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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, Mirosław PAWLOWSKY, and Zenon KARBOVICH. 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 Sachsenhausen-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 Romanivka, 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 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 Lvov, who was killed by one Mykola LENYK, 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

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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 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 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 bodies, STETSKO representing the ultra-nationalism and one party-government characteristic of the OUN prior to the formation of the UHVR in the Ukraine.

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

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c. The files of this Agency reflect no evidence of mass murder or persecution by the STETSKO government in 1941. That government apparently at best represented a feeble effort to share or challenge control over an area in fact under the authority of the Germans. As a prominent member of OUN/BANDERA, Subject read the act that proclaimed an independent Ukrainian state in Lvov on 30 June 1941. He emerged as Premier of the government then instituted. On 13 July 1941 STETSKO was arrested by the Gestapo in Lvov. It would appear, therefore, that however unclear and contradictory German policy regarding the Ukrainian problem might have been prior to 13 July 1941, by that date German policy had hardened into active restriction of Ukrainian nationalist activity and aspirations.

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.

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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 recognisably anti-American line in that the Americans are blamed for all activities that are not pro-BANDERA. (These press organs include Shlyakh Peremohy, Munich; Ukrainska Dumka, London; Ukrainats-Chas, Paris; Homin Ukrainy, Toronto; Vyvoyna Politika and Vistnyk OUCHSU, 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.

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