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5 DEC 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

David D. Gries

Chief, Political & Psychological Staff

SUBJECT:

Potential Threat of Exposure to Major Covert Action

Instrumentality

REF:

Memoranda Attached: Description of QRPLUMB

- 1. I think the time has come to notify a senior level of the Department of Justice of the developments surrounding QRPLUMB and its founder, Mykola Lebed. Investigation of Mr. Lebed by the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations is proceeding and we expect inquiries to the Soviet Union on the war crimes issue. We now learn that investigative journalists are probing QRPLUMB as well as Mr. Lebed, probably prompted by the OSI investigation and the earlier GAO report.
- We remain in close contact with OGC on this matter and have been advised by them that OSI does not seem to be developing a viable case against Lebed. Nonetheless, investigative procedures require that the Soviet Union be queried for evidence. Noting that Soviet authorities have for decades tried to defame both Lebed and the organization, one can assume at a minimum that the Soviets will be encouraged to take advantage of their current defensive situation. It is also conceivable that the Soviets could fabricate evidence against Lebed or QRPLUMB. And finally, as the attached memo indicates, an investigative reporter is currently attempting to determine QRPLUMB's funding sources.
- It is not the intent in any way to obstruct justice by making this recommendation. Nor do we believe that notifying a senior Justice Department official will eliminate the threat of exposure by investigative journalists. What we would hope to do is to sensitize senior Justice levels, who are currently unaware of the situation, of the substantial Agency equity being threatened.

DOC. MICRO. SER.

Attachment

FEB 7 1991

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Potential Threat of Exposure to Major Covert Action Instrumentality

 $\Im: tjm/1703 (04 Dec 85)$ DC/PPS/SEO/

Distribution:

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1 - ADDO

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APPROVAL - FY-86 OPERATIONAL ACTIVITY - QRPLUMB

DESCRIPTION AND PURPOSE

Operational Activity QRPLUMB (formerly known as QRDYNAMIC) is a New York-based Ukrainian publishing and distribution corporation with affiliates in Munich, London and Paris. QRPLUMB publishes a Ukrainian-language monthly political-literary magazine, a Russian-language socio-political quarterly journal, bulletins, pamphlets, leaflets, and books for infiltration into and clandestine distribution within the Soviet Ukraine. The main purpose of the QRPLUMB Activity is to provide intellectual and moral support to those Ukrainians who seek social and economic moderation of the Soviet political system and who encourage liberalization among various strata of the Ukrainian population.

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2 1 OCT 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Operations

FROM:

David D. Gries

Chief, Political and Psychological Staff

SUBJECT:

OSI Investigation with Potential for Compromise

of QRPLUMB Operation

1. Purpose: The purpose of this memorandum is to bring to your attention recent developments which have potential for the compromise of the QRPLUMB operation. This is an Agency instrumentality, a Ukrainian group headquartered in New York, with its printing and publishing facility in Western Europe. The objective of the QRPLUMB activity is to produce and infiltrate into the Soviet Union material aimed at keeping alive the Ukrainian national spirit while exploiting the vulnerabilities of the Soviet system.

2. Background:

a. The subject of our concern is Mr. Mykola Lebed, founder and long-term head of QRPLUMB (1952-1979), who has recently been the object of investigations by the General Administration Office (GAO) and the Department of Justice.

b. Last June, after a two-year review of U.S. Government files, including this Agency, GAO published a report on alleged Nazi and Axis collaborators who purportedly were assisted by U.S. intelligence agencies in settling in the U.S. after World War II. Of twelve individuals described in the report (but not named), only Mr. Lebed has a continuing relationship with the Agency.

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- c. Based on our review of Mr. Lebed's 201 file and corroboration of Agency officers familiar with his background, we have no basis to believe that Mr. Lebed was a Nazi collaborator. In fact, he organized and led (1941-44) a Ukrainian nationalist armed resistance movement against Nazi occupation of Ukraine and as early as 1941 was on the Gestapo wanted list. Because of Mr. Lebed's prior services to this Agency (Operation REDSOX) and especially the Agency's desire to utilize him in its future CA programs, Mr. Lebed was settled in the U.S. under the provisions of Section 8 of the CIA Act of 1949.
- 3. The issue at hand is significant beyond the question of the GAO report's accuracy. The report is in the public domain, and several newspaper articles on the subject have already appeared. On 17 October 1985, Congressman Rodino, who commissioned the GAO investigation; held a hearing on the report without identifying individuals described in the report. It is a matter of time, however, before Mr. Lebed is mentioned by name. This could have serious and possibly destructive effect on the QRPLUMB operation.
- 4. In a separate action, and presumably ensuing from the GAO investigation, the Office of Special Investigation (OSI), Department of Justice, has initiated its own investigation into Mr. Lebed's case. On 15 October 1985, the OSI, in coordination with CIA's Office of General Counsel (OGC), conducted an in-depth interrogation of Mr. Lebed in the presence of three Headquarters officers (OGC and PPS).
- a. In the course of the interrogation, which was under oath, Mr. Lebed admitted that he was <u>indirectly</u> involved in the planning of the political assassination of a high Polish official in 1934, for which he was convicted, and declined to answer any more questions on the subject contending that he was protecting living persons, and that he would testify on this matter only in court.
- b. In response to all questions on the allegations of cooperation with the Germans, Mr. Lebed categorically denied that he ever cooperated with them: on the contrary, while his family was incarcerated in a concentration camp during the war, he was

SUBJECT: OSI Investigation with Potential for Compromise of QRPLUMB Operation

hunted by the Gestapo for organizing and leading a Ukrainian nationalist anti-Nazi guerrilla movement from 1941-44.

- 5. In response to Agency officers' query, OSI representatives stated, on the record, that there are no grounds for criminal prosecution of Mr. Lebed for his alleged part in the assassination (because of expired statute of limitations); however, administrative proceedings possibly leading to Mr. Lebed's denaturalization and ultimate deportation could be instituted against him if the results of this interrogation warrant it, and/or additional evidence may be uncovered against him.
- 6. The OSI has also given us to believe that it may request Soviet authorities, as the OSI has done in many other cases before, for any documentary or testimonial evidence on Mr. Lebed. Given Mr. Lebed's past history as a leading Ukrainian nationalist and freedom fighter, and also as the founder and long-time head of one of the most effective Agency's CA instrumentalities, it is very conceivable that the Soviets will spare no effort for the opportunity to destroy Mr. Lebed's personal reputation, inflict serious damage to the cause of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, and of our most immediate concern, expose and destroy the QRPLUMB organization, which has been a continuing target of Soviet active measures since its inception.
- 8. Because of our concern for the security of QRPLUMB, OGC and PPS officers have communicated to the Chief of OSI our concerns for the Agency's instrumentality, and he agreed to keep this Agency informed of any further developments on this issue.
- 9. Recommended Action: In light of the above, it is our belief that we should be prepared, if required, to take appropriate intercessionary action designed to prevent the compromise of the Agency's operational instrumentality.

OSI Investigation with Potential for Compromise of QRPLUMB Operation SUBJECT:

PPS/SEO/SIB/ []:pb R-1703 (18 Oct 85)

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4 December 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Journalist Inquiries into QRPLUMB Instrumentality

- 1. On 27 November 1985, Mr. Mykola Lebed passed telephonically to the undersigned (hereafter cited as C/O) the following information he received by telephone from the Source (former staff member of QRPLUMB) and a stranger who claimed to be a correspondent for the Village Voice (hereafter cited as V/1). This is a more detailed report on the conversation first reported by Mr. Lebed to C/O on 29 November 1985 during the latter's visit with Mr. Lebed (see MFR dated 29 November 1985). V/1 called Source at latter's home, and reportedly identified himself as a journalist working on an article on Mr. Lebed for the Village Voice. He gave his last name, but Source did not initially take any special note of it, and when Source realized what the subject of the telephone call was, asked V/1 again for his name. V/1 then refused to give it.
- 2. The conversation as told by Source to Mr. Lebed, who in turn passed it on telephonically to C/O, was as follows:

V/1: Said he is writing an article for the Village Voice on the Organization of Ukranian Nationalists (OUN) and asked if he can meet with Source and talk about it. (C/O comment: OUN was a Ukrainian political action organization conducting resistance to Polish and Soviet regimes in the Ukraine before World War II, and was responsible for organizing and leading a Ukranian armed guerilla movement against Nazi and Soviet occupation of the Ukraine during and after World War II. Mr. Lebed was a leading member of the OUN, and its acting chief during 1941-43.)

Source: Why should we meet? Is this by any chance related to the investigation by the Office of Special Investigation (OSI - Justice Department)?

V/1: Yes.

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SUBJECT: Journalist Inquiries into QRPLUMB Instrumentality

Source: Who gave you my name and telephone number?

V/1: A female who works in Prolog. (C/O comment: Prolog Research Corporation is an Agency instrumentality QRPLUMB.) I am interested in Mr. Lebed and can I get a biography of Mr. Lebed.

Source: I do not have Mr. Lebed's biography.

V/1: Does Mr. Lebed work for Prolog?

Source: He did at one time, but not anymore. (C/O comment: Mr. Lebed founded Prolog in 1952, was its President until 1979 when he retired, and is still on its payroll as part-time consultant.)

V/1: How many people are working for Prolog?

Source: I do not know.

V/1: But I know; about 25. Who's funding Prolog? It must cost a lot of money to run it.

Source: Prolog is supported primarily by income from journal subscriptions, book sales, and private contributions. It does not cost that much to run it, because employee pay is fairly low.

V/1: As a former member of the Prolog Executive Board, you should know more than that.

Source: No. Mr. Lebed never talked to me about it.

V/1: Could you give names and telephone numbers of other people, your former associates who are in the know and to whom I could talk?

Source: No.

V/1: Do you know that OSI opened up the Pieracki case?

Source: No. (C/O comment: Bronislaw Pieracki, Poland's Interior Minister, was assassinated by Ukranian nationalists in 1934 for oppressing Ukranian minority in Poland. Mr. Lebed was indicted for alleged complicity in the affair, and together with several other leading members of the OUN, was sentenced to death, but commuted to a life term. He escaped in September 1939 as a result of German-Polish war.)

SUBJECT: Journalist Inquiries into QRPLUMB Instrumentality

V/1: What relationship is there between Yaroslav Stetsko and Prolog? (C/O comment: Stetsko, former second in command of OUN, when Lebed was third in line, is now Chief of Bandera faction of OUN and President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a coordinate body of anti-Soviet emigre organizations, founded secretely in 1943.)

Source: I do not know of any relationship.

V/1: Where does Stetsko live now?

Source: Not in the United States.

V/1: Of course, he couldn't live here. When did the conflict between Lebed and Stetsko start?

Source: I do not know.

V/1: Did you know that Mr. Lebed was the Chief of the S.B., which committed terrorist acts?

Source: I did not know. (C/O comment: S.B. was established in 1932 as a counterintelligence/security service of the OUN. Mr. Lebed has always denied he ever was either head or had anything to do with the S.B. and has documents to prove it. His only relationship to S.B. was when he became acting chief of the OUN during 1941-43, when then-chief and founder of S.B. reported to him.)

V/1: Do you know Krasivsky?

Source: No. (C/O comment: M.D. Krasivsky was associated with German Army Intelligence - ABWEHR, during the war, and reportedly met Mr. Lebed. After the war, he wrote politically - motivated allegations against Mr. Lebed.)

V/1: Do you know about the Pieracki affair? (C/O: See above.)

Source: It's all known, in the public domain, was widely publicized.

V/1: Then Mr. Lebed cannot reside in the U.S.? Can I talk to anyone else?

Source: I don't know anyone.

SUBJECT: Journalist Inquiries into QRPLUMB Instrumentality

V/1: I will call you again soon.

C/O: At this point, the conversation terminated. On 30 November 1985, V/l called again and requested a meeting with the Source. He gave his name as Joe ((CONASON)), a correspondent for Village Voice. The Source did not agree to meet. A further check revealed that V/l is working for the Village Voice. He has published a polemical article full of unsubstantiated allegations against the OUN and some of its leaders in the 7 May 1985 issue of the Village Voice. Mr. Lebed was not named in the article. On 2 December, V/l called Source again and stated that he is sending Source a copy of a pamphlet about Mr. Lebed, which he would like to have translated into English, saying "preferably good translation that will stand well in court."