian ideology. But the heroic people of Hungary had a need of a firm, national, and uncompromisingly anti-Communist leadership, not a "national Communist" one which still believed in the possibility of compromise with the Kremlin. The Hungarian revolution remained localized, instead of becoming generalized and spreading to other enslaved countries of the Soviet Russian Empire.

When Imre Nagy announced the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact, he appealed for neutrality, hoping that the United States would guarantee such neutrality. Instead of which he ought to have appealed to all enslaved nations to rise in a common front against communism and Russian imperialism. He should have called on them to fight for their national independent states; for the destruction of the Russian forces in all the occupied countries; and for the building up of national, non-Communist armies not only in Hungary, but in Ukraine, Poland, Georgia, Turkestan, Slovakia, Bulgaria, and others, and China as well. But "national Communist" Nagy clung to his trust in Russia to the last, even to that final moment when Soviet Russian tanks approached his residence. When Hungarian freedom fighters, common workers, peasants, students, and intellectuals rose against the Russians and their Communist puppets, Nagy tried to placate and appease them. Hence he had to lose, and with him the brave Hungarian people lost as well.

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The Western nations will eventually pay dearly for failing to support the Hungarian revolution and, for that matter, the Polish and the German riots and the Ukrainian strikes and uprisings in the concentration camps. It is beyond dispute that had the Western nations, especially the United States, actively assisted the Hungarian revolution, Russia would not have dared to risk an atomic war, or to challenge the United States as a whole.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you are an outstanding Ukrainian nationalist leader. Would you care to say something about present activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine?

Mr. STETZKO. The Ukrainian liberation movement in the last few years has undergone certain tactical changes due to the fact that the Western World including the United States, directed all its efforts toward a modus vivendi with Communist Russia and the enslaved nations were given to understand, in most unmistakable terms, that they cannot hope for any effective assistance in their liberation effort. It was clear that the Ukrainian underground movement would have to change its methods of resistance in order to continue effectively the struggle against Russia, inasmuch as open guerrilla warfare would not continue indefinitely. Thus, instead of an armed struggle against the Russian invaders, a more subtle and well-organized resistance to the Soviet Russian power as such went into effect. This quiet and systematic resistance against Moscow embraced all the sectors of life in Ukraine; political, economic, cultural, and religious. From time to time an armed ambush against, Soviet Russian security troops does take place in Ukraine.

In Ukraine this resistance is directed by the principal resistance groups (1) Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), (2) Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and (3) the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (U. H. W. R.). The other enslaved peoples have similar underground anti-Russian and anti-Communist liberation organizations, which are united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (A. B. N.), as coordination center.

Underground propaganda, which encompasses underground literature on political, literary, economic themes, has proved to be extremely effective, especially among the youth and the Soviet army men. The latter group has been especially prone to anti-Communist and anti-Russian propaganda, inasmuch as the great number of it consists of the non-Russian nationalities which cannot forget what Moscow is doing to their native countries.

In the economic sector, the propaganda effort is directed against the collective farm system, and the advantages of private property are being propagated as an inalienable right of every man.

Furthermore, the Ukrainian liberation movement is supporting the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox underground churches and combats vigorously the official atheistic policy of Moscow. All possibilities that exist within the Soviet system are being meticulously utilized for the purpose of preparing the Ukrainian people for the final day of liberation and freedom.

UKRAINIAN

This anti-Russian and anti-Communist resistance of the Ukrainian people has found another expression in the form of mass strikes and rebellions in Soviet concentration camps in Siberia and Kazakhstan. Such mass strikes which gained recognition in the free world took place in July 1953 in Vorkuta, in June of 1953 in Norilsk, in June of 1954 in Kingir (Kazakhstan), and in September of 1955 in Mordovia and in Taishet. These mass strikes sowed not only the germs of revolt and resistance in the slave labor camps, but contributed greatly to slackening of Soviet war industries in Siberia.

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Although deeply and bitterly disappointed in the West's inaction and indifference to their plight, the Ukrainians and other enslaved peoples inside the Iron Curtain are keeping their spirit of resistance very high and are not wavering in their anti-Communist positions. The brutal policies of Moscow relying on mass deportations of Ukrainians to Asia proved ineffective, bucause these recalcitrant Ukrainians spread seeds of discontent and rebellion wherever they went.

The ideals of a common cause of all the enslaved nations are deeply rooted behind the Iron Curtain, and no form of Russian tyranny can ever destroy them. The Soviet Russian system failed and it only exists because it is supported by the strength of Russian bayonets. The case of Hungary in the fall of 1956 substantiates this most eloquently.

The nationalism of the enslaved nations is the most powerful weapon of which the West can effectively avail itself in its never-ending struggle against Communist Russia. But, amazingly, the West is totally blind to the existence of these potent forces behind the Iron Curtain. During World War II, the Ukrainian underground (the OUN, the UPA, and the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council) waged an unparalleled struggle against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, and yet the West failed to recognize these forces. After the defeat of Nazi Germany, the UPA, in cooperation with liberation forces of other nations, commanded large and powerful forces; and the Soviet Government was forced to employ many combat divisions of special security troops in order to cope with the Ukrainian underground resistance forces. Later on, on May 12, 1947, the Soviet Union concluded a special treaty with the Communist governments of Poland and Czechoslovakia directed against the UPA.

During the Hungarian revolution of 1956 many Ukrainian and other non-Russian soldiers from the Soviet army not only refused to fight against the Hungarian freedom fighters, but numerous of them went over to their side with arms and tanks. Many of them died fighting against the Russians, and many others were captured by the MVD and executed outright or sent to slave labor camps.

Long before the Hungarian revolution, the Kremlin could not conceal the vast anti-Russian resistance in Ukraine. The Soviet press, despite the strict Communist censorship, reported from time to time the arrest of "bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists" and "enemies of the people." In 1947 some 400 members of the UPA crossed the heavily guarded Iron Curtain border and arrived in Western Germany armed with automatic pistols, hand grenades, and so forth. They were sent by Gen. Taras Chuprynka, commander in chief of the UPA, to convince the Western World that the Ukrainian underground was still active and fighting against Moscow. After the death of General Chuprynka, who was ambushed and killed by the MVD troops on March 5, 1950, the Ukrainian underground continued its operations and the Soviet Russian Government made several appeals in the press and over the radio, promising the underground freedom fighters full pardon if they surrendered voluntarily. (Gen. Taras Chuprynka was a third Ukrainian national leader destroyed by Moscow in recent times. On May 25, 1926, a Communist agent shot and killed on a street of Paris Simon Petlura, former head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic. Col. Eugene Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization, was blown to death by a bomb delivered by an NKVD agent on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.)

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In the fall of 1956 the Hungarian freedom fighters reported that they know of many desertions of Ukrainian soldiers from the Soviet army and of resistance outbursts in several places in Western Ukraine, particularly the railroad networks between the cities of Nadvirna and Vorokhta, near the Polish-Ukrainian border, and in Uzhorod in Carpatho-Ukraine. The railroad line between Lviv (Western Ukraine) and Budapest was guarded by four crack Soviet divisions. At the same time serious disorders broke out in the areas of Hreboniv and Zamist near the Polish-Byelorussian border. The railroad line between Stanislaviv and Kolomeya was disrupted for several days.

Moreover, serious student disturbances took place in Kiev, capital of Ukraine; and some Hungarian prisoners were librated by the Ukrainian underground fighters when their train was ambushed by the Ukrainian national partisans. These Hungarian refugees who escaped from the Soviet Union stated that the Ukrainian underground was well organized and that it enjoyed the support of the Ukrainian people, which is direct contradiction to the Kremlin propaganda line to the effect that the Ukrainian nationalist underground is composed of paid agents and enemies of the people.

Even before the Hungarian revolution, the Ukrainian underground fighters were known to be operating in the Polish-Ukrainian border zone. The Polish newspaper *Zycie Warszawy* (Life of Warsaw) of July 21–27, 1955, reported the trial of several young Ukrainians in Warsaw who were accused of belonging to the OUN and the UPA. Among them were such men as Kaminsky, Lykholat, Hoysan, Ptashnyk, Boychuk, and Nyz. All were condemned to death, and several others got prison terms. In Kiev's *Molod Ukrainy* (Youth of Ukraine), a Ukrainian Komsomol review, a lengthy article appeared on February 17, 1957, attacking the OUN and UPA. It concluded as follows: "The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and the reverend fathers from the Vatican, the Basilian Fathers and the Autocephalists are finishing their days.* * *"

But a month before, the Soviet MVD had to use their forces against the rebellious Ukrainians in the area of Lviv and Kiev and against large-scale disorders in Tiflis, capital of Georgia.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Catholic Churches, which were brutally liquidated by the Bolsheviks, are nevertheless functioning in the underground despite severe reprisals and persecution.

Again, on February 28, 1957, the Kiev radio attacked the United States, accusing it of sending Ukrainian nationalist "spies and saboteurs" into Ukraine. This attack was printed in *Radyansak Ukraina* of February 28, 1957. The said newspaper is the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S. S. R.

Two days before that, on February 26, 1957, L. I. Kizya, member of the Soviet Ukrainian delegation to the United Nations, formally accused the United States of sowing disorders and sabotage in Ukraine and he introduced a resolution in the United Nations demanding condemnation of the United States.

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Stetzko, do the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in Ukraine find any other repercussions in the Communist-controlled press and publications?

Mr. STETZKO. On January 10–12, 1957, a plenum of the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine took place in Kiev. One of the Ukrainian Soviet writers, Yury Smolych, was commissioned by Moscow to deliver a major attack against Ukrainian nationalism. His address appeared in the issue No. 5 of *Literaturna Hazeta* of Kiev. Smolych averred that "bands of Ukrainian nationalists" took active part in the Hungarian uprising (the same statement appeared in the official Hungarian Communist "White Book" on the "Fascist intervention," issued by the puppet Hungarian Government of Janos Kadar). Smolych "intimated" that these Ukrainian nationalists "were brought to Hungary by American planes and armored cars."

The Russian-controlled *Soviet Latvia* and *Soviet Estonia* reported recently that national liberation movements were active in the Baltic States, Byelorussian, and Ukraine. Also *Uchitelskaya Gazeta* (*Teachers' Gazette*), official organ of the Soviet Ministry of Public Education, reported the passive resistance of the population in Bessarabia and Kirghizia; and during Christmas the chief of the MGB, Gen. Ivan Serov, called in Moscow's *Pravda* for redoubling vigilance, saying: "All the activity of our security organs is directed toward the destruction of foreign espionage groups and other enemies of socialism. * * *"

Writing in the December 1, 1957, issue of the *New York Herald Tribune*, Ansel E. Talbert, its military and aviation editor, commented upon the death sentences passed upon four Ukrainian underground fighters by the Soviet military tribunal in Rivne, Ukraine. He wrote:

> Official Soviet reports of death sentences just passed upon a group of Ukrainian "nationalists" and "partisans" from the Rovno Province bordering the Pripet Marshes appear to confirm stories related by refugees from Hungary. These were to the effect that before the Budapest revolt of last year, Soviet soldiers had told them of recent fighting between regular Red army troops and Ukrainian partisans, although such anti-Soviet guerrilla warfare was believed to have ended in 1949. * * *

On October 24, 1957, *Pravda Ukrainy* in Kiev reported the trial and execution by shooting of four young Ukrainian nationalists: V. Drozd, V. Kalchuk, I. Bukhalsky, and V. Shevchuk of Derman, in the Rivne oblast, for the alleged murder of 400 Communist agents between 1944 and 1949. Another Soviet Ukrainian scribe, Y. Melnychuk, wrote an article on the "Derman tragedy" in the monthly review *Zhovten* (*October*), No. 5, 1957, and promised to "reveal all the facts" about Ukrainian nationalist "traitors," but he suddenly discontinued the series after the publication of the first installment of his article.

It is evident that Moscow is trying to terrorize the population of Ukraine by trials, executions of young Ukrainian patriots, and by systematic vilifying of the Ukrainian underground movement.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, is there any comment in the Soviet-Ukrainian press toward Eastern Europe and especially Ukraine?

Mr. STETZKO. This anti-Ukrainian campaign by the Communist press in Ukraine is also coupled with anti-American propaganda as well. For instance, United States foreign policy with regard to Ukraine was scathingly attacked by Yaroslav Zinych, in No. 1 of *Zhovten*, for January 1958.

This article singled out the American Committee for Liberation, accusing it of hostility toward Ukrainian national independence and of sympathy with Russian imperialism.

The gist of the article, entitled "Mercenaries Masked and Unmasked," follows:

> Before World War II nationalist cheats gave people the illusion of a "Ukrainian empire." This was what their "ally" Hitler promised them. We all know what happened to that promise. Hitler had no thought about any kind of Ukrainian state, not even a bourgeois. His aim was to destroy the Ukrainian people.
>
> Today, the nationalist bosses cannot even talk about a tiny backyard bourgeois state. As anyone can see, this is not in the plans of the nationalists' new bosses. Even the nationalist bosses themselves admit that in the so-called American Committee, an unofficial agency of the United States Department of State, the first fiddle is played by Russian White-Guard "nonpredeterminists," who refuse to recognize the existence of the Ukrainian state. In their opinion, this matter is to be "determined" later, obviously only if they can seize power. It is not too difficult to guess how this matter would be "determined." Suffice it to say that they all consider Ukraine as part of Russia, and the Ukrainian language as corrupted Russian.

The same article also attacked the United States Department of State for its support of Polish, Hungarian, and Rumanian exile leaders who claim Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine, and Bukovina and Bessarabia as parts of their "future" states.

An author whom we previously quoted, Yury Smolych, published a book, *Peace to Huts, and War to Palaces*, in which he vilified the Ukrainian struggle for independence in the years 1917–20. He especially attacked the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918, by the Ukrainian Central *Rada* and such Ukrainian leaders as Simon Petlura, Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevsky, and others. The United States, France, and Great Britain were also depicted as "predatory power," which tried to undermine the Soviet authority by turning Ukraine into a colony of "Western capitalism."

Numerous similar examples and facts can be sighted from other countries of the Soviet Union, such as Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Bulgaria, Azerbaijan, or Lithuania. For instance, *Komunist*, No. 1, 1958, wrote that in Lithuania there "appear reactionary, nationalist, and antinational traditions which instigate hatred among the peoples and influence the youth in the spirit of bourgeois nationalism * * *." Nationalist influences and tendencies have been also uncovered among the writers of Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia, according to the *Literary Gazette* of March 6, 1958. In Armenia serious disturbances arose among collective farmers who failed to deliver the wheat quotas assigned to them, at which time the frontiers of Armenia were sealed off. Arrests were reported in Azerbaijan and Turkestan.

From Slovakia it was reported that several secret trials of Slovak nationalists took place recently, and the Communists are waging a fierce campaign against the Slovak National Republic, ridiculing Slovak national culture and history and the Slovak national statehood, as well as the Slovak political emigres.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, what in your opinion is there that the West can do in order to help the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against Moscow and for their liberation?

Mr. STETZKO. In summing up this testimony, I would like to present the following conclusions for your consideration and thought:

The key for the destruction of the Russian Empire lies in the hands of the West, through the freedom-aspiring nationalism of the enslaved nations.

If the liberation action of the subjugated nations is to succeed, the West must necessarily adopt a different policy with respect to bolshevism than it had heretofore. It must spring out from different political principles and military-political strategy, which must take into account the enslaved nations, as we analyzed before.

There remain, unfortunately, only two possibilities: either the West is going to change its policy in the direction of the total negation of bolshevism and Russia and the complete isolation, including the ousting of the Soviet Union from the United Nations, and an unqualified support of the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations, or it will have to accept Khrushchev's terms of "peaceful coexistence" and thereby invite its own doom. I am inclined to support wholeheartedly the first course, inasmuch as I firmly believe that this course is the only one with which the West can avoid an all-out thermonuclear catastrophe.

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In adopting this course, the free world must above all realize a complete coordination of its military action with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain. For this purpose a closer cooperation of certain United States officials, as well as those from other free countries, with the representatives of these liberation movements in exile, who never collaborated with Communists or ever defended the integrity of the Russian Empire, must be effectuated. The principal aim of this coordination is the synchronization and concerted action of the two partners not only the political, but on the strategical plane as well, as General Fuller indicated in his penetrating thesis on this subject. In the event of war, the free world must concentrate its attack on the Russian ethnographic territory proper, inasmuch as the enslaved nations would be able to cope more effectively with the Soviet Russian troops garrisoned in Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, Turkestan, et cetera. The national liberation uprising, once set in motion, can then isolate the Soviet troops in Central Europe westward from the Baltic-Black Sea line to Turkey. Before this "D-day" comes, the West must provide this essential assistance to the anti-Communist and anti-Russian resistance forces. Even now assistance can be spelled out in terms of technical and material support to the existing liberation movements, so that an intimate contact between these forces and the free world could be achieved beforehand.

The West should have no scruples in this connection inasmuch as Moscow is abetting its subversive and anti-Western Communist fifth columns quite openly and shamelessly. These are the lackeys of Moscow.

On the other hand, the liberation movements are actual partners and political allies of the West, and they are fighting for their own liberation and independence. Khrushchev quite openly interferes in the internal affairs of different nations. But so far not one Western statesman of weight has had the courage to declare publicly that the free world should insist on the independence of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Slovakia, the North Caucasus, and the like. The West is even timid to raise the question of independence of Ukraine and Byelorussia, although both these Republics have been charter members of the United Nations since 1945.

Finally, the West should draw a practical conclusion from the fact that the Soviet army consists of soldiers of various nationalities. A vigorous and fruitful action can be undertaken to win the loyalty of these non-Russian nationals. The U. S. S. R. can be surrounded by aggressive propaganda outposts in Europe, the Near and Middle East, and the Far East, by including in this dynamic action the political and national liberation formations of the enslaved peoples. The first and commanding place should be occupied not by "national Communists" or former Communists or their collaborators, who have become disillusioned with communism, but by leaders who have never engaged in political dealings with the Communists and have always fought them regardless of place or circumstances. The West should use in this all-important action not paid agents, but political partners and allies.

The United States, the remaining hope for all mankind, must seriously consider this alternative. It should unhesitatingly proceed upon such action by providing powerful radio stations, which could be operated by nationalist leaders, who would know how to appeal to their enslaved brothers behind the Iron Curtain. They should be given every available opportunity to maintain live contact with the enslaved countries and to serve as dynamic liaison between them and the free world. It is to be regretted that certain circles in the United States have been relying in the past for such work upon opportunistic elements, many of whom served the Bolsheviks and were their staunch supporters for long years.

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The existing United States private radio broadcasting organizations, such as "Radio Liberation" and "Radio Free Europe," cannot appeal to the enslaved nations with full effect, inasmuch as their policies run counter to the interests of the great majority of the population of the enslaved countries. The American Committee for Liberation conducts a policy, for example, which is not in harmony with the interests of the enslaved peoples in the U. S. S. R., in much the same manner as the activity of the Institute for the Study of the History and Culture of the U. S. S. R. in Munich cannot claim any political success, for its policy has been based upon a total misconception and misrepresentation of the conditions in the U. S. S. R., especially those involving the political aspirations of the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union.

World War II proved that psychological warfare is as important as that waged by conventional armies, if not more so.

Christianity, enlightened and liberation nationalism, freedom and independence of nations and individuals, and the basic democratic ideas—all can effectively oppose Russian communism and imperialism, if intelligently and boldly applied.

Here lies a great opportunity for the United States to take over the leadership in this gigantic and decisive contest for survival—which the West collectively cannot and must not lose.

Maj. Gen. J. F. C. Fuller, outstanding British military authority, stated that the main elements in the war for which the West should arm, should be the following:

1. In an ideological age wars take an ideological character;
2. They are conflicts of ideas in which bullets play a secondary part;
3. The cold war is the real war, and its aim is internal attack on the enemy;
4. Ideas are largely impotent unless backed by force—the threat of actual war;
5. The greater the threat, the more audaciously can cold war be waged, hence the importance of scientific superiority;
6. As this may lead to the outbreak of actual war, the West must be prepared, not only to fight it, but to convert its war into civil guerrilla war within the enemy's country;
7. These things the Western nations will never adequately do unless—
   (a) Western Germany is fully rearmed;
   (b) Unless they cooperate with the National Resistance Movements behind the Iron Curtain.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of today, he who prepares for the defense only digs his own grave. So, in fact, who is our real enemy? The true answer is given by British Air Vice Marshal E. J. Kingston-McCloughry in his book entitled "Global Strategy" (page 10): "The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia, that is, Russia as a power: a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence: a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organized community, and a power state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned."

SECRET

19 May 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

FROM: [redacted]

SUBJECT: Meeting with Walter DUSHENCK - 15 May 1958

Meeting Background

1. On 13 May 1958 DUSHENCK telephoned Chief, SR/3 (whom he knows personally) and stated that Yaroslav STETSKO would be in Washington the following day and was there anyone interested in talking to him. Then, Chief, SR/3, indicated that there was in fact an individual from the Pentagon who would probably want to see STETSKO. The matter was coordinated and I made telephone contact with DUSHENCK at [redacted]

2. At 0900 hours on 15 May 1958, I met DUSHENCK in Room 1006 of the Roger Smith Hotel (Telephone Number: National 8-2740) and spoke to him until approximately 0930 hours.

DUSHENCK Plans on South America

3. Subject suggests that he be sent on a two or three month TDY trip to South America (primarily Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay and Argentina) in order to determine the extent and the effect of Soviet propaganda and infiltration since early 1957 on the emigres in the above countries. This he would do through his extensive Catholic Church, emigre and political contacts which he developed during his tour in South America. Although Subject did not have any specific proposals regarding any political action in South America at this time and pointed out that his ideas would be firmer after he had made a trip, he felt that basically the political action plans which he had submitted previously would be effective counteraction against Soviet propaganda infiltration. In general the plan would be to organize the emigres into political and other organizations and to propagandize them against Soviet influences through radio programs, newspaper articles, special novies, rallies, etc.

4. Although at the moment Subject does not have cover either for a TDY or PCS tour in South America, he felt certain that an acceptable sponsor for his trip could be developed.

Assessment

5. Subject is 50 years of age, medium size, sturdy build, and does not make a particularly impressive figure nor does he appear to be very imaginative. On the other side of the ledger, however, he is well educated, well versed in Eastern European affairs and appears to be strongly pro-American and anti-

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[redacted]

Communist. I spoke to this man for only a short time; therefore, obviously, a thorough assessment cannot be made. It would seem to me on the basis of my talk and on the basis of this man's known background as reflected in the attached curriculum vitae and letter of reference, that DUNNINGH is a man of intelligence, substance and ability, and there is little doubt in my mind that with proper handling this man would make an excellent asset in my intelligence [illegible] be it FP, FI or CE. In summary, I can only echo his words: "Surely, does it not seem to you that a man with my language abilities and my experience could be used somewhere in the United States Government?"

Comments

6. I promised to pass Subject's curriculum vitae and his letter of reference to the "proper authorities". No communication channel with Subject was set up except for the bona fides which I had given him in regard to STETSEO and in regard to picking up from Subject his report on the questions which I had passed to STETSEO via Subject.

SECRET

19 May 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

FROM [redacted]

SUBJECT : Meeting with Walter DUSHNYCK re Yaroslav STETSKO, 0900 to 0950 hours, 15 May 1958

Summary:

1. Although I did not actually meet Yaroslav STETSKO for reasons mentioned below, the following conclusions can be reached on the basis of my conversation with DUSHNYCK:

a. STETSKO desires to meet with the AIB. (This would seem to be a departure from his former stand and might mean that he in fact is no longer sponsored financially by SMOTH.)

b. STETSKO apparently is anxious to discuss presumably the operational and CE potential of the Moslem groups (stemming from the Soviet Union and living in the Near East) who are associated with the ABN of which STETSKO is the head.

2. STETSKO may be in the United States for a few months and can be reached through DUSHNYCK at any time.

3. In my opinion STETSKO should be met by qualified officers who would debrief and assess him. If he is not met I feel this would be to the detriment of the United States position since STETSKO represents—in his capacity of Chief of ABN and second in command of the ZCh-OUN—highly diversified and strongly anti-Communist groupings which would feel at least puzzled if we did not accept contact with as well-known an anti-Communist as STETSKO.

4. Furthermore, since the matter has gone so far, it would be a personal affront to STETSKO if he were not met; what this might mean, sometime in the future when the services of such a man and the organizations which he represents are needed, would be difficult to judge at this time.

Comment:

5. The bona fides as provided by Chief, SR/3 (whom DUSHNYCK knows personally) were sufficient to convince DUSHNYCK that I was a member of the United States Government, but he had to be reassured that my real name was [redacted] that I was from the Defense Department (OSD-ORO) and not from [redacted] for the record: I am documented in the name of [redacted]

the Office of the Secretary of Defense, Office of Special Operations, and should any private or governmental checks in regard to [redacted] s instituted I would be covered by the Defense Department.

Meeting:

6. Immediately upon meeting with DUSHNYCK in his room at the Roger Smith Hotel (Room 1006), I asked him what arrangements he had made as well as what the reaction of STETZKO was to this proposed meeting. DUSHNYCK stated that STETZKO would very much like to contact the AIS and discuss the operational capabilities of the Moslem groupings living in the Near East, who are associated with the ABN. Secondly, I determined that STETZKO was accompanied by (fnu) BILINSKY — one of the editors of the Ukrainian Catholic newspaper Americas. In view of the fact that BILINSKY would almost unquestionably have recognized me for myself rather than "Dr. WOLF" and that it would not have been politic to have separated STETZKO and BILINSKY, I decided not to meet STETZKO as previously planned. This decision I did not impart to DUSHNYCK until toward the end of our meeting.

7. After speaking with DUSHNYCK on matters pertaining to him (DUSHNYCK), I informed him of my decision not to meet with STETZKO and this decision I covered as follows: STETZKO is an important man and he desires to talk on matters which are out of my field of interest; consequently, in order that the meeting come out to the best advantage of everyone, I would not meet him but I would see to it that properly qualified officers see him sometime in the future. In connection with this I determined that DUSHNYCK could act as a channel to STETZKO during the latter's probable two months stay in the United States.

8. I told DUSHNYCK that I would telephone him within an hour and let him know whether such a meeting could be organized the same day, or whether it would have to be postponed to a later date. At 1055 hours I telephoned DUSHNYCK at his hotel room and informed him that no meeting could be scheduled for today. In answer to his direct question as to whether a meeting between STETZKO and the AIS would actually materialize I stated that "in all probability" he would be contacted through DUSHNYCK within the next two weeks or so.

9. In view of the fact that I was not going to see STETZKO personally I asked DUSHNYCK to pose the following questions to STETZKO and the answers to these questions would be gotten from DUSHNYCK at an unspecified future date in New York, either by myself or by some individual or individuals who will present themselves as coming from me. The same bona fides would be used by anyone desiring contact with STETZKO. The questions were:

a. The purpose of STETZKO coming to the United States and ZCh-OUN's and his intentions in the United States.

b. ZB intentions in the United States.

c. The strength of the ZCh-OUN in the United States and worldwide.

d. ZCh-OUN assets and potential (particularly potential) in the Ukraine.

e. BANDERA's intentions in the United States.

f. STETZKO and ZCh-OUN intentions regarding uniting the Ukrainian emigration.

10. Some of the above questions were obvious and needed no explanation. The following were the exceptions:

a. DUSHNYCK asked whether BANDERA will be permitted to come to the United States. I told him that from the "operational elements" of the United States Government there was no objection to BANDERA coming to the United States. In view of this man's checkered past, however, the determining agencies in regard to his immigration would be the State Department and the Immigration Service.

b. DUSHNYCK desired to know whether by "uniting the emigration" was meant uniting the nationalist wing. My answer to this was that we would be interested in finding out STETZKO's intentions regarding uniting the Ukrainian emigration not in the sense of welding them into one political entity but rather in a way which would permit the entire Ukrainian emigration to present a united front on major issues regardless of their internal politicking.

c. In view of the fact that some of the above questions could be construed as reflecting a negative attitude toward STETZKO and his organization, I pointed out that such was not the intent as is evidenced by the existing facts that STETZKO is in the United States /for the first time/, and that the United States government is interested in talking with him.

11. Because, according to DUSHNYCK, STETZKO stayed an extra day in Washington in anticipation of a meeting with me, I asked DUSHNYCK to apologize sincerely to STETZKO for me and to assure STETZKO that the only reason that I backed out of the meeting was that in my opinion he should talk to individuals completely qualified in the field which he desired to discuss, so that he would not waste his valuable time by talking to me and then repeat the very same thing to someone else at a later date.

SECRET

8 July 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: CIA Legislative Counsel

SUBJECT: The House Committee on Un-American Activities -- Consultation with Yaroslav STETSKO

1. During the past ten years CIA has followed with interest the activities of Mr. Stetsko's organization, "The Foreign Section of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (ZChOUN). This organization is monolithic in character, violently anti-Communist, and totalitarian in concept. It is headed by Stefan BANDERA with Mr. STETSKO being the second in command. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) has been operating in the Ukraine, particularly West Ukraine, since the end of World War I and it can be assumed that it is still in existence although its effectiveness at this time may have been curtailed by the Soviet Security Services. During World War II the name of BANDERA was widely known and feared throughout the Soviet Union despite the fact that BANDERA himself, as STETSKO, spent most of the war in German Concentration Camps. The OUN, its military arm, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its later governmental structure, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) opposed actively both the German and Soviet activities in the Ukraine. After World War II the Soviet Security Services appeared to concentrate seriously on the underground organizations and by 1951 overt field action of the underground against Soviet installations stopped. At this moment of time the resistance movement in the Ukraine does not appear to be of an organized nature.

2. The factual statements which Mr. STETSKO makes in regard to himself and the various Ukrainian organizations, as reflected in the galley proofs, seem to be in consonance with our available information.

3. Throughout his conversations with the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. STETSKO maintains the nationalist line in rather subdued tones as compared to press and other media through which the ZChOUN and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) express their opinions.

4. We see no security ramifications were the Consultation with Yaroslav STETSKO published by the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

[ ]
Chief, SR Division

Distribution:
2 - Addressee (w/galley sheets)

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[ ]:als

Schlaki Pittsburg 13 Jul 5 Ціна 50 пф.

Я. Стецько в Пітсбурґу

29. червня ц. р. голова ЦК АБН і колишній голова Державного Правління України з 1941 р., п. Я. Стецько прибув у товаристві мтр-а В. Боровика та віцепрезидента Української Народньої Помочі, адвоката Івана Демера з Клівленду до Пітсбурґу, де зупинився в одному з центральних готелів міста.

У вівторок 24. 6. ц. р. п. Я. Стецько відвідав на запрошення адв. І. Демера головну канцелярію УНПомочі, одну з братсько-запомогових організацій українців у США, засновану ще в 1914 р., маєток якої сягає нині двох

Голова ЦК АБН, п. Ярослав Стецько в Централі Української Народньої Помочі. Сидять зліва направо: пані Анна Круш, рекорд. секретарка, п. Ярослав Стецько, Василь Шафетура, предсідник УНП, адв. Іван Демер, заступник предсідника. Стоять зліва направо: п. Павло Кравчук, редактор «Народного Слова», мтр. В. Боровик, член Головної Управи ООЧСУ в Нью-Йорку, Михайло Дутченко, головний скарбник УНП, Володимир Мазур, орган. референт.

інтерв'ю для Редакції згаданого часопису.

В пополудневих годинах відбулася в приміщенні Централі УНПомочі пресова конференція п. Я. Стецька з журналістами двох найбільших англомовних часописів у Пітсбурґу, а це: „Pittsburgh Post Gazette" і „Pittsburgh Press".

Наступного дня появилися в цих газетах просторі та прихильні звідомлення про приїзд п. Я. Стецька і про діяльність АБН у світовому маштабі. Кореспонденти цікавилися теж національним походженням Хрущова, бо

Маніфестація в Клівленді

Кінець тижня від 20 по 22 червня стояв у Клівленді під знаком національно-протестаційної маніфестації в 25-ліття голодової облоги України та приїзду голови ЦК АБН, п. Ярослава Стецька. Клівленд енергійно приготовлявся, щоб маніфестація пройшла величаво. Заздалегідь роздано 4.000 летючок між проходних, що робили на них повітне враження. Летючки були в формі резолюції-апелю, вияснювали суть голодової облоги та закликали світ до боротьби проти варварів.

Вислухавши в церквах Панахиди, около 1.500 осіб з'явилося на площі дня 22 червня, щоб вшанувати пам'ять померлих з голоду та запротестувати проти поневолення України. На маніфестацію прибули масово не тільки клівлендці, але й організації та громадянство ближчих міст, як: Янгстоун, Акрон, Кантон та Лорейн. На маніфестацію прибув також п. Стецько, якого присутні ентузіястично привітали. Маніфестація почалася піднесенням прапорів та гимнами, що їх відіграла орхестра СУМА Осередку ім. Гетьмана Б. Хмельницького. Опісля маніфестацію відкрив голова місцевого ООЧСУ, привітав присутніх та покликав Президію маніфестації.

Першим промовляв Голова ЦК АБН, який закликав солідаризуватися з Воюючою Україною та вказував, що, всупереч заходам наїздника, боротьба за визволення не припиняється. Опісля виголошено головні промови; по-українськи говорив представник Головної Управи ООЧСУ, мгр. Воровик, а по-англійськи п. Шіпка. Оба промовці з'ясували ціль маніфестації в організуванні голоду та закликали до боротьби з ворогом не тільки України, але й усього людства. Мгр. Воровик на початку своєї промови закликав присутніх до одиохвилинної мовчанки, під час якої під звуки барабанів та трубих голова Відділу УККА з Кантон п. Печенюк поклав символічний вінок, присвяченій пам'яті тих, що померли голодовою смертю. Після головних промов виступали з короткими промовами представники окремих місцевостей та організацій, опісля прочитано та прийнято резолюції для висилки урядовим чинникам.

На мистецьку частину складався виступ хору «Гомін» під диригентурою проф. Варенча, оркестра Осередку СУМА з Клівленду під диригентурою пана Крука та деклямація юної сумівки Олі Костів. Свято закінчено молитвою.

Голова ЦК АБН п. Я. Стецько приїхав на Маніфестацію в Клівленді, США

Клівленд вітає Я. Стецька

Широкий відгомін діяльности АБН та активности його голови, п. Я. Стецька спонукали українську громаду Клівленду гідно привітати достойного гостя. 20. червня увечері представники організацій та громадянства з головою Комітету п. М. Яремком у проводі привітали голову ЦК АБН на летовищі, а юні сумівці у національних одягах передали китицю цвітів. Опісля всі подалися на спільне прийняття-вечерю, де в дружній атмосфері проведено вечір, причому п. Я. Стецько відповідав на запитання, зв'язані з діяльністю АБН, враженнями з своєї поїздки та розмовами на конгресах.

В суботу 21. 6. ц. р. після обіду в дбулася в домі СУМА конференція з представниками поневолених Москвою народів, на якій п. Я. Стецько з'ясував ціль та завдання АБН і зупинився над важливішими моментами своїх поїздок та розмов з державними мужами світу. Присутні жваво цікавилися заторкненими справами та висловили бажання створити на терені Клівленду міжнаціональну станицю Американських Приятелів АБН.

Цього самого дня увечері відбулося громадське віче, на яким з'явилося багато більше людей ніж на вічу якогонебудь іншого гостя з Европи, що перебував у Клівленді. Публіка прийняла щиро та з ентузіязмом появу п. Я. Стецька та його доповідь про наші успіхи і майбутню працю. Обговорюючи завдання української еміграції, п. Я. Стецько виходив з позицій державницьких, що й не подобалося деяким місцевим «політикам».

В неділю увечері відбулося прийняття у честь Достойного Гостя, якого привітав голова Комітету п. М. Яремко. Гості вшанували голову ЦК АБН і члена українського уряду з 1941 р., проф. Радзимкевича вставанням з місць. Під час прийняття виступали з привітами представники організацій. Спеціяльно треба відмітити виступи представника білорусів п. Шімчака, шерифа з Янгстауну, п. Яроша та головного радного Українського Народного Союзу, п. Магали. Виступи символізували солідарність українців і інших національностей у спільній боротьбі та підкреслювали один фронт в праці за визволення України народжених на цій землі і членів давної еміграції.

Вітали гостя від СУМА — п. Цінцинат, від Пласту — п. Бобко, від ОЧСУ та ПАБКА (молоді Відділи) — п. Ковальчик, від ветеранів — проф. Радзимкевич, від комітетів — сотн. Гончаренко, від мал. жінок УТА — п. Зорій, від 340 відділу УПС — п. Заперинюк, від СУА — пані Мілевик, від Народної Помочі — п. Шудам. Від Головної Управи ООЧСУ вітав п. Я. Стецька мгр. Воровик.

Прийняття в честь Достойного Голови ЦК АБН. Сидять зліва: мгр. Боровик, проф. Радзимкевич, Голова ЦК АБН, проф. д-р Андрієвський, сотн. Гончаренко, проф. Ярошевич

Між окремими привітами виконано мистецьку частину прийняття, на яку складалися: виступ хору «Гомін» під диригентурою проф. Варавича, танцювальної групи місцевого Осередку СУМА і декламації юної сумівки Олі Головко. Нарешті виступив з промовою сам голова ЦК АБН, вітаючи проф. Радзимкевича, проф. Андрієвського та всіх присутніх. У своїй промові він закликав зрозуміти вагу хвилини, коли ніхто з нас не має права ухилятися від громадського обов'язку, але кожний повинен працювати по змозі своїх сил та здібностей. Він пригадував звернути увагу на доріст, який в майбутньому працюватиме для добра українського народу.

Наступного дня [illegible] відїхав до міста Янгстаун, де виступав на телевізійній передачі. З жалем громадянство Клівленду прощало Достойного Гостя, якого виступи і доповіді були сприйняті щиро і дружньо і турботою про теперішнє.

Прагнемо відмітити тепер громадянство Клівленду. Комітет, що влаштовував згадану імпрезу, побоювався, що цих імпрез забагато і вони відстрашать публіку. Але побоювання були даремні. Своєю масовою участю громадянство дало доказ солідарности з ідеями АБН і розуміння конечности тотальної боротьби з окупантом України.

Наприкінці годиться ще відмітити, що п. Я. Стецько, перебуваючи в Клівленді, дістав привітальну телеграму від шефа штабу мадярської революції з 1956 р., ген. Ковача, що викликало серед українців велике вдоволення.

Українське громадянство Клівленду жаліє, що п. Я. Стецько так [illegible] може перебувати серед нього. [illegible] виступи скромні, він не заслуговує [illegible] агітиміяом, а виступає як працівник та патріот, що справи Батьківщини ставить понад особисте добро.

Розмова Л. Стецька у Вашінґтоні

22 July 58

Ціна 50 цф.

Я. Стецько в Дітройті

Перебуваючи [illegible] сучасну пору на терені США, голова ЦК АБН п. Ярослав Стецько об'їздить [illegible] скупчення українців по [illegible] містах, щоб у безпосередній [illegible] з українською громадою [illegible] плякатами та [illegible] і різними [illegible] посилити [illegible] української політичної [illegible] яка чимраз частіше стає предметом [illegible] Москви, [illegible] від [illegible] у большевицькій пресі, а бомбовими замахами на українські визвольні установи кінчаючи.

В боротьбі за бути чи не бути між Сходом а Заходом, українство творить надзвичайно важливий, а в майбутності один з вирішних факторів, тому [illegible]ування та визвольницька акція Антибольшевицького Вльоку Народів вибирає спеціяльної вартости і що дійсність усі [illegible]ці без різниці партійних поглядів повинні добре врахувати.

У [illegible]ке сумніву, що велика більшість [illegible] вільної спільноти відчуває глибоку потребу співпраці і підтримки для [illegible]Н, що можна було ствердити між [illegible] під час перебування п. Я. Стець-

На летовищі в Дітройті [illegible] ЦК АБН з [illegible] вацькі діти, які підносили [illegible]

[illegible] вистачить зла, щоб знищити [illegible]ський огонь.

Протягом наступних днів п. Я. [illegible] складав візити різним особистостям і [illegible]ка в Дітройті, в якої [illegible] п. р. Пономаренко з приміщення на [illegible] громаді, де зібралися більше [illegible] українців та представники [illegible] нації, яке [illegible] часі [illegible] Шевченкового [illegible] п. р. якими були [illegible] ЦК АБН.

Жінки від молодих [illegible] перервою [illegible] п. р. М. Клименчик та другі [illegible] [illegible] про начала бути [illegible] Достойевського [illegible] українська [illegible] [illegible] Стецько АБН, [illegible] Національного Фронту [illegible] п. інж. Петро Задорожний, [illegible] наступник голови УГСА, [illegible] п. мгр. М. Дужий, [illegible]

Д-р Степан Гер[illegible]

Бофало вітає Я. Стецька

(Власна кореспонденція з США)

Українська громада в Бофало перенила в суботу і неділю (14. і 15. 6. ц. р.) великі хвилини, зустрічаючи голову ЦК АВН п. Я. Стецька. Коротко перед прибуттям Достойного Гостя зібралися на міському летовищі представники Організацій Визвольного Фронту, чимала громада симпатиків та прихильників АВН, члени СУМА з духовою оркестрою, члени Ділового Комітету та багато юних суміщів.

О год. 3,40 приземлився літак, з якого висіла, в асисті організаційного референта Головної Управи ООЧСУ, мгр-а Воровська, п. Я. Стецько. Гостей провели між почесною лавою суміщів до групи офіційних представників бофалівських організацій пп. Мороз Богдан і Василь Шарван. Юні суміщі вручили Гостеві гарну китицю квітів, а духова оркестра заграла марша.

По дорозі до готелю Стетлера п. Я. Стецько вступив до українського дому «Дніпро», де його привітали зібрані юні суміщі, від імени яких маленька суміщка Шевчук вручила п. Я. Стецькові ще одну китицю квітів. Голова Управи «Дніпра» привітала Достойного Гостя хлібом і сіллю та чарою меду.

О 7-й годині вечора в одній з заль готелю відбувся бенкет, яким керував голова Ділового Комітету д-р Нестор Процик. На бенкет прибуло 80 осіб, серед яких були представники всіх національних груп, які входять в склад АВН, представники управи міста, преси, політичного світу, військовики, представники підприємств і культурних установ. Серед українських гостей між іншими були: д-р Роман Малащук, голова Ліги Визволення України в Канаді, Василь Соловинка, редактор «Голосу України», ред. Михайло Сосновський з Торонта, проф. Губка з Рочестер, п. Магера з Елмайра, адвокати Макогон і Дікун з Бофало та багато інших.

Після загальної презентації і молитви представник міської управи п. Робертс передав п. Я. Стецькові дуже елегантно виконаний ключ від міста Бофало. Сцену вручення ключа від міста швидко після того передала місцева телевізійна програ- [illegible] виголосив українських установ з Америки, Канади і місцевого громадянства, що вони ледве помістилися у великій театральній залі. Між представниками були заступлені: Голова Управи ЛВУ, тижневик «Гомін України», осередки СУМ-у і ЛВУ в Сент Кетеренс, Велланд, Рочестер, Сиракюз, Елмайра і т. д.

Перед початком бенкету, влаштованого на честь Достойного Гостя, голова Дирекції «Дніпра» привітав п. Я. Стецька та вручив йому ключ до будинку. Опісля вітав голову ЦК АВН голова Станиці АВН в Бофало п. В. Шарван. У своїй промові п. Шарван сказав між ін.:

«Ми, невеликий гурт людей, які взяли на себе почесний обов'язок здійснювати величну програму АВН на американському терені, а зокрема в прикордонній смузі, між Америкою і Канадою, робимо тут ту саму роботу, яку Ви робите в цілому світі... Не боїмося ні труднощів ні перешкод, бо знаємо, що наслідки цієї праці і досягнення в ній потрібні великому та знедоленому українському народові. Ми теж зустрічаємося з муром упереджень, з передсудами, нехіттю чи стриманістю, маємо діло зі злою волею деяких наших земляків, які не розуміють значення праці на міжнародньому форумі. Та всі ті перешкоди нас не знеохочують... Ми дочекалися гострої лайки з боку московської червоної преси після того, коли ми українці з Бофало відбули конференцію у Вашінгтоні. Ця лайка була для нас тільки визнанням...»

Голова Ділового Комітету д-р Н. Процик запропонував зібраній громаді провідню імпрезу та делегатів, а пізніше о. дек. Вонковський провів молитву і поблагословив страви на столах. Серед численних привітань були прочитані від: голови ЛВУ д-ра Р. Малащука, голови 22-го Відділу ООЧСУ п. С. Квасницького, проф. Чуйка, п. А. Гайдара, полк. Сьотіна, пані Теклі Калюк та ін.

Усі місцеві англомовна преса подала обширні повідомлення про перебування п. Я. Стецька в Бофало та його доповідь. Наступного дня о год. 1,30 п. Я. Стецько виступив у телевізії.

В. Ш.

, SATURDAY, JULY 26, 1958

N. J. Governor Meyner Confers With Mr. Stetzko and Mr. Wagner

Left to right: N. J. Hudson County Tax Commissioner Marcel Wagner, N. J. Governor Robert B. Meyner, and ABN head Yaroslav Stetzko

Governor Robert B. Meyner of the State of New Jersey had as visitors calling upon him on July 11 Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, head of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations), and Mr. Marcel E. Wagner, Esq., of Jersey City, who is a Hudson County Tax Commissioner, and a member of Branch 25 of the Ukrainian National Association.

Both visitors were received by the Governor very cordially. The Governor expressed his sympaty not only for the work of the international organization which Mr. Stetzko heads, but also expressed a hope that the Ukrainian people would be relieved of their Soviet Russian communist oppressors in the near future. He also lauded the efforts of Mr. Wagner and other Americans of Ukrainian descent for doing their bit through their national and local organizations, such as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, to help bring about the liberation of the freedom-loving Ukrainian people and the re-establishment of their national independence.

Governor Meyner is considered to be one of the most sympathetic officials in the United States to the cause of national freedom for the Ukrainians and other Soviet enslaved peoples.

ПОЛІТИЧНЕ ВІЧЕ В НЬЮ-ЙОРКУ

У неділю 1. 6. ц. р., о годині 4-ій після обіду відбулося в Нью-Йорку велике політичне віче, присвячене розвиткові боротьби України та інших поневолених Москвою народів. Віче підготовив українській Відділ Американських Приятелів АВН, а головним доповідачем був голова ЦК АВН п. Я. Стецько.

Не зважаючи на три вільні від праці дні, коли звичайно люди виїжджають з міста в гори або на побережжя океану, на віче прибула велика кількість громадян. Ввесь час перед вічем настрій між присутніми на залі Мемгетен Сентер був піднесений. Доповідача, який увійшов у товаристві голови Американських Приятелів АВН, д-ра В. Рибчука і ред. І. Вінницького, головного секретаря УККА, присутні вшанували вставанням з місць та голосними оплесками.

В одногодинній, добре опрацьованій доповіді п. Я. Стецько дав аналізу міжнародньої ситуації і накреслив завдання української політики. Доповідач ствердив, що бій у світі йде головним чином за приєднання на свій бік поневолених і поневолюваних тепер народів. Переможе той, хто щиро і без застережень стане на боці народів об'єднаних в АВН, хто повністю реалізуватиме величне гасло «Свобода Народам, свобода Людині!» З чисто людського, морально-психологічного і історіософічного погляду, — твердив промовець, — це єдиний і певний шлях вільного світу до перемоги людства над большевицькою Москвою. У підтримці визвольних рухів поневолених народів, відкинені «передрішенства» та в прийнятті конечности розчленування московської імперії лежить порятунок Заходу.

Ця теза поволі стає зрозумілою у західньому світі і 66 народів на конференції в Мехіко прийняли II за основу світового антибольшевицького фронту. Це велика перемога, але не тільки початкова перемога, бо треба сподіватися великих боїв на світовому антикомуністичному конгресі за дальше поширення ідеї АВН. В цьому мусить допомагати АВН-ові все українське громадянство. Промовець підкреслив, що українці Австралії, Англії, Німеччини, Канади і Америки з честю виконують свій обов'язок, бо тільки через їхню підтримку АВН може виконувати те, чого від нього вимагає українська визвольна справа. Українська стратегія, базована на принципі власних сил, мусить привести до перемоги. Український народ веде революційну боротьбу власними силами і тому завданням української спільноти на чужині є всебічно допомогти цій боротьбі. Найосновнішим завданням під теперішню пору є підготова молоді, перед якою треба розкривати велич, силу і геройство українського народу. Треба теж на всю широчінь поставити перед молоддю такі історичні факти, як перемога української зброї під Конотопом над московським окупантом, і запалити її до боротьби, яку вона має перебрати від своїх попередників.

Після доповіді п. Я. Стецько вичерпно і докладно відповідав на ставлені йому запитання.

Shlakh Peremohy 24 Jun 58

Shlyakh Peremohy – 6 July 58

Американська преса про виступи Я. Стецька

Перебування голови ЦК АВН п. Я. Стецька на американській землі, його розмови з видатними діячами політичного світу та щира гостина і масова участь українців на його доповідях знайшли свій широкий відгомін в американській пресі.

«SUNDAY NEWS»

з 25. 5. ц. р. пише під заголовком: «Червоні переможуть, якщо Айк погодиться на розмови «на вершинах», що Я. Стецько є проти зговорень з москалями. Во Кремль живе на вулкані і тими розривними силами, які підмінюють його, є наставова і боротьба поневолених Москвою народів.

Описуючи в своїй передовиці з 12. червня ц. р. виступ п. Я. Стецька,

«PERTH AMBOY EVENING NEWS»

закінчує так: «Сподіваємося і віримо, що це джерело інформацій є достовірне і що звіт про невдоволення між совєтськими вояками є найкращою новиною, яку ми мали від довгого часу.»

24. червня відбулася зустріч українського громадянства м. Янгстаун, Огайо, з доповіддю п. Я. Стецька, про яку писала місцева газета

«YOUNGSTOWN VINDICATOR»

з'ясовуючи цілі і завдання АВН та важливість координованої і плянованої боротьби для визволення всіх поневолених націй.

Наступного дня, 25. 6. ц. р.,

«PITTSBURGH POST GAZETTE»

писала про можливість революції народів під совєтами, яка могла б розвалити московську тюрму. Ці народи готові боротися, але всі разом в один час, не окремо, щоб не зазнати долі мадярської революції.

Як відомо нашим читачам, міські урядові чинники міста Бофало передали п. Я. Стецькові символічні ключі від міста, а понад 40 поліційних авт супроводили його в почесній колоні до місця, де відбулося прийняття. Місцева преса, як

«BUFFALO COURIER EXPRESS»

широко коментувала ці події, обговорюючи виступ п. Я. Стецька та його промову, в якій він підкреслив вагу боротьби поневолених Москвою народів. Ця преса відмітила, що Москва осягнула б велетенську перемогу, якщоб президент Айзенгауер та прем'єр Мекмілен погодилися засісти за одним столом разом з Хрущовим і Мікояном.

«WARREN TRIBUNE CHRONICLE»

з вівтірка 24. червня ц. р. пише, що п. Я. Стецько подорожує по США, відвідуючи американські антикомуністичні організації та намагається здобути підтримку і моральну допомогу для визвольного руху поневолених московським імперіялізмом і комунізмом народів та для відновлення їхньої національної суверенности. Запитаний кореспондентами згаданої газети в справі недавньої страти Нодя і Малетера в Будапешті, п. Я. Стецько заявив, що цього вчинку можна було сподіватися, бо спротив Москві поневолених народів зростає з такою силою, що совєти мусять повертатися до давніх випробуваних метод терору.

«THE DETROIT NEWS»

пише в передовій статті з-під пера Джеймса К. Андерсона про перебування п. Я. Стецька в Дітройті, його працю на відтинку АВН, Акт відновлення української державности в 1941 р. та підкреслює, що поневолені Москвою народи є третьою силою і в остаточному змагу двох світів переможе той, хто з'єднає собі цю силу. Очевидно, що визвольно-революційний рух завжди буде проти Москви, не зважаючи на те, чи західній вільний світ дасть йому допомогу чи ні. Часопис згадує, що посадник міста, пані Марія В. Вех передала ключі міста гостеві з Европи на бенкеті у Veterans Memorial Building. Під час прийняття привітав п. Я. Стецька голова Комітету Національностей Зігурд Рудвітіс. Промовляли під час прийняття Арпо Джеміджіян, заступник голови Американського Комітету боротьби за незалежність Вірменії, Йосиф Ферович від Словацького Визвольного Комітету, Василь Плезгач від Білоруського Об'єднання та Артур Декснс від Латиського Об'єднання в Дітройті.

SECRET 31 July 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

FROM: [redacted]

SUBJECT: Meeting with Walter DUNNEWICK on 31 July 1958

Participants

Walter DUNNEWICK

[redacted] JFF (OSD/OSO)
(also Department of Defense)

Background

1. In the afternoon of 30 July 1958, DUNNEWICK contacted Chief, SR/3 and requested that the latter get in touch with [redacted] to let the latter know that DUNNEWICK was in town.

2. At 1000 hours on 31 July, I telephoned DUNNEWICK at the Roger Smith Hotel (Extension 8-6740, Room 810). DUNNEWICK indicated that he was in Washington with SEMENOV for the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. During the conversation we arranged the following:

> It was agreed that I would call DUNNEWICK again today (31 July) at 1400 hours at which time we would set a meeting time dependent upon SEMENOV's schedule. I also pointed out that I wanted to see SEMENOV alone (i.e. without Ignatius NILINSKY, who is again accompanying SEMENOV and acting as his interpreter).

3. When I telephoned DUNNEWICK again at 1400 hours, he informed me that SEMENOV's schedule was such that he could not meet me until tomorrow (1 August 1958). In view of the fact that I will be out of town tomorrow, I told DUNNEWICK that I would meet him at 1500 hours today (31 July) and that I would bring with me an individual who could then meet with SEMENOV tomorrow.

Meeting

4. At 1445 hours today [redacted] and I arrived at the Roger Smith Hotel and telephoned DUNNEWICK in his room who asked for five minutes "to tidy up his room". (After entering his room at 1490 hours DUNNEWICK stated that he had in fact been talking to two members of NKVD and had to show them out prior to our entry.

SECRET [redacted]

Meeting (Continued)

5. After introducing [redacted] of my office, I asked DUBENETCK for the answers to the questions which I had passed to STEFKO via DUBENETCK at our last meeting. DUBENETCK stated that he had passed the questions but that he had understood that I personally would get the answers from STEFKO and that he in no way had attempted to get these answers. NOTE: Something is definitely queer here: It had been unmistakably clear to DUBENETCK that he was to get the answers to the questions which I had passed. In view of this either his memory is mighty poor or else STEFKO has stated his reticence to answer my questions if he were asked these questions by the United States Government. In my opinion the latter is the case. I did not pursue the subject but I did indicate that it had been my clear understanding that STEFKO was to have answered my questions to DUBENETCK and that I or a representative of mine would pick up the answers from DUBENETCK.

6. Further, I stated that in view of the fact that STEFKO desired to talk on Muslim matters I had brought with me [redacted] who was interested specifically in this area. At this time [redacted] made arrangements to meet STEFKO at 1100 hours on Friday, 1 August, in DUBENETCK's room at the Roger Smith Hotel; [redacted] will firm up this arrangement by telephone with DUBENETCK at the latter's hotel room tomorrow about 0900 hours.

7. Prior to leaving I told DUBENETCK that I was following with interest the activities of Mr. STEFKO while he is in this country. On 14 May, STEFKO had stated to the House Committee that his organization was in operational contact with elements of the OUN in the Ukraine; in view of this statement I suggested that STEFKO might want to discuss this matter in greater detail but in no way indicated to when or when. No arrangement was made for a future meeting between STEFKO and myself.

Comment

8. In view of the fact that STEFKO quite obviously refused to discuss through DUBENETCK the basic question regarding the intentions of his organization in the United States, it seems to me that he is intentionally snubbing our approach. In view of this it behooves us to snub him in turn. Since I am ostensibly a representative of the United States Government on the highest level, my refusal to see him by not making any commitment for a future meeting should serve as a rebuff to him. However, the rebuff is not a final closing of the door since [redacted] will at least listen to what STEFKO has to say about his Muslim ambitions. I have asked [redacted] not to touch on Ukrainian matters in any way except to indicate the fact that we were sorry a "misunderstanding" had arisen regarding the manner in which we were to have either answers to the questions we had previously passed. Further, [redacted] will state that the United States Government will continue to watch with interest the activities of the ZDKOUN.

[redacted] (Continued)

9. Although prior to this intended meeting we had agreed that we would explore the possibility of a direct contact between "interested" U.S. agencies and the MRPRC/PG, I believe that in view of the factors pointed up above such conversations could be premature.

10. I believe the present approach as suggested above will serve the purpose of bearing out what [redacted] has to say on Hainan affairs and should also make his aware that we, in turn, are aware of Communist actions as well as the refined nicetics of the present situation.

State

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

DATE: August 1, 1958

SUBJECT: Visit of Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations

PARTICIPANTS:

Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Central Committee of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).
Mr. W. Duschnyk, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America
Mr. N. Bilynski, Editor of the "Ukrainian Catholic Daily"

COPIES TO: Mr. Theodore L. Eliot Jr., FE

EE - Mr. Leverich
FP - Mr. Stefan
E - Mr. Curtis (U)
Amconsul MUNICH

Mr. Stetsko, who in addition to his position in the ABN is a leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Bandera Faction - OUN (B), was received at the request of Mr. Duschnyk. Mr. Stetsko recently received a US visa after being refused one for eight years. He was the Premier of a short-lived Ukrainian regime in Lwov in June, 1941.

Mr. Stetsko stated that he wished to inform the Department concerning the preparatory conference of the "Anti-Communist World Congress" which was recently held in Mexico City. He stated that it is the intention of the preparatory group to hold the Congress on the second anniversary of the Hungarian revolution in October, 1958. Unfortunately, however, three American delegates at the preparatory conference left the meeting because they could not agree to support Ukrainian independence. Mr. Stetsko deplored this refusal and requested the support of the Department for the Congress.

A second purpose of his visit, Mr. Stetsko stated, was to ask the Department to support the concept of Ukrainian independence. He spoke at some length on this subject and was vehement in his attacks on VOA and on Radio Liberation for their refusal to support the ABN. He said that he understood that Radio Liberation, like VOA, is under the control of the US Government and that therefore the Department might be able to change the policies of both radios. A change would, he said, conform to the US tradition of supporting independence movements and would have a good effect on world public opinion.

Mr. Stetsko

UNCLASSIFIED

FOR COORDINATION WITH State

Mr. Stetsko referred to his difficulties in obtaining a US visa despite his stay in a Nazi concentration camp. He claimed he was turned down because of the objection to his visit on the part of Russians in the US. His chief in the OUN(b), Mr. Lenkavsky, also cannot get a US visa, according to Mr. Stetsko, despite the fact that many collaborators with the nazists have been permitted to enter the United States. He claimed that he and his associates had collaborated with the Nazis except to fight the Communists. Forced to choose between the Russian Communists and Hitler, he said he had had to choose Hitler.

Mr. Stetsko described some of the activities of the ABN in connection with which he has travelled widely throughout the world. In addition to its radio station now operating in Taipei, the ABN hopes to establish stations in Korea, Pakistan and West Berlin. Mr. Stetsko claimed, however, that US officials are constantly blocking the activities of the ABN and supporting instead such "Russian Imperialist" organizations as the NTS. He said that, as evidenced at the conference in Mexico City, the US does not even adopt a neutral policy towards the ABN.

Mr. Stetsko said that he had also mentioned to a number of Congressmen his conviction that the United States must be for the independence of all the nations within the Soviet Union. These Congressmen had, however, referred him to the State Department. He wished now to say that the Department's policy is in error and can have unfortunate results.

Mr. Elliot stated that American policy towards the nationality problem in the Soviet Union is one of non-predetermination. We believe that the peoples concerned should choose their own system of government after they are no longer under the Communist yoke. He wanted, he said, to be certain that Mr. Stetsko understands that the United States has deep sympathy for the plight of all peoples living under Communism, including the Russians, the Ukrainians, and all others. He said he appreciated hearing Mr. Stetsko's views and would pass them on to the appropriate officers of the Department.

Mr. Stetsko said that he would like to present specific proposals to the US Government on the subjects of the Anti-Communist World Congress, and possible assistance to the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations. He asked if there would be any objection to his sending the Department a memorandum on these subjects. Mr. Elliot said he had no objection.

TMSoFX - TLFlieting

SECRET

PRIORITY, URGENT

TELEPHONE REQUESTS FOR NAME CHECK. FOR USE OF RI NAME CHECK CONTROL OFFICER ONLY.

Return to Davis [illegible] Salisbury

FROM: Army [redacted] (CR) via [redacted] DATE 25 June 58

TAKEN BY: [redacted] CHECKED BY: _____ REPLY _____

STETZKO, Jaroslav

[redacted] NAMES AND SPELLING VARIATIONS

[redacted] AND PLACE OF BIRTH

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA

REFERENCES:

Author of article entitled: Imperialist Russia or Free Nationalist States written apr 53

all info in Bulletin published by Scottish League for European Freedom

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FILE IN [redacted]

TO: Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence
Department of the Army
Attention: Col. Benjamin M. Davis

FROM: Deputy Director, Plans

FILE: [ ]

SUBJECT: STETZKO, Jaroslav

1. Reference is made to the telephone request of Miss Salisbury dated 25 June 1958, for information concerning Jaroslav STETZKO. The files contain voluminous information pertinent to the subject of your request, whose name is also spelled Yaroslav STETZKO. Following is a summary of what is believed to be the most pertinent data. Subject has used the aliases Wasyl DANCIW, Miroslaw PAWLOWSKY, and Zenon KARPOVICH among others. He was born on 19 January 1912 in Tarnopol, Galicia, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Subject is of Ukrainian nationality. His residences include: Austro-Hungary (1912-18); Independent Ukrainian Republic (1918-1920); Poland (1920-39); Italy (1939); Krakow, Poland (1939-41); Lwow, Ukraine (1941); internment at Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg, Germany (1941-45); Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia (1945); Munich, Germany, 1945 --). Subject is the son of Ramon STETZKO and Feodosia STETZKO, nee CHUMATA. Subject's wife is Anna STETZKO, alias Anna DANCIW, nee MOKZIKA, born 14 May 1920 at Rozanistok, West Ukraine, of Ukrainian nationality.

2. Subject completed secondary school in Tarnopol, Poland in 1929, and continued his studies at the universities in Lwow and Krakow, and while a university student became a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), primarily as a publicist writing anti-Polish and anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda. In the years 1932-33 Subject was prominent in the organization of an anti-Soviet demonstration which ended with the assassination of the Soviet consul-general in Lwow, who was killed by one Mykola LEMYK, an OUN activitist (subsequently killed by the Germans in 1942). In the period 1931-34 Subject was in charge of an OUN group engaged in smuggling anti-Soviet propaganda into the Soviet Ukraine, as well as in Anti-Polish activities. He was arrested and tried by a Polish court and sentenced to five years imprisonment. In December 1937 he was released under an amnesty enactment. He continued his political activities and lived in Poland illegally, for a time occupying the position of head of the ideological-political department of the

SECRET
NOFORN (SENSITIVE) CONTROL

central committee (Provid) of the OUN. In 1939 the OUN split into two rival factions, one headed by Andriy MELNYK and the other by Stepan BANDERA, Subject siding with the latter faction. With the German invasion of the USSR in 1941, Subject, as a prominent OUN/BANDERA member, presided over an assembly convoked in Lwow on 30 June 1941 to proclaim an independent Ukrainian state, in which Subject occupied the post of Prime Minister. This government was dissolved by the German authorities in less than two weeks, Subject being arrested by the Gestapo in Lwow on 13 July 1941. He was held briefly in the Alexanderplatz jail in Berlin, and later was transferred to the Sachsenhausen-Oranienberg detention camp. In the autumn of 1944 Subject, along with Stepan BANDERA, was taken from Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg to Berlin in connection with German efforts to establish an Eastern policy more palatable to Ukrainian politicians. Subject and his group refused to accept German conditions. He escaped German control and went from Berlin to live illegally in Krakow, Poland, and Bratislava and Prague, Czechoslovakia. In April 1945 Subject was rearrested by the Germans and while being escorted to Berlin his train transport was bombed from the air, allegedly by American planes. Subject was wounded and taken to a hospital in Susice, Czechoslovakia (at that time still under German occupation). In June 1945, with the aid of OUN/B members, he was taken to the American Zone of Germany, spending most of his time in Munich, where he has been prominent in emigre politics. Reliable reports indicate that the train bombardment resulted in permanent injury of Subject's genitalia and left hand.

3. Subject's political associations include active membership in various Ukrainian nationalist organizations, including the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the predecessor of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). He has been chairman or president of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) since its foundation in Western Germany in 1945. The files of this office suggest that Subject's claim that he had been an active member of the UPA (an anti-Soviet Ukrainian partisan group founded in the Ukraine in 1942) and of the UNVR (an anti-Soviet government formed in June 1944 in the Ukraine) are without foundation, Subject having been an internee in Sachsenhausen from 1941 through August or September 1944. He has not been in the Ukraine since July 1941. The files reflect, however, that Subject was, for a brief period, an honorary member of ZPUNVR (The Foreign Representation of the UNVR), a membership given him because of his position as president of the ABN. ZPUNVR repudiated STETSKO in spring, 1948, and formally ousted him in 1949. Subject's conflict

with ZPUHVR and UHVR has its roots in his and the OUN/BANDERA efforts to control the policies of those bodies, STETZKO representing the ultra-nationalism and one party-government characteristic of the OUN prior to the formation of the UHVR in the Ukraine.

4. The following observations are noted:

a. The files of this office reflect no evidence of mass murder or persecution by the STETZKO government in 1941 as alleged by some quarters hostile to STETZKO. That government apparently at best represented an effort to share or challenge control over an area in fact under the authority of the Germans.

b. The files of this office do not reflect direct personal participation by Subject in the excesses and objectionable activities attributed to the OUN/BANDERA group. However, as the second in command of that group, it is felt that Subject was and is knowledgeable in regards to all of its activities, and therefore might share responsibility for its activities. There is no record of Subject's ever having been a member of the security service of that group (Slumbin Bezpeky), which should be held accountable for the intimidations and excesses within the organization, but Subject's high position in the OUN/BANDERA group precludes his not becoming aware of such excesses.

c. The record of the OUN/BANDERA group includes the following types of activity, of which STETZKO can be expected to be aware: - theft of private mail addressed to political opponents and subsequent publication of the content of such intercepted mail; agitation for the boycott and forcible destruction of newspapers opposed to the OUN/BANDERA group and publication of information obtained from Ukrainian emigres employed by American installations in Germany when it was felt that publication would increase the organization's prestige, or lower that of its opponents. OUN/BANDERA publications have consistently followed a recognizably anti-American line in that the Americans are blamed for all activities that are not pro-BANDERS. (These press organs include Shlyakh Peremohy, Munich; Ukrainska Dumka, London; Ukrainska-Chas, Paris; Nasha Ukraina, Toronto; Vyzvolna Politika and Visnyk OUN(B), New York.)

5. According to a report dated [illegible] July 1950 from an official British source Mr. Jaroslav [illegible], former Czechoslovak Prime Minister and now President of the Central Committee of the ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) was present at a conference held in Edinburgh from 12 to 15 June 1950 under the auspices of the British League for European Freedom. Mr. [illegible], chairman of the ABN, said that if war broke out between the Soviet Union and the West, and if the latter were wise in the treatment of the enslaved nations, the members of these were in a position to set up an army of more than ten million soldiers. Later, at a Press conference, [illegible] explained that the ABN acts as a coordinating center outside the Iron Curtain, and that most of its members maintain contact with military, political and economic underground movements in their own countries. It includes representatives of liberation movements among Ukrainians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Albanians, Bulgarians, Ukrainians Cossacks, North Caucasians, Georgians, people from Turkestan, Azerbaijanis, Armenians, and peoples of the Volga-Ural and Siberia. [illegible] stressed that members of the ABN philosophy on finding comparatively little understanding of their aims in the western world, whereas it was obvious that Fifth columns and Communists were active in all Western countries. He concluded by saying that it was possible to fight Bolshevism only by a stronger than Bolshevik philosophy of personal freedom for the individual. The ABN rejected all compromise or tendencies which had certain variations of Bolshevism, such as Titoism, believing that by compromise with them would be to undermine the success of the national struggle against Communism.

6. A usually reliable source in a report dated 6 December 1951 gave the following. The Committee of Nations Oppressed by Communism called a meeting, the first since December 1954, in late October 1951 in Madrid. The purpose of the meeting, which was held at the home of Vicente [illegible], was to examine and consider a plan for the creation in Spain of an office of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) organization, whose headquarters are in Western Germany. The reason for calling the meeting at this time was the arrival of the President-head of ABN Jaroslaw [illegible] ([illegible]), who had made a stop-over in Madrid, on his way to Panama, to contact the Spanish Foreign Ministry and the Franco to propose the creation of the ABN branch in Spain. (It was remembered that [illegible] had visited Spain about a year ago and was received at that time by Generalissimo FRANCO and Foreign Minister Alberto MARTIN Artajo.)

[illegible]

[illegible]

7. According to a report dated 27 June 1956 from a usually reliable source the theme of the fifth reunion of the Centro Europeo de Documentacion (CEDI-European Documentation Center), held in San Lorenzo del Escorial from 4 through 7 June 1955, was European in Even Atomics. The countries behind the Iron Curtain which maintain diplomatic representatives in Madrid did not send representatives. Jaroslav SVEHLKO participated as the president of the AEN.

8. According to accounts published in Taiwanese (Formosan) newspapers, Jaroslav SVEHLKO visited Taiwan (Formosa) under the auspices of the Asian People's Anti-Communist League (APACL), China Chapter to spend 10 days from 9 October 1955. SVEHLKO conferred with various government officials including President CHIANG Kai Shek. Subject returned to Europe 29 October 1955.

9. It is suggested that the House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, may have additional information concerning Subject.

CHCI-3/751,185

RI/CE: AJL/DIW/lbc

Based on: CBCI 3,745,446
WHLA 4191
MCMA 8910
OCMA 4395
OSM 840
FCDA 9651

SECRET
NOFORN CONTROLLED CONTROL

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NO: [redacted]

TO: Chief of Base, [redacted]

INFO: CDS, Germany

HEADQUARTERS FILE NO: [redacted]

FROM: Chief, SR

DATE: 23 AUG 1958

SUBJECT: [redacted]

Traveler [redacted]

RE "42-3" – (CHECK "X" ONE)

	MARKED FOR INDEXING
X	NO INDEXING REQUIRED
	INDEXING CAN BE JUDGED BY QUALIFIED HQ. DESK ONLY

ACTION REQUIRED: None. For information only.

REFERENCE(S):

1. In response to a telephone request from Milton Bradnyak to Chief, SR/3, contact with Bradnyak was made by [redacted] in Washington on 15 May. At that time Bradnyak stated that [redacted] contact with the AIS to discuss operational capabilities of Muslim groupings living in the Near East and who are associated with the AIS. Since Subject was accompanied by [redacted] the contact with Subject was not effected. In view of this [redacted] requested Bradnyak to obtain from Subject answers to questions regarding NTS/GUS assets, potential and intentions regarding uniting the Muslim emigration.

2. Attached is a self-explanatory report of the 31 July contact with [redacted] who has been accompanying Subject on his Washington visits.

3. On 1 August [redacted] met with Subject and Bradnyak at the Roger Smith. The essence of that who said constituted a general summary of what a typical emigre organization, active in the anti-Soviet field, does or purports to do. No specific actions were cited. Subject passed from the theme of AIS activities to "what should be done." This again was general; i.e., establishment of radio facilities, greater support for propaganda publications, etc. There was nothing which indicated a new approach to the problem of conducting Operation. Noting Subject's desire to contact AIS, [redacted] inquired if his British contacts had been alerted to this desire. Subject stated that neither the BIS nor the GIS furnished him funds and that he was a free agent (to contact AIS). Subject did not attempt to press for further discussion on any given topic. [redacted] conducted the meeting on a note of polite attention to a distinguished emigre personality but no concrete encouragement was given Subject.

[redacted]

ATTACHMENT: [redacted]
Telephone contact report

Distribution:
2 - [redacted], [redacted] w/att
2 - CDS, Germany w/att
2 - RI W/att
2 - SR/3 W/O att

(12 August 58)

SR/3/PP::HW:pl

FORM 10-57 53 (40) USE PREVIOUS EDITION REPLACES FORMS 51-78, 51-78A AND 51-79 WHICH ARE OBSOLETE

CLASSIFICATION: S-E-C-R-E-T

☐ CONTINUED

PAGE NO

RI COPY

SECRET

31 July 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

FROM: [redacted]

SUBJECT: Meeting with Walter DUNDERUK on 31 July 1958

Participants

[redacted] (OSA/OSO)
[redacted] (the Department of Defense)

Background

1. In the afternoon of 30 July 1958, DUNDERUK [redacted] Chief, SR/3 and requested that the latter get in touch with [redacted] to let the latter know that DUNDERUK was in town.

2. At 1600 hours on 31 July, I telephoned DUNDERUK at the Roger Smith Hotel (Rotunda S-6710, Room 810). DUNDERUK indicated that he was in Washington with SEXTON for the hearings of the Senate Committee on Un-American Activities. During the conversation we arranged the following:

> It was agreed that I would call DUNDERUK again today (31 July) at 1400 hours at which time we would set a meeting time depending upon SEXTON's schedule. I also pointed out that I wanted to see SEXTON alone (i.e. without Ignatius KILBRIDE, who is again accompanying SEXTON and acting as his interpreter).

3. When I telephoned DUNDERUK again at 1400 hours, he informed me that SEXTON's schedule was such that he could not meet me until tomorrow (1 August 1958). In view of the fact that I will be out of town tomorrow, I told DUNDERUK that I would meet him at 1500 hours today (31 July) and that I would bring with me an individual who could then meet with SEXTON tomorrow.

Meeting

4. At 1445 hours today [redacted] and I arrived at the Roger Smith Hotel and telephoned DUNDERUK in his room who asked for five minutes "to tidy up his room". (After entering his room at 1450 hours DUNDERUK stated that he had in fact been talking to two members of USIA and had to show them out prior to our entry.

SECRET

RI COPY

BI COPY

Meeting (Continued)

5. After introducing [redacted] as [redacted] of my office, I asked DUNSHUCK for the answers to the questions which I had passed to STETSKO via DUNSHUCK at our last meeting. DUNSHUCK stated that he had passed the questions but that he had understood that I personally would get the answers from STETSKO and that he in no way had attempted to get these answers. NOTE: Something is definitely queer here: It had been unmeaningfully clear to DUNSHUCK that he was to get the answers to the questions which I had passed. In view of this either his memory is mighty poor or else STETSKO has stated his readiness to answer my questions if he were asked these questions by the United States Government. In my opinion the latter is the case. I did not pursue the subject but I did indicate that it had been my clear understanding that STETSKO was to have answered my questions to DUNSHUCK and that I or a representative of mine would pick up the answers from DUNSHUCK.

6. Further, I stated that in view of the fact that STETSKO desired to talk on Moslem matters I had brought with me [redacted] who was interested specifically in this area. At this time [redacted] made arrangements to meet STETSKO at 1100 hours [redacted] 1 August, in DUNSHUCK's room at the Roger Smith Hotel; [redacted] will firm up this arrangement by telephone with DUNSHUCK at the latter's hotel room tomorrow about 0900 hours.

7. Prior to leaving I told DUNSHUCK that I was following with interest the activities of Mr. STETSKO while he is in this country. On 14 May, STETSKO had stated to the House Committee that his organization was in operational contact with elements of the OUN in the Ukraine; in view of this statement I suggested that STETSKO might want to discuss this matter in greater detail but in no way indicated to whom or when. No arrangement was made for a future meeting between STETSKO and myself.

Comment

8. In view of the fact that STETSKO quite obviously refused to discuss through DUNSHUCK the basic question regarding the intentions of his organization in the United States, it seems to me that he is intentionally snubbing our approach. In view of this it behooves us to snub him in turn. Since I am ostensibly a representative of the United States Government on the highest level, my refusal to see him by not making any commitment for a future meeting should serve as a rebuff to him. However, the rebuff is not a final closing of the door since [redacted] will at least listen to what STETSKO has to say about his Moslem matters. I have asked [redacted] not to touch on Ukrainian matters in any way except to indicate the fact that we were sorry a "misunderstanding" had arisen regarding the manner in which we were to have gotten answers to the questions we had previously passed. Further, [redacted] will state that the United States Government will continue to watch with interest the activities of the ZKhUN.

BI COPY

[redacted] (Continued)

9. Although prior to this intended meeting we had agreed that we would explore the possibility of a direct contact between "interested" U.S. agencies and the GRUNEL/UK, I believe that in view of the factors pointed up above such conversations could be premature.

10. I believe the present approach as suggested above will serve the purpose of hearing out what GRUNEL has to say on Indian affairs and should also make him aware that we, in turn, are aware of Chinese motives as well as the refined niceties of the present situation.

[redacted]

DD/P 4-1629

10-6711/1

8 September 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR: Acting Director of Central Intelligence

VIA : Deputy Director (Plans)

SUBJECT : Letter to the Director from Jaroslaw S. SHUKEND

1. Attached herewith is a response to the letter from Jaroslaw S. SHUKEND for the signature of the Acting Director.

2. Jaroslaw S. SHUKEND is the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a union of exile groups of Eastern European nationalities dominated, or at least strongly influenced, by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, BANDERA wing. He is at the same time BANDERA's chief lieutenant in the CNN.

3. It is believed that no useful purpose would be served by granting the writer's request for a meeting with the Director.

[redacted]

One Attachment

cc: DCI

DD/P:SKS [redacted] (8 Sept 58)

Dist:
Orig & 1 - Addressee
1 - C/SR
1 - SR/[redacted]

[redacted]

4-16292

Executive Registry
106 7117/a

Mr. Jaroslaw Stetsko
President
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
18 Arbor Street
Yonkers, New York

Dear Mr. Stetsko:

Your letter was received by Mr. Dulles prior to his departure from Washington. He has asked me to convey his regrets that it will not be possible for him to see you at this time.

I should like to assure you that the question of nationalism is under constant study by this Agency. It is, as you say, unquestionably a potent force, although its aspects may differ widely between nations of the Middle East and those of Eastern Europe now under political domination of the Soviet Union. We will continue to analyze and evaluate its significance.

Sincerely,

C. P. Cabell
General, USAF
Acting Director

Recommended:

(Signed) [redacted]
for 8 SEP 19[illegible]
Deputy Director (Plans)

DDP/[redacted]m (8 Sept 58)

[redacted] Chief, EE/3

Distribution:
Orig - Addressee
1 - [redacted] 1 - EI
2 - [redacted] 1 - DDP/ee 3 [redacted]

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (A.B.N.)

CENTRAL COMMITTEE

[redacted]

No. [redacted]

[redacted] 18 Arber Street
Yonkers, N.Y.
Yonkers 2-7216

[redacted]

Mr. Allen W. Dulles
Director of the
Central Intelligence Agency
2430 E. Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Dulles :

For many years, it has been my utmost desire to come to this country and to meet this nation's leading personalities, such as yourself, in order to get an opportunity to discuss issues of most vital importance. Now, when I am here, it is my hope that you will agree on our coming together with the purpose to deliberate upon concepts of policy and strategy leading eventually to a friendly and strong alliance between the American people and Russian captive nations whose liberation movements I have the honor and privilege to represent. Being Ukrainian myself, I am sure you are aware of the role and potential of Ukraine and my people in the great crusade against Russian aggression from within the Russian Empire. I am also convinced that our deliberations would result in definite contribution to the cause of freedom, peace and progress for all men.

Studying your address of April 28, 1958, delivered before the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, may I make the following observations:

1.) It is documented that the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement dedicated to free Ukraine of her Red Russian occupants, already during World War II. and since, has predicted the developments of the Russian economy. This could have been prevented had the Western Powers pursued the line of liberation of the subjugated nations. The present alarming strength of the Russian economy is chiefly the result of

a) unscrupulous exploitation of the occupied countries (from the Elbe River to the South China Sea)

b) methodical thefts by Russian intelligence of Western inventions, scientists, scholars, engineers, spy-activities, etc.

c) skilful exploitation of the Western inactivity to prevent the growth of Russian economic powers,

d) the free hand given by the West to the Russians to exploit the manpower and the resources of the subjugated people. ...

2.) We, the Ukrainian nationalists, have long feared that Russia in time will surpass the

West in the armament race and thus achieve the balance in this important field. The decision to win the global contest will necessarily shift to other power-fields, especially to fields of psychological-ideological handling of the great human masses of Asia, Africa, Europe, and even Latin America. The decisive weapon against the never ending Russian aggression is and will be nationalism of these nations and support of revolutionary liberation movements.

3.) Russian is rapidly gaining over the West qualitatively especially in the fields of science; and with both quantitative and qualitative superiority, Russia may well gain the psychological and strategic supremacy over the West in the cold war. The West should, therefore, stress the rallying of the quantitative factor in her favor - the nationalistic drive of the subjugated peoples - reversing it into quality and aiding this deep rooted nationalism to side with the West against Russia.

4.) Nationalism is as will be the decisive factor in Asia, Africa and Europe. The U.S.A must seek and turn this nationalism into an ally and fight Russia with a weapon they so cunningly used in the past.

5.) To keep the Near East and the Arab nations on the side of the West, the U.S.A should adopt a policy favoring nationalism, especially by giving support to the nations subjugated by the Russians (e.g. Turkestan, Azerbaijan, etc.)

6.) If Russia is allowed to continue to gain in the power bloc more rapidly than the West, she will eventually win over to her side all of Asia. The Middle East may fall into the orbit of Russian imperialistic desires overnight. Europe will indeed stand barred, in great danger of being neutralized or dominated by Russian Communism from within. Could the U.S.A then protect her sovereignty in isolation with success ?

Having had a lifelong experience in this field, I can assure you, Mr. Dulles, that the nationalism of Ukraine, Hungary, Turkestan and other nations subjugated by Russia, are the great potential and natural reservoir of friendship for the U.S.A. It should be one of the main pursuits of this country to win them as allies. With the adoption and actualization of a liberation policy, these nations, with proper world-wide support, co-ordination and direction from the free nations can decompose and destroy the Russian menace from within.

In view of the afore said, I sincerely desire to meet with you to have an opportunity to stress and explain the aims of the Ukrainian liberation movement and that of the A.B.N. nations I am privileged to represent. We are endeavouring to win American friendship and offering alliance with the liberation movements of the A.B.N nations. I am in the position to produce detailed information on the conditions of the resistance

movement of Ukraine and other nations, our analysis of strength and weaknesses of the Russian Communist power, and our suggestions as to the most effective means of counteracting Russian expansion.

I am on and off in Washington, testifying before the House of un-American Activities Committee and House Committee for Foreign Affairs and I feel assured that you, Sir, will find time to give me an audience.

Very truly yours,

JSS/mt

Jaroslaw S. Stetsko

SECRET

AEX

[illegible]

[illegible]

12 September 1958

Chief, SA

Chief, Danish Desk

[illegible]: [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]/AFRAIR/OPERATIONS
Information on AEX

AECAVATINA 2

REFERENCE: [illegible], 5 September 1958

AFRIAN [illegible]: None; this is reply to headquarters request.

1. Presented herewith as Attachment A are two notebook binders containing copies of letters intercepted to AEX Headquarters in Danish. They are broken down into countries from which the letters were sent, including Austria, Italy, Israel, Latin American countries, Far East and Southeast Asia, Netherlands, Scandinavia, Switzerland, Africa, Turkey, United States, Australia, Great Britain, Canada, Spain, France and Germany. Attachment B is a CALAMITY report on the AEX which is deleted from [illegible], dated 15 April 1958.

2. This extract contains background information, provides statistics on how the AEX is financed, gives facts and figures regarding the number and political orientation of its adherents and gives some insight about the AEX as an anti-Communist political force. These letters also shed light on AEX activities at various world anti-Soviet and anti-Communist conferences which either were initiated by the AEX or in which the AEX participated. Most recent letters are from Mr. and Mrs. Yaroslav [illegible] who journeyed to Danish Britain and the United States. Some letters also contain data on the world Anti-Communist Congress in October 1958.

3. All letters intercepted to the AEX are not found in the enclosed binders since occasionally a pertinent letter is filed with data on a personality of operational interest on whom we are developing further information, e.g., Mathias WELTHOERFF (VALENTY), a Delegation on the AEX Executive Committee.

[redacted]

ATTACHMENTS: [illegible]
A. 2 Notebook binders of letter intercepts
B. CALAMITY Report

DISTRIBUTION:
3 - SA, w/atts A & B
2 - [illegible], w/o atts
2 - [illegible], w/o atts.

SECRET

Approved

SECRET
(When Filled In)

Filename Index

PERSONALITY FILE REQUEST	NOTE: Consult the 201 Control System Reference Manual before completing this form. Form must be typed or printed in block letters.

TO: RI Section	DATE 20 MAR 1959	ACTION: OPEN / AMEND / CLOSE	
FROM: RIDI		ROOM NO.	TELEPHONE

SECTION I

SENSITIVE / NON-SENSITIVE		SOURCE DOCUMENT SR/3 ML

NAME (Last)	(Middle)	(Title)	3. SEX
STETSKO, YAROSLAV			M / F

NAME VARIANT

2. TYPE NAME	(Last)	(First)	(Middle)	(Title)

4. PHOTO	5. BIRTH DATE	6. COUNTRY OF BIRTH	7. CITY OR TOWN OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP
YES / NO	D M Y			

OTHER IDENTIFICATION	8. OTHER IDEN CODE 1. 2. 3.
OCCUPATION/POSITION	9. OCC/POS CODE

SECTION II

CRYPTONYM	PSEUDONYM

SECTION III

10. COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	11. PRIMARY DESK INTEREST	12. 2ND COUNTRY INTEREST	12A. 3RD COUNTRY INTEREST
	SR/3CE		

COMMENTS

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B28
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

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PERMANENT CHARGE	RESTRICTED FILE	SIGNATURE
YES / NO	YES / NO	

FORM 12-58 831 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS. SECRET (38) RID/AN COPY

18 March 1964

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, WH/OPS

SUBJECT : Reported Resettlement of Zah/OUN/B Headquarters from Munich to Washington, D. C.

1. It has come to our attention via ARCABOWAY/29 that members of the leadership of the Zah/OUN/Banders visited in the United States in October and November of 1963 in connection with plans to resettle its headquarters from Munich to the United States. Those who visited were: Stepan LENKAVSKY [redacted] Yaroslav STETSKO [redacted] and Ivan KASHUBA [redacted] According to various Zah/OUN groups, including Ivan KASHUBA, the organization is to have a luxurious information center located in Washington, D. C., and that more than ample funds are already available for this purpose. The group further plans, according to Mr. KASHUBA, to publish an English-language journal in the United States.

2. Resettlement of the group from Germany to the United States is reportedly being done with the approval of American Intelligence and U. S. Congressional circles. According to reports, the U. S. Department of State has created certain obstacles which are delaying the actual move, but these obstacles are expected to be removed with the help of American Intelligence and friends of the Zah/OUN in Congress.

3. Among those to be resettled in the United States reportedly are Yaroslav STETSKO and his wife, and Ivan KASHUBA.

4. The above information, if true, is alarming. We feel an obligation to prevent such a move, or at least to warn all concerned that they are dealing with assets controlled by the opposition and that the individuals named above have a record of anti-American activity.

[Chief, WH/EA]

COPY FILED IN 74-1274-4/3 Copy

[ ]

A-18 Washington, D. C
Wednesday, March 5, 1969

MRS. YAROSLAV R. STETZKO

Unrest Rising In Soviet Bloc, Refugee Says

On the last day of June 1941, as the Nazi army was beginning its advance into the Soviet Union, the people of the Ukraine took advantage of the disarray of war to reclaim the independence they had lost to Russia 20 years earlier.

But those Ukrainians who looked upon the Nazis as "liberators" soon found they had been mistaken. The leaders of the infant Ukraine government, including prime minister Yaroslav Stetzko, were thrown into prison by the German Gestapo.

Today Stetzko and his wife, Slava, head the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc., an international anti-Communist organization. Mrs. Stetzko, who spoke here yesterday on the 25th anniversary of the founding of the bloc, recounted some of her country's history for The Star.

Underground Active

The nationalistic underground had been active in the Ukraine since Soviet Russia had annexed the country in 1921, she said. The nationalists were waiting for a chance to make their break, and "such an occasion, we understood, was the war between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia."

"Before the German army came in we proclaimed independence," she recalled in her [illegible] "We organized im[illegible] in [illegible] hours, the army [illegible] the radio in the [illegible]

The capital [illegible] was Lvov, the [illegible] capital," not the ancient capital, Kiev.

But [illegible] of independence were [illegible]. The Gestapo alarmed Hitler that here on Ukrainian territory, is something [illegible] not in [illegible]," Mrs. Stetzko said.

Husband Arrested

Her husband, along with the rest of his government, was arrested. Stetzko was sent to the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Germany, where he remained until 1944. Mrs. Stetzko spent 13 months in a Ukrainian prison.

Soon after releasing her husband, Mrs. Stetzko said, the Nazis thought better of it and tried to recapture him. He was [illegible] in the bargain and was unable to return to the Ukraine.

In 1945, after the end of the war, she joined her husband in Germany. Ukrainian nationalists continued their fight after the war, she said, but were finally put down in 1951.

The Stetzkos have since moved to Munich, from where they travel all over the world speaking and enlisting aid in their anti-Russian campaign.

Today, nationalism is on the rise throughout the nations of the Soviet Union, in movements Mrs. Stetzko likens to that which brought about the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia last summer.

In an article in the Sunday Star of Feb. 22, Victor Zorza noted, "The rising tide of nationalism among the peoples who make up the Soviet Union is causing concern in Moscow."

Portions of the 45 million Ukrainians are in the vanguard of this nationalist movement, Zorza wrote. "Today, young Ukrainians in prison for demanding freedom [illegible] the young [illegible] in Moscow—have become nationalist heroes."

Mrs. Stetzko, in her speech, will discuss the conditions of oppression within the Soviet Union. She will speak tomorrow at 1 p.m. in the Pennsylvania Suite of the Mayflower Hotel, Connecticut Avenue and De Sales Street NW, before the Washington chapter of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

Stetzko

SECRET
(When Filled In)

DOCUMENT TRANSFER AND CROSS REFERENCE

SUBJECT OF DOCUMENT	DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION
	2. RI FILE NO.
	3. DISPATCH OR SOURCE DOC. SYMBOL NO. / 4. DATE
	7. SOURCE CRYPTONYM / 8. DATE OF INFO. / 9. EVALUATION
5. ANALYST / 6. DATE PROCESSED	10. DISSEMINATED IN / 11. DATE

DOCUMENT DISPOSITION

12. CROSS REFERENCED TO THIS FILE	13. TRANSFERRED TO RI FILE NO.

PERTINENT INFORMATION

14.

STETZKO, YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB ?

EUDA-90095A02
16 SEP 70

CIT ?
OCC ?
CHAIRMAN OF ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

R 7009300041

FILE IN

15. FILE THIS FORM IN FILE NO.

FORM 0-97 867 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS.

SECRET

(7-66)

FORM 3520 USE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

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EXECUTE: 95 PER

ACTION: EUR6 INFO FILE, VR/RIAW, SB8, FI, CI, CI/OPS, CI/IC2

ACTION NO 805

S E C R E T 231524Z FEB 71 CITE 8825 8

INFO DIRECTOR

REDLEG PERAMPART

1. USAFAC UNIT, FRANKFURT ON BEHALF THEIR WOCORK HQS REQUESTS RACES ON:

A. YAROSLAV S T E T S K O

BORN IN UKRAINE

RES: ZEPPLINSTR. 67, MUNICH 8

OCC: PRESIDENT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, "ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS" (ABN), MUNICH-BASED ORGANIZATION.

B. VOLODYMYR M A J E W S K Y OR M A Y E W S K Y

BORN 1924 IN UKRAINE

CURRENTLY RESIDES IN CONUS

C. ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS.

2. FILE: DEFER. GP-1

S E C R E T

ANALYZED AS X IN FS DF DDI INFO FI

23 Feb 71

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FILE, VR, C1, CI/OPS, FI, SA 8

864

S E C R E T 241526Z FEB 71 CITE 18209

[ ] INFO [ ] DIRECTOR

24 Feb 11:27 2860

CAGER REDLEG PBRAMPART

REF [ ] 08258 (1) 271980)

1. [ ] HQS HAS CARD RECORD ONLY EGMA 37113, ATT. 11 SEP 58, CITING MRS. YAROSLAV S T E T S K O, DPOB UNKNOWN, MEMBER OF THE BUND DER FREIHEIT (UNION OF FREEDOM.).

2. NO [ ] HQS TRACES SUBJ REF PARA 1. B.

3. FILE DEFER. GP-1.

S E C R E T

24 Feb 71

[ ]

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CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION — CLASSIFIED MESSAGE — TOTAL COPIES 11-1

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BY: ____ AT: ____

COPIED BY 15 PER ____

ACTION UNIT: EUR6 | FILE, VR

REFERENCE NO. 967

S E C R E T 251817Z FEB 71 CITE CASGI 25Feb IN 273542

INFO DIRECTOR

REDLEG PORAMPART

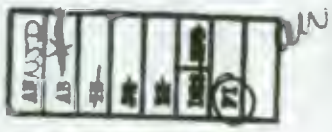
REF: 63250 (IN 271989)

1. YAROSLAV S T E T S X C (OR S T E T Z K O) BORN 19 JAN 12, TERNOPOL, UKRAINE. AKA VASYL OR VLADIMIR D A N K I W AKA ZINOVIY K A R B O V I C H AKA ZENON K A R B O V Y T C H AKA MIROSLAV PAVLOVSKY AKA YAROSLAV STECKO. PRESIDENT ANTI-BOLSHEVIST BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) AND CHAIRMAN EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL. FORMER PRIME MINISTER UKRAINE. WIFE ANNA NEE K U Z Y K A, BORN 14 MAY 20, ROKANOVKA, UKRAINE. SENDING VIA TH FOR USAFAC MUNICH STATE TELEGRAM CONTROL NO. 434, 20 MAY 70, CONCERNING STETSKO AND EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL. NO TRACES SUBJ PARA 1.B. REF. INFO ON ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS BEING CHECKED, WILL ADVISE.

2. FYI: INFO ON STETSKO CARDED SOURCE EGHA-32039, 5 MAR 58, CABOLT PROGRESS REPORT FOR 1 - 28 FEB 58. OTHER DOC REFS INCLUDE EGHA-49946, 28 JUN 60 AND EGHA-37113, 11 SEP 58. ASSUME USAFAC HQS TRACING UKLANCE HQS DIRECT.

3. STETSKO NOT LISTED CURRENT MUNICH PHONE DIRECTORY OR

25 Feb 71



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SECRET (when filled in)

PRIORITY

P/1 - 5

CHECK ONE: [ ] [XX] REGISTRATION [ ] DE-REGISTRATION

DO NOT USE THIS SPACE

DATE: 2 Mar 71

[X] NEW [ ] RE-REGISTRATION [ ] UTILIZATION [ ] RE-CHECK

NAME (Last, First, Middle): STETSKO, Yaroslav

ALIASES AND/OR SPELLING VARIATIONS:

DATE OF BIRTH: unk

PLACE OF BIRTH: Ukraine

CITIZENSHIP: unk prev: Ukrainian

RESIDENCE: Zepplinstrasse 67, Munich 8, W. Germany

PRESENT EMPLOYER: Central Committee, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Munich, Ger

OCCUPATION: President

ADDITIONAL IDENTIFYING DATA

CS COPY

TRACE RESULTS

RID/INDEX REMARKS: C-30 from NLNC ref 23/3/71 GF

PLEASE REVIEW CARDS in INDEX. Thank you!

RID/CE REMARKS: No ops interest in C Branch

NAI to CSCI 3/751,125 dtd 14 Aug 58, subject: STETZKO, Jaroslav which was previously sent to Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence, Dept of the Army.

SL/Bio 1. 238321 2. Ref

3/3/71 JB

RESULTS: Negative

TO: S & DR

DATE: 5 March 71

NATIONAL FILE NO.: ~~237373~~ 238573 (A)

1. No information in addition to CSCI 3/751,125, dated 14 Aug 58; subject: STETZKO, Jaroslav; sent to ACSI.

2. [ ] has no record of a current operational interest in Subject.

EVB

DROP DATE

REASON DROPPED

CS COPY

SIGNATURE

SECRET

PRIORITY

FILE IN

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM

TO: Chief, Counterintelligence Division
Directorate of Special Investigations
The Inspector General, USAF

FROM: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: STETSKO, Jaroslav

In response to your telephonic request of 9 March 1971 concerning Subject, this Office is enclosing a copy of CSCI-3/751125 dated 14 August 1958 as you requested.

CSCI-316/00639-71

Encl. 1 attachment as stated above

RID/CE: JKS/DIK/ab
BASED ON: CSCI-3/751125
14 Aug 58
FILE IN:

SECRET
NO FOREIGN DISSEM
US ONLY

X 663 Dec

SECRET
(When filled in)

Telephonic Request for Use of RID/CE Control Section

DATE 9 March 1971

Requesting Agency: OANC OSI via Beverly (Army)

Reply: SR

Request taken by: [illegible]

Date:

Analyst:

Subject: STETSKO, Yaroslav or Jaroslav
(Last) (First) (Middle)

AKA or NEE:

DOB: 19 JAN 12

Father:
(Last) (First)

POB: Tarnopol, Poland (Ukraine)

Mother: nee name
(Last) (First)

CIT:

OCC: (Include dates)

RES: (Include dates)

Bio #3382 2-Cat

REQUEST COPY OF CSCI 3/751,125 dated 14 Aug 1958

Other identifying data

Request For: (Check appropriate box)

Derogatory ☐

Reply needed by: ASAP

All Information ☐

Specific information required: ☐

Prefiles by IFO 4/3/71
NOT TO CSCS

9 MAR 1971

DSR

SECRET
(When filled in)

ISR [redacted] copy provided by ISR
Copy sent to Army again

SECRET
(When Filled In)

CHECK ONE: [ ] REQUEST FOR [XX] RESEARCH [ ] RE-REGISTRATION

"PRIORITY" (34,664)

DO NOT USE THIS SPACE

DATE: 22 Mar 71

NEW	RE-REGISTRATION	UTILIZATION	XXX RE-CHECK

NAME (Last, First, Middle): STETSKO, Yaroslav or PAWLOWSKY, Miroslaw or KANSOVICH, Zenon

ALIASES AND/OR SPELLING VARIATIONS: STETZKO, Yaroslav or STETZKO, Jaroslav or DANKIW, Wasyl

DATE OF BIRTH: 19 Jan 1912

PLACE OF BIRTH: Tarnopol, Galicia

CITIZENSHIP: unk PAST: Ukrainian

RESIDENCE: Zepplinstrasse 67, Munich 8, W.Germany

PRESENT EMPLOYER: Central Committee, Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Munich Germany

OCCUPATION: President

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION TA: [ ] 2 Mar 71

CS COPY

TRACE RESULTS

BIO/INDEX REMARKS: c 40 trans nl Ret 25 mar 71 RyS

BIO/INDEX REMARKS: MAI to CSCI 3/751125 dated 14 Aug 58 subject: STETZKO, Jaroslav which was previously sent to Assistant Chief of Staff, Intelligence Dept of the Army. 30 MAR 1971 "Same info from trace 2 Mar 71"

FILE IN [ ]

RESULTS

TO: S & DR	DATE: 31 Mar 71	NATIONAL FILE NO. 238573 (A)

1. A recheck was conducted with the aid of the more complete information given above but no new information was found.

2. The status of Subject's registration remains the same.

EVB

30 MAR 1971

DROP DATE	REASON DROPPED
	"PRIORITY"

SECRET

FILE IN [ ]

SECRET

DROP NOTICE

(SECRET WHEN COMPLETED)

Dropped ~~with~~/without prejudice: 17 May 1971

NAME: STETSKO, Yaroslav [ ] [ ]

ALIASES: ( )DATE: 22 Mar 1971

S&DR FILE #: 238573 (A)

DOB: 19 Jan 1912

POB: Tarnopol, Galicia (Ukraine)

REMARKS:

[ ]
INITIALS

SECRET [ ]

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(When Filled In)

EXTRACT AND CROSS REFERENCE

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION

DOC. SYMBOL & NO.	DATE OF DOC.	FILE CLASSIFICATION OF RECORD COPY			

DOC. SUBJECT

SOURCE INFORMATION

SOURCE CRYPTONYM	DATE OF INFO.	EVALUATION

TEXT OF EXTRACT (Also cite doc. distribution, Dispaco. No., etc. - if applicable)

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

SEX M DOB ?
USSR
CIT USSR
OCC MILA
MENTIONED IN MECHNIKS BOOK TITLED UNDER THREE INVADERS

160-006-139/04
CD -02310
25 AUG 71
P2

R 7110052022

Indicate The Subject, Project Or File No. In Which This Form Is To Be Filed.				
SUBJECT OF 201 (Last, First, Middle)				

FORM 887 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS

SECRET

13-441

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION — CLASSIFIED MESSAGE — TOTAL COPIES 5

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BY _____ AT _____ Z

DISSEM BY 4 PER _____ #

ACTION UNIT CAJ | INFO | FILE VR | TPAN, CA/PEG, EVR6, SB8, FEY, FE/COY, CI/EC2

ACTION NO 217

SECRET 151622Z SEP 71 CITE [ ] 849

DIRECTOR INFO [ ]

168 IN 424465

DTDORIC GRDYNAMIC TPFAST REDLEG

REF DIRECTOR 164489

1. PARTIAL CONFIRMATION OF GRDYNAMIC 29 INFO (REF), OBTAINED VIA TPFEELING CONTACT WITH GRIGORY NANJAK (DPOB 17 OCT 24, SLOBITKA, UKRAINE), SUMMARIZED BELOW:

A. "GESELLSCHAFT FUER ERFORSCHUNG DER CHINESISCHEN PROBLEME" FORMED BY MIROSLAV STRYANKA [ ], BORIS LEWICKYJ [ ] AND IVAN MAYSTRANKO [ ] AMONG OTHERS.

B. MAYSTRENKO REPORTEDLY WORKING ON PAMPHLET ABOUT SUFFERINGS OF UKRAINIANS UNDER STALIN, WHICH HAS BEEN DISCUSSED WITH TPFAST BERN REPS. ALLEGEDLY TPFAST REPS PLAN SMUGGLE IT INTO USSR.

C. NANJAK STATES HE DOES NOT REPRODUCE PAMPHLETS FOR TPFAST, BUT PRODUCES A MASTER COPY WHICH CAN BE USED FOR OFFSET PRINTING ELSEWHERE.

D. TWO MEN FROM TPFAST BERN CONTACT NANJAK. THEY HAVE TOLD HIM THAT A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF UKRANIAN RED ARMY

[ ]

200-134-307/3

SECRET
CS COPY

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION CLASSIFIED MESSAGE TOT. COPIES

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SEP 28 4 07 PM '71

RECEIVED

DIGEST BY PER

ACTION UNIT FILE, VR

FORWARDED RID/AN

ACTION NO

PAGE 2 [ ] 16849 S E C R E T

SOLDERS ON BORDER HAVE DEFECTED TO RED CHINA.

E. TPFAST REPS ALSO INTERESTED IN BALTIC AREA, AND REPORTEDLY MAKING SOME EFFORT CONTACT REFUGEE GROUPS FROM THIS AREA. IT IS ALLEGED THAT THEY ARE SUBSIDIZING ALIAS ALEKSANDER KORAB (BOHDAN OSADCZUK [ ] TO SUPPORT A PRO-PEKING LINE IN HIS WRITINGS.

2. MAJORITY OF BANDERA GROUP MUNICH SAID TO BE OPPOSED TO COLLABORATION WITH TPFAST, INCLUDING JAROSLAW STETSKO [ ] AND WOLODYMIR LEWIK (LENIK), DPOB 14 JUN 22, DRYSCHSCHIW, UKRAINE (201-UNK).

3. RE PARA 5 REF: CATRIBE CERTAINLY INVOLVED IN PAST WITH SOME OF ABOVE PERSONALITIES, AND PRESENT CONTACT QUITE POSSIBLE. SUGGEST EXPLORE INITIALLY WITH TPFEELING/TPLINGO STAFFERS POSSIBILITY OF IDENTIFYING TPFAST PERSONNEL VIA THEIR PRESENT CONTACTS. IF THIS DOES NOT SEEM FEASIBLE WOULD THEN APPROACH CATRIBE. PLEASE ADVSIE.

4. INDEX: STRYANKA, LEWICKYJ, MAYSTRENKO, OSADCZUK, NANJAK.

5. FILE: 200-124-207/3. X REF [ ] GP-1

S E C R E T

200-124-207/3

SECRET

[ ]

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION

	MARKED FOR INDEXING
X	NO INDEXING REQUIRED
	ONLY QUALIFIED DOCS CAN BEGIN INDEXING
	MICROFILM

TO: [redacted]

INFO: Chief, EUR; Chief, NOMUSE; Chief, NOLIME

FROM: [redacted]

SUBJECT: COMMISPER TPFEELING
Propaganda Leaflet from A. FABANOW

REFERENCE: EGNA-42614, 14 September 1971

[redacted] files contain no information on the purported author of the pamphlet transmitted with reference, A. FABANOW. The thrust of the pamphlet takes a passing swipe at TPFEELING, but is basically directed against Ukrainian emigrees operating in Munich, notably Jaroslaw STETSKO [redacted] The names are well known but seem to be pretty ancient history. The allegations that Ossip MERGUN (VERHUN, Osyp[redacted]) Ferdinand DURCANSKY [redacted] are affiliated with CATRINE are accurate as are the two alias's attributed to STETSKO.

[redacted]

DISTRIBUTION:
2 - CDS/Germany
4 - C/EUR
2 - C/NOMUSE
2 - C/NOLIME

CHIEF REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	EGMA-75488	22 September 1971
	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	[redacted]

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EXTRACT AND CROSS REFERENCE

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION					
DOC. SYMBOL & NO.	DATE OF DOC.	FILE CLASSIFICATION OF RECORD COPY			
DOC. SUBJECT					

SOURCE INFORMATION		
SOURCE CRYPTONYM	DATE OF INFO.	EVALUATION

TEXT OF EXTRACT (Also cite doc. distribution, Dissem. No., etc. - if applicable)

STETSKO, YAROSLAW

SEX M DOB ?

CIT ?
OCC ?
YURI PETRENKO

DBU -44062
15 SEP 72
FBI
P2

REQUESTED INFO ABOUT
SUBJ, DURING A MEETING W/ONE OF HIS
/PETRENKOS/ CONTACTS, 12 AUG 72

R 7210310349

Indicate The Subject, Project Or File No. In Which This Form Is To Be Filed.				
SUBJECT OF 201 (Last, First, Middle)				

FORM 867 OBSOLETE PREVIOUS EDITIONS
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(7-46)

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ISSUED BY ____ PER ____

ACTION UNIT EUR 6 — FILE VR — SB8

ACTION NO. 911

S E C R E T 211253Z MAR 73 STAFF

CITE [redacted] 22644

TO [redacted] DIRECTOR INFO [redacted]

REDLEG

865742

1. PLEASE CABLE TRACES FOR GPOUGHT ON

YAROSLAV S T E T S K O

FORMER UKRAINIAN PRIME MINISTER

PRESIDENT OF THE CC OF ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS.

RES: 8 MUNCHEN 80

ZEPPELINSTR. 67

GERMANY

TEL: 44 10 69.

2. SUBJECT HAS LUNCHED WITH [redacted] AND INDICATED HE PLANS VISIT WODUAL 10 APRIL TO 10 MAY 73.

3. FILE: NONE. E2 IMPDET

S E C R E T

SECRET

21 MAR 73

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BY _____ AT: _____ Z

DISPATCH BY _____ PER _____

ACTION UNIT Euro — INFO — FILE, VR — See cyber cyber

ACTION NO 063

S E C R E T 221331Z MAR 73 STAFF

CITE [ ] 23040 — 867065

TO: [ ] INFO DIRECTOR [ ]

CAGER REDLEG

REF [ ] 22644 (IV 865742)

1. FOLLOWING [ ] HEADQUARTERS TRACES BASED ON CARDED INFO ONLY:

A. STETSKO (Yaroslav) REPORTED PRESIDENT ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS JULY 1958.

B. STETSKO'S WIFE (FIRST NAME NOT GIVEN) REPORTED MEMBER BUND DER FREIHEIT (UNION OF FREEDOM) SEPT 1958. IN JAN 1962 SHE VISITED CONSULATE GENERAL MUNICH TO REPORT UKRANIAN ACQUAINTANCE IN U.S. HAD INFORMED HER R.I.S. PLANNED ASSASSINATE HER HUSBAND AND DR. MALASCHUK, CHIEF UKRANIAN LEAGUE/CANADA.

2. FILE DEFER. E2 IMPDET

S E C R E T

IOBT

#3040

RECORD COPY

22 MAR 73

SECRET

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION — CLASSIFIED MESSAGE — TOTAL COPIES 2

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ACTION UNIT: E4B6 | INFO | FILE, VR, PLAN SB8 C1/IC2

ACTION NO. 005

DDO ADPO 000/00

86769

T

S E C R E T 220851Z MAR 73 STAFF

CITE [ ] 22573

TO: [ ] INFO DIRECTOR,

REDLEG (Trace of Yaroslav Stetsko)

REF: [ ] 22644 (865742)

1. FOLLOWING [ ] CARDED INFO SUBJ [ ] REF: DPOB 19 JAN 1912, POLAND, TARNOPOL; CIT: STATELESS; OCC: JOURNALIST (EGMA-32039, 5 MAR 58); ALIASES: DANKIW, WASYL; KARBOVICH, ZINOVIY; KARBOVYCH, ZENOW; PAWLOWSKY, MIROSLAV. FORMER UKRAINE PRIME MINISTER, MEMBER OUN/B, ABN. WIFE: STETSKO, ANNA. MUNICH -16849, 16 SEPT 71, SUBJ MEMBER BANDERA GROUP MUNICH OPPOSED COLLABORATION WITH VLYIGOR.

2. FILE: [ ] E-2, IMPDET.

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[ ]

SECRET 22 MAR 73

E/BNL/N
1544
23 MARCH 1973

MESSAGE FORM
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MICROFILMED

INDEX
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FILE RID

FILE, VR.

S E C R E T

CITE DIRECTOR

TO INFO 3 22 302

3079 00

REDLEG

REFS: A 22644 (IN 865742)
B. 23040 (IN 867065)
C. 22573 (IN 866769)

1. YAROSLAV STETSKO, AKA YAROSLAW STECKO, BORN 19 JANUARY 12 IN TERNOPOL, UKRAINE. WIFE ANNA NEE H U Z Y K A BORN 14 MAY 20 IN ROMANOVKA, UKRAINE. STUDIED AT UNIVERSITIES IN LWOW AND KRAKOW AND WHILE A STUDENT BECAME A MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) PRIMARILY AS A PUBLICIST WRITING ANTI-POLISH AND ANTI-SOVIET NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA. FROM 31-34 HE WAS IN CHARGE OF AN OUN GROUP ENGAGED IN SMUGGLING ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA INTO THE SOVIET UKRAINE, AS WELL AS ANTI-POLISH ACTIVITIES. ARRESTED AND TRIED BY A POLISH COURT AND SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS IMPRISONMENT. LATER SIDED WITH STEPAN BANDERA WHEN OUN SPLIT INTO TWO RIVAL FACTIONS. SUBJECT PRESIDED OVER AN ASSEMBLY CONVOKED IN LWOW ON 30 JUNE 41 TO PROCLAIM AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN STATE IN WHICH SUBJECT OCCUPIED POST AS PRIME MINISTER. THIS GOVT WAS DISSOLVED IN LESS THAN [illegible] AND HE WAS ARRESTED BY GESTAPO. ESCAPED

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S E C R E T

CAUSE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION

BY _____ PLR _____ #_____

☐ INDEX ☐ NO INDEX ☐ RETURN TO _____ BRANCH ☐ FILE RID

☐ FILE IN CS FILE NO. _____

FILE, VR.

S E C R E T PAGE TWO CITE DIRECTOR 537960

GERMAN CONTROL IN 1945 AND WENT TO AMERICAN ZONE OF GERMANY SPENDING MOST OF HIS TIME IN MUNICH WHERE HE WAS PROMINENT IN EMIGREE POLITICS.

2. SUBJECT'S POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS INCLUDE ACTIVE MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTIC ORGANIZATIONS, INCLUDING THE UKRAINIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION (UVO). HAS BEEN CHAIRMAN OR PRESIDENT OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN) SINCE ITS FOUNDATION IN 1945. CHAIRMAN OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL.

3. HE VISITED THE U.S. IN 1958 AND TESTIFIED BEFORE THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND HOUSE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

4. FILE NO: X-REF E2IMPDET EOM.

C/EUR

C/E/BNL

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NON AGENCY MESSAGE

FBI

ACTION UNIT: 4C1

INFO: DIPLAN 4C1OPS2 4C1LN 0/SECURY 4FRY 4SOS 4SURL 4C1SOS

297908 PAGE 01-01 ~~NC 98824~~

PRECEDENCE TOR:0715232 JUN 73 941005

00 RUEAIIA
ZNY XXXXX ZOV RUEISS
SS8954
00 ESC
DE RUESS #4357 1581445
ZNY SSSSS
O 071445Z MAY 73
BT
S E C R E T CITE USSS 4357 07JUN73 1045EDT
FROM: SECRET SERVICE HQS (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - FIB)
TO : CIA HQS: CI STAFF (ATTN-LIAISON)
INFO: ZEN/LIAISON DIVISION
SUBJECT: NAME TRACE RELATIVE TO BREZHNEV VISIT
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM AN OFFICIAL OF ANOTHER GOVERNMENT REFLECTS THAT YAROSLAV STETSKO IS THE LEADER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS, DESCRIBED AS AN "EXTREMIST-TERRORIST ORGANIZATION". THE SUBJECT IS PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH YAROSLAV SEMENOVICH STETSKO WHICH SOURCE GOVERMENT IDENTIFIED AS HEAD OF THE FOREIGN BRANCH OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION AND WAS ALLEGEDLY IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.
ABOVE SOURCE ADVISED ON 6/6/73 THAT YAROSLAV STETSKO (VARIATION: STETZKO) AND HIS WIFE ARE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS REQUESTED THAT HQS TRACES BE RUN ON THE SUBJECT FOR POSSIBLE BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND THAT THIS SERVICE BE ADVISED PROMPTLY OF THE RESULTS.
PAGE 2
IT IS ALSO REQUESTED THAT [ ] TRACES BE RUN ON THE SUBJECT FOR POSSIBLE PREVIOUS ACTIVITY.
CLASSIFIED BY ANOTHER GOVT AGENCY EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY (5B (1) (2)) AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON IMPDET.

action transferred to SA/CI/I 7 June 73

SECRET

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY UNDER METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B OF THE NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2007

FOR COORDINATION WITH FBI

OUTGOING MESSAGE

31-3

SIGNAL CENTER USE ONLY

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SECRET

081503Z CIA

DIR 418729

CONF: C/SGS INFO: FILE C/CI, DDO A000, 000/00, DISSEM BY: 29/30

0 C/PLAN, C/CI/OPS 2, C/CI/LN, O/SECUR4, PER TOG # 4-73

0 C/FR4, C/EUR6, C/FR2

0 201-029439

TO: PRIORITY SECRET SERVICE/ID

REF: USSS 84357 (IN 941005)

SUBJECT: YAROSLAV STETSKO

1. THE FILES OF THIS OFFICE CONTAIN VOLUMINOUS INFORMATION ON SUBJECT, A SUMMARY OF WHICH IS GIVEN BELOW.

2. YAROSLAV STETSKO (JAROSLAW STETZKO) WAS BORN 19 JANUARY 1912 IN TERNOPOL, UKRAINE. HE HAS USED THE ALIASES WASYL DANKIW, ZENON KARBOVYCH, MIROSLAW PAWLOWSKY. WIFE ANNA NEE MUZYKA, BORN 14 MAY 1920 IN ROMANOVKA, UKRAINE. SUBJECT LIVES IN MUNICH, FRG AT ZEPPELINSTRASSE 67.

3. SUBJECT STUDIED AT UNIVERSITIES IN LWOW AND KRAKOW AND WHILE A STUDENT BECAME A MEMBER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) PRIMARILY AS A PUBLICIST WRITING ANTI-POLISH AND ANTI-SOVIET NATIONALIST PROPAGANDA. FROM 31-34 HE WAS IN CHARGE OF AN OUN GROUP ENGAGED IN SMUGGLING ANTI-SOVIET PROPAGANDA INTO THE SOVIET UKRAINE, AS WELL AS ANTI-POLISH ACTIVITIES. AND TRIED BY A POLISH COURT AND SENTENCED TO FIVE YEARS IMPRISONMENT. LATER SIDED WITH STEPAN BANDERA WHEN OUN SPLIT INT

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PAGE 2 OF PAGES

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TWO RIVAL FACTIONS. SUBJECT PRESIDED OVER AN ASSEMBLY CONVOKED IN LWOW ON 30 JUNE 41 TO PROCLAIM AN INDEPENDENT UKRAINIAN STATE IN WHICH SUBJECT OCCUPIED POST AS PRIME MINISTER. THIS GOVT WAS DISSOLVED IN LESS THAN TWO WEEKS AND HE WAS ARRESTED BY GESTAPO. ESCAPED GERMAN CONTROL IN 1945 AND WENT TO AMERICAN ZONE OF GERMANY SPENDING MOST OF HIS TIME IN MUNICH WHERE HE WAS PROMINENT IN EMIGREE POLITICS.

4. SUBJECT HAS BEEN AN ACTIVE MEMBER OF VARIOUS UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTIC ORGANIZATIONS. PRESIDENT OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS SINCE ITS FOUNDATION IN 1945. CHAIRMAN OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL.

5. STEPAN BANDERA (CF. ABOVE) WAS ASSASSINATED BY BOGDAN STASHINSKIY, A KGB OFFICER, IN MUNICH IN 1959. STASHINSKIY REPORTEDLY ALSO LOCATED AND EXAMINED SUBJECT'S MUNICH RESIDENCE AT THAT TIME. SUBJECT MAY THEREFORE ALSO HAVE BEEN A KGB ASSASSINATION TARGET.

DATE:
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PAGE 3 OF 3 PAGES

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CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

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6. THIS OFFICE HAS NO INFORMA .ON THAT SUBJECT IS CURRENTLY IN THE UNITED STATES; HOWEVER, IN MARCH 1973 IT WAS REPORTED THAT SUBJECT INTENDED TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES FROM 10 APRIL TO 10 MAY. HE HAS PREVIOUSLY VISITED THE UNITED STATES, THE FIRST TIME BEING IN 1958, WHEN HE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE HOUSE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND HOUSE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF E.O. 01L652, EX582 AUTOMICALLY DECLASSIFIED - DATE IMPOSSIBLE TO BE DETERMINED CLASSIFIED BY 019816.

DATE: 8 JUNE 1973
ORIG: [redacted]
UNIT: AC/SB/SI/I
EXT: 9078/5877

CI/LS [redacted]
RELEASING OFFICER

for AC/SB/SI
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

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CL BY: 019816

CONFIDENTIAL

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PRECEDENCE TOR:152204Z JUN 73 IN 948

PP RUEAIIX
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ZNY CCCCC ZZH
P 150352Z JUN 73
FM ACTING DIRECTOR, FBI
TO RUEADWW/WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM
ATT.: DR. HENRY A. KISSINGER
RUEHOC/SECRETARY OF STATE
RUEAIIX/DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
RUEADSS/U. S. SECRET SERVICE (PID)
RUEBWJA/ATTORNEY GENERAL
RUEBWJA/DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL
RUEBWJA/ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL, CRIMINAL DIVISION
AND INTERNAL SECURITY SECTION
AND GENERAL CRIMES SECTION
BT
C O N F I D E N T I A L

VISIT OF SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY LEONID I. BREZHNEV TO THE UNITED STATES, 1973.
SOURCE ON 6/12/73, SECOND SOURCE ON 6/13/73, AND THIRD SOURCE ON 6/13/73, WHO HAVE FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, AND ARE FAMILIAR WITH CERTAIN PHASES OF THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRE ACTIVITIES, ADVISED AS FOLLOWS:

YAROSLAV STETSKO IS THE LEADER OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION WHICH IS COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS BANDERA AND IS A GROUP COMPOSED OF SOMEWHAT MILITANT ANTI-RUSSIAN AND ANTI-COMMUNIST UKRAINIAN EMIGRES. STETSKO WAS KNOWN BY FIRST SOURCE AND SECOND SOURCE TO RESIDE IN MUNICH, WEST GERMANY, WHILE THIRD SOURCE ONLY KNEW THAT STETSKO LIVED SOMEWHERE IN EUROPE. ACCORDING TO FIRST SOURCE STETSKO OFTEN VISITS THE UNITED STATES.

OLEH SHTUL IS THE LEADER OF THE OTHER UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION FACTION COMMONLY REFERRED TO AS THE MELNYK GROUP. THIS MELNYK GROUP IS ALSO COMPRISED OF ANTI-RUSSIAN AND ANTI-COMMUNIST UKRAINIAN EMIGRES, BUT ITS MEMBERS ARE NOT NEARLY AS MILITANT AS THE BANDERA GROUP AND ADOPT A MORE INTELLECTUAL APPROACH ATTEMPTING TO FURTHER THE CAUSE OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM. ONLY SECOND SOURCE KNEW SHTUL'S FIRST NAME, WHILE FIRST SOURCE REFERRED TO HIM AS (FNU) SHTUL - DANOWYCZ. EACH SOURCE WAS AWARE THAT SHTUL RESIDES IN PARIS, FRANCE AND INFREQUENTLY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L

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VISITS THE UNITED STATES. No 20'

MAJOR (FNU) KRAVTSIV IS A CAREER ARMY OFFICER AND THE SON OF BOGDAN KRAVTSIV, HEREINAFTER DESCRIBED. HE IS NOT KNOWN TO HAVE ANY AFFILIATION WITH EITHER THE BANDERA OR MELNYK FACTIONS. BOTH FIRST SOURCE AND SECOND SOURCE WERE AWARE THA

HE IS A GRADUATE OF WEST POINT AND SECOND SOURCE BELIEVED HIM TO BE IN HIS LATE 30'S OR EARLY 40'S. NONE OF THE SOURCES KNEW HIS FIRST NAME NOR WHERE HE WAS CURRENTLY LOCATED, BUT SECOND SOURCE RECALLED HIS NICKNAME AS "HOKO", WHEN BOTH SERVED TOGETHER IN VIETNAM DURING THE VIETNAM WAR. SECOND SOURCE THOUGHT THAT HE SHOULD HAVE ATTAINED THE RANK OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL.

BOGDAN KRAVTSIV IS A POET AND WRITER FOR THE UKRAINIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER "SVOBODA" ("FREEDOM") PUBLISHED IN JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY. HE IS AN ACTIVE NEWSPAPERMAN WHO HAS TAKEN A STRONG STAND ON UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM AND VERY OFTEN ATTACKS THE SOVIET UNION. ALL WERE AWARE HE RESIDES IN NEW JERSEY WITH THIRD SOURCE MENTIONING SPECIFICALLY THAT HIS RESIDENCE IS IN RUTHERFORD, NEW JERSEY [ ]

YAROSLAV HAIVAS IS THE INDIVIDUAL BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN REFERRED TO AS YAROSLAV PAIVAS. HE IS A LEADER OF THE MELNYK FACTION. BOTH FIRST SOURCE AND SECOND SOURCE BELIEVED HE RESIDED SOME-WHERE IN THE NEWARK, NEW JERSEY AREA. SECOND SOURCE ALSO COMMENTED THAT HAIVAS MIGHT POSSIBLY RESIDE IN IRVINGTON, NEW JERSEY AND SECOND SOURCE UNDERSTOOD HAIVAS OPERATED A GAS STATION AT ONE TIME.

OSIP ZINKEVICH IS LOCATED AT BALTIMORE, MARYLAND AND CLOSELY AFFILIATED WITH THE MELNYK FACTION. FIRST SOURCE DESCRIBED HIM AS THE EDITOR OF SOME SPECIAL UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE NEWSPAPER "THE TORCH" WHEREIN HE WRITES ABOUT UKRAINIANS JAILED IN SOVIET RUSSIA. SECOND SOURCE SAID ZINKEVICH IS HEAD OF AN ORGANIZATION CALLED "SMOLOSKYP" ("THE TORCH"). ACCORDING TO THIRD SOURCE ZINKEVICH PUBLISHES A GREAT AMOUNT OF UNDERGROUND LITERATURE IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE.

EACH SOURCE WAS NOT AWARE OF ANY PLOT BY THE ABOVE NAMED PERSONS, OR ANY OTHER UKRAINIAN EMIGRES TO ASSASSINATE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CHIEF LEONID I. BREZHNEV DURING HIS FORTHCOMING STATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. ALL AGREED THAT DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD TAKE PLACE BY VARIOUS UKRAINIAN

EMIGRE GROUPS DURING BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES AND THEY CONSIDERED SUCH DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD BE PEACEFUL AND FULLY WITHIN THE AMERICAN FRAMEWORK OF THE RIGHT TO EXPRESS DISPLEASURE AND DISAPPROVAL OF RECENT SOVIET OPPRESSION OF FREEDOM AND INTELLECTUALS IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE. THEY BELIEVED THAT ONLY BY THE PUBLICITY CONNECTED WITH THESE DEMONSTRATIONS WOULD THE AMERICAN PUBLIC BECOME AWARE OF THE CURRENT SOVIET PERSECUTIONS TAKING PLACE THERE.

EACH SOURCE BELIEVED THAT NO UKRAINIAN EMIGRE GROUP IN THE UNITED STATES CONCEIVABLY WOULD JEOPARDIZE ITS POSITION BY HAVING ANY PART IN THE FORMULATION OF AN ASSASSINATION PLOT AGAINST BREZHNEV DURING HIS STATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES. HOWEVER, THESE SOURCES DID THINK THAT SHOULD SUCH AN ASSASSINATION BE FORTHCOMING IT WOULD BE THE IRRATIONAL AND ISOLATED ACT OF ANOTHER DISGRUNTLED MANIAC.

SECOND SOURCE AND THIRD SOURCE ALSO FURNISHED ON 6/13/73 THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CONCERNING THE BELOW MENTIONED INDIVIDUALS:

STEVE HALAMAY, ACCORDING TO SECOND SOURCE IS THE LEADER OF THE BANDERA FACTION IN THE UNITED STATES AND RESIDES SOMEWHERE IN NEW JERSEY. HALAMAY IS UNKNOWN TO THIRD SOURCE. NO ADD

SECOND SOURCE IS ACQUAINTED WITH A BROTHER AND SISTER IN THEIR EARLY 20'S NAMED ASKOLD LOZINSKY AND LARISSA LOZINSKY, WHO ARE AFFILIATED WITH THE BANDERA FACTION AND RESIDE WITH THEIR FAMILY SOMEWHERE ON THE EAST SIDE OF MANHATTAN, NEW YORK. ACCORDING TO SECOND SOURCE THEIR FATHER, (FNU) LOZINSKY OWNS AN UNKNOWN SHOE STORE IN LOWER MANHATTAN BUT SECOND SOURCE WAS UNAWARE IF THEIR FATHER HAS ANY BROTHER WHO MIGHT BE OPERATING THIS SHOE STORE WITH HIM.

THIRD SOURCE SAID THAT HE KNEW OF A (FNU) LOSINSKY WHO IS AFFILIATED WITH THE BANDERA GROUP IN NYC. ACCORDING TO THIRD SOURCE (FNU) LOSINSKY HAS A SON, (FNU) LOSINSKY, WHO IS ABOUT 19 OR 20 YEARS OLD, AND IS A FLEDGLING ACTOR WHO IS ALSO PROBABLY A STUDENT.

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION CONCERNING SCHEDULED PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH BREZHNEV'S STATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WERE KNOWN TO THE SOURCES AS FOLLOWS: DNP-5-67

FIRST SOURCE AND SECOND SOURCE LEARNED THAT THE BANDERA GROUP HAD SCHEDULED A DEMONSTRATION ON SUNDAY, 6/17/73 AT EAST 42ND STREET AND FIRST AVENUE, NYC, COMMENCING AT 2:00 PM.

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TOR:1502242 JUN 73

WHILE THE FRIENDS OF CAPTIVE NATIONS HAD SCHEDULED ONE FOR MONDAY, 6/18/73 AT EAST 42ND STREET AND FIRST AVENUE, NYC AT 6:00 PM.

ACCORDING TO FIRST SOURCE THE UKRAINIAN DAILY NEWSPAPER "SVOBODA" ON PAGE ONE OF ITS 6/13/73 ISSUE, HAD URGED PEOPLE TO DEMONSTRATE AND PROTEST AGAINST BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE BREZHNEV WOULD BE "SMILING WITH A KNIFE BEHIND HIS BACK". PEOPLE WERE URGED TO JOIN IN A PROTEST AT WASHINGTON, DC.

SECOND SOURCE ALSO INDICATED THAT BALTIC GROUPS AND COMMITTEE FOR DEFENSE OF SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONERS (CDSPP) HAD TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED A PROTEST DEMONSTRATION FOR SATURDAY, 6/23/73, SOMEWHERE IN THE VICINITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS, BUT THERE HAD BEEN NO FINALIZATION OF THESE PLANS.

CLASSIFIED BY D. E. MOORE, XGDS2, DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE.

XGDS2

CONFIDENTIAL

CABLE SEC CHECKED BY 35 30 FOR 706 TOTAL WORDS 79

S E C R E T

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FBI

PP RUEAIIX
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ZNY SSSSS ZZH
P 141920Z JUN 73
FM ACTING DIRECTOR FBI
TO: U. S. SECRET SERVICE (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION FIB)
DIRECTOR, CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
BT

S E C R E T

ALLEGED PLOT TO ASSASSINATE LEONID I. BREZHNEV DURING FORTHCOMING VISIT TO U. S.

REFERENCE USSS 4372, DATED JUNE 11, 1973, 1610 EDT AND FBI TELETYPE RESPONSE THERETO 2115 EDT THAT DATE.

INDIVIDUALS MENTIONED IN REFERENCED SECRET SERVICE COMMUNICATION ALLEGED TO BE WORKING OUT PLANS TO ASSASSINATE LEONID I. BREZHNEV DURING HIS VISIT TO THE U. S. HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS FOLLOWS:

(FNU) STETSKO IS BELIEVED TO BE IDENTICAL WITH YAROSLAV STETSKO, BORN JANUARY 19, 1912, UKRAINE. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE LEADER OF THE BANDERA OR BANDERIST FACTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NAT

(FNU) STETSKO IS BELIEVED TO BE IDENTICAL WITH YAROSLAV STETSKO, BORN JANUARY 19, 1912, UKRAINE. HE IS CONSIDERED TO BE LEADER OF THE BANDERA OR BANDERIST FACTION OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN) PRESENTLY LOCATED IN MUNICH, WEST GERMANY. HE IS ALSO ACTIVE IN OTHER UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS ANTICOMMUNIST BLOC AND DEFENSE FOR FREEDOM. HE HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS EDITOR OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE PUBLICATIONS OF THE ABN GROUP; HOWEVER, HE IS INACTIVE AT PRESENT DUE TO ILLENSS AND RESIDES WITH HIS WIFE, SLAVA STETSKO, IN MUNICH.

(FNU) SHTUL BELIEVED TO BE IDENTICAL WITH OLE SHTUL WHO IS PRESIDENT OF THE MELNYK FACTION OF THE OUN. HE IS DESCRIBED AS A SCHOLARLY INDIVIDUAL MORE CONSERVATIVE THAN MILITANT. HE ALSO IS INACTIVE SUFFERING FROM CANCER OF THE STOMACH. HE RESIDES IN PARIS, FRANCE.

MAJOR KRAVTSIV IS BELIEVED TO BE IDENTICAL WITH NICHOLAS S. KRAVTSIV, THE SON OF BOGDAN KRAVTSIV, A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST, POET AND WRITER ASSOCIATED WITH THE UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER "SVOBODA," PUBLISHED IN JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY. MAJOR KRAVTSIV, WHO IS ALSO

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14 Jun 1973

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TOR:1420382 JUN 73

KNOWN AS "HOKO," REPORTEDLY ATTENDED WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY AND IS ALLEGED TO BE CURRENTLY ASSIGNED TO THE U. S. EMBASSY, ISRAEL, AS MILITARY ATTACHE.

YAROSLAV HAIVAS, AKA SO KNOWN AS YAROSLAV HAYVAS, RESIDES AT 55 LAUREL AVENUE, IRVINGTON, NEW JERSEY. HE IS FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE MELNYK FACTION OF THE OUN HEADED BY OLEG SCHTUL, MENTIONED ABOVE. HE WAS INTERVIEWED BY FBI JUNE 12, 1973, BUT DENIED KNOWLEDGE OF ANY PLANS BY THE OUN REGARDING DEMONSTRATIONS DURING BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO THE U. S. OR ANY PLANS OR ATTEMPTS TO ASSASSINATE HIM.

OSIP ZINKEVICH IS PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH INDIVIDUAL OF THAT NAME WHO IS A CORRESPONDENT WITH THE UKRAINIAN NEWSPAPER "SMOLOSKYP" IN BALTIMORE, MARYLAND. ZINKEVICH RECENTLY MOVED TO ELLICOTT CITY, MARYLAND, AND IS EMPLOYED AS A CHEMIST WITH THE SOLARAINE CORPORATION, BALTIMORE. HE HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A LITERARY PERSON, AND A SUPPORTER OF OLEG SCHTUL'S FACTION OF THE OUN.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCES WHO HAVE PROVIDED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST DESCRIBED THE ABOVE INDIVIDUALS AS ANTICOMMUNIST BUT DID NOT BELIEVE THEM TO BE MILITANT OR CAPABLE OF VIOLENT ACTIVITY. SOURCES STATED, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT OSIP ZINKEVICH BELIEVES THAT HIS PEN IS MORE EFFECTIVE IN HIS ACTIVITIES AS A UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST AND SOURCE HAS NEVER HEARD HIM PROFESS OR ADVOCATE VIOLENCE OR MILITANT ACTION. SOURCES HAD NO INFORMATION OF PLANS BY ABOVE INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS TO ASSASSINATE BREZHNEV.

CLASSIFIED BY D. E. MOORE, XGDS-2, DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE.
XGDS2

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S E C R E T CITE USSS 4357 07JUN73 1045EDT
FROM: SECRET SERVICE HQS (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION - FIB)
TO : CIA HQS: CI STAFF (ATTN-LIAISON)
INFO: ZEN/LIAISON DIVISION
SUBJECT: NAME TRACE RELATIVE TO BREZHNEV VISIT
INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM AN OFFICIAL OF ANOTHER GOVERMENT REFLECTS THAT YAROSLAV STETSKO IS THE LEADER OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS, DESCRIBED AS AN "EXTREMIST-TERRORIST ORGANIZATION". THE SUBJECT IS PROBABLY IDENTICAL WITH YAROSLAV SEMENOVICH STETSKO WHICH SOURCE GOVERMENT IDENTIFIED AS HEAD OF THE FOREIGN BRANCH OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION AND WAS ALLEGEDLY IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.
ABOVE SOURCE ADVISED ON 6/6/73 THAT YAROSLAV STETSKO (VARIATION: STETZKO) AND HIS WIFE ARE NOW IN THE UNITED STATES. IT IS REQUESTED THAT HQS TRACES BE RUN ON THE SUBJECT FOR POSSIBLE BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND THAT THIS SERVICE BE ADVISED PROMPTLY OF THE RESULTS.
PAGE 2
IT IS ALSO REQUESTED THAT [ ] TRACES BE RUN ON THE SUBJECT FOR POSSIBLE PREVIOUS ACTIVITY.
CLASSIFIED BY ANOTHER GOVT AGENCY EXEMPT FROM GENERAL DECLASSIFICATION SCHEDULE OF EXECUTIVE ORDER 11652 EXEMPTION CATEGORY (58 (1) (2)) AUTOMATICALLY DECLASSIFIED ON IMPDET.

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FCW

7 Jun 73

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EXECUTIVE SOC. MICRO. SER. 121232 JUN 73

SOC. MICRO. SER. OCT 2 1973 MICROFILMED

SOC. MICRO. SER. JUN 27 1973 MICROFILMED

DOC. MICRO. SER. NOV 14 1973 MICROFILMED

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FM UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE WASHDC
TO CIA HQS
BT
S E C R E T CITE USSS 4371 11JUN73 1930EDT

Subj. is member of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement

FROM: SECRET SERVICE HQS (INTELLIGENCE DIVISION-FIB)
TO : CIA HQS : CI STAFF (ATTN-LIAISON)
ZEN/FBI HQS - ATTN AL WATERS
INFO: ZEN/LIAISON DIVISION
SUBJECT: OALLEGED PLOT TO ASSASSINATE L. I. BREZHNEV DURING THE FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE U.S.

1. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT FURNISHED THIS SERVICE WITH THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION REPORTEDLY RECEIVED BY THEIR EMBASSY: "THE USSR EMBASSY HAS GOT INFORMATIONS THAT THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS ARE PREPARING A NUMBER OF ANTI-SOVIET DEMONSTRATIONS IN VARIOUS CITIES OF THE UNITED STATES, AND, IN PARTICULAR, IN WASHINGTON, D.C. AND NEW YORK.
TOGETHER WITH THAT THE LEADERS OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, STETSKO AND SHTUC, ARE WORKING OUT PLANS OF ASSASSINATING LEONID I. BREZHNEV DURING HIS VISIT TO THE USA. THE EXECUTION OF THIS TERRORIST

PAGE 2

ACT IS PLANNED TO BE ENTRUSTED TO YOUNG UKRAINIAN NATIONALS WHO TOOK PART IN THE WAR IN VIETNAM AND ARE FAMOUS FOR THEIR FANATICISM. AT THE PRESENT TIME THEY ARE TAKING SPECIAL TRAINING COURSES IN THE USA, CAREFULLY STUDYING THE METHODS OF THE SECURITY SERVICE AND WORKING OUT THE DETAILS OF THE PLANNED TERRORIST ACT. IN PARTICULAR, THEY ARE INTENDING TO DRESS THEIR PEOPLE IN THE POLICE OR US ARMY UNIFORMS IN ORDER TO DECEIVE THE SECURITY SERVICE AND APPROACH MR. LEONID I. BREZHNEV.
AN ACTIVE PART IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS ASSASSINATION IS TAKEN BY MAJ. KRAVTSIV, SON OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST BOGDAN KRAVTSIV WHO SERVED IN THE US ARMY IN VIETNAM. OTHER PEOPLE TAKING PART IN THIS ACTION ARE YAROSLAV PAIVAS AND OSIP ZINKEVICH."

C:USA OCI ARMY Δ:USA POB: Russia Δ:USA

2. THIS SERVICE HAS NO INFORMATION IDENTIFIABLE WITH ABOVE INDIVIDUALS, OTHER THAN STETSKO WHO IS PROBABLE IDENTIFIABLE WITH YAROSLAV STETSKO (YAROSLAW STETZKO) BORN 19 JANUARY 1912 IN TERNOPOL, UKRAINE.

S E C R E T

POB: Russia, Ukraine

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TOR:112123Z JUN 73

A PREVIOUS NOTE FROM A SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE ALLEGED THAT YAROSLAV STETSKO AND HIS WIFE WERE CURRENTLY IN THE U.S. IN CONNECTION WITH VARIOUS NATIONALIST GROUPS PLANNING HOSTILE ACTIVITY DURING THE FORTHCOMING VISIT. AN INQUIRY WITH THE CIA IDENTIFIED STETSKO AS

PAGE 3

AN ACTIVE MEMBER IN THE PAST OF VARIOUS UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTIC ORGANIZATIONS. IN 1961, IN TESTIMONY PRESENTED AT TRIAL IN GERMANY OF BOGDAN STASHINSKIY, A KGB OFFICER, STASHINSKIY STATED THAT BESIDES ASSASSINATING TWO LEADING UKRAINIAN EMIGRE LEADERS IN MUNICH IN THE LATE 1950'S, HE ALSO LOCATED AND EXAMINED SUBJECT'S MUNICH RESIDENCE. INDICATIONS ARE THAT STETSKO WAS PROBABLY ALSO A TARGET OF THE KGB. CIA TT 418729 DTD 060873 INDICATES THAT THERE IS NO INFORMATION THAT SUBJECT IS CURRENTLY IN THE U.S. BUT, IN MARCH 1973, IT WAS REPORTED HE INTENDED TO VISIT THE U.S. FROM 10 APRIL TO 10 MAY. HE WAS PREVIOUSLY IN THE U.S. IN 1958 WHEN HE TESTIFIED BEFORE THE HOUSE UNAMERICAN ACTIVITIES COMMITTEE AND HOUSE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

3. IT IS REQUESTED THAT CIA AND FBI TRACES BE RUN ON THE ABOVE INDIVIDUALS AND THIS SERVICE BE PROVIDED WITH ANY POSSIBLE IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION YOU MAY HAVE. IN VIEW OF THE SHORT TIME BEFORE THE VISIT AND THE NEED TO RESOLVE THE ABOVE ALLEGATION, IF POSSIBLE, IT IS REQUESTED THAT THIS SERVICE BE PROVIDED PROMPTLY WITH ANY DATA LOCATED.

4. THIS SERVICE IS CONTACTING THE MILITARY FOR POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF "MAJ. KRAVTSIV."

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EXTRACT AND CROSS REFERENCE

DOCUMENT IDENTIFICATION

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DOC. SUBJECT

SOURCE INFORMATION

SOURCE CRYPTONYM	DATE OF INFO.	EVALUATION

TEXT OF EXTRACT (Also cite doc. distribution, Dispatch No., etc. - if applicable)

STETSKO, YAROSLAV

100-006-139/04
CD -01465
16 JUL 73
P4

CIT ?
OCC ?
@ DANKIY, FNU
SUBJS NAME MENTIONED IN ANALYSIS OF /MURDER TO ORDER/, BY KARL ANDERS, PUBL BY AMPERSAND LTD, LONDON 1965 AND 1967, 127 PAGES.

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SOURCE INFORMATION

SOURCE CRYPTONYM	DATE OF INFO.	EVALUATION

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29 AUG 73

CIT ?
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SUBJS NAME MENTIONED IN SECRET SERVICES
COMMENTS ON BREZHNEV VISIT TO USA, JUN 73.

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TO: [ ]DIRECTOR, [ ]NFO [ ]

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SUBJECT: ANTI-SOVIET CONFERENCE IN LONDON

REF: [ ]36031 9161696

1. [ ]QUERIED LIAISON [ ] ABOUT REF CONFERENCE AND ITS SPONSORS, THE "EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL" AND THE "ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS". LIAISON WAS UNABLE TO COME UP WITH ANY INFO ON THE 24-26 SEPTEMBER CONFERENCE BUT HAS FURNISHED THE FOLLOWING DATA ON ITS SPONSORS, WHICH ARE DESCRIBED AS "VERY FAR TO THE RIGHT".

BEGIN QUOTE:

THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)
AND THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL (EFC)

ABN WAS FOUNDED IN 1943, APPARENTLY IN THE UKRAINE: IT HAS 22 NATIONAL MEMBERS REPRESENTING 'THOSE NATIONALITIES AT PRESENT ENSLAVED BY RUSSIAN COMMUNISM'. UKRAINIANS HAVE ALWAYS PLAYED, AND STILL PLAY, A MAJOR ROLE IN ITS ACTIVITIES. SINCE 1946 THE ABN PRESIDENT HAS BEEN MR. YAROSLAV STETZKO, WHO HAD BEEN PRIME MINISTER OF 'THE SHORTLIVED UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT IN 1941' AND WHO WAS LATER IMPRISONED IN THE SACHSEHAUSEN CAMP FROM 1943-4 WHEN HE ESCAPED FROM THE NAZIS. (HE WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS IN SUCCESSION TO STEPHEN BANDERA IN 1960.)

ABN STANDS FOR THE 'NATIONAL FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE OF ITS 22 CONSTITUENTS', AND ADVOCATES THE DISSECTION OF THE SOVIET UNION INTO ITS COMPONENT PARTS, IN ADDITION TO THE DISSOLUTION OF OTHER

SECRET

[ ]

'ARTIFICIAL MULTILINGUAL STATES' SUCH AS YUGOSLAVIA AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA. ABN HAS OFFICES IN LONDON, PARIS AND NEW YORK; IT HAS ACTIVE BRANCHES IN THE UK, THE USA, CANADA, AUSTRALIA, THE FRG, FRANCE, SPAIN, BELGIUM, DENMARK TOGETHER WITH A BRANCH COVERING LATIN AMERICA. WE BELIEVE THAT IT HAS ALMOST CERTAINLY BEEN PENETRATED BY THE KGB.

ABN'S EUROPEAN CONSTITUENTS ARE ORGANIZED AS THE EFC UNDER THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF MR. OLE BJORN KRAFT OF DENMARK (WITH MR. STETZKO AS CO-CHAIRMAN). THE CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF ABN IS - OR WAS IN 1974 - DR. IVAN DOCHEFF, A BULGARIAN EMIGRE. OTHER RECENT ABN CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ARE BELIEVED TO INCLUDE DR. BASIL MOILAT (ROMANIA), MR. LEVAN ZOURABICHVILI (GEORGIA), COLONEL D. KOSMOVICH (BYELORUSSIA), DR. ANTE BONIFOCIC (CROATIA), MR. V. KOSYK (UKRAINE), DR. KYRIL DRENIKOFF (BULGARIA), DR. BAYMIRZA HAYIT (TURKESTAN), AND DR. A. HALAMAY (UKRAINE).

EFC BRINGS TOGETHER EAST EUROPEAN EMIGRES LIVING IN THE WEST AND SYMPATHETIC WEST EUROPEANS WHO BELIEVE THAT COMMUNISM CAN ONLY BE COMBATTED BY MILITANT ACTION. ITS MEMBERS ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO DETENTE. EFC MAY ALSO HAVE CONNEXIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN LIAISON GROUP, FORMED IN 1970 BY EAST EUROPEAN EXILES TO 'KEEP THE PLIGHT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES IN THE PUBLIC EYE'. THIS GROUP TOGETHER WITH A 'EUROPEAN COUNCIL LIAISON GROUP' ARE FORMALLY DISTINCT, BUT IN PRACTICE NOT UNRELATED.

ABN AND EFC ARE VERY FAR TO THE RIGHT INDEED. A FEW YEARS AGO THEY HAD WORKING LINKS WITH THE WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE.

END QUOTE.

2. SUGGEST HQS INDEX ALL NAMES IN THIS LIAISON REPORT.

3. FILE: 21-6-50/3. DECL OADR DRV LIA 1-82 . ALL SECRET.

END OF MESSAGE

10 August [redacted] 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Subject: Note sent to C/SR by [redacted] on 7 August 1958

1. The following note was submitted by [redacted] to C/SR on 7 August 1958 in answer to the latter's request for an analysis of Jaroslav Stetsko's testimony before the House Committee on Unamerican Activities:

> "...Here is my attempt to boil down 40 pages of Stetsko's "testimony" to 4. Have marked the highlights with red (sorry, no cartoons or illustrations!)
>
> As far as I can see, the thing he is trying to put across is all contained in
> a) our AERODYNAMIC project
> b) our CASSOWARY papers.
>
> So Mother KUBARK is not being told anything she didn't know already.
>
> Please call if I can be of any help."
>
> [redacted]

2. Attached is the four page summary of the Stetsko testimony. Several days later, C/SR returned the above summary with the following comment: [redacted] It went very well on the Hill - Many Thanks. JM.

[redacted]

Stetzko's Testimony

p. 6. An overall purpose is to win or gain the sympathy and support of the American public opinion for the movement for national liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and communism; and for the full restoration of national sovereignty and independence not only for the so-called satellite nations, but also those nations which are in the Soviet Union proper.

Mr. ARENS. Do youpresently have sources of direct information in those countries which have been subjugated by Soviet Russia?

Mr. STETZKO. We do have direct contact with liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, particularly with the Ukrainian nationalist underground which is fighting for freedom and independence. (N.B. No further details)

p. 9. Mr. ARENS. Do you have a breakdown of the general areas from which these 16 million prople in slave labor camps are incarcerated?

Mr. STETZKO. There are an overwhelming majority from the non-Russian countries dominated by Soviet Russia; such as Ukraine, the Baltic countries, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Georgia, Byelorussia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, and others.

p. 11. Mr. STETZKO. In my opinion the key problem in today's world is the enslaved nations, a powerful partner, which could help the free world from inside to dislodgeand destroy the Russian Communist empire without atomic warfare.

By ignoring the enslaved nations as its partner, the free world, by conducting joint conferences, is actually negating this powerful force and inviting its own disaster by playing the Russian game. By so doing the free world is removing the third alternative (N.B. the other two being peaceful co-existence and an all-out, juggernaut atomic war), national liberation revolutions inside the Soviet Russian empire which should receive all possible active assistance from the free world.

p. 13. Mr. STETZKO. .... Eighty to ninety million Russians cannot dominate as efficiently the Russian Communist empire of 1958 as they could dominate that of 1939....

p. 14. Mr. STETZKO. The key problem of world politics today is that of the enslaved nations, especially those kept in Russian captivity. As a matter of fact, world politics revolve around them, and for them the struggle ever goes on.

.... One can hardly conceive of any local liberation, effected through some evolutionary method ("mellowing out process").

Thus the major moves of Soviet Russian foreign policy are dictated by two principal considerations:

1. The pressure and incessant opposition mustered by the national liberation movements of the enslaved nations;

2. The ever-increasing power of the defense and military capabilities of the free world under the leadership of the United States.

p. 15. Mr. STETZKO. ....In 1941, it is to be recalled, some 2 to 3 million soldiers deserted from the Soviet armies and went over to the Germans voluntarily, hoping that by doing so they were helping to fight their oppressors, the Russian Communists, for the liberation of their enslaved countries.

p. 17. Mr. STETZKO. The Geneva summit conference 3 years ago was a devastating blow to the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain, because the Kremlin, recognizing its superior propaganda potential, trapped the West into recognizing the status quo. The Russian tyrants, ...succeeded in convincing President Eisenhower to withdraw his proposal, which had been inserted in the agenda, dealing with the problem of the enslavement of the satellite countries.

Mr. ARENS. From your expression it would appearthat the psychological warfare of the West is ineffective. ....

Mr. STETZKO. The much heralded psychological warfare effort of the West and the general lack of any planning of Western propaganda broadcasting are so evident that one can scarcely talk seriously of any Western propaganda.

p. 22. Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, would you care to comment on the "Voice of America"?

Mr. STETZKO. We in Europe have been astounded by reports that the "Voice of America" was planning to eliminate broadcasting in the non-Russian languages destined for the Soviet Union, and to concentrate all its propaganda efforts in the Russian language only. This would really be a mistake.

"The Voice of America" shies away from even mentioning the term "national independence" in its broadcasts to the non-Russian peoples in the U.S.S.R. This is apparently not to "offend" the sensitivities of the Russian people who, as is well known, constitute a minority in the U.S.S.R. (Here Mr. S is probably speaking of the whole works, including the satellites).

p. 25. Mr. STETZKO. The Soviet radio in Tashkent, where the Russians seem to have concentrated extremely powerful propaganda facilities, broadcasts in some 9o languages and dialects to the Moslem people in Asia and Africa.

Regrettably,the Western diplomatic circles in these countries live in complete isolation, away from the local populations, which are subjected to the systematic Communist propaganda....

p. 27. Mr. STETZKO. In fact, there is no "national communism," as a limited national doctrine. This is so because its roots are based in the international doctrine. ....

From this point of view we approach the problem of Titoism.

.... Nothing was ever said in Western broadcasts of the death of Gen. Taras Chuprynka, commander in chief of the UPA, who led the Ukrainian anti-Communist and anti-Nazi resistance during World War II and who died battling the MVD security troops in March 1950; nor was mention every made of the death of Osman Batur, leader of the Turkestanian Basmach (Turkestanian insurgents), who was also killed while fighting the Russians. And yet the case of Milovan Djilas became a worldwide cause celebre overnight, simply becausehe became "disillusioned" in communism.

p. 28. Mr. ARENS. In rejecting the so-called "national communism" as a weapon against Moscow, who is, in your opinion, a true and reliable ally of the West behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. STETZKO. The West thinks naively that there are many "honest" Communists behind the Iron Curtain who resent Russian intrusion and, therefore, are susceptible to Western appeals for "national communism." Needless to say, such notions are totally groundless.

p. 29. Hence the basic line of our liberation effort must be oriented toward the national liberation forces of the enslaved nations which exist in the underground, despite their neglect by the free West for these many years.

To believe that the West can find Russian leaders who would be willing to help bring out the fall of the Russian Empire is another dangerous illusion.

.... The United States has to redesign its propaganda broadcasts, particularly its official and unofficial psychological warfare media, such as the "Voice of America," "Radio Free Europe," and "Radio Liberation."

One of the major steps in the new approach should be the elimination of the difference in the treatment accorded the so-called satellite countries and the non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. by the United States. Up to date all the efforts of the United States Government seem to be concentrated on the satellite nations. The nations enslaved in the U.S.S.R. receive scant attention on the false assumption that they are the "internal problem of Russia."

p. 31. Mr. STETZKO. .... The present "thaw" in Poland can hardly be compared with the powerful "changes" during NEP. The Kremlin purposely creates the illusion of "peaceful evolution" within the Communist empire in order to allay the fears of the free world.

p. 32. .... One of the most spectacular features of the Hungarian revolution was the numerous desertions from the Soviet army of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, and other non-Russian soldiers over to the side of the Hungarian freedom fighters....

The Hungarian revolution demonstrated most vividly the total bankruptcy of communism as a social, political, and ideological system.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, you are an outstanding Ukrainian nationalist leader. Would you care to say something about present activities of the Ukrainian nationalist underground in the Ukraine?

Mr. STETZKO. The Ukrainian liberation movement in the last few years has undergone certain tactical changes due to the fact that the Western World including the United States, directed all its efforts toward a modus vivendi with Communist Russia and the enslaved nations were given to understand, in most unmistakable terms, that they cannot hope for any effective assistance in their liberation effort. It was clear that the Ukrainian underground movement would have to change its methods of resistance in order to continue effectively the struggle against Russia, inasmuch as open guerrilla warfare would not continue indefinitely. Thus, instead of an armed struggle against the Russian invaders, a more subtle and well-organized resistance to the Soviet Russian power as such

went into effect. This quiet and systematic resistance against Moscow embraced all the sectors of life in the Ukraine--political, economic, cultural, and religious. From time to time an armed ambush against Soviet Russian security troops does take place in the Ukraine.

p. 34. (Gen. Taras Chunpryka was a third Ukrainian national leader destroyed by Moscow in recent times. On May 25, 1926, a Communist agent shot and killed on a street of Paris Simon Petlura, former head of the Directorate of the Ukrainian National Republic. Col. Eugene Konovalets, head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and commander of the Ukrainian Military Organization, was blown to death by a bomb delivered by an NKVD agent on May 23, 1938, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.)

p. 37. Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetzko, what in your opinion is there that the West can do in order to help the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain in their struggle against Moscow and for their liberation?

Mr. STETZKO. In summing up this testimony, I would like to present the following conclusions for your consideration and thought:

The key for the destruction of the Russian Empire lies in the hands of the West, through the freedom-aspiring nationalism of the enslaved nations. ...the West must necessarily adopt a different policy with respect to bolshevism than it had heretofore. ....

There remain, unfortunately, only two possibilities: either the West is going to change its policy in the direction of the total negation of bolshevism and Russia and the complete isolation, including the ousting of the Soviet Union from the United Nations, and an unqualified support of the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations, or it will have to accept Khrushchev's terms of "peaceful coexistence" and thereby invite its own doom. ....

p. 38. In adopting this course, the free world must above all realize a complete coordination of its military action with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain.

....

Finally, the West should draw a practical conclusion from the fact that the Soviet army consists of soldiers of various nationalities. A vigorous and fruitful action can be undertaken to win the loyalty of these non-Russian nationals.

p. 39. The existing United States private radio broadcasting organizations, such as "Radio Liberation" and "Radio Free Europe," cannot appeal to the enslaved nations with full effect, inasmuch as their policies run counter to the interests of the great majority of the population of the enslaved countries. ....

World War II proved that psychological warfare is as important as that waged by conventional armies, if not more so.

Finally, let us remember this: In the mobile and scientific warfare of today, he who prepares for the defense only digs his own grave. ....