

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting with AECASSOWARY 2 and AECASSOWARY 15

1. On the afternoon of 27 January 1955 the undersigned, Mr. Archibald Roosevelt and [] attended a meeting with AECASSOWARY 2 and AECASSOWARY 15 which was arranged for the purpose of acquainting Mr. Roosevelt with AECASSOWARY 2 in order that they might exchange views on the AERODYNAMIC Project in general and, specifically, in order that Mr. Roosevelt might discuss with AECASSOWARY 2 the Ukrainian Black Radio Broadcast--its present status and future possibilities.

2. The meeting opened in an informal manner with Mr. Roosevelt presenting his views or critique on the scripts already prepared by the AERODYNAMIC Study Group for transmission via the Black Radio Broadcast. He pointed out the scripts are too lengthy, feature-wise; that the male voice used in the broadcast tapes is not quite adequate and that the contents of the scripts, in many instances, does not seem quite timely or effective enough to meet current developments in the Ukraine. Mr. Roosevelt also expressed his desire to have a recent Soviet defector of non-Russian nationality review the scripts now on hand for the purpose of rendering his views on what they should contain in order to conform with the latest trends and developments in the Soviet Union, excluding, of course, any reference to the basic policy or aim of the ZPUHVR in its desire to present a resistance theme in the broadcasts.

3. AECASSOWARY 2 admitted that certain technical features of the scripts should be altered and improved upon but questioned the value of accepting the word of one defector as to what should be beamed to the Ukrainian people. Here he injected the fact that, contrary to popular belief, the Study Group was not mainly composed of Western Ukrainians long removed from Soviet actuality; the Group is primarily composed of Eastern Ukrainians who had lived under the Soviet Regime their entire lives prior to coming to the West shortly after the end of World War II. These people, claimed AECASSOWARY 2, are well aware of Soviet reality and are competent in their respective fields and can produce the type of scripts desired. He admitted, however, that while they may not have the latest word on many new changes in the Ukraine (although they do have access to material obtained from the Ukrainian Underground headquarters as late as 1953 and are provided with current Soviet publications), the basic criteria--the anti-Communist, anti-Bolshevik struggle and the quest for an independent Ukraine is really all that matters.

4. The question of the alleged Ukrainian anti-Russian statements in the scripts prepared to date was brought up by AECASSOWARY 2 who--to prove there was no basis for the accusation--read parts of several scripts which clearly stated the Ukrainian position, at least from the ZPUHVR point of view, regarding their desire not to alienate the Great Russians.

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5. At one point in this particular discussion, AECASSOWARY 2 produced a script written by the Radio Liberation in which was contained reference to at least five U. S. Aircraft shot down by the Soviets in the past year or so with the statement to the effect that, with the exception of the last plane shot down, all had opened fire on the Soviet craft first. This, pointed out AECASSOWARY 2, could hardly be considered an adequate anti-Communist statement to be beamed to the Ukrainians at home.

6. In concluding the discussion as to the future of the Black Radio broadcasts, Mr. Roosevelt made it clear that the decision to implement this phase of the Project has not yet been made and that the scripts, line to be followed, etc., is now under review and that a decision will be made in approximately two months, or possibly less. Mr. Roosevelt pointed out that he will pull no punches and that when a decision is reached--favorable or unfavorable--he will again meet with AECASSOWARY 2 and make this decision known to AECASSOWARY 2. In other words, there will not be a vague, general stall and a long period of indecision.

7. In the meantime, it was suggested that AECASSOWARY 2 suspend making any further tapes and to divert the Study Group to other activities.

8. AECASSOWARY 2--even before being told that a review was in progress--stated that he is on the verge of giving up the struggle, both in behalf of his organization and collaboration with us. He pointed out that AECASSOWARY 3 has already done this by officially resigning his post in the ZPUHVR because he felt no progress was being made in the struggle for Ukrainian independence and in the anti-Communist fight in general. He said that he is about to make the same decision for, while we have been supporting his Group for the last seven years, he and his organization have not been able--because of policy restrictions, forced covert activity, conflicts with the AMCOMLIB, etc.--to carry out effective anti-Communist and pro-Ukrainian independence work as was, and is, their desire. He said that it is time to ask the questions, "Where do we go from here?" and "Is it worth his and his Group's effort to hang on to a bare thread, not knowing from day to day what action they should try to implement?". Here, he had reference primarily to PP activity, i.e. Black Radio broadcasts to the Ukraine, better utilization of the Soviet Study Group in its activity in the anti-Communist field and general encouragement along the lines of resistance and future expectations.

9. AECASSOWARY 2 agreed to wait for the decision--based on the review of the Project as mentioned by Mr. Roosevelt--although he expressed the view that he had expected something more definite at this meeting.

10. AECASSOWARY 2 stated that he has received a request from the ZChOUN for support from the United States since the British planned to cut off its support as of March 1955. He further stated that the ZChOUN will be forced to close the newspaper UKRAINSKIY SAMOSTIYNIK on 1 February. Since AECASSOWARY 2 had asked for our support of the ZChOUN shortly after it had

broken with Bandera (this request was submitted by the undersigned to C/PP several months ago), he repeated the request to Mr. Roosevelt. AECASSOWARY 2 was told that the matter will be looked into, along with the review mentioned earlier.

11. AECASSOWARY 2 mentioned further, with respect to the imminent folding of the UKRAINSKIY SAMOSTIYNIK, that recently some members of the UNR, currently cooperating with American Committee, have made statements to the effect that it will not be too long before both the SAMOSTIYNIK and the SUCHASNA UKRAINA will be out of business. Here was implied that, through pressure from the AMCOMLIB and the UNR, our support of these publications will be withdrawn. (Note: A memo has already been received by IO/5 from the American Committee pointing out certain criticisms of that organization and the UNR by the above-mentioned newspapers with the implied suggestion that they be forced to curtail making so-called damaging statements regarding the American Committee and the UNR.) The natural folding of the SAMOSTIYNIK, said AECASSOWARY 2, will not only weaken the ZChOUN's role as an Ukrainian Emigre organization engaged in the anti-Communist struggle and instrumental in helping to keep alive the spirit of Ukrainian Resistance, but will also enhance the prestige of the UNR since they will interpret the folding as a reflection of their influence with certain Government circles.

12. Following the discussion regarding the PP activities of the Project, Mr. Roosevelt left and AECASSOWARY 2 expressed pleasure at having met Mr. Roosevelt and stated he hoped something concrete will be decided as a result of the meeting. He said he hoped it will not be a repetition of past experience whereby "higher-ups" conferred with him in general terms with nothing being settled for action.

13. The undersigned informed AECASSOWARY 2 that AECARTHAGE 19 is due to arrive in the United States early in February, accompanied by John Basarab, and that it will be desirable for him to come to Washington some time shortly thereafter to discuss and plan further debriefing of AECARTHAGE 19. This, he agreed, was in order. He stated he will have more to say regarding AECARTHAGES 19 and 20 after he has studied the debriefing conducted to date and after he again confronts AECARTHAGE 19 to follow up what has already been obtained from AECARTHAGE 19.

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Attachments:

- (1) AECASSOWARY 2 paper given to Mr. Roosevelt at the meeting:
"Repercussions of American-Soviet Relations upon the Ukrainian Problem"
- (2) "Continuity of Russian Imperialist Expansion"