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Meeting with CARTEL 2

July 7, 1950

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1. [redacted], [redacted], and I met CARTEL 2 about 9:30 A.M. in his room at the Harrington Hotel. [redacted] introduced me as Stefan Demko, substituting for [redacted]. CARTEL 2 already knew [redacted] as Mr. Brown. After the introduction [redacted] discussed various personal matters with CARTEL 2 in German and within a few minutes departed, leaving Natirbov and myself to carry on the business with him.

2. CARTEL 2 began the discussion with Natirbov and me by stating the opinions of the Ukrainians regarding the VOA broadcasts. Criticisms of the VOA were:

- a. in broadcasting to the Soviet Union the VOA does not stress the nationalists themes directed to each individual nationality within the Soviet Union, but instead calls everything "Soviet Union";
- b. VOA engages in a battle of ideology with the Soviet Union stressing the advantages of democracy over communism while foresaking such discussions as Ukrainian independence, etc.;
- c. VOA follows the same line as does Moscow in lauding Russian czars such as Peter the Great, Ivan the Terrible, and others, while the Ukrainian ~~independant~~ people know that the policies of these czars were similar to Stalin's policy in denying independence to the various nationalities within the Soviet Union;
- d. VOA does not distinguish between Ukrainian and Russian when on the topic of personalities, heroes, deeds, etc.

CARTEL 2 stated that if the VOA is to be effective it must change its policy and type of broadcasts.

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**SECRET**

3. In line with this VOA discussion, CARTEL 2 stated that at the present time people in the Ukraine and elsewhere in the Soviet Union are being permitted to keep radio sets and to listen to all VOA broadcasts. This freedom, says CARTEL 2, is permitted so that over a period of about a year the Soviet authorities will have learned the whereabouts of every set and then will be able to confiscate every one of them.

(NOTE: [redacted], who I presume speaks Russian, spoke not a word of this or any other language to CARTEL 2 even though CARTEL 2 told me that he understands both Russian and English. Instead, I acted as [redacted]'s interpreter the entire time he spent with CARTEL 2.)

4. [redacted] asked CARTEL 2 about the Ukrainian partisans, e.g. when did the last courier come out of the Soviet Union to Germany? have the Ukrainian partisans moved eastward into the Ukraine and have they established contact with partisans in Latvia, Belorussia, Bessarabia and the Crimea? why is there a lack of partisan activity in the eastern Ukraine? In answer to these questions, CARTEL 2 stated that the last courier came out of the Ukraine in September 1949, that definite contact has been established between ~~the~~ Latvian partisans and Ukrainian partisans and that it is possible that Ukrainian partisans have contacted partisans of Bessarabia, Belorussia and the Crimea. CARTEL 2 also stated that geographical factors are responsible for less activity by the partisans in the eastern Ukraine. He stated that in the eastern Ukraine there is a lack of cover in which Ukrainian partisans can hide out and maintain their organizations. He stated however that the partisan spirit is there and that in the event of war these dormant partisans would become active.

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5. CARTEL 2 thought that the partisan actiSECRETons in western Ukraine would die out within 10 years considering the present rate of their dismemberment into smaller units, the lack of forthcoming supplies, and the activities of the Soviet authorities in that region (e.g. collectivization and evacuation of population to eastern sections of the Soviet Union).

6. CARTEL 2 related one method by which the MGB and other Soviet authorities eliminate the partisans. When a trainload of Ukrainians is heading east it may be stopped by MGB men disguised as Ukrainian partisans. After they stop the train and capture a few of the Ukrainians who are being transplanted to other sections of the country they tell these Ukrainians how they were captured by the MGB and why they are being evacuated from the Ukraine. The disguised MGB then ask them about the Ukrainian partisans and partisan sympathizers in the western Ukraine. On the basis of this information more partisans and partisan sympathizers are caught and the same process is repeated.

7. [ ] then asked CARTEL 2 about the political views of the Ukrainians in Germany. [ ] indicated that there were among these groups some who did not favor an independent Ukraine. CARTEL 2 replied that basically all Ukrainians in Germany want an independent Ukraine but that there is a difference in policies and political views between the old and new emigration.

8. The discussion then turned on the topic of OPC aid to CARTEL 2's group. CARTEL 2 read his brief on the requirements for the establishment of a Ukrainian information bureau. (This brief was given to [ ] for further study). CARTEL 2 also discussed the needs for the establishment of a Ukrainian newspaper in Germany and the possibility of radio broadcasts in America dealing with Ukrainian problems.

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9. CARTEL 2 told [ ] that he had discussed the Ukrainian information bureau, the newspaper and the radio broadcasts with an OPC representative in Germany who had assured CARTEL 2 that he would inform Washington concerning these topics. [ ] said he had no information from Germany on this matter.

10. [ ] pointed out to CARTEL 2 that support for his organization would depend on the availability of news emanating directly from the Ukraine as sent out by CARTEL 2's organization.

11. CARTEL 2 agreed that this would be ideal and that he and his organization are striving for such a situation but in the meantime he has lined up the personnel needed to operate the information bureau and the newspaper. Even without direct news from the Ukraine he would like to begin operation. CARTEL 2 also stated that the Ukrainian language press in America today is not adequate in informing the Ukrainians and other readers of the Ukrainian situation.

12. [ ] told CARTEL 2 that it was impossible at this time to give any definite answer to CARTEL 2's request. [ ] stated that he was going to discuss CARTEL 2's proposal with his colleagues and was also going to study the brief of the requirements which CARTEL 2 had given him.

13. [ ] stated that he would discuss the above topics with CARTEL 2 in the near future but set no definite date.

14. [ ] left.

15. CARTEL 2 did not seem very pleased with [ ]'s reactions to his proposals and his indecision but expressed hope that something more definite would be forthcoming soon.

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1. Discussion then turned to OSO matters.

2. I apologized for [redacted]'s absence stating that I was merely substituting for [redacted] until he returned in August, at which time [redacted] would resume discussions with him. In the meantime I asked CARTEL 2 to tell me about his trip to Germany. He said that a few people inquired about him during his absence but that there was no security violation whatsoever since he was able to cover up his whereabouts with ease. He did state that he was stopped by the FBI on his return from Germany and interrogated briefly. The FBI asked him why he had gone to Europe; he told the FBI that he went to procure material for a forthcoming book. He then showed the FBI some of the material which he had brought <sup>back</sup> with him. The FBI also asked whether he was a communist; he replied "no".

3. CARTEL 2 then voluntarily discussed the last operation. He made the following criticisms.

- a. CARTEL 6 had no idea as to whether the HIDERS had located the drop point since he was in the cabin of the plane and not permitted to read the map in the pilot's compartment of the plane. CARTEL 6 was not informed that the HIDERS had decided, after allegedly spotting a car light near the designated drop point, to locate another clear area in which the CARTELS could bail out. CARTEL 6 found this out after the bell sounded denoting drop-time.
- b. When an alternate drop was made, both equipment and men should have bailed out together because it was impossible to locate the exact spot for dropping the men two or three minutes after the equipment had been pushed out. Since the jumpers carried no w/t equipment on their persons it is possible that they were unable to locate the equipment dropped.

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- c. At least one man should have jumped along with the equipment regardless of the place, time, risk, etc. Thus, even if the others did bail out later, at least one person could be in a position to send messages, be met by the reception committee and perhaps locate the others after they jumped.
- d. Some signal system should have been used by the jumpers to notify the HIDERS that they had landed safely.
- e. Maps alone were not adequate for recognition of drop point since some of the maps used did not show mountain meadows. Aerial photographs of drop point would have been ideal since by this means the jumpers and CARTEL 6 could have been positively correct in determining the exact drop point.
- f. When it was decided that the designated drop point (point No. 1) could not be used because of the car lights seen below, the alternate drop point (No. 2) as chosen prior to take-off should have been used even though it was some distance from the rendezvous point selected for meeting other partisans.
- g. A CARTEL member should be used as a check on the security of HIDERS and the escort should be in pilot's compartment viewing maps to insure that there was no foul play afoot and that proper drop point was reached. The operation should not be a matter of the HIDERS flying a plane over the Soviet Union and dropping human beings out just anywhere in order to insure a quick and safe return.
- h. Jumpers should have carried radio on their persons when making jump.

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4. CARTEL 2 stated that [redacted] told him that a supply drop was to be made with the first full moon in July. He was very anxious to know whether this was going to be done at this time, because if not he thinks a few more CARTELS should again make a drop instead of trying a supply drop in August or September. He stated that September would be latest time this year that either type of drop could be made because of the winter conditions after this time.

5. I told CARTEL 2 that I was unable to answer his question regarding the next drops but that I would return to my office for a discussion on this and any other topics he had in mind. He then specified that I find out the following: when would the next supply drop be made and what plans were being made for this purpose; when would another CARTEL drop be made; what definite answers could I get for him regarding his plans for the establishment of a Ukrainian information bureau, a Ukrainian newspaper in Germany, and the possible radio broadcast concerning the Ukrainian situation?

6. I returned to the office and discussed my meeting with CARTEL 2 with [redacted].

[redacted] I then returned to CARTEL 2 and presented him with the following:

- a. Active plans are under way for further efforts under improved conditions to establish communications. Further discussions on this topic will have to wait [redacted]'s return in August.
- b. There is a good possibility of support for a Munich newspaper. We need a concrete written proposal as to who, what, when, where and how much on newspaper in Munich. Also indicate use made of DM 30,000 advanced last February.
- c. Every effort will be made to come up with earliest possible decision on support for Ukrainian information bureau.
- d. Proposals for support will have to be clothed with concrete reality: Who? How many presses, type [redacted] Where? Cost per issue

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and cost per month, etc? Cost, means and addresses for distribution?  
Draft of agreement as to content of publication and our (supporter's)  
veto power.

- e. Tentative date for replies on above will be forthcoming from us by the 21 or 22 July or any time after this at CARTEL 2's convenience.
- f. CARTEL 2 is not to make a written account of the last operation but is to be prepared to do so in Washington in the near future.
- g. CARTEL 2 is to write an account of his trip to Europe, other than No. 1 above, including return, who contacted him in NY, and any other pertinent details.

7. CARTEL 2 found no objections to these demands and instructions. I told him that we would be willing to pay him for the time he spent writing about his trip, etc., but he said that he did not want pay for this effort on an individual basis. He would rather have support for his organization as a whole (for example, the backing for the Ukrainian information bureau and newspaper) and then he would accept remuneration. He did not want his associates to get the impression that he was an employed agent of the U.S. Government who was looking out for his own ends in preference to the Ukrainian cause. He stated, however, that if the backing he was seeking was not forthcoming soon he would be forced to give up the idea in order to take a position elsewhere.

8. He said he would comply with the request for a detailed account of needed funds by the time of his next meeting here. He said that he would try to come to Washington on the 21 and 22 of July and again in August when [ ] would be here. He again expressed regret that [ ] was not present since he felt that [ ] could have answered all his problems more definitely.

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9. I gave CARTEL 2 the new telephone number he is to use in contacting OSO. When calling, he is to ask for Steve (from Stefan Demko.)

10. Having concluded OSO business, we discussed general topics such as the Korean war, Ukrainian troops in Manchuria, Stalin's plans for the Ukraine and the Ukrainian people in the event of an attack from the West, Ukrainian personalities, personalities engaged in writing on Ukrainian topics, etc.

CARTEL 2 stated that the Soviet Union has a great number of Ukrainian troops under Malenovsky in Manchuria. These troops, claims CARTEL 2, are all infantrymen sent to the East in order to keep them as far away from the West as possible so that in the event of a Western invasion they would not be in a position to defect or join Ukrainian partisan groups. CARTEL 2 stated that about 20 important Ukrainians are being kept <sup>in</sup> prison in Kiev. Stalin, said CARTEL 2, plans to use these men as tools in the event the West attacks the Soviet Union. If this attack came and the west made promises to help the Ukraine gain its independence, Stalin would use these men in proclaiming an Independent Ukraine before the West did so and thus insure for himself the loyalty of the local population towards the regime and Red Army and also would gain partisan support against the West as happened in the case of the German invasion. It is a trick, says CARTEL 2, which should be given careful consideration.

Some of the personalities discussed were Skoropadski, Manuilski, Stephen Shymeko, Lev Dobrianski, Kerenski, W. Chamberlain, Clarence Manning and others.

11. We also talked about his family, sports, life in New York, travel, etc. I gave CARTEL 2 \$75.00 expense money. I remained with him until 7:00 P.M. and then left. He expressed hopes that he would see me again soon and that at the next meeting he might obtain some concrete assistance with his problems.

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ADDENDUM: Cartel 2 also stated that he had recently been contacted by Army Intelligence and by CIA in New York, but that he told them nothing, gave them nothing and in no way compromised his relationship with us. He said that the above organizations had requested that he furnish ~~him~~ <sup>them</sup> with material concerning the Ukraine and Ukrainians and had also implied or showed an interest in his future employment with their organizations.

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