

10 August  
~~2 September~~ 1958

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

Subject: Note sent to C/SR [ ] on 7 August 1958

1. The following note was submitted by [ ] 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."

[ ]

2. Attached is: the four page summary of the Stetsko testimony. Several days later, C/SR returned the above summary with the following comment: [ ] It went very well on the Hill - Many Thanks. JM.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3828  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

[ ]

## *Statement of the 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 you presently 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 people 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 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 (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 revolves 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. STETSKO. 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 Eisen over 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 appear that the psychological warfare of the West is ineffective. ....

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.

p. 22. Mr. ARENS. Mr. Stetsko, would you care to comment on the "Voice of America"?

Mr. STETSKO. 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. STETSKO. 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.

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. STETSKO. 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 NKVD security troops in March 1950; nor was mention ever made of the death of Osman Batur, leader of the Turkestanian Basnach (Turkestanian insurgents), who was also killed while fighting the Russians. And yet the case of Hillovan Djilas became a worldwide cause celebre overnight, simply because he became "disillusioned" in communism.

p. 28. Mr. APKIS. In rejecting the so-called "national communist" as a weapon against Moscow, who is, in your opinion, a true and reliable ally of the West behind the Iron Curtain?

Mr. STEPENKO. 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 communist." 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. STEPENKO. .... 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 defections 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. APKIS. Mr. Stetsko, 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. STEPENKO. 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

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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 Shumyryk 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 Konovalov, 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 27, 1938, in Rotterdam, the Netherlands.)

p. 37. Mr. ARNS. 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. ....