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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
Washington 25, D. C.

7 Apr 1949

Mr. Ugo Carusi
Chairman, Displaced Persons Commission
Washington 25, D. C.

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Dear Mr. Carusi:

In compliance with your request of 28 March 1949, I am attaching brief summaries of available information on the organizations listed in your letter. These summaries are not intended to provide all relevant information, but the facts included on the history and the political objectives of each organization make quite clear their individual orientation. No judgments have been made on whether the group "is or has been hostile to the United States or the form of government of the United States", but the facts adduced clearly single out those movements which can be so labelled.

It is definitely worth pointing out, in connection with many of the organizations listed, that a curious anomaly has developed since the end of the war. Several of these organizations (for example, the Melnik and Bandera groups and the Lithuanian Partisans) sided with the Germans during the war not on the basis of a pro-German or pro-Fascist orientation, but from a strong anti-Soviet bias. In many cases their motivation was primarily nationalistic and patriotic with their espousal of the German cause determined by their national interests. Since the end of the war, of course, these opportunistically pro-German groups remain strongly anti-Soviet and, accordingly, find a common ground with new partners. The position of similar groups with a highly fascist, rather than middle-of-the-road, political program presents an even more subtle problem. They similarly array themselves on the anti-Soviet side, but the degree or nature of their actual hostility to the United States or its form of government will continually vary with conditions in their own country and with the changing international situation.

I should be more than happy to supply additional data on any of the organizations you have listed or on any additional ones upon which you would like to have relevant data. Do feel free to call upon me for any additional information you may require.

Sincerely yours,

R. H. HILLENKOETTER
Rear Admiral, USN
Director of Central Intelligence

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DATE: SEP 2004

Attachment A

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SLOVAKIA

1. Hlinka Guard

The Hlinka Guard was the military arm of the HSLS (Hlinka Slovenska Ludova Strana - Slovak People Party) and was organized along lines similar to the German SS. The main function of this group after 1938 was to serve as the political police of the Hlinka Party. This party, founded in 1919, became an organ of the Nazis in 1938 and its members were champions of Slovak autonomy. After the Munich agreement, the HSLS won autonomy by force, and backed by the Germans, its leader, Msgr. Josef TISO proclaimed Slovakia's independence on 14 March 1939. Many members of the Hlinka Guard worked for the German RSHA, Security organ, in Slovakia.

2. Freiwilligen Schutzstaffel

An organization similar to the SS, predecessor to the SS, in Germany. It was charged, during the war, with the responsibility of training manpower and from its membership were to come the future leaders of the Deutsche Partei, political organ similar to the NSDAP (Nazi Party). The Freiwillige Schutzstaffel and the Deutsche Jugend (see below) were affiliates of the Deutsche Partei.

3. Deutsche Jugend

This organization comprised all children and youths between the ages of six to eighteen, and was based on the principles of the Hitler Youth and cooperated closely with the latter organization.

JUGOSLAVIA

1. Ustachi

The Ustachi began as a terrorist group in the early twenties, organizing an anti-democratic underground and training saboteurs and assassins under the tutelage of Mussolini and the Horthy regime in Hungary. The Supreme Court of France, in 1936, proved with documentary evidence that fascist and nazi organizations which used the Ustachi were responsible for the assassination of King Alexander and Prime Minister Barthou of France. When the League of Nations attempted to outlaw the Ustachi, their leaders Ante PAVELICH and others found protection in Italy and Germany. When Jugoslavia was invaded, the Ustachi were established by Italy and Germany as the totalitarian government controlling over one half of Jugoslavia, and declared war against the Allies. The excesses of the Ustachi against the Jewish and Serbian populations during this period were considered more intense than those of the Nazi regime.

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The Ustashi organization in exile today is still advocating a totalitarian regime of the FAVISM type for Croatia.

4. Zbor

The Zbor was an organization of Serbian fascists who advocated a totalitarian system of government on the pattern of Nazi Germany. It was an insignificant group prior to the downfall of Jugoslavia in 1941, but it fostered itself under German tutelage during the war. While Zbor never became a power even during the German occupation, it mustered some armed forces which were employed by the Germans in combatting the democratic elements of Serbia. The leaders of Zbor, with Dmitri LJOTIC as their chief, have not now been active as a group advocating a totalitarian form of government, but most of them are on record as anti-Communists and separatists in matters of Serb relations with the Croats.

5. Kthidelk (Association of Yugoslav Moslems)

The Association of Yugoslav Moslems early in the war gave full support to the Ustashi and distinguished itself in the persecution of Jews and Greek-Orthodox religionists, as well as any pro-Allies in Bosnia, Jugoslavia. Most of the leaders of the Association now in exile profess to be opposed to the Ustashi group and to favor the revival of a democratic Jugoslavia.

HUNGARY

1. Arrow Cross Party

The Hungarian Arrow Cross Party paved the way for the entry of the German forces into Hungary. It became the Nazi Party of Hungary and, while in power with German support, was primarily responsible for the wholesale killing of thousands of Jews, for removing much of the property of Hungary to Germany with the German Army, and for continuing the fight against the Allies. Within a few weeks after the Russian entry into Hungary, Arrow-Crossists joined the Communist Party in large numbers.

2. German Folk Group
People's Association of the Germans in Hungary

The German Folk Group (the Volksdeutsche) and the People's Association of Germans in Hungary formed the basis for the Arrow Cross Party, and its members became the most vociferous of the Nazis. "Volksdeutsche" is the term applied to the Hungarians and other foreign nationals who considered themselves Germans during the period of Nazi rule.

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RUMANIA

The Iron Guard

The Iron Guard is a Rumanian organization with generally fascist principles and strong religious and mystical overtones. It came into being in the twenties. Originally, the Iron Guard was known as the "Legion of the Archangel Michael" and members of the organization sometimes to be known as "Legionnaires".

During the thirties, the Iron Guard frequently engaged in political assassinations, supported General Franco in the Spanish Civil War, and both before and during the war consistently supported Nazi activities. At one time during the war, the Iron Guard attempted to recruit an army to fight for the Germans.

Since the war, a number of Iron Guardists in Rumania have entered the Rumanian Communist Party and some leaders of the organization appear to follow a pro-Communist policy. In Western Europe, on the other hand, Iron Guardists are attacking those Rumanian leaders who, in 1944, negotiated the armistice with the United States, Great Britain, and the USSR as "Soviet agents" because of the part they took in ending the Rumanian alliance with Germany. Centers of Iron Guard activity in the West are in Paris, Austria, and the western zones of Germany.

LATVIA

1. Perkonkrusts

The Perkonkrusts was a minor pre-war Latvian fascist organization which has been largely discredited and now has little, if any, influence among Latvian emigres. It was initiated in 1932, adopted the swastika, a popular design in Latvian folk art, as its emblem, as well as a political program similar to that of the NSDAP. The organization consisted in large part of young people, mainly students. It carried on virile propaganda against minorities in Latvia, especially the Jews, but never became a significant organization of more than a few thousand members.

2. Central Latvian Defense Formation

This term refers to a Latvian partisan army which evolved out of an insurrection staged in Latvia by Latvian army men and the "Aizsargi" (see below) in June 1941 when the German armies attacked the Soviet Union. The insurgents seized Riga from the local Soviet forces, but were caught by other retreating Soviet forces from the rear and were largely exterminated. In the course of the subsequent German occupation of Latvia, an underground Latvian government, the Latvian Central Council, came into being. It sponsored a Latvian underground army and the veterans of the insurrection formed its nucleus. In 1944 this army numbered up to 20,000 men and fought both against the Germans and

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against the advancing Soviet forces. This army represented Latvians of all political views, except Communists, but adhered to a strongly democratic program promulgated by the Latvian Central Council. The Council is now in exile in Germany and Sweden, and consists, as it did in Latvia, of wildly rightist, center and liberal elements. After 1944 some survivors of the army escaped into Sweden and Germany, but most have been deported to the interior of USSR. A few remnants form the core of Nazi-Soviet partisans now active in Latvian SSR.

3. AISSARGI

The Aissargi is the Latvian "Home Guard", an organization originating from volunteer insurgent units who fought for Latvian independence against the Russians and Germans before 1918. Up to the time of Soviet occupation of Latvia in 1940, it was a government sponsored para-military and sports organization consisting of approximately 30,000 men and women, with predominantly nationalist membership, but with all other shades of opinion, excluding Communists, also represented. This organization provided a large number of men for the insurgent armies described above. In 1940-1941 Aissargi members were the first objects of Soviet arrests and deportations, and again after 1944. The relatively few ideological fascists among Aissargi staffed part of the officer corps of a Latvian SS Legion and of some Nazi controlled Latvian punitive police units. In the main, however, Aissargi members were opposed to fascism, as they were to communism.

LITHUANIA

1. Iron Wolf

The Iron Wolf ("Geleziniz Vilkas") is an ultra-nationalist organization that came into being in Lithuania in the early twenties advocating a program of repression against minorities, mainly Polish and Jewish. One of its leaders was Augustinas VOLDEMARAS; members and sympathisers of the "Iron Wolf" are also known as "Voldemarininkai" - "Voldemarists". During the late twenties and thirties the group made several unsuccessful attempts to seize the Lithuanian government. During the German occupation of Lithuania in 1941-1944 many rank-and-file members abandoned the organization, for its unqualified pro-German stand, but leading Iron Wolf members collaborated completely and openly advocated a totalitarian program for Lithuania. These Nazi collaborators are now known as the "PYRAGIUS group", and take their name from an aviation officer PYRAGIUS who was in the service of the SD. He was a foremost advocate of collaboration. The democratic Lithuanian "government-in-exile" considers members of this latter group as war criminals.

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2. Nationalist party

This is a anti-Lithuanian party which seized the Lithuanian government in 1926, with the aid of army officers and the Lithuanian Christian Democratic party. This was done to forestall a series of liberal reform and close cooperation with the Soviet Union planned by a newly elected liberal government. The Nationalist party government pursued mild dictatorial-totalitarian forms, but due to the rise of Nazis in Germany it benefited in time some measure of support from all liberal and center parties of Lithuania, as well as of the populace, except for that of the fascist Iron Wolf supporters. The followers of the Nationalist party now support a coalition democratic Lithuanian "government-in-exile" and the democratic resistance forces in Lithuania itself.

3. Activists and partisans

In Lithuania, as in Latvia, insurgent elements known as Activists staged an insurrection against Soviet forces in June 1941 in an attempt to restore Lithuanian independence. This was successfully accomplished. However, upon arriving in Lithuania, the Germans abolished this government and invited Activists to form a government under their control. The Activists, representing all shades of political opinion, refused the German offer, but the fascist elements from the Iron Wolf did accept. The bulk of the Activists disbanded, but in 1943 reappeared in Lithuania as an underground partisan army harassing the German rear areas. These underground forces rendered intelligence and propaganda assistance to the Allies during the final years of the war. Some of these partisans are now in Germany, but a substantial percentage continue up to the present as anti-Soviet guerilla fighters in Lithuania. As a body they adhere to democratic principles espoused by the Lithuanian "government-in-exile."

UKRAINE

Col. MELNIK(MELNYK, MELNIKOV) and STEPAN BANDERA are leaders of opposing factions of an insurgent Ukrainian organization known as OUN - the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Of the two groups, that led by BANDERA is the militant, extreme nationalist wing of OUN, while the MELNIK group represents intellectual, restrained and more democratic elements.

The basic aim of both groups is to eradicate Communism from the Ukraine and establish it as an independent state. During the war OUN followers constituted the bulk of the Ukrainian insurgent Army - the UPA. Originally, this army fought with the Germans against the Soviet forces. However, when the Nazi authorities refused to grant independence to Ukraine, the UPA turned on them, and fought both the Germans and Soviet armies. UPA units are still active against the Communist authorities in the Soviet Ukraine and Poland.

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