

WHAT IS

ABN

Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

Болшевицка
пролетарска
дружина

WHAT IS

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Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!

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Liberation Movement**



Jaroslaw
Stetzko



Niko
Nakashidze



Ferdinand
Durchansky



Radoslaw
Ostrovsky

„We are as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold, we live; as chastened, and not killed“.

II. Corinthians, VI, 9.

(„ABN Correspondence“ No. 3/4 — 1958, page 3)

FOREWORD

This booklet contains information on the nature and activities of an émigré movement — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which is concentrating its efforts not on the struggle against communism, as its name implies, but on the breaking up of the co-operation between bona fide anti-Communist organizations by slandering various active movements and individuals. Instead of helping to promote unity of action in the Free World fight against Communist imperialism, ABN specializes in fostering chauvinism and blind hatred towards the Russian people, continuing the traditions of Hitler and Goebbels.

ABN has been engaged in activities of this type for a period of years, but it was not until a few months ago that its work began producing some effect. Although small and unrepresentative in itself, ABN has managed to muster sufficient financial support from different sources to enlarge the scope of its damaging activities and succeeded in deceiving a few unsuspecting individuals and organizations of good standing into cooperation.

It is for this reason that this booklet is compiled as a warning to those anti-Communists who, not being aware of the true nature of ABN, may be approached by agents of this organization. Although far from being complete, the documents included in this booklet throw enough light on the background of the men who, under the protective cover of anti-communism, are advocating dangerous and immoral ideas and views which only serve to destroy the fragile unity of action which is beginning to take shape in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

PREFACE

ABN is seeking your cooperation in order to:

(1) Convince the USSR subjects that in the present struggle the free world considers them, rather than Communism, the enemy to be destroyed.

(2) Insist that the Communist conspiracy for world dominion is just old-style "Russian imperialism" and Stalin (now Khrushchev), therefore, a great Russian patriot devoted to his country's national interests.

(3) Lambaste "Russia" and the "Russians" when you really mean the Soviet regime and its Politburo; denounce the Russian people casually in phrases about "Asiatic hordes" and "Slav barbarians".

(4) Give aid and comfort to racial extremists who hate Russians more than Bolshevism and call for a crusade to crush and Balkanize the country.

(5) Help the Kremlin convince 100,000,000 Russians that the free world, like Hitler and Rosenberg, plans to dismember Russia, establish protectorates over the pieces, and reduce the country to a fifth-rate power".

("How to Help Stalin Win the World". Who is the Enemy — "Russia" or Communism? printed in USA, City Press Co., New York by Friends and Fighters for Russian Freedom.) Appendix Nr. 1.

The problem of Russia and the Ukraine, which ABN persistently attempts to place on the agenda, is not new. As is usual for all problems of high political significance, it is closely connected with the history of its peoples.

For the purpose of clarifying this problem, as well as its specific solution as offered by ABN, we feel it is worthwhile to quote several excerpts from the above-mentioned brochure (Who is the enemy — "Russia" or Communism?) which gives a clear and objective historical reference in regard to the mutual relations between Russia and the Ukraine.

Great and Little Russia

The historical, cultural, and spiritual ties between Great Russia in the North and the Ukraine (long known as Little Russia) in the South are over a thousand years old. They are much older than the ties between Prussia and Bavaria; as close as those between Scotland, England and Wales. Kiev, the present capital of the Ukraine, and Novgorod in the North were the first centers of Russian civilization as far back as the ninth century. As the birthplace of Russian Orthodox Christianity, Kiev is known to this day as the "mother of Russian cities".

For centuries — until the Mongol invasion — Kiev and other cities in the South were an integral part of Russian civilization and contributed much to the stamp that civilization bears to this day. It was through Kiev that the Byzantine influence moved to Great Russia. If the Mongol epoch left an "Asiatic" imprint on the Great Russians, it left the same mark to the same degree on the Ukrainians. (Kiev was captured by the Mongols in 1240).¹

In the ensuing centuries, Ukrainians and Russians alike fought to expel the Mongols, Lithuanians and Poles. Following the union of Lithuania and Poland in 1569, a large part of the Ukraine passed into Polish hands. The era of Polish rule was marked by repeated popular revolts, often taking on a bitter religious character when the Poles tried to force Catholicism on the Orthodox Ukrainians.

The most noted of these revolts was led by Bogdan Khmelnitski, whom lying Nazi propaganda presented as a rebel against Muscovite rule! The same legend is now repeated by "hate-the-Russians" propagandists. Actually, Khmelnitski was responsible for the reunion of the Ukraine and Great Russia. That reunion took place at a conference in Pereyaslav on January 8, 1654, between Ukrainian Cossacks under Khmelnitski and envoys of Moscow. Here the Ukrainians voted to place themselves under the protection of the Russian Czar. Ukrainians and Russians then fought side by side (1654-67) to expel the Poles from the Ukraine and Byelorussia.²

From that time until the fall of the Romanov dynasty in 1917, Great Russia and the Ukraine shared a common destiny. When Charles XII of Sweden invaded Russia, he tried to rally the in-

habitants of the Ukraine against Peter the Great, promising them independence. He was supported by a Ukrainian chieftain, Mazepa. But Mazepa's troops deserted him and helped Peter to defeat Charles at Poltava (1709) — a historic battle that became as much a part of Ukrainian as of Great Russian folklore.

In every other war, Ukrainians fought shoulder to shoulder with Great Russians. There were never Ukrainian revolts in any way comparable to the Polish uprisings of 1830 and 1863. In Russo-Ukrainian history there was nothing comparable to the Reconstruction period after the Civil War in the United States, for the sufficient reason that there never was a genuine Russo-Ukrainian war.

The expansion of Russia through Central Asia and Siberia, mainly through sparsely settled aboriginal areas, had a closer resemblance to American expansion westward than to European imperialist conquest. Ukrainians played as great a part as Russians in that eastward push. Many of the pioneer settlements were Ukrainian. The two peoples were partners in the conquest and settlement of the wide open Siberian spaces.

In the Czarist civil services, the army, the general economic and cultural life of the country, Ukrainians were similarly an integral part. Nicholas Gogol, the Ukrainian author of "Dead Souls" and "The Inspector General",³ holds a place in Russian literature with Pushkin, Tolstoy, Chekhov, who in turn molded the Ukrainian civilization no less than the Russian. Despite periods of repression, under reactionary Czars, Ukrainian culture did flourish, and had a powerful impact on Russian culture. Ukrainian art, literature, music had their great unfoldment at the same time as their Russian counterparts and cannot be separated from the golden age of Russian culture that began in the nineteenth century with Pushkin.

Economically, the Ukraine was one of the most prosperous parts of Russia.⁴ This could hardly have happened if it were just an "exploited colony", as the émigré extremists now proclaim. (For contrast, it is worth noting that Galicia and Carpatho-Ruthenia were among the most backward and impoverished portions of the Austro-Hungarian Empire — which helps explain the mass emigration to America from those provinces). Ukrainian ports like Odessa, Nikolayev and Kherson were thriving centers of Russian commerce. Almost a third of the entire output of the Russian textile industry in 1800-1825 went to the Ukraine, which is an interesting index to the higher level of economic well-being in this section of the country.

The plain fact is that nobody in Russia thought of Ukrainians as a "subject" people, or as in any way "inferior". In relation to them, as to the rest of the population, periods of reaction alternated with periods of liberalism. But whether the government was harsh or lenient, the overwhelming majority of Russian writers, scholars, revolutionary leaders consistently supported Ukrainian aspirations for greater home

rule and total cultural autonomy. Even Shevchenko, the poet of Ukrainian freedom and bitter foe of Czarism, wanted only a federation of all Slav peoples;⁵ the great Russian writers and liberals of his time were his close friends, and his poetry was beloved among Russians.

Ukrainians were prominent in the general Russian revolutionary movement from its very beginnings. A free Ukraine within a free Russia was the common goal of Russian and non-Russian opponents of the Romanoff dynasty alike. The president of the Imperial All-Russian Duma from 1912 to 1917 was Mikhail Rodzianko, a Ukrainian. A leading spokesman for Russian democracy in the same era was Vladimir Kolenko, a great Ukrainian writer.

In short, whatever was good or bad in Czarist Russia was as much Ukrainian as Great Russian. The pretense that they are different kinds of people in terms of Westernism and Asianism, love of freedom and love of despotism, is a fairly recent invention.

It is true that from the middle of the nineteenth century forward, many Ukrainian intellectuals became interested in broader cultural autonomy. They chafed under Czarist restrictions against the development of a literature, school system and press in their own language. But this interest in greater autonomy was a far cry from a "Ukrainian independence movement" as presented by current anti-"Muscovite" propaganda. As a matter of fact, these aspirations were immediately recognized by the Russian democratic Provisional Government in 1917.

The Ukraine since 1917

When Lenin seized power, civil war broke out in all parts of Russia, including the Ukraine. Some areas that broke away from Communist rule were purely Russian (the Murmansk-Archangel area, the Siberian and lower Volga regions controlled by representatives of the All-Russian Constituent Assembly, the Don, etc.). In the Ukraine itself, the revolt against Lenin's rule was led by the local parliament — the Central Rada — headed by Hrushevsky, Vinnichenko, and Petliura. Inasmuch as these three men are also presented today as consistent arch-foes of Russia — rather than of Communism — it is worth quoting from their proclamation of November 20, 1917. Here is what they told the Ukrainian people:

"Citizens: In the name of the Ukrainian People's Republic in federal Russia, we, the Ukrainian Central Rada, call upon all to struggle resolutely with all forms of anarchy and disorder and to help in the great work of building up new state forms which will give the great and powerful Russian Repu-

blic help, strength and a new future. The working out of these forms must be carried out at the Ukrainian and All-Russian Constituent Assembly... Not separating from the Russian Republic, preserving union with it, we stand firmly on our land so that we may help all Russia with our forces, so that the whole Russian Republic may become A FEDERATION OF FREE AND EQUAL PEOPLES".

In his "Kiev Memoirs", A. A. Goldenweiser points out that the Ukrainian Rada in 1917 recognized Poles and Jews as minorities entitled to certain autonomous rights. It refused the same recognition to Russians in the Ukraine on the sensible ground that it was almost impossible to draw a line between Russians and Ukrainians.⁶

Unfortunately for the Ukraine, and the rest of Russia, the Rada was not supported by Ukrainian workers — not because they were Ukrainians but because they were as much permeated with Bolshevik propaganda in 1917-18 as workers in any other part of the country. Uprisings in various Ukrainian cities and the revolt of the Kiev munition workers in support of the Red Army led to the establishment of a Soviet regime there within a few months. It is not true that Bolshevism was imposed on the Ukraine by the Russians; the Ukraine was Bolshevised from within like most of the rest of Russia.

In March 1918, the Ukraine was occupied by Austro-Hungarian troops. The Rada was reinstalled by the German high command. But the Germans soon replaced it with a Ukrainian puppet, Skoropadski. This supposed champion of Ukrainian independence — under Hohenzollern control — did a 'volte-face' as soon as the German army withdrew. He now proclaimed himself spokesman for a "united, indivisible Russia". (Later he settled in Germany and again became an ardent Ukrainian nationalist, serving during the Nazi era in Alfred Rosenberg's shop.) Petliura, who succeeded Skoropadski, could not win sufficient popular support among Ukrainian workers and was soon swept aside. The Ukraine became Soviet.

When Petliura returned in 1920 to "liberate" the Ukraine with the aid of Pilsudski's Polish army,⁸ both were driven out by Budyenny's Red Cavalry Army, which was as much Ukrainian as Russian. The Pilsudski-Petliura partnership served merely to re-awaken patriotism throughout Russia for the first time since 1917, and thus strengthened the Communist regime.

The endless outrages committed since then by the Kremlin have affected all the nationalities of the Soviet Union. To the Russian people, 34 years of Communist rule has brought the destruction of their intelligentsia, liberal middle class, labor movement, independent farmers. It has destroyed their freedom of conscience and expression, reduced their great culture to sterility. It has lowered

the living standards of Russian workers to a subsistence level and sent millions of Russians to die in slave labor camps.

These sufferings and humiliations have been the common lot of all of the peoples of the Soviet Union. Russians and non-Russians are worked to death in the same foul prison camps, tortured in the same secret-police cellars, perverted by the same vicious propaganda.

What special Great Russia features, if any, does the Communist tyranny possess? Not one that cannot, by the same logic, be described as a Ukrainian feature. It is a simple matter, indeed, to stand the whole Great Russian racial argument on its head. For example:

- Lenin, who overthrew the democratic Provisional Government, was of German descent on his mother's side.
- Trotsky, who directed the Bolshevik coup d'etat, was a Jew from the Ukraine.
- Antonov-Ovseenko, who led the actual military operations against the Provisional Government, was a Ukrainian.
- Dzerzhinsky, the first chief of the Soviet secret police, the man who exterminated the Russian middle class, was a Pole.
- Of Dzerzhinsky's four successors, only one was a Great Russian; the last superchief of the terror was Lavrentia Beria, a Georgian.
- To disperse the freely elected All-Russian Constituent Assembly, in 1918, Lenin called on a detachment of Latvian sharpshooters, explaining to Trotsky: "We cannot depend on the Russian peasant (meaning the Russian soldier). He is likely to join the other side".
- The leaders of the moderate wing of the Politburo during the 1920's, who opposed forcible collectivization and industrialization, were three Great Russians: Rykov, Tomsy and Bukharin.
- All three were liquidated by Stalin, the Georgian who has been dictator for the past quarter of a century.
- A Ukrainian, Nikita Khrushchev (Khrushch in Ukrainian means May-bug) is today the new dictator of the USSR.
- The countries where Communism today polls the greatest popular vote in free elections are Italy and France, two great centers of Western civilization.

So much for the argument that Communism is an affliction peculiar to the Russian mind to which "Westerners" and other "non-Russians" are immune. It is an affliction that takes on local Russian coloration among its Russian adherents, Ukrainian coloration among Ukrainians, American coloration among Americans. The idea that its eradication can or should be achieved through the eradication of "the Russians" could be laughed off, if its proponents were not as well organized, financed and vocal as they happen to be.

The Soviet melting pot

Propagandists who argue glibly for the dismemberment of the Soviet Union as our best weapon against Kremlin aggression overlook two modern developments of enormous importance.

(1) During the rapid industrialization of the country, a vast movement of populations took place throughout the USSR. It created great new urban melting pots of Russians, Ukrainians and other nationalities. The doubling of the city population between 1926 and 1939 (from 26.3 million to 55.9 million) was accompanied by the movement of 18.5 million villagers to cities and towns throughout the country. Millions of Soviet citizens of all nationalities left their farm districts for these new centers.

In the larger industrial towns, this process has resulted in the gradual disappearance of national differences and has developed a more homogeneous population, not unlike our American melting-pot process. Other great shifts of population took place through the forcible resettlement of millions of Russian and Ukrainian peasants in Siberia. Millions more — Russians and non-Russians alike — have been transplanted to common labor camps, creating a community of misery, yet serving still more to accelerate the melting-pot process. During and since World War II, additional millions have been evacuated, deported, transplanted.

Thus a veritable revolution has taken place in the Soviet nationalities picture. To ignore these great processes of national migration, urbanization and assimilation, to pretend that the country today is a loose empire of distinct nations, each living on a clearly defined territory, is to fly in the face of reality. Even before the revolution, Great Russian and Little Russian (Ukrainian) blood had been thoroughly blended in millions of families. Since then the blending and geographical dispersion have increased immensely.

(2) It is equally unrealistic to ignore the effects of the recent war on the mentality of the peoples of the Soviet Union. In the early months after the German invasion there were mass surrenders of troops and anti-Stalin defeatism among the population everywhere, irrespective of its ethnical composition. But Nazi barbarism not only induced the Russians to fight for their homeland; it awakened a common patriotism which transcended nationality.

For four long years, Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and others fought together against the foreign invader. The divisions that defended Stalingrad contained soldiers of every Soviet nationality. Some of the best generals and officers of the Soviet forces in the march from the Volga to Berlin were Ukrainians. That common experience of 1942-45 is now deeply imbedded in the general consciousness.

The fierce patriotism that enabled the Soviet army to drive out the Wehrmacht is an enormous psychological reality. It should not be confounded, however, with loyalty to the Stalin regime; "they are fighting for their soil, not for the system", Stalin admitted to a foreign diplomat. The important fact for Americans, under pressure to go along with extreme separatism, is that the war created a new sense of common destiny.

What today unites all the peoples of Russia, from the Great Russians to the smallest Caucasian tribe, is a far more powerful anti-Communist weapon than what divides them. They are in fact united by a common hatred of the oppressive dictatorship, and a common longing for freedom. To obscure this reality from the eyes of their subjects — and the eyes of the West — the Soviet propaganda machine has waged loud battles against the "remnants of-bourgeois nationalism" among non-Russians in the Soviet Union.

But these have been mock battles, as far as the label is concerned. The fact that the Kremlin defines all forms of local opposition to its totalitarian rule as "bourgeois nationalism" is no reason for the outside world to accept the definition at face value".

(How To Help Stalin Win The World
Who is the Enemy—"Russia" or
Communism?)

Appendix Nr. 1

Before proceeding to ABN and its background, one should note the inheritance of its sponsors and ideas from the previous Ukrainian political movement.

Thus, for instance, the Galician-Ukrainian chauvinists have, as far back as in the beginning of the first world war of 1914, prepared proclamations, approved by the Austrian military command, for distribution in the Ukraine. When, in 1916, the Russian army entered Lvov, it discovered a stock of these leaflets, forsaken by the Ukrainian propaganda section "Prosvita", which called upon the Ukrainians:

"to assist the victorious Austrian army in its noble aim...
to liberate Ukraine".

The Ukrainian population was urged to enlist in the ranks of special Ukrainian units for the purpose of liberating Russian Ukraine and uniting it with its Austrian Galician counterpart. These units, composed mainly of Austro-Galicians, became S. Petliura's

stronghold in Kiev. With their help he spread the spirit of an "independent" Ukraine, for which the local Ukrainian, and especially the Jewish population paid a high and bloody price. After the end of the first world war, Petliura emigrated to the West and in 1926 was killed in Paris by a Jew Schwarzbard, who took vengeance for the sufferings of his people. The French court, after a thorough investigation of the true cause of the assassination, found Schwarzbard not guilty.

It must be noted, however, that pro-Russian feelings were prevalent among the public, and especially among the peasant population of Galicia who, in 1916, welcomed the Russian army as a friend, or simply as their own. Many Galicians not only collaborated with the Russians, but actually left for Russia. As a result of this, following the retreat of the Russian army, mass repressions on the part of the Austro-Hungarian command took place, involving special punitive detachments.

Furthermore, we must note that the political attitude of the most outstanding Ukrainian writer — the Galician Ivan Fronko — was always friendly towards the Russians and he appreciated Russian culture and its significance for Galicia.

As a result of the downfall of the Austro-Hungarian empire, another local government of the "Western Ukrainian People's Republic" was created in Lvov, in addition to Petliura's government in Kiev. Following the capture of Lvov by troops, in October 1918, the government of the "Western Ukrainian People's Republic" decided to delegate a special commission to the Peace Conference in Paris, demanding the recognition of the government and of their rights to the whole Ukraine. A similar demand was presented by Petliura's commission as well. The Peace Conference in Paris did not recognize the claims of these two governments as legal and rejected them. Such was the finale of the first world war.

The second world war and the occupation of Galicia by the German army rekindled the flickering hopes of the Galicians, which they frankly expressed in their newspaper in Lvov:

"We did not reach our goal in 1918, however, it is so good to recall that during the action of the Ukrainian-Galician army in

1918-20, so many Germans spontaneously and actively participated in same and later, over a period of several years, proved more than once that they are true friends of the Ukrainian people.

Who can, for instance, forget the namens of such generals as Kraus, Schamaneck, Ziriz, colonels Alfred Bizanz and Nans Koch...

Today, Dr. Koch and Colonel Bizanz are together with us again. But this time, not just as individuals, but as members of the mighty and really unconquerable German army, which is advancing upon the Fuehrer's orders towards the East...

(„Ukrainski Visti“, July 20, 1941)

A. B. N. BACKGROUND

On June 30, 1941 — eight days after the German attack on Soviet Russia — a proclamation was issued in the city of Lvov, announcing the establishment of an „independent“ Ukrainian state headed by Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The proclamation, which included the phrase „Glory to the heroic German Army and its Fuehrer Adolf Hitler“, named Jaroslaw Stetzko, Bandera's loyal lieutenant, as the state's first „Prime Minister“. Today Stetzko is the chairman of the so-called Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). (Facsimile of the Bandera proclamation was published in Zhovkivs'ki Visti, „organ of the OUN“, and was reproduced in Narodnaia Pravda, Paris No. 17-18, 1951).

In describing the activities of Ukrainian collaborators with the Nazis in the book „German Military Intelligence“ Paul Leverkuehn, the senior member of German Intelligence, wrote:

„Among these émigrés there were a few important contacts which went back to the days of the first war. On the outbreak of the Russian revolution, Germany had given lively support to the attempts being made to set up an independent Ukrainian State and had agreed to the nomination of the Hetman Skoropadski as Head of the Government, a man whose ideas leaned towards the creation of an autonomous Ukrainian State within the framework of a Czarist Greater Russia. But by the 1920s it had become obvious that this could never be achieved, and when, round 1937, the Abwehr began to consider whether some co-operation with the Ukraine

would not be worth while, Skoropadski and his followers were not taken into consideration; it was decided, rather, to cultivate a co-operation with the OUN (the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), the leader of whom was one Konovalec, for whom Admiral Canaris had a marked personal predilection. Although Canaris himself was a dyed-in-the-wool conservative and monarchist, he nevertheless preferred the revolutionary Konovalec to the aristocratic Skoropadski. Cooperation with Konovalec, however, was not destined to last for very long. Shortly after the preliminary conferences he was murdered, while still in exile in Holland.

The leadership of the organization was then taken over by Melnyk and his chief supporter, Ricco Jary, an ex-Imperial regular officer. Melnyk was the estate agent of the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Lemberg, a Count Szeptyski, himself an ex-officer of the Imperial Russian Army, an aged and most venerable figure, who was 'the uncrowned King' of the Galician Ukrainians. After the Polish campaign, the Abwehr station in Cracow got in touch with Stepan Bandera, a radical Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary, who had a considerable following, particularly among the younger elements, in the Galician Ukraine. Unfortunately there were grave divergencies of view between Melnyk and Bandera, for the former, with his more constitutional reform aspirations, rejected sharply the latter's violent and radically revolutionary opinions.

In 1938 the Abwehr began the military training of young Ukrainians in an unobtrusive and isolated holiday camp on Lake Chiemsee. Primary emphasis was laid on the training of junior leaders for guerilla warfare, and some groups were sent to Abwehr Section II's laboratories in Tegel near Berlin and to the training establishment at Quenzgut for instruction in the use of explosive and other subjects appropriate to the execution of sabotage attacks. The Japanese were particularly interested in these attempts by the Abwehr to make use of the Ukrainian and other Eastern minorities. Quite a number of Russian emigrants, predominantly Ukrainians, had settled in Manchuria and had there sought to collaborate with the Japanese".

(Pages 158-159)

"The General Staff was at this time most anxious to undermine the loyalty of the Ukrainians serving in the Polish Army. It was thought that the appearance, on the German side, of a Ukrainian Volunteer Corps would lead to desertions by Ukrainians from the Polish Army. The Ukrainian groups which had been trained by the Abwehr were sent to an isolated sector of the Dachsteingebirge in East Slovakia, whence they were to advance, when the campaign opened, into the Galician Sector and then swiftly infiltrate behind the Polish front into East Galicia, with the object of rousing their compatriots

to guerilla warfare against the lines of communication of the Polish — forces. It was anticipated that this move would be of more value politically and for propaganda purposes than in the purely practical military sense — an appreciation, incidentally, which applies to every enterprise of a similar nature.

At the end of September 1939 the Russo-German Treaty of Friendship was signed, and the Abwehr was then forbidden to have anything more to do with the OUN or to support it financially or in any other way. At this point the Japanese stepped in and saved the situation. As signatories of the German-Japanese Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936, they were utterly dismayed at the latest turn taken in Russo-German relations.

„Through one of the officers in their Embassy, the Japanese at once got in touch with the Ukrainians who had been working with Abwehr Section II, took over the maintenance of contact with the OUN and — though not much was ever said about it — they kept up the liaison and looked after the Ukrainians until June 1941. Then of course everything was once more quite different, and the Germans were most anxious to resume control of the Ukrainian contacts which they had let slip“.

(Pages 160-161)

Alexander Dallin, in his book entitled „German Rule in Russia“, gives further details of the preparatory stage of this work:

„The decisive role in the activization of OUN forces on the German side was played by the Abwehr. Admiral Canaris, its clever little chief, saw in them welcome and active helpers and, unlike the Nazi APA, cared little about the details of the OUN's programme. In 1939, as the prospects of war against Poland increased, the Ukrainian collaborators were brought into action. First they appeared in the short-lived Corpatho-Ukrainian government of March, 1939. Then the Abwehr secretly organized a regiment of OUN members, known clandestinely as Bergbauernhilfe (BBH, literally Mountain-Peasants' Help). Holding open the possibility of a future „Ukrainian State“, the Abwehr groomed the Ukrainian unit both for action as a legion and for a revolt behind enemy lines in case of a German attack on Poland¹⁰. When the invasion came, one of the possibilities initially considered involved establishing a nominally 'independent' Galicia under German auspices. In this case, Canaris noted in his diary: 'I would have to make appropriate preparations with the Ukrainians so that, should this alternative become real, the Mel'nyk organization (OUN) can produce an uprising which would aim at the annihilation of the Jews and Poles'...!

(Page 115) Appendix Nr. 3

„Another effect of the defeat of Poland was the release from jail of a number of Ukrainian nationalists. The most prominent of these was Stephan Bandera, a young chauvinist arrested in the wake of the assassination of Polish Minister of the Interior Bronislaw Pieracki in 1934. Against the more sedate and somewhat gradualist Mel'nyk, Bandera quickly rallied the restless younger generation in the OUN. After a conflict both of personalities and tactics, the OUN split into two distinct and mutually hostile organizations — one led by Mel'nyk, the other by Bandera... Henceforth German support was divided between the two...“

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The fact that Bandera's movement was sponsored by the Nazis is proved further in the testimony of a former colonel of the German Army, Erwin Stolze, who was Lahousen's deputy in Department II, Ausland Abwehr, attached to the Supreme Command of the German Armed Forces (See „Trial of Major War Criminals“, Vol. VII, International Military Tribunal, Nuernberg, pp. 272-273). Stolze's testimony, presented to the Nuernberg Tribunal, said in part:

„It was pointed out in the order (signed by Field Marshal Keitel) that for the purpose of delivering a lightning blow against the Soviet Union, Abwehr II, in conducting subversive work against Russia, with the help of a net of V men, must use its agents for kindling national antagonism against the people of the Soviet Union...“

In carrying out the above-mentioned instruction of Keitel and Jodl, I contacted the Ukrainian Socialists who were in the German Intelligence Service and other members of the nationalist fascist groups, whom I roped in to carry out the tasks as set out above.

In particular, instructions were given by me personally to the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists, Melnyk (code name 'Consul I') and Bandera (code name 'Consul II'), to organize immediately upon Germany's attack on the Soviet Union, and groups, whom I roped in to carry out the tasks as set out above. immediate rear of the Soviet armies and also to convince international public opinion alleged disintegration of the Soviet rear“.

In his book „German Rule in Russia“, which has already been mentioned above, Alexander Dallin gives the following details:

„The Abwehr arranged an agreement with the OUN/ Bandera, conceding it far-reaching freedom of political propaganda in return

for military and clandestine collaboration. Early in April 1941, the UNR and Prometheus elements in Warsaw, tipped off by Sevrjuk, began toying with plans for a Ukrainian government. And the OUN/Melnyk, some ten days before the invasion, sent Hitler a detailed document in which it described itself as the proper nationalist and authoritarian regime in the Ukraine on which the Reich could rely as the 'sole counterweight' to Muscovite and Jewish aspirations".

(Page 118)

"Within four days after the invasion began, the Wehrmacht had advanced to the vicinity of L'vov, the capital of Eastern Galicia. Here Ukrainian nationalists staged a revolt which was savagely repressed by the retreating Red Army and NKVD. During the following days of chaos, it became obvious to the Germans that Bandera's followers, including those in the 'Nightingale' regiment, were displaying considerable initiative, conducting purges and pogroms".

(Page 119)¹¹

The story of how Bandera and Stetzko carried out the orders of their Nazi masters is told also in the Socialist newspaper So-zialisticheski Vestnik, New York. In its issue No. 6—7 1951, the newspaper published an article by Peter Yarovy, a former member of the Bandera movement. Excerpts from Yarovy's article „Tenth Anniversary of a Great Provocation“ follow:

"On June 30, 1941, Ukrainian fascist and Hitler's professional spy Stepan Bandera (German code name 'Consul II') proclaimed the 'rebirth of the Ukrainian State in Western Ukraine' in the German-occupied city of Lvov. On the same day, a government was organised... under the 'premiership' of Bandera's lieutenant Jaroslav Stetzko...

German occupational forces at that time needed agents and informers who were familiar with the conditions in Poland and who could also aid Hitler's forces. They could not find better men for this work than Bandera and his associates".

Noting that Bandera removed all his opponents by the simple method of turning them over to Gestapo for liquidation, Yarovy continued:

"What was this Bandera's 'reborn Ukraine' like? It is difficult to find a definition for the 'mongrel of a state' created through the

efforts of Bandera and Stetzko under the beautiful name of the 'Ukrainian State'. Even if we would apply the standards of a totalitarian state to Bandera's product, we would find that even the most elementary justice and laws, which exist even in totalitarian states, were missing there. Nothing of the sort existed in the kingdom of Bandera and Stetzko. There were a bloody chaos and complete lawlessness, plus the raging of the most terrible arbitrariness in regard to the Ukrainian population and national minorities, and ruthless terrorism in regard to all opponents... Thousands of people were physically annihilated without trial and often even without any apparent reason".

Yarovy's account of Bandera-Stetzko criminal activities is fully supported by Anatole Goldstein of the Institute of Jewish Affairs, World Jewish Congress (15 East, 84th Street, New York 28, NY) who stated:

„On June 30, 1941, a Ukrainian Fascist and Hitler collaborator, Stephan Bandera, proclaimed, in the then German-occupied city of Lvov (Galicia), the 'resurrection of the Ukrainian State of West Ukraine'. That 'independent' state existed only six weeks. But during this short period 5,000 other Ukrainians, several thousand Poles, and 15,000 Jews were slaughtered by the partisans of Bandera. If, however, Ukrainians and Poles were killed as political enemies, the Jews were murdered by these disciples of Hitler solely as Jews. Bandera's Minister of the Interior, Nikola Lebed, in a secret memorandum, ordered the murders to be carried out 'stealthily, quietly, quickly'. This butchery was accompanied by barbarous atrocities. Bandera's official anthem, which is still being sung by his followers, proclaimed: 'Death, death, death to Poles, death to Muscovite-Jewish Communists. Bandera leads us to a bloody fight'. After Hitler had annexed Galicia to occupied Poland, Bandera and his partisans were used by the Germans to comb cities for Jews. In the secret archives of the Gestapo we find a favourable appraisal of his activities".

The 'Ukrainian Army' U.P.A. myth

The founder of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, UPA, was Bulba.

„Bulba' was the pseudonym of Borovets, the colorful leader of the original UPA, more liberal and moderate than the Bandera group. After futile feelers with both Germans and Soviets, he was

lured to Warsaw and there arrested by SD. His unit was defeated and its remnants absorbed by the Bandera force, which thus assumed the name of UPA“.

(See A. Hrytsenko „ARMIIA BEZ DERZHAVY“ — Ukrainski Visti (Neu Ulm) Nos. 465-71 — December 28, 1950 — January 17, 1951).

From 1942 and until the end of the war with the USSR, the German Army had to cope with different partisan movements behind the front line.

„In addition to the Russian partisan groups, there also existed in the East strong Ukrainian and Polish groups, as well as a few weak Czech and Jewish groups. The latter two were of no great importance. Some of the bands were for, and others against Russia. They fought each other cruelly and ruthlessly to the point of annihilation. In 1944, for instance, at the Polish-Ukrainian linguistic frontier, Polish bands raided Ukrainian villages, and Ukrainian bands raided Polish villages, burned them, and massacring the entire population, including women and children. There were insufficient German troops to occupy the entire territory densely enough to prevent such raids. Emergency detachments usually came too late.

„Guerilla Warfare“ compiled by G3, Headquarters 9th Infantry Division, Fort Dix, N. J. October 1951, page 17 — Non-Russian Partisans).

All Nazi efforts to improve this unbearable situation, by giving full support to UPA and other Ukrainian extremists, remained unrewarded: the Nazi policy was doomed.

„When the German forces proved inadequate to control the Ukrainian countryside, there developed, in addition to Communist partisans, a variety of other Ukrainian groups. Among those which had gathered momentum, in 1943-44 the UPA (Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiya or Ukrainian Insurgent Army) dominated the field¹². A 'Supreme Council of Liberation' (known by its Ukrainian initials as UHVR) was established, in an effort to broaden the base of the UPA and to provide it with a political arm which might become a future government. Whatever the attitude of their rank-and-file, the UPA and UHVR remained bitterly nationalist — fighting Communist and hostile Ukrainian groups, Poles, Russians, Jews, and Rumanians. As the Germans retreated from the Soviet

Ukraine, the centre of nationalism reverted to its traditional stronghold in Galicia. At that time the increasingly hard-pressed UPA was again prepared to work against the Red Army in step with the Wehrmacht, which on its part was willing to supply it with arms and goods in order to maintain a small 'second front' behind the Soviet lines...

By late August liaison had been set up, and a German captain was parachuted to the partisans in an optimistic effort to coordinate a two-pronged attack on the Red Army. Actually, the UPA was already on the decline, even if some of its contingents still operated for some time in Galicia and the Carpathians. The military value of the undertaking was ephemeral.

(Alexander Dallin „German Rule in Russia“ page 621)

The defeat of the Nazi army automatically put an end to all its satellites. Nevertheless, the myth about UPA's survival and its activity behind the curtain was born and was persistently upheld by its inventors.

Following are excerpts from an article by David J. Dallin, noted commentator and expert on Communist affairs, published in the September 23, 1950 issue of the „New Leader“:

„The recent revelations of Peter Yarovy in the New York periodical, Tomorrow's Russia, constitute a unique narrative of political assassination, conspiracy, forgery and counterfeiting. They also tell the doleful story of how the American intelligence service is being misled, duped and made ridiculous by its Soviet rivals.

„Yarovy, today a man of about thirty, was living in the Soviet Ukraine at the outbreak of war. He joined the so-called Bandera movement (named after its leader, Stephan Bandera), a violently anti-Russian Ukrainian national group which patterned its political methods after those of the Nazis and the NKVD. The Bandera organization operated on the principle that any crime was justified if it contributed to the ultimate victory of the nationalist cause...

In recent years, with its activities now centered in Germany, the Bandera group has looked increasingly to the West for funds and support. It claims not only a far-flung network of underground organizations in the Soviet Ukraine, but an underground army (the 'UPA') and an efficient intelligence service. These claims are, however, unfounded and misleading“.

In another article in the December 3, 1951 issue of the New Leader, Mr. D. I. Dallin elaborated on this subject. He wrote:

„Certain Ukrainian groups in this country (USA) conduct powerful propaganda to the effect that their comrades are carrying on great activity in the USSR, and that there is even an independent Ukrainian army hiding and fighting in the forests and villages of its homeland. This propaganda has been so insistent and has corresponded to the hopes and desires of so many Americans that, by now, it has gained wide acceptance... prominent political figures in this country and Britain have actually lent their aid and sponsorship to the so-called Bandera movement, the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the ABN (Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations).

The so-called Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, particularly its main party, the Banderovites, flourished during the war... It began to disintegrate after the war, when its armed detachments on Soviet territory had to face special MVD armies... The MVD operated through a multitude of agents provocateurs, who penetrated the Bandera 'apparat' both inside Russia and abroad... Since 1949, the Ukrainian army has ceased to exist — a fact the Bandera press does not even deny. The party machinery is honeycombed with Soviet informants and spies. In 1950, General Chuprinka, supreme commander of the UPA, was betrayed to the MVD by two 'couriers' from the West and killed“.

A Tool of Soviet Intelligence

The same two articles in the New Leader expose another aspect of the ABN, i. e. its being a tool in the hands of Soviet intelligence. Excerpts from Mr. Dallin's articles follow:

„After 1945, the Soviet government maintained a special agency in Prague whose assignment was to undermine political émigré groups, particularly the Ukrainians. Its two chiefs, Major Sinelnikov and Captain Fedoseyev, were highly successful in this task.

„Aware that all its links with the homeland were under close surveillance by the MVD, émigré leadership of the Ukrainian nationalists finally decided to enter into collaboration with the Soviet secret service in Prague. Ukrainian couriers were instructed to become double agents so that they could reach Soviet territory unmolested and then return to report“.

Quoting Peter Yarovy (see above), who was a member of Bandera's SB or security and terroristic service, Mr. Dallin writes:

„Naturally, the MVD proved stronger and shrewder than the amateur conspirators of the SB. Before long, everything was topsy-turvy: the fiery anti-Communists of the SB were acting as agents of the MVD, while real MVD operatives moved freely among the Bandera group. Finally, the MVD started to use SB for its own purposes, such as to supply American and British intelligence with false documents and misinformation.

„The Bandera-Bolshevik alliance', writes Yarovy, 'has devoted much of its time to conveying misleading information about the Soviet Union to Western military intelligence. I declare on oath that all the reports on Soviet military and economic affairs were faked 100 per cent. If a couple of accurate facts were transmitted, this was done by the Bolsheviks themselves in order to lend credence to the misinformation contained in their other reports'.

„To make their stories sound plausible, the MVD even sent a few of its agents across the Iron Curtain to deliver their fraudulent reports directly to the chiefs of the SB. The latter, however, were well aware that they were dealing with Soviet agents, and sold the reports to Western intelligence, as Yarovy remarks, for 'large sums'."

BRIEF HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF A.B.N.

The first conference of the „peoples subjugated by Moscow" was held near Zhitomir (USSR) on the territory occupied by the German Army, on June 25, 1943, under the auspices of the Association of Ukrainian Nationalists (See „ABN Background").

After the German defeat in 1945, the OUN suffered numerous set-backs and it was not until May, 1948, that the second conference was held and the movement was reorganized into its present form — the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). At about the same time, a split occurred within the OUN itself, with a large number of its members forming a separate independent group, which began publishing a bulletin *Soutchastna Ukraina*. The most reactionary and pro-Nazi elements of the OUN, however, remained on the ABN side.

In 1953, Reblet and Matla, two of the leading OUN members also quit the organization and were followed by a large number of Galician intellectuals. This group is now publishing a monthly bulletin *Ukrainski Samostiynik*. As a result of this split, the structure of ABN was changed again and became a personal dicta-

torship of Jaroslaw Stetzko, Stepan Bandera's lieutenant (see „ABN Background“).

Stetzko's moves to establish his own autocratic rule in ABN were reported in detail in issue No. 4-5 (January 31, 1945) of the Byelorussian newspaper Batskaushchina, which said in part:

„In spite of the clear and precise decisions of the ABN Central Committee on November 6, 1953, concerning the convocation of a Central Committee meeting on November 20 to discuss the illegal and anti-constitutional actions of ABN President Stetzko, the latter did not organize this meeting... Instead of an official meeting, he (Stetzko) called a private meeting of ABN members on November 30, 1953.

„At this meeting, which lasted six hours, the irreconcilable policy of the fascist-totalitarian minority became quite clear... The fascist minority in ABN is afraid of convening a Central Committee meeting... knowing that it is not going to be commended for its tactics and illegal practices. Mr. Stetzko has begun to draw his obedient associates into ABN, excluding those former ABN members who disapprove of his current policies. For this purpose he has formed the so-called 'world commission' which... first accepted the membership of Croatian Ustaches headed by Hitler collaborator Ante Pavelich“.

Stetzko's policies caused further splits within ABN, as well as among Ukrainian nationalists. The Third ABN Congress was held March 27-29, 1954, in Munich, and resulted in the following appointments:

A. B. N.

Presidium of the Central Committee

President:

Jaroslav Stetzko

Vice Presidents:

Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak (Hungary)

Christo Statev (Bulgaria)

Count Niko Nakashidze (Georgia)

Presidium of the Peoples' Council

President:

Ferdinand Durchansky (Slovakia)

Vice President:

R. Ostrovsky (Byelorussia)

Secretary General:

I. Guitis (Lithuania)

The Tribunal

Consists of five members.

Committee of Chairmen

The committee meets only in extraordinary cases when there is need for more centralized leadership.

Committees

1. The Military Committee.

Chairman: Gen. Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak.

2. The Information Committee.

Chairman: D. Waltscheff, then Veli Kayum-Khan until 1958.

3. The Political Committee on International Relations.

ABN's central office is located in Munich, Germany, Zeppelin-str. 67. It has branches in Australia, America and Great Britain.

ABN publishes a monthly bulletin, ABN Correspondence (Same address as above) in English and German. Responsible Editor: Slawa Stetzko, wife of Yaroslav Stetzko.

At the present time, ABN is composed of the following organizations:

1. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN - the Bandera group).
2. Ukrainian Hetman Union.
3. Hungarian Liberation Movement.
4. Slovak Liberation Committee.
5. Bulgarian National Front.
6. National Georgian Organization.
7. National Turkestanian Unity Committee.
8. Czech Movement for Freedom (Za Svobodu).
9. Polish Christian Social Movement.
10. Lithuanian Rebirth Movement.
11. Latvian Association for the Struggle Against Communism.
12. Byelorussian Central Council (Rada).
13. Hungarian Mindszenty Movement.
14. Serbian Nationalist Front.
15. Committee „Free Armenia“.
16. National Cossack Liberation Movement.

A.B.N. COVER ORGANIZATIONS

1. Union of Ukrainian Journalists

Dmitro Andrijevsky	—	President
Slawa Stetzko	—	Vice President
Michael Boris	—	Secretary
Pavlo Kotovich	—	Committee Member
Andrew Romashko	—	” ”

2. American Friends of the ABN Inc. (New York, USA).

R. Ostrowsky	—	Chairman
K. Kojcheff	—	Vice Chairman
J. Bilinsky	—	Vice Chairman
Spontak	—	Secretary

3. Ukrainian Committee in Great Britain.

D. Lewycki	—	Chairman
W. Shayan	—	Deputy Chairman
I. Dmytriw	—	Secretary
I. Krushelnycki	—	Committee Member
M. Bilyj-Karpinec	—	" "

Almost all of these organizations are purely fictitious groups, with no popular backing. They consist mostly of extreme rightist reactionary elements and former Nazi collaborators. Brief characteristics of some of these organizations follow:

1. Association of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)

The group was organized under Nazi auspices and since 1941 was headed by Ukrainian Nationalist Stepan Bandera and Jaroslaw Stetzko, a Galician (for details see „ABN Background“ and „Brief History of ABN“).

The group consists mostly of Galician exiles from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, while émigrés from the Ukraine, which for centuries has been an integral part of Russia, do not cooperate with them and have their own autonomous organization called the Ukrainian National Rada (Parliament).

OUN publishes a bulletin in Munich called Schlach Pere-mohy and a bulletin in France called Tchas. Two other bulletins are published by the association. Its political views can be judged by the following excerpt from Schlach Peremohy of September 22, 1957:

„We are able to distinguish between the American people and the current policy of the U.S. State Department... True Americans do not have the right of voice any more. All decisions are

actually taken by Great Russians, who became naturalized in the U.S., by the international Jewish movement and by clandestine Mafia, who are the heirs of Fifth Columns".

OUN cooperates neither with democratic Ukrainian movements nor with the American Liberation Committee.

Jaroslaw Stetzko, ABN President, belongs to OUN. Formerly the head of a Quisling regime in Lvov (see „ABN Background“) Stetzko now actively cooperates with the neo-Nazi magazine *Nation Europa* (see, for example, the December 1957 issue). This magazine, incidentally wrote: „All those who have been confined in concentration camps should be considered themselves responsible for their plight“. (Quoted from January 4, 1958, issue of *Der Stern*, popular West German magazine).

Stetzko has been repeatedly refused an entry visa to the U.S., which considers him a persona non-grata.

OUN has about 8,000 followers in the Free World.

2. „Ukrainian Hetman Union“

The centre of this organization is in Canada. The history of the organization dates to the time of the Russian revolution.

„Ever since 1918, one of the principal Ukrainians supported by the German government had been Hetman Paul Skoropadskii, who had headed a reactionary Ukrainian regime under the German occupation in 1918. Hitler, who never attributed special importance to either Ukrainians or émigrés, recounted his early disagreements with Rosenberg on the use of Skoropadskii...“

The Nazi increasingly looked upon the ex-Hetman as a senile figurehead and shifted their support to more extremist groups. The Nazi continued to pay the honorarium granted to P. Skoropadskii by Field-Marshal Hindenburg“.

(A. Dallin — „German Rule in Russia“, page 114 Appendix Nr. 3)

3. „Hungarian Liberation Movement“

Also known as the „Hungarian Liberty Movement“, the group is headed by General Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak, ABN Vice President and a former collaborator of the Hungarian pro-Nazi regime.

The American Jewish Committee (established in 1906, in the USA, devoted to combat bigotry, intolerance, and the furtherance of human rights), describes the movement as follows:

„Former members of the pro-Nazi Arrow Cross party in Hungary (the followers of Nazi-supported Prime Minister Ferenc Szalasi) play leading roles in the Hungarian émigré organizations in Germany and Austria... The majority of Hungarians throughout the world, however, follow the leadership of the democratic Hungarian National Committee, headed by Monsignor Bela Varga, whose headquarters are in New York...

„... Working openly to bring the Hungarian refugee movement under Arrow Cross leadership since May 1946, is the Hungarian Liberty Movement (HLM) headed by General Farkas, which claims to be the legitimate successor of the Szalasi regime. Under Szalasi, the General, who had commanded an army corps on the Russian front, was appointed president of a special Arrow Cross party tribunal sentencing those opposed to Szalasi... According to Nemetpolitika, HLM's more intellectual quarterly, 'democracy' must not mean 'anti-authoritarianism'.

„According to a deposition before the International Military Tribunal in Nuernberg, 'between November, 1944, and February 11, 1945, the murder gangs of the Arrow Cross party conducted a ceaseless manhunt against the Jews in Budapest... In the course of the last two months, 10,000-15,000 Jews were shot to death...

„A substantial group of former Arrow Cross members are to be found also in... the Collegial Society of Hungarian Veterans (MHBK), headed by General Andras Zako... The common aim of Generals Zako and Farkas is presumed to be the undermining of the democratic Hungarian National Committee, which was established by a group of anti-Communist, anti-Nazi members of the postwar Hungarian parliament“.

According to the Hungarian Section of the French Radio and Television Network, the Hungarian Liberation Movement

„is a small group headed by Gen. Kisbarnaki Farkas Ferenc... General Farkas is a professional officer and, as the majority of former members of Hungarian armed forces, holds rightist, nationalistic and pro-German views... Although, in the course of time, Mr. Farkas's group lost both a large part of its membership and significance, he continues to display certain activity and even aggressiveness“ (Appendix Nr. ¹⁰).

The „Hungarian Liberation Movement“ has about 200 members — mostly officers of General Horti's army and representatives

of former aristocracy, such as Erzherzog Josef, former Field Marshal Emil V. Justy, Col-Gen. (retired), D. Andras V. Zako, Maj-Gen., Prof. Saad Ferenc etc., who collaborated with the Nazis during the war. The organization does not cooperate with any democratic groups and institutions, including Radio „Free Europe“ and is hostile to the rest of the Hungarian refugees, except for a fictitious organization known as the „Hungarian Mindszenty Movement“.

4. „Slovak Liberation Committee“

The Committee's chairman is Dr. Ferdinand Durchansky, President of the ABN Presidium of the People's Council and a former Nazi collaborator and war criminal. The American Jewish Committee published the following information on Dr. Durchansky and his „Committee“:

„The Slovak Liberation Committee is an extremist group whose members are largely ex-Nazi collaborators. Head of the movement is Dr. Ferdinand Durchansky, now living in Munich, the Minister of the Interior in the Slovak autonomous government created and fostered by Hitler. According to German foreign policy documents, he assured Field Marshal Goering that 'the Jewish question in Slovakia' would be solved 'as in Germany'. After the war he fled to Argentina to escape a war-crimes death sentence, but was able to come to Germany in 1952. The Slovak Liberation Committee is the smaller of the Slovak separatist movements and has little support among Slovak groups in the U.S. The Committee has no publication but Dr. Durchansky is a frequent contributor to a monthly paper called ABN Correspondence, published in English and German by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), a grouping of some of the worst fascist and Nazi elements of the émigré movements“.

(Z. Schuster, European Director of A.J.C., 30 rue de la Boétie, Paris (8), France — Above statement made in Bonn on June 3, 1954).

Dr. Durchansky is also mentioned in the book „East European Revolution“¹³ published in 1951 by Frederic A. Praeger, Inc., New York. A passage on page 186 of this book reads: „Facist elements in Slovakia were in contact with Slovak émigrés, especially with

the former quisling Foreign Minister Durchansky". This was also confirmed by the

„INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL (Nuremberg Process), Vol. VII, P. 199-200.

He (Alderman) told the Tribunal in detail and proved by documentary evidence that the representatives of the so-called Slovak autonomous movement were bought with German money — that is one called Hans Karmazin and the same also applies to Deputy Prime Minister Durchansky ..."

On the other hand, the „Committee for Social Aid to Czech Refugees", which is supported by such prominent leaders as Bishop Beaussart, Pastor Boegner, Georges Duhamel, André Le Troquer, Maurice Schumann and others, (149, rue de Grenelle, Paris 7e) had this to say about Durchansky:

„At the time of the so-called Sudet crisis, in September 1938, before Munich, Mr. Durchansky lived in Vienna on money supplied by Hitler's propaganda and directed broadcasts in the Slovak language against Czechoslovakia. He belongs to the extreme wing of former Slovak collaborators with Nazis. His anti-communism is of the same type as the Nazis". (See Appendix Nr. 9).

Durchansky, together with Dr. Ctibor Pokorný, edits a bulletin called the Slovak (Germany, Munich-Waldperlach — Leutholdstr. 5). The Committee has only a few members but it cooperates with another pro-Nazi group, which is more significant and which is headed by F. Tiso, whose fascist People's Party also was supported by Hitler during the war.

5. Bulgarian National Front

This Monarchist-legitimist organization is headed by Dr. Dimitar Waltcheff and Christo Stateff, Vice President of the Central Committee of ABN, who collaborated with the Nazis under the German occupation. The well-known „Bulgarian National Committee", headed by Dr. G. Dimitrov (rue Pasquier, Paris 8e or 724, 9th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.) and representing the majority of Bulgarian émigrés, recently stated that:

„The Bulgarian National Front organized in exile is composed of Bulgarian monarchists, former Nazis and pro-fascists. Some of them worked directly with the Gestapo, like their leader, Dimiter Waltcheff.

„We are not surprised that these people continue to work in accordance with their old political line, seeking cooperation with other pro-Nazi organizations... We would not even be surprised if some of them would be connected today with our common enemies, the Communists, in order to undermine democratic organizations in exile.

„The Bulgarian National Committee has never cooperated with these people, neither in Bulgaria, nor abroad“.

(See Appendix Nr. 11).

6. National Georgian Organization

The group is headed by Count Niko Nakashidse, ABN's General Secretary since 1954 and a former Major in the Nazi Army.

„Niko Nakashidse fought in the last war, as an officer on the Eastern Front“.

(ABN Corresp. No. 10/11 — 1955, page 10)

This group is composed of a few chauvinists who hate Russia and the Russians. N. Nakashidse fights them as a member of the revolutionary Socialist organization since 1915. The organization does not cooperate with the Paris „Bloc“ which represents the majority of Georgian nationalists abroad. Count Nakashidse contributes frequently to the Nation Europa magazine, the semi-official organ of neo-Nazis (Coburg, Postfach 670), and the violently chauvinistic anti-Russian bulletin, the Georgian Nation.

7. National Turkestanian Unity Committee

The Committee, headed by Veli Kajum Khan, the founder of the „Turkestanian Legion“ in the Nazi Army, advocates the idea of the restoration of the „Great Turkestan“, which would include not only

the Russian territory of Turkestan, but the Chinese territory, particularly Sinkiang and the Iranian Turkmenistan as well. Veli Kajum Khan, with Mustafa Chokaeff, established this movement in Nazi Germany, in line with the over-all Hitler policy of dismemberment of Russia. The Committee apparently has numerous followers in Turkey and other Middle Eastern countries. The most known are: Baymirza Khaitov, Zaki Validi, Mehmed Emin Bugra, Issa Yusuf Aptekin, etc. There are, however, Turkestanian organizations with a federal trend. Turkestan itself comprises several different peoples, which are often hostile towards each other — such as the Tadzhiks, Usbeks, Turkmen, Kirghiz — whose cultures, languages and history differ completely.

8. Czech Movement For Freedom

(Za Svobodu)

The movement, represented in ABN by I. Mislevich, has only a few members and does not have any support from Czechs in exile.

ABN was formerly supported by another Czech organization, called the Czech Democratic Federalists, headed by Fr. Janik-Horak and V. Pekelsky (Germany, Köln-Ehrenfeld). Unknown in Czechoslovakia, this small group was formed in exile and advocates the creation of a state which would include Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia and the granting of autonomous rights to Slovakia. Most of the members of these organizations collaborated with the Nazis during the last war.

Both movements are dedicated to fanning up artificially created chauvinistic differences between the Czechs and the Slovaks.

9. Polish Christian-Social Movement

This is a purely fictitious organization, which is practically unknown among émigré circles.

10. Lithuanian Rebirth Movement

The whole „movement“ apparently consists of one person, the General Secretary of the ABN Presidium of the Peoples' Council, who alternatively appears under three different names — J. A. Gytis, Poviliavitis and Vikintas. His real name is Poviliavitis. He is a former disciple of Valdemaras, a Lithuanian Prime Minister of pro-fascist tendencies. Poviliavitis's own pro-Nazi views can be judged from the fact that

„during World War II he (Gytis) fought against Bolshevik tyranny ...“

(ABN Corresp. No. 10/11 — 1955, page 10)

and the following passage from an article, by-lined Gytis:

„In 1944, Soviet Russia occupied Lithuania a second time, after the latter country had temporarily succeeded in escaping from the Communist yoke thanks to the help of the German troops“.

(ABN Corresp. No. 11/12 — 1957, page 12)

11. Latvian Association for the Struggle against Communism

This „association“ is very similar to the „Lithuanian Rebirth Movement“ and consists also of a couple of figureheads like the former President of the ABN Peoples' Council Alfred Berzins and D. Biezais.

A. Berzins is a former Minister of the dictatorial Ulmanis regime of Latvia in the 1930's, which sent Latvian democratic deputies and Trade Union leaders to concentration camps.

12. Byelorussian Central Council (RADA)

The Rada was formed during the German occupation of Byelorussia under the personal sponsorship of General Von Gottberg. (On December 21, 1941, R. K. Ostrowsky, presently the president of this movement, was named the „president“ of the new „independ-

dent state". Being an obedient tool of the Nazis, Ostrowsky was allowed to call a „congress“ in June 1944, for the purpose of ratifying through „national“ elections his appointment as the „president“. Actually, all delegates of the Congress had for a long time occupied key positions as local representatives of the Nazi administration. During the German withdrawal from Byelorussia, the Rada disintegrated by itself. It was re-established only in May 1948, in Elwangen (Württemberg-Baden), with Ostrowski for president and J. Sobolewski and N. Shtchors for vice-chairmen. R. Ostrowski is the vice-president of the ABN Presidium of the Peoples' Council.

13. „Hungarian Mindszenty Movement“

This auxiliary ABN organization, completely unknown among Hungarian émigré circles, consists of Janos de Korody Katona and J. Fekete, and is sponsored by Bishop Stefan Hász.

14. „Serbian Nationalist Front“

The „Front“ is represented in ABN by General D. S. Vito who, according to ABN Correspondence, had allegedly represented General Mikhailovic (Tito's rival) abroad. The „Front“, however, is unknown to Yugoslav émigré circles, while former associates of General Mikhailovic deny ever having heard of „General“ D. S. Vito.

The „Front“ membership seems to comprise just the „General“ himself.

15. Committee „Free Armenia“

The Committee is headed by one Aghababian who, towards the end of the Second World War, took part in Nazi-sponsored Armenian émigré activities in Berlin, which centered around an organization consisting of only a few members. After the dissolution of this organization, Aghababian created the fictitious movement

which he now heads. The Committee „Free Armenia“ has no relations with the overwhelming majority of Armenian émigrés, in particular with the Armenian Liberation Committee.

16. National Cossack Liberation Movement

This group was created by ABN in Munich, in March 1955, with I. Bezuglov as president.

Like his confederate V. Glazkov, who was successful in convincing some British Intelligence experts that the Cossacks are not Russians, I. Bezuglov believes that „Cossackia“ should become one independent nation, carved out of the USSR.

In concluding this brief outline, it is essential to note the changeability of ABN's member organizations. It is true that in most cases this concerns just organizations of secondary importance, which serve as a background only. However, there are quite a few like: Czech Democratic Federalists, Union of Estonian Fighters For Freedom, Sudeten-German, Idel-Ural and Estonian Liberation Movements, Croatian National Liberation Movement, and others which disappeared from ABN records just as quickly as they had formerly appeared.

It is presumed that for the purpose of multi-national representation, OUN, by renewing some old wartime friendships, has created certain fictional organizations comprising one or two members only. After a while these still-born organizations faded away, but the friendly relationship with their leaders remained unchanged. The following telegram, sent by ABN to one of the „leaders“ of such a ghost-organization, seems to confirm the above presumption.

„We should like to express our sincere congratulations to the head of the Croat State,

DR. ANTE PAWELIC,

on being restored to health, after an attempt was made to assassinate him by a Communist criminal and he managed to escape being killed thanks to his presence of mind and his courage.

The ABN has always supported the independence aims of Croatia and will continue to do so“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 7/8 — 1957, page 10)

As expected, the characteristic of this person, for whom ABN has expressed such thoughtfulness and concern, does not differ much from the rest of the ABN members:

Excerpts from the „East European Revolution“ — Standard University Textbook by Hugh Seton-Watson, Professor of Russian History in the University of London, published in 1951 by Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., New York.

„Page 78 — The Croatian nationalist leader Pavelic set up a fascist state. Side by side with his regular army, there were the armed formations of the Ustashi, which corresponded to the German SS. The Ustashi organization was founded by Pavelic as an underground conspiratorial movement in the reign of King Alexander. Its members were indoctrinated first with the Italian and then with the German brand of fascism. It was the Ustashi bands which organized the massacres of Serbs and Jews, which among the atrocities of Hitler's Europe were surpassed only by the extermination camps in Poland“.

Some German documents also confirm this family likeness:

„Even before the Polish campaign of 1939, Schickedanz, in a lengthy memorandum which foreshadowed much of the 1941 territorial programme of the Rosenberg office, gave his estimate of the OUN: 'That organization, which can best be compared with the Croat Ustashi group, is probably still slated by the OKW to carry out certain intelligence tasks in case of conflict with Poland. It may be suited for that purpose, but is entirely unfit to lead a political operation to seize hold of the population'.“

(Schickedanz to Lammers, June 15, 1939, Document 1365-PS)

In studying ABN, i. e. its structure and its member-organizations, one cannot help but draw the following conclusions:

(1). The common factor, uniting all those organizations which consider themselves to be members of ABN, is their collaboration with the Nazis and their undemocratic principles;

(2). The leading members of ABN are War Criminals;

(3). The inspirer and leader of ABN is, undoubtedly, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by Y. Stetzko.

The latter is quite natural, since the idea of the creation of ABN belongs to OUN, which raised this question at its Conference in 1943, held on German-occupied territory of the USSR.

It is true that the situation has changed considerably since that time.

During the war, the organization of ABN was being planned within the limits desirable to Hitler, i. e. by uniting just those nationalities, which the Nazis hoped to carve out of the USSR and to colonize: the Azerbaijanis, Byelorussians, Armenians, Georgians, Turkestanians, Tartars, Ukrainians, Chuvashs, Kabardinians, Circassians, Ossets and the people of Bashkir. However, following the destruction of the Nazis and the victory of the Western democracies, OUN was forced to change — not just its orientation — but its „window-display“ as well.

This was done by OUN in 1946 when, after its re-birth, ABN added a long list of fictional member-organizations to its original group. These were supposed to represent the free European states which, as a result of the war, became victims of Soviet occupation.

By the very fact that ABN included „representatives“ of Poland, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was gaining the indispensable democratic appearance and consequently a chance for sympathy and even possible support from the West, without the danger of losing neither its leadership, nor even its political line. The idea of „freedom for the free countries occupied by the USSR“ was simply substituted by their old Nazi slogan: „The disintegration of the Russian imperium and the restoration of the independent states of the nations subjugated by Russia, within their ethnographical boundaries“.

Further, if we add Mr. Y. Stetzko's specific statement that „we can recognize a small Russian State only around Moscow“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 10/12 — 1956 — page 8)

as well as ABN's continuous propaganda of the following nature:

„The mentality of the Russian people — the mentality of an incalculable, rapacious and blood-thirsty beast which is prompted not by logical reasoning, but only by brute force“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 3/4 — 1957, page 3)

or

„Russia, from the cultural and ethical point of view, can by no means be part of Europe“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 7/8 — 1957, page 6)

and many other statements made by ABN leaders, then the conclusion becomes self-evident:

it is doubtful whether Khrushchev and Co. could find, even in the laboratories of the MVD, a better example of hatred against the Russian people and the intensity of anti-Russian (and not just anti-Communist) feeling, for use in their propaganda against the West.

How will the enslaved people of the USSR react to this propaganda? — people, whose memories are still fresh with the days of Hitler's „liberation“ and the „New European Order“ of the Nazis, which forced them to defend their country and, ironically, Stalin as well? — we leave this question open to the reader's judgement...

A.B.N. & ITS ASSOCIATES

From the very start of the ABN „career“ in the Free World, its main objective was the establishment of an influential political centre. In order to achieve this, its initial problem was, obviously, to strengthen connections with foreign sympathisers.

In 1947, ABN made its first attempt. Three political organizations, heretofore unknown, viz.: „International of Freedom“, „Prometheus League of the Atlantic Chart“¹⁴ and ABN itself, formed „The Anti-Bolshevik League of Peoples' Freedom“ (ALON). But the life of this newly created body was short in duration. In a couple of years, however, ABN succeeded in acquiring an influential foreign partner-organization, „The Scottish League for European Freedom“, comprising a dozen or so sponsors well-known in England.

The chairman of this League, Mr. John F. Stewart, proved to be ABN's good political supporter for the reason that:

„it is particularly vital to the British Commonwealth and Australia in particular that both Ukraine and Georgia should be free and independent, as, in that case, Russia would have no Black Sea coast and the Black Sea would be under the control of three friendly nations — Turkey, Georgia and Ukraine. It has been the British policy for much over a hundred years to keep Moscow from getting control of the Dardanelles and so of the Eastern Mediterranean and the ability to cut the British lifeline to Australasia and the Far East“.

(From a letter by the Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom, Mr. John F. Stewart, to Australian Senator Gorton).

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 11/12 — 1957, — page 6).

The political agreement with the „Scottish League“ paved the way for some more useful, but this time — religious connections. In early 1950, ABN joined ranks with „The Eichendorff Guild“ in Hannover (Germany). This Guild, founded in 1952, was the leading group of the Cardinal Bestram Endowment, on the occasion of the First Silesian Catholic Congress, with Mr. Joseph Mosler as president. The aims of the Guild are: to circulate information about Eastern Europe here in the West; to stress the decisive importance of a new order on the territory of Eastern Europe, etc. The result of the close cooperation between ABN and the Guild so impressed a Catholic priest — the Very Reverend Father Szotovsky — who attended the annual Congress, that he wrote:

„I consider that the great value of these conferences also lies in the fact that the speakers must certainly have the feeling that they have aroused the interest and sympathy of their audience ...

... For these men — even if things turn out differently — will still play an important part ...

... They will still be our friends in the future, too ...“

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 7/8 — 1957, page 3).

Similar cooperation was extended to „The European Centre for Documentation and Information“ in Escorial (Spain). The President of the Centre is Erzherzog Otto von Habsburg, the General-Secretary — Marquis de Valdeiglesias and Dr. G. Gundlach is the

personal Counsellor of the Pope — the liaison man with the Vatican.

The main aim of this organization is the foundation of a united Europe on the basis of Christianity („a new order“ of the Guild?) which seems to suit ABN perfectly. In October 1957, the Marquis returned the courtesy call at ABN Headquarters in Munich, where the following topics were discussed:

- „(a) The agenda of the forthcoming conference in Escorial;
- (b) The possible convocation of a world congress of all anti-Bolshevist organizations for the purpose of adopting a common programme and coordinating their efforts to combat Muscovite (Russian) imperialism;
- (c) The imperative need for a disintegration of the Soviet Union and the formation of national states on its ruins as a means of liquidating the Russian Bolshevik danger;
- (d) The importance of the ABN activity in conjunction with the anti-Bolshevist world front;
- (e) The imperative need for closer contact between the European Centre for Documentation and Information and the ABN, etc“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 1/2 — 1958, page 2).

In the course of his interview with the reporter of „ABN Correspondence“, the Marquis stated that:

„... the primary aim of the European Centre is to rally all sound and effective forces for the purpose of accelerating the spiritual renaissance of Europe ...

... At present, the Marquis sees the primary danger on the part of Moscow in its imperialism, which is based on the long-standing self-imagined mission of the „Third Rome“, irrespective of whether this imperialism be „red“ or „white“.

The Marquis concluded his interview with the expression of „his great admiration for the energy, perseverance and achievements of the ABN. He stressed, above all, the great significance of the steady expansion of its activity and of its achievements in the Far East and of its cooperation with the Latin-American bloc of nations“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 1/2 — 1958, page 2).

Thus the blueprint for future ABN activity has been clearly laid out by its political and religious promoters — the League, the Guild, and the Centre in Escorial:

- the worldwide Congress of all anti-Bolshevist organizations;
- the consolidation of all anti-Russian forces;
- the defeat of Muscovite imperialism;
- the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the establishment of a „new order for the spiritual renaissance of Europe“ (not to be mixed up with Hitler's „New Order“???)

In the meantime, ABN scored a few more points in the realization of this program.

In September 1957, in Munich, ABN concluded an agreement with the „Inter-American Confederation for the Defense of the Continent — a union of anti-Communist organizations from all countries of Central and South America. This agreement, similar to the one previously concluded with Nationalist China in October 1955 (see „Free China and ABN“), provoked the following comments of „ABN Correspondence“:

„The ABN has succeeded in winning over the national revolutionary organizations of the Asian peoples as its allies. It has concluded an agreement with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League of China (APACLROC), and in this way has established contact with other Asian nations...

And that is not all. The ideas of the ABN are rapidly gaining ground and gradually everyone is beginning to realize that truth and right are on the side of the ABN...

... We have thus won over the anti-Communist organizations of Latin America as allies for our peoples. And no one will deny the significance of this fact.

A common front of the peoples of Asia, Latin America and of the peoples represented by the ABN, has thus been set up. The genuine and authorized representatives of the peoples of Asia and Latin America have recognized the rights of our peoples to independence and have declared themselves willing to join forces with us in the common fight. A huge breach has been made in the policy of the West.

(„The Formation of an Anti-Communist World-Front“ by N. Nakashidze. „ABN Corresp.“ No. 11/12 — 1957, page 7).

ABN's next step towards the formation of this Front was made by Mrs. Stetzko and Mr. F. Durchansky in Holland. In October 1957, ABN and the „Stichting Aktivering Geestelijke Weerbaarheid“ — AGW („The Activity of Spiritual Resistance Forces“

— President: Mr. Rdyer and General Secretary: Mr. Y. Fonteyn) issued a joint statement, in which they declared that:

„The formation of one united front between the peoples of the free world and the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Moscow is absolutely imperative . . .

The historical development of Russian imperialism is the cause of the Communist endeavour to rule the whole world . . .“

(a) spiritual values become of more decisive importance for the peaceful living together of the peoples of the world; . . .

(b) the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of the national independence of all peoples within their ethnographical areas become the principle aim; . . .

... ABN and the AGW have decided that from now onwards they will fight shoulder to shoulder against the Russian imperialism that now appears under the guise of Communism“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 1/2 — 1958, page 4)

In addition to this joint statement, the following joint appeal was sent to the United Nations from The Hague:

„The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Organization for the Activity of Spiritual Resistance Forces, gathered at a meeting at The Hague, urgently request that the necessary steps be taken for the purpose of liberating the peoples subjugated by Moscow“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 1/2 — 1958, page 4).

At the same time ABN continued its activity in the „New World“, in Canada. Quite a number of Canadian voters, of Ukrainian origin, backed up ABN's point of view before their Government. December last, Mr. John Diefenbaker, Prime Minister of Canada, announced that during the last NATO conference in Paris, „striking decisions“ have been made

„to give hope to those people behind the Iron Curtain who have kept glowing the flickering flame of freedom in the Ukraine, in Hungary, in Poland and in East Germany and the Balkan States, a paragraph was included in the communiqué assuring them that the light had been seen by the free world“.

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 3/4 — 1958, page 14).

ABN's latest and most prominent political action was its participation in the „Preparatory Conference“ in Mexico City in March

1958, which had elected an „International Steering Committee“. This group was authorized to summon the „Worldwide Anti-Communist Congress“ in October of this year.

It is interesting to note that this Committee of 15 members, comprising representatives of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, USA, England and Germany, also includes two representatives of . . . ABN (!), the well-known Stetzko and Ferenc Farkas de Kisbarnak.

In view of the above, it is quite obvious why the following cities were suggested as possible sites for the Congress:

Istanbul (center of ABN Pan-Turkestanian movement),

Athens (a European capital, closest to Istanbul), or

Lisabon (since some of the participants would probably vote against Madrid or Escorial).

There is no doubt that if the anticipated Congress is held, the representatives of ABN will do their utmost to assure its participants that „the flickering flame of freedom“ behind the curtain — is being kept alive by ABN exclusively!

U.N.O. and A.B.N.

The ABN attitude towards the United Nations Organization is characterized by the following excerpt from „The Ideological Political Resistance of the Ukrainian Underground“:

„We fight for the all-embracing Ukrainian State and for every nation enjoying a free way of life within its boundaries of an independent state“ . . .

„In order to get rid of Muscovite imperialism forever, the USSR, comprising at present numerous nationalities, must be split up in a number of national states, so as to render any revival of Muscovite imperialism impossible. The concept of an independent Ukraine is to be a basic factor in the deliberate destruction of the Bolshevik prison of nations . . .

„The concept, too, is to be a basic factor in the reorganization of Eastern Europe and of a very large part of Asia. The establishment by the Ukrainian people of an independent Ukrainian State will be a great step toward establishing a true equilibrium in the world and guaranteeing stable peace among the nations“ . . .

„The idea of international cooperation is, objectively speaking, a progressive idea. All peoples in the world sincerely strive after cooperation, but such cooperation shall actually follow the aims laid down in the Charta of the United Nations. If, however, matters are different, if some members of the UN largely ignore these aims, the peoples concerned will find themselves compelled under such circumstances to look upon the UN as an instrument of imperialistic policy in the hands of certain members of the UN. The idea of international cooperation certainly cannot be fully carried into effect unless the principle of self-determination of the peoples has been fully realized.

„There can be no question of mutual confidence among the nations so long as there are dominating and dominated peoples. Without such confidence, however, there will be no true international cooperation...

„So long as the USSR, which in a cruel way suppresses and exploits Ukraine, continues to be a member of the UN, and so long as this actual subjugation of Ukraine by the Muskovite Bolsheviks is tolerated, the Ukrainian people will have no confidence in the UN“...

(„ABN Corresp.“ No. 11/12 — 1957, page 11).

Apparently, „The American Friends of the ABN“ did not entirely lose their faith in the UN, for on October 5, 1957, they submitted the following memorandum to His Excellency Dag Hammarskjöld:

„Dear Sir:

We, the delegates of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc. — of the Byelorussian, Bulgarian, Cossackian, Croatian, Hungarian, Latvian, Slovenian, Ukrainian Divisions, and guests convened for deliberation of our forthcoming, Spring 1958, Congress, would like to convey to you personally and to the honorable delegates of the current UN General Assembly our position in regard to Hungary as well as other nations enslaved by Russian Bolshevism...

„The report of the special UN Mission on the Hungarian situation during the uprising which is now under deliberation at the UN General Assembly truly pictures the brutal traditional Russian 'moving force' — now wearing the mask of world communism — for conquest of foreign freedom-loving countries“...

„We believe that by a proper approach to the problems and by taking advantage of the ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS slogans, „Freedom for Individuals — Freedom for Nations“ based on ethnic and self-determination principles, the despotic Russian

empire could be destroyed even without atomic bomb and missiles"....

Presidium of the Conference:

Prof. Ostrowsky of Byelorussian Division
(Chairman)

Dr. Kojcheff of Bulgarian Division
(Vice-Chairman)

Mr. Bilinsky of Ukrainian Division
(Vice-Chairman)

Mr. Spontak of Ukrainian Division
(Secretary)

("For Sacred Rights", "ABN Corresp." No. 11/12 — 1957, page 7).

There is just one "slight" change in ABN recommendations from those of previous years. This time, its old slogan:

"ABN recommends to attack the Centre of all evils — Kremlin. Drop the atomic bombs on the Kremlin!"¹⁵,

which was brought forth in New York in 1954, is used no more...

FRANCE AND A. B. N.

The bitter experience of the German occupation and its "New Order" during the last war, which provoked such hatred against all those who collaborated with the Nazis, still cannot be forgotten in Europe, especially in France. Therefore, ABN's attempt to establish its branch in France could not have resulted in anything but failure.

On the grounds of the French Decree of June 1939, and its strict specification of all aspects of collaboration with the enemy,

"on October 11, 1954, the Department of the Interior of France declared that the ABN delegation is dissolved".

("ABN Korresp." No. 1/2 — 1955, Seite 10)

ABN, which seems to be so sensitive to the freedom of the enslaved peoples, could not possibly accept the reasons of the French Government, and commented as follows:

"Liberté, égalité, fraternité" were the watchwords for the French Revolution. It is true that they soon changed to "infantry, cavalry,

artillery" ... but still hold good even today as watchwords for freedom".

("ABN Corresp." No. 5/6 — 1955, page 10).

U. S. A. and A. B. N.

The United States Government considers ABN activity on its territory undesirable and consequently ABN leaders cannot obtain entry permits into the United States of America. However, despite the U. S. Government's negative attitude towards ABN, the latter succeeded in establishing a certain "tête du pont" in New York under the guise of "The American Friends of the ABN, Inc."

The following excerpts give a clear picture of the USA-ABN relationship:

"On the 4th of May a meeting, organized by 'The American Friends of the ABN', took place in New York. It is astonishing, however, that the president of ABN, Mr. Yaroslav Stetzko, was not present, although he was staying at that time, so to speak, in the neighbourhood, i. e. in Toronto, Canada. It would not be difficult to go to New York from Toronto. We know that Mr. Stetzko declared himself ready to participate in the meeting and tried to obtain an American visa. It was refused. Some newspapers tried to present Mr. Stetzko as a dangerous 'revolutionary fascist' and 'warmonger'".

("Ukrainian Observer", May 1952, Vol. I (IV) No. 5).

During the following years, assisted by its figurehead in England (Mr. John F. Stewart, Chairman of the Scottish League for European Freedom), ABN attempted to shake off this persistent and adverse attitude of the U. S. Government towards its organization:

"The letter of the Scottish League for European Freedom to the Department of State, USA."
Mr. Ray L. Thurston, Director, Office of East European Affairs, Department of State, Washington, United States.

Dear Sir:

I have seen a letter from your good self to Mr. Szabo, dated 17th January last, in which you express an unfavourable view of the

ABN as being former collaborators — at least some of the members — of the Nazis and of having undemocratic ideas and not the ideology favoured by the United States. I cannot think of a more unjust accusation, etc" ...

("ABN Corresp. No. 5/6 — 1955, page 13).

Following this letter, ABN obviously decided that the time was ripe for a break through USA restrictions, and addressed the following Memorandum to the State Department:

"The Honorable John Foster Dulles,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C., USA.

Dear Sir:

On behalf of the liberation movements and the national representations of the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia which are members of the ABN, we beg to draw your attention to the following facts.

In a letter of the U. S. State Department, Bureau for East European Affairs, dated January 17, 1955, which was sent to the president of the Guardians of Liberty organization, Mr. Szabo, in Miami, Florida, a disparaging political opinion was expressed about our organization, as a result of which our delegates to the anti-Bolshevist conference held by the above-mentioned League in Florida, at the end of January this year, were refused an entry permit for the USA.

This letter affirms, that our organization advocates an ideology which is opposed to the interests of the USA, and that, among the national delegations of the ABN, there are certain persons who, on the grounds of their political activity in the past, cannot be described as manifesting either a lawful and democratically admissible or a positive attitude towards the present aims pursued in the policy of the USA ...

In the above-mentioned letter of the Bureau for East European Affairs the leading personalities of the ABN are accused of having been connected with the German Nazi government and the totalitarian regimes in their native countries in the past" ...

The Central Committee of the ABN.

("ABN Corresp." No. 10/11 — 1955, page 8).

In order to ascertain why ABN is so eager to remove the restrictions imposed by the U. S. Department of State and to clarify what ABN leaders are seeking in the United States of America, let us recall some of their statements. Following his trip to

Spain and a visit with General Franco, Mr. Stetzko gave an interview to "ABN Correspondence" where he pointed out that

"while, for example, radio 'Free Europe' and 'Liberation' do have to follow a definite line and consequently do not dare to speak about the Independence of the USSR peoples, in my address to my native Ukrainian country over Madrid Station, I could speak frankly and with no restriction about this fundamental problem".

("ABN Korresp." No. 3/5 — 1955, Seite 5).

ABN information about the representatives of the enslaved peoples in the USA., contains the same criticism:

"The League of the Subjugated or of the Subjugators?"

A 'League of Subjugated Nations' was recently founded in the USA. It promptly sent a memorandum to the United Nations and to American politicians, etc...

The founders of this league invited neither White Ruthenians, Ukrainians, nor Slovaks to join it...

What strikes us as strange is how the Baltic nations, who seem to preserve ethnographic principles in the structure of their states, come to be members of this league. Incidentally, the Poles and members of the Baltic states have also attempted to form a league of this kind in Canada, but the united front of all the other organizations of the subjugated nations has forced them to beat a retreat".

("ABN Corresp." No. 3/4 — 1955, page 9).

It is no wonder that this resistance of "all the other organizations" provoked quite a strong reaction and a chain of accusations against ABN activity in Canada. As a result of this, new complaints were brought forth by ABN that

"certain interested circles are attempting to influence public opinion by maliciously suggesting that the ABN ideology is incompatible with the policy of the USA and that we reject this policy most emphatically. This calumnious campaign is not only extremely clumsy; it is also based on lies".

(Niko Nakashidze, "The ABN Ideology and the Policy of the USA" —

"ABN Corresp." No. 10/11 — 1955, page 5).

So, it seems that ABN has no desire to reject USA policy emphatically, provided that it will coincide with that of ABN, outlined by Mr. Y. Stetzko as follows:

"We therefore support those trends of American foreign policy which ... advocate the liberation and the national independence of the nations enslaved by Moscow ...

Our attitude towards the powers that do not belong to our ranks depends upon their own attitude towards our fight for freedom and our aims".

("ABN Corresp." No. 5/6 — 1955, page 2).

and to make it clearer and more understandable to American policymakers, their main "crime" is exposed:

"'The Voice of America' with diligence presents in Moscovian language the official bolshevist conception of the united Soviet Russian peoples, and resolutely denies the responsibility of Moscovian people for the crimes of its bolshevist Government. It seeks hypocritically to convince the Americans that the Moscovians under the Communist regime are suffering not less than the people of the enslaved nations".

(die UdSSR der Staat ohne Nation, Seite 60).

Thus, it is up to the United States officials to revise their opinions and to save the people of America, for according to ABN's firm conviction, the persecution of Senator Mc Carthy in the United States clearly demonstrated

"an obvious political downfall of a part of the free world intellectual society, which is nothing but a conscious grave-digger of freedom".

(Mc Carthy Problem "ABN Korresp." No. 3/5 — 1955, Seite 15).

FREE CHINA AND A. B. N.

On October 24, 1955, ABN and APACLOOC (Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League of China) signed an agreement in Taipei (Taiwan), which stated that these two organizations unanimously agreed that

"their common objective is the demolition of the international-Communist bloc, the annihilation of the Russian Imperialism and,

thereafter, the restoration of the Independence of all Nations in Europe and Asia, enslaved by Russian Imperialists within their ethnographical boundaries.

APACLROC will do its utmost in supporting ABN aims, namely, the Liberation and the Restoration of independent national States".

("ABN Korresp.", Sonderausgabe 1951/1958, Seite 14).

This event was described by ABN as follows:

"This is the first time in history that European and Asian national forces have united to fight Russian imperialism and world Communism. This agreement is therefore of worldwide significance...

Another important moral and political factor also plays a decisive part in this agreement between APACLROC and ABN: the allies of the ABN in Asia also represent countries which are free sovereign states. The organizations which are members of the ABN represent the subjugated peoples whose countries are ruled by Soviet Russia or by the latter's Communist satellites. On the strength of this agreement they, too, have now been recognized by Free China as the authorized representatives and champions of their nations in the free world".

("ABN Corresp." No. 8/9 — 1956, page 5).

The above statement clearly shows the advantage gained by ABN leaders who, for the first time since World War II, did not have to fight the distrust of Government officials. This explains the flattery used by Mr. Stetzko in his address to the Chinese nation:

"If there is any truth in the statement that the Chinese people support the Mao Tse-tung clique, why does this clique need help from Moscow? A nation numbering 450 millions does not need help and support from 80 million Russians, who, in any case, as regards their cultural level, are far inferior to you, my Chinese friends!"

("ABN Corresp." No. 1/3 — 1956, page 9).

During his visit to the President of the Republic of China, Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Stetzko strongly assured him that "when Free China sets out to complete its main task that is to say when it concentrates its forces for the purpose of liberating the Chinese mainland, the subjugated nations and the ABN will be its moral allies and will cooperate to the utmost with Free China in this question".

("ABN Corresp." No. 1/3 — 1956, page 16).

Now let us see how this cooperation, promised by Mr. Stetzko in Taipei, coincides with the ABN policy in general. Mr. Veli Kajum Khan, one of the ABN leaders, during his speech in Turkey in October 1956, made the following statement:

"Our fight stands for disintegration of the Russian Empire, for its division and the restoration of independent, sovereign States, as well as the Liberation of East and West Turkestan, which makes a natural unity.

The Turkestanians fight for the total Independence of Turkestan... they fight not against Communists only, but against the Russian and Chinese Imperialism".

("ABN Korresp.", Sonderausgabe 1956/1957, Seite 12).

This statement was made just one year after the ABN agreement with China was signed.

Next year, in 1957, after Mr. Veli Kajum Khan's prolonged trip to the Near Eastern countries, as head of the Turkestanian exile government, where he was honored by

"official representatives of Governments and the Turkestanian delegates from Saudi-Arabia, India, Pakistan, Jordan, Iraq, Turkey and other countries"...

the same ABN leader once again stressed the boundary of his claims:

"...Turkestan is the most compact and greatest Islamic nation within the USSR and has common frontiers with a number of Islamic states, as for instance Afghanistan, Persia and Pakistan".

("ABN Corresp." No. 9/10 — 1957, page 2).

The double-faced policy of ABN — to cooperate with Free China and to strive for a natural unity of Russian and Chinese (Sinkiang) parts of Turkestan — posed quite a problem.

A solution to this unsolvable problem was found by the ABN Press Service through the announcement that

"in connection with the Agreement between the ABN and the APACLOOC it is announced that the National Turkestanian Unity Committee, represented in the ABN by its President, Veli Kajum Khan, has not joined this Agreement and has no part in the cooperation which exists between these two organizations".

("ABN Corresp." No. 7/8 — 1957, page 16).

This, then, would have been a logical end to the story except for the fact that Mr. Veli Kajum Khan is still a leading member of ABN! and his political line is an indivisible part of the ABN strategy. In an interview with Mr. Veli Kajum Khan in March 1958, the following question, asked by "ABN Correspondence", speaks for itself:

"What prospects has the ABN campaign in the Near East and how were the ABN ideas propagated by you received there?"

("ABN Corresp." No. 3/4 — 1958, page 5).

Our assumption is confirmed by another fact that was never refuted nor denied by Mr. Stetzko. In a public declaration in Edinburgh (England) on June 12, 1950, Mr. Stetzko said:

"The liberated and united Turkestan, together with Sinkiang... will gravitate towards South-west Asia".

("Der Weltkampf gegen den Bolschewismus und der ABN" — Seite 14, Press Buro des ABN).

A. B. N. AND THE ÉMIGRÉ ORGANIZATIONS

In its struggle for the monopoly of the representation of all the people already incorporated in ABN, the latter even rejects the right for existence of those organizations which do not share its hatred against the Russian people. These organizations usually are stigmatized categorically by ABN:

"Those who have adopted fine-sounding Hungarian names are not Hungarians, just as the Red Hungarian accomplices who have adopted German names have not become Germans. They can easily be recognized; they are the same persons who during the war supported the Communist (anti-Nazi — Ed.) underground movement, cooperated with the Soviets and after the war collaborated with the Bolsheviks. The Hungarian emigrants have only one way of protecting themselves against such persons, and that is to have nothing whatever to do with them and to enter into no conversation with them, even though they may spread the rumour that they are 'the only authorized Hungarian organization or representatives'. They must be avoided completely, even though they may seek to exploit the distress of the anti-Bolshevist emigrants by posing as 'welfare organizations', etc".

(From a statement by the "National Security and Self-Defense Service"

"ABN Corresp." No. 11/12 — 1957 — page 6).

The émigré organizations struggling for a federal Russia are rejected vehemently by ABN:

"There is as much difference between the ABN and the NTS (National Alliance of Russian Solidarists, the most active anti-Communist organization in W. Germany) principles as there is between day and night, between progress and backwardness, between freedom and slavery, between independence and imperialism. Neither the Ukrainians, the Georgians, Armenians, Byelorussians nor the Islamic peoples of Turkestan or Azerbaijan have anything in common with the Russian people".

(ABN comments on the Political Basis of the World-Front against Communism and Russian Imperialism — 1957) (Appendix Nr. 8).

The language becomes even more abusive when the matter concerns USSR minorities' organizations:

"Traitors there have always been and always will be! And these persons like most renegades lie and defame others most shamelessly. They pose as the 'Azerbaijan National Union', as the 'Union of Armenian Fighters for Freedom', as the 'Ukrainian Liberation Movement'. But we all know what is behind these pompous titles and these alleged 'organizations', — merely a handful of insignificant individuals who represent no one except themselves".

("ABN Corresp." No. 10/12 — 1956, page 11).

There is nothing new in the above-mentioned arrogance. The history of the "OUN-ABN" knows of even better ways of persuasion:

"Terror is still their weapon against Ukrainian exiles who oppose their racial policies. Thus, on November 16, 1951, a group of Bandera thugs invaded a DP camp near Munich and tried to assassinate Colonel Gulai, head of an anti-Communist Ukrainian organization. The victim, stabbed four times around his heart, was rushed to the hospital with knife wounds in his chest, and three of the assailants were caught and arrested¹⁶."

"Why was Colonel Gulai marked for death? Because a month before he had helped draft a program for a democratic Ukrainian group calling for joint political action against the Stalin regime by all nationalities of the Soviet Union, including the Russians. The program, adopted in Fuerstenfeldbruck in October 6-7, 1951, stated that the future of the liberated Ukraine was to be determined by the democratic will of the Ukrainian people. It described the Russians as "a great Christian people" and victims of Soviet tyranny no less than the Ukrainians."

"For this affront to the Bandera-Stetzko racial obsessions, Colonel Gulai nearly paid with his life. The attempted murder case came a few weeks after an assault on another Ukrainian democrat who had participated in the Fuerstenfeldbruck gathering. It is but the most recent chapter in a campaign of terror which these Galician fanatics have been conducting since 1945 against Ukrainian DP's and escapees willing to cooperate with Russian anti-Communists.

(Non-Racist, Democratic Ukrainians Terrorized — from "How to help Stalin win the World", page 13) Appendix Nr. 1.

This is rather a small case in the long list of OUN-ABN-UPA crimes, for:

"Yarovy's report contains a frightening, but incomplete, list of the crimes committed by the SB (security service of UPA), most apparently committed in the American zone of Germany. The Ukrainian DP Professor V. Petrov was kidnapped in Munich in April 1949 and tortured to death; later the stock pretext was offered that he had been a "Bolshevik agent". Three SB operatives were murdered when they tried to expose their leaders' criminal acts and links with the MVD. Yarovy implies that he knows more than he tells, but that his own life is in jeopardy even though he now lives in the United States".

("A Tale of Terror and Treachery" — David J. Dallin). Appendix. Nr. 2.

One of the former members of OUN, Bogdan Michaylyuk, in his book entitled "Bandera's Mutiny", gives the "historical" angle to this picture, which shows that OUN crimes are nothing but a part of its political system:

"No Bolshevik propaganda could do so much for the Communists as the activity of Bandera's gangs, from whom the Ukrainian people fled in terror, asking the Bolsheviks to save them from Bandera's atrocities and ravishment. Women, with children in their arms, fled into the forests in an effort to escape from Bandera's security service, headed by Lebed.

My arm shakes when I write these lines and my heart bleeds at the thought of so many Ukrainian youths, who did not meet death on the battlefield against communism, but died in the cellars of Bandera's NKVD".

Still another leading member of OUN, Vassily Nytych, who could not stand the criminal policy of its leaders any longer, published a book, full of accusation against the OUN gang, entitled "Agents provocateurs of UVO-OUN", 1956 New York, 398 E. 8th Street:

"I urge the former fighters of the UPA to re-unite, to stop splitting up between the Bandera and Lebed groups and to remain loyal to UPA's idea till the very end, for a real fighter should not engage in politics.

Moreover, I call upon the former fighters of the UPA to pass their own judgment over S. Bandera, M. Lebed and A. Melnik, who betrayed General T. Chuprinko and his staff to the NKVD. I call upon the Ukrainian Congressional Committee in the United States of America to bring before a foreign court, the case of the funds which were donated to UPA, but embezzled by Lebed. In addition, A. Melnik, E. Boydounik, S. Bandera and Y. Stetzko, ought to be brought before a "foreign court for embezzling the funds, donated for the anti-Red underground activity, and misusing them for their personal trips and ABN activity"...

"I urge a death penalty for traitors A. Melnik, O. Boydounik, S. Bandera and M. Lebed for their espionage work in the OUN. I insist that the ideology of OUN be revised, since, according to V. Martinez' book, it was drawn up by enemy agents, who planned to destroy us".

(Page 46) Appendix Nr. 4.

The attitude of the émigré organizations towards ABN, as should be expected, is very similar to the above. In its monthly publication "Ukraina-Russ" of January-February, 1958, (Stuttgart-Weilmsdorf, Schliessfach 111, West Germany), the "Ukrainian Liberation Movement" officially protests against the so-called "ABN Declaration" of 1957, and states that:

"In December last year, the Ukrainian Committee in England distributed a leaflet, in the English language, entitled "Declaration", among the politicians of England for the purpose of misinformation and confusion..."

Similar misleading "declarations" are being distributed in thousands of copies in the USA by hitlerites from the so-called ABN and other similar extremists.

The Ukrainian extremists are still continuing to chew the same old gum. They want to change the whole world according to their pattern, insisting that "white" is "black", that Russia has occupied Ukraine, that Ukrainian communists do not exist, that all communists are "Muscovites", who are, nevertheless, more "imperialists" than "communists"...

"It is common knowledge that our country is ruled by that same Ukrainian Nikita Khrushchev who, quite recently, had danced obediently before Stalin. The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party includes five Ukrainians. The President of the

Presidium of the Supreme Soviet — Voroshilov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs — Gromyko, the Minister of Defense — Mal'inkovsky, the chief of the Moscow garrison — Moskalenko — all are Ukrainian communists" . . .

"And if we should recall the marshals and the generals of the Soviet army, we will learn that a good half among them are Ukrainians. Therefore, it is only natural that we ask: "Who occupied whose territory? Did Russia occupy Ukraine, or did Ukraine occupy Russia?" If we follow the extremists' line of thought, it seems that Ukraine has occupied Russia, but, for some unknown reason, the Russians do not protest and do not issue any "declarations" . . .

"In addition to the above, the "brave shweiks" among the Ukrainian SS, in their "declaration", reject any form of the Ukrainian Federation with Russia. To them, as to the communists, the will of the people, in reality, does not exist. In their opinion, all must conform to their wishes" . . .

"What a coincidence in the trend of the "declaration", prepared by the remnants of hitlerite SS within OUN, with Communist propaganda directed against the free world! Embittered antagonisms, instigations toward bloody national conflicts among nations of the non-Communist world, violation of peaceful coexistence among peoples of various nationalities and races, creation of chaos, confusion and complete misinformation of public opinion and free thought — the basic weapon in the hands of the Communist rulers, "with the aid of which they hope to enslave the free world and bring its people into bondage".

("Ukraina-Russ", No. 1-2, page 2-3). Appendix Nr. 6.

This official charge against ABN, accusing the latter of falsifying Ukrainian political tendencies, as represented by the "Ukrainian Liberation Movement", is expressed in still sharper words in the joint declaration of the Union of Galicians, Carpathians, Ukrainians and Russians, made in January 1958:

"We have borne, upon our own shoulders, the sufferings of Bolshevik-Communism and national chauvinism which, under the leadership of Bandera-Stetzko, demoralized the whole Galician people. The OUN police (members of the Ukrainian Nationalists' organization), had arrested Ukrainian teachers not to kill them, but "to let out their blood, following which they will die themselves" as was declared by the above-mentioned police in the Ustikach Dolish-nich prison on July 26, 1941".

("Rusalka", No. 1, 1958, page 19, Herdorf-Sieg, Schliessfach 66, W. Deutschland). Appendix Nr. 5).

Other non-Ukrainian émigré organizations held no better opinion of ABN and its leaders. Below we are quoting typical opinions of some of these organizations:

"Mr. Durchansky (President of the Presidium of the People's Council of ABN, Ed.) lived in Vienna on money supplied by Hitler's propaganda... His anti-communism is of the same type as the Nazis".

(Committee for Social Aid to Czech Refugees)

Appendix Nr. 9.

"General Kisbarnaki Farkas Ferenc (Vice-President of the ABN Presidium of the Central Committee, Ed.) holds rightist, nationalistic and pro-German views...

Although, in the course of time, Mr. Farkas' group lost both a large part of its membership and significance, he continues to display certain activity and even aggressiveness".

(Hungarian Section of French Radio & Television Network)

Appendix Nr. 10.

"...Some of them worked directly with the Gestapo, like their leader, Dimitro Warcheff (Dimitar Waltscheff, Chairman of the ABN Information Committee, Ed.).

"We are not surprised that these people continue to work in accordance with their old political line, seeking cooperation with other pro-Nazi organizations"...

"We would not even be surprised if some of them would be connected today with our common enemies, the Communists, in order to undermine democratic organizations in exile".

(Bulgarian National Committee)

The above-mentioned opinions, expressed by the various émigré organizations, find full justification in the documents of the last war and are confirmed by officials, who were in charge of the Denazification of Germany. As an example of this, we are quoting a letter written by Stephen Dattner, Formerly British Officer commanding 310 FES (Denazification) in Austria:

UKRAINIAN ANTI-SEMITES

"Dear Sir:

The Melbourne Age on May 28 reported that a Mr. Stetzko, who claimed to have been Prime Minister of the Ukraine in 1941, had spoken from a platform addressed by leaders of various New Australian organizations and Senator Gorton.

Mr. Stetzko, who is now the President of the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, could only have been made a

Prime Minister of the Ukraine by the Nazis who invaded the Ukraine in July 1941 and who wiped out the existing government.

The so-called Ukrainian government was in fact no more than a Quisling police administration which acted in association with German Special Task Force A under the direction of the Reich Commissioner of the Ukraine and Rosenberg, the Reich Minister for the occupied Eastern territories.

The functions of this "Ukrainian Government" and the German Special Task Force A were three-fold: a) To crush the partisan movement, b) to organize the shipment of Ukrainian labourers for the German factories, and c) the destruction of the Jewish population of the Ukraine.

"How well this Quisling administration served its Nazi masters will be seen from the following facts which were proved at the Nuremberg Trials — On V. E. day there were more than 6,000,000 foreign slaves on German soil, 4,000,000 of whom were Slav workers from the East: Russians and Ukrainians.

The Jewish population of the Ukraine was virtually annihilated. Of the 100,000 Jews in Kiev, 80,000 were put to death by September 1941.

Whatever Mr. Stetzko might say now, he can never erase the record of his government which obediently carried out the orders of the Nazi government which was waging a war to destroy not only Russia, but the Democracies.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen Dattner

(Formerly British Officer commanding
310 FES (Denazification) Austria)".

("The Australian Jewish News" — Melbourne, Friday, June 14, 1957 — page 10), Appendix Nr. 12.

In reply to Australian Senator Gorton, who defended ABN and Stetzko himself, Mr. Dattner submitted the following official information:

REPLY TO SENATOR GORTON

"Dear Sir:

In reply to Senator Gorton's letter in your issue of the 28th June, the evidence presented at the Nuremberg Trials revealed that the Ukrainian Nationalists were in collaboration with the Nazis long before the war.

In the official English text volume 7 of the trial of the major war criminals before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal, Erwin Stolz, a member of the intelligence service attached to the supreme command of the German Armed Forces testified that he personally gave

instructions to the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalists "to organize immediately upon Germany's attack on the Soviet Union and to provoke demonstrations in the Ukraine in order to disrupt the immediate rear of the Soviet armies and also to convince international public opinion of alleged disintegration of the Soviet rear".

Shortly after occupying Lwow in June 1941 and in pursuance of the policy outlined by Stolze, the Germans set up a Quisling government in that city of which Stetzko, the colleague of Bandera and Melnyk who had negotiated personally with the Nazis before the war, was appointed Prime Minister.

"Wartime military communiqués and the Nuremberg Tribunal show that in fact there was no "inter regnum" between the fall of the Communist regime and the establishment of Ukrainian Nazi rule. It is clear that the Germans were in full control of all occupied territories and therefore axiomatic that the administrations however long lived — were either directly German or Quisling.

In its issue of November 19th, 1946, the distinguished "Manchester Guardian" referred to these administrations as "notorious for their terrorisation of the Polish minority in the Lvov area and for the part they played in the extermination of the Jews".

In his book "the S.S. — Alibi of a Nation 1922—1945" Gerald Reitlinger writes: "During the occupation of Lvov in July 1941, these Ukrainian leaders co-operated with Heydrich's Einsatzgruppen, who were good enough to help them organize a pogrom which they dedicated to their dead hero as "Action Petlura".

Mr. Stetzko is apparently not alone in his world travels. His old colleague in the Ukrainian administration, Colonel Melnik, cited at Nuremberg as a pogromist, provoked storms of protest in Canada from those upon whom bitter experience had imposed longer memories than upon others more fortunate.

For Senator Gorton's information I too am anti-communist, but I cannot regard service under this banner as redemption in whole or in part for crimes committed against my people. Would anyone in their righteous mind consider the right of Hitler or Goering or Himmler, were they still alive, to be received by leaders of the community simply because they were the supreme anti-communists?

Senator Gorton is cordially invited to check both my personal credentials and the facts outlined above, at the same time both he and your readers might well reflect further on this question.

Yours sincerely,
Stephen Dattner".

("The Australian Jewish News" — Melbourne, Friday, July 12th, 1957, — page 10). Appendix Nr. 13.

Mr. Dattner's letter, quoted above, was followed by another, signed by an Ex-Resident of Ukraine, who said:

"Dear Sir:

With reference to the letter from Senator Gorton in your recent issue, may I point out that the Germans occupied the Ukraine in June 1941. The two Ukraine leaders, Stetzko and Bandera led a Quisling government and the first things they organized were pogroms on the Jews in every town in West Ukraine: wherever Jews lived.

Not long after, the Nazis did away with this Government and set up a new Governor-Generalship incorporating West Ukraine under the Nazi Gauleiter, Frank, with the capital located in Cracow.

Stetzko and Bandera called on the Governor in Lwow (Lemberg) and protested against this move.

For doing so, they were arrested, and not because they were anti-Fascist as the Senator claimed.

Yours etc.,

Ex-Resident of Ukraine".

("The Australian Jewish News" — Melbourne, Friday, July 12th, 1957 — page 10). Appendix Nr. 13).

Before closing this incomplete, but nevertheless quite an impressive story of ABN, we believe that the following statement made by its spiritual leader, S. Bandera, is most appropriate:

"The Ukrainian Nationalism fights against the Imperialism, the Chauvinism, the Hatred between the people, against the Totalitarianism, the Racism and any kind of Dictatorship or Violence".

(from a Radio Interview of OUN leaders with S. Bandera broadcasted over North-German Radio Network in Cologne. 9 December 1954 — "ABN Korresp." No. 1/2 — 1955, Seite 7).

EPILOGUE

In conclusion it is appropriate to quote an open letter, addressed to the separatists, written by representatives of the so-called "oppressed and enslaved" nations. Here is what they have to say:

'FORTY YEARS' ANNIVERSARY OF THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT TO DISMEMBER RUSSIA

This year all the separatists among the émigrés are preparing to mark the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Ukraine, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Ural, and many other independent states.

During the jubilee celebrations, according to custom, the separatists will speak of how the Great Russians have occupied, enslaved, and are continuing to oppress all the other peoples of the USSR, which hate them and are anxious to separate from the common state.

It is more than likely that, in accordance with past years, the separatists will be greeted by representatives of the free world, who will express their sympathy, condolence and a hope for their liberation from Russian slavery and yoke.

And doubtless, also in accordance with past years, the bolsheviks immediately will inform the population of the USSR of these expressions of sympathy and condolence, using them as an example of the intentions of the free world to dismember and colonize the USSR. By doing so they will strengthen the distrust and hostility towards the free world among the entire population of the USSR, which prizes the unity of its common motherland and has no desire for its dismemberment and, therefore, will support the struggle for the preservation of this unity.

"Fully appreciating the above, we, the federalists (Bloc of Nationals — of the Peoples of Russia), urge all separatists to discontinue their 40-year misinformation campaign, which is useful only to bolsheviks, and to declare, like Vinnichenko — one of the Ukrainian separatist leaders — who on his death-bed said: "Let us

be honest among ourselves; we were neither elected nor authorized by anyone; we had attempted to thrust our will upon the people".

Simultaneously we address the representatives of the free world with an appeal to abstain from expressing their condolences and sympathy, which will only be exploited by the bolsheviks and are, undoubtedly, harmful to the cause of the struggle against Communist aggression.

We do not urge the separatists to repent before the communists and to enter in their service, as was done by the ideologists and leaders of the Ukrainian separatist movement: president Grushevsky, two premiers — Vinnichenko and Golubovich, commander-in-chief Tutunnik or the leaders of Byelorussian separatists — Tzvikovich, Zayats, Prokulevich and many other separatist leaders of various peoples of Russia.

We urge them to repent before their own conscience, to stop spreading cock-and-bull stories about national enslavement and oppression in Russia — USSR, which only helps the bolsheviks, and to join in the struggle of the free world against Communist aggression, for the genuine freedom of all nations.

Today, when Ukrainian Khrushchev stands at the head of the party, Ukrainian Malinovsky is army commander, Ukrainian Kabanenko is commander of the fleet, Ukrainian Moskalenko, while in command of the Moscow military district, protects the party and the government, Ukrainian Gromyko is in charge of foreign affairs, Ukrainian Derevenko suppresses uprisings — it is hardly possible to speak of Ukrainians being oppressed and enslaved by the Great Russians.

It is rather the Great Russians who could have protested against the usurpation of all the key positions by Ukrainians, but they do not do so, since neither in Old Russia, nor in the USSR, did oppression — due to national affiliation — ever exist.

Signed: President: Nur Ahmet Yakubovsky
(Tartar)

Secretary: Andrei Dikiy
(Ukrainian)

New York, 19 January, 1958".

1) It must be noted that in those days, the name of Ukraine did not exist as such, and both parts bore the name of Russia, with the only difference that one was known as Kiev-Russia and the other as Novgorod — (and later Moscow) Russia. (Ed.)

2) Which at that time was accomplished only in part. (Ed.)

3) As well as "Taras Bulba" — a tale of heroism of the Ukrainian Dnieper Cossacks, which was included as part of the literary course in schools all over Russia, and had a strong influence upon the young generation. (Ed.)

4) In particular, as a result of the protective customs tariff, common all over Russia, the Ukraine — prior to World War I — was a monopolist on the entire Russian market in such products as sugar, steel, coal and partially wheat. (Ed.)

5) Including even those Slavs who were not a part of Russia. Furthermore, he proposed that Russian be used as the common state language. (Ed.)

6) Archives of the Russian Revolution, Vol. VI, 1922.

7) And German. (Ed.)

8) Petliura, who claimed to have defended Ukrainian national interests in the Warsaw agreement with Pilsudsky, admitted the rights of Poland to Eastern Galicia and Volin, thus placing close to one quarter of Ukrainian territory and population under foreign rule. (Ed.)

9) Szeptycki was not of Greek-Orthodox faith, but a Greek-Catholic or Uniate. Besides, he never was an officer of the Imperial Russian Army. (Ed.)

10) In addition to Poland, the Ukrainian group prepared to engage in propaganda, intelligence and, if necessary, sabotage through their followers in Canada, the United States and Britain. (Document NG-3055, OKW/ABWEHR II/1 ERGEBNIS DER BESPRECHUNG MIT DEN II REFERENTEN DER ASTEN VIII — and XVII — July 3, 1939, OKW/4, CRS).

11) For more information on Banderovite excesses against Russians, Poles and Jews, as well as members of the rival OUN/M, see W. Diewerge, ed, Deutsche Soldaten sehen die Sowjetunion (Berlin: Limpert 1941) page 45, also Einsatzgruppen Reports, July 16, August 9 and 28, 1941.

12) The head of Eastern Section of German Propaganda Ministry Dr. Taubert in "Tätigkeit im Deutschen-Sowjetischen Krieg" Dec. 1944, Document G-Pa-14, YIVO, page 31, stated that:

"Ever since the beginning of the Vlasov affair, the Ost section (of the Propaganda Ministry) has been intent on preventing the Ukrainians from being overrun (by the Great Russians) ... Actually the UPA never exceeded 50,000 men". Taubert (like ARTL and MENDE) omitted from consideration those Ukrainians who sided with the "all-Russian" federalist elements around Vlasov.

Noteworthy that the Ukrainians from Soviet Ukraine generally preferred federalist General Vlasov's Army, to UPA.

13) Standard University textbook by Hugh Seton-Watson, Prof. of Russian History in the University of London. (Ed.)

14) "After the capture of Warsaw by German troops, Leibbrandt had "rescued" some former leaders of the Prometheus movement ... In return for a spurious

promise not to engage in politics, the Prometheus personnel received subsidies and research assignments in Prague".

(A. Dallin — "German Rule in Russia" — page 117)

15) "ABN in the light of its conferences and other materials concerning its activity 1941—1956".

("Great demonstrations against USSR" — page 308)

16) The April number of the "Ukrainian Observer" contained a report on the severe sentence passed by an American court in Munich on March 7, 1952, on three young Ukrainians; Mykola Lytwyn, Roman Gnypp, and Hrykoryi Cypera. Each was sentenced to 7 years hard labour for the "attempted murder of Demed Gulay, a Ukrainian, on November 15, 1951, in the DP camp at Schleissheim". The delict had a political background. According to statements made by the accused, they did not want to murder, but only to chastise Demed Gulay, in order to punish him for what they considered to be his treason towards the Ukrainian people.

(UKRAINIAN OBSERVER, May 1952, Vol. 1 (IV) No. 5)

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ВАСИЛЬ НИЧ

ПРОВОКАТОРИ УВО-ОУН

ДРУГЕ ЗВЕРНЕННЯ
ДО УКРАЇНСЬКОЮ НАРОДУ
В СПРАВІ РОЗДОРУ

"AGENTS PROVOCATEURS (QUIPLANGS) OF UVO-OUN
and appeals to the Ukrainian people to
"return to conscience"

by Vasil Nych

New York 1956

Нью-Йорк 1956

How to Help
Stalin

Win the World

WHO IS THE ENEMY -
"RUSSIA" OR COMMUNISM?

A Russian analysis prepared
by the American Friends
of Fighters for Russian Freedom
in consultation with a special committee
of experts on Russian history
and contemporary Soviet politics

FRIENDS OF FIGHTERS FOR RUSSIAN FREEDOM
Room C605 270 Park Avenue New York 17, N. Y.



DALLIN

EAST and WEST

By David J. Dallin

A Tale of Terror
And Treachery

THE RECENT REVELATIONS of Peter Yarovy in the New York periodical, *Tommorow's Russia*, constitute a unique narrative of political assassination, conspiracy, forgery and counterfeiting. They also tell the colorful story of how the American intelligence service is being misled, duped and made ridiculous by its Soviet rivals.

Yarovy, today a man of about thirty, was living in the Soviet Ukraine at the outbreak of war. He joined the so-called Bandera movement (named after its leader, Stepan Bandera), a violently anti-Russian Ukrainian nationalist group which patronized its political methods after those of the Nazis and the NKVD. The Bandera organization operated on the principle that any crime was justified if it contributed to the ultimate victory of the nationalist cause, and the movement's uncompromising militancy attracted a number of adherents during the war, particularly in the Polish Ukraine annexed by the Soviet Union. After the war, it acquired vast influence in the big Ukrainian DP camps.

In recent years, with its activities now centered in Germany, the Bandera group has looked increasingly to the West for funds and support. It claims not only a far-flung network of underground organizations in the Soviet Ukraine, but an underground army (the "UPA") and an efficient intelligence service. These claims are, however, unfounded and misleading. The group's actual nature is revealed by Peter Yarovy.

Until quite recently, Yarovy was

a member of the organization's "SB" or security service. The SB maintained contacts with its alleged agents in the U.S.S.R., kept watch on the loyalty of members and "liquidated" defectors, supplied information on conditions in Russia to Western governments, and checked on other Ukrainian and Russian groups.

From the outset, the SB anticipated infiltration by agents provocateurs of the Soviet secret police. Instead of trying to forestall the inevitable, it adopted a policy of deliberate collaboration with the MVD (the former NKVD). Two of its chiefs, Koshchuk and Werranka, maintained contacts with the MVD bosses in Prague and Lwow, while subordinates were dispatched to the Soviet Union with orders to contact the MVD there and return. Since the Bolsheviks would find out what they wanted to know, anyway, the reasoning ran, why not gain their confidence by furnishing them accurate information?

Naturally, the MVD proved stronger and shrewder than the meek conspirators of the SB. Before long, everything was topsy-turvy: the fiery anti-Communists of the SB were acting as agents of the MVD, while real MVD operatives moved freely among the Bandera group. Finally, the MVD started to use the SB for its own purposes, such as to supply American and British intelligence with false documents and misinformation.

"The Bandera-Bolshevik alliance," writes Yarovy, "has devoted much of its time to conveying misleading information about the Soviet Union

to Western military intelligence. I declare on oath that all the reports on Soviet military and economic affairs were faked 100 per cent. If a couple of accurate facts were transmitted, this was done by the Bolsheviks themselves in order to lend credence to the misinformation contained in their other reports."

To make their stories sound plausible, the MVD even sent a few of its agents across the Iron Curtain to deliver their fraudulent reports directly to the chiefs of the SB. The latter, however, were well aware that they were dealing with Soviet agents, and sold the reports to Western intelligence, as Yarovy remarks, for "large sums."

In a recent interview, Bandera himself claimed to have secret Soviet "mobilization plans" in his possession. "I believe him," Yarovy writes, "but I am certain that the plans do not originate with the Soviet General Staff. . . . What he has in his possession is rank forgery."

Yarovy's report contains a frightening, but incomplete, list of the crimes committed by the SB, most apparently committed in the American zone of Germany. The Ukrainian DP Professor V. Petrus was kidnapped in Munich in April 1949 and tortured to death; later the same pretext was offered that he had been a "Bolshevik agent." Three SB operatives were murdered when they tried to expose their leaders' criminal acts and links with the MVD. Yarovy implies that he knows more than he tells, but that his own life is in jeopardy even though he now lives in the United States.

The writer states that the Bandera group's chief sources of support in this country, in addition to U.S. intelligence agencies, are certain Catholic circles and, in particular, *America* magazine. I am in no position to pass judgment on the accuracy of these charges. It does seem, however, that even intelligent people can sometimes be lured by artful cloak-and-dagger tales to the edge of a political coisopol.

Alexander Dailin, German Rule in Russia

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People and Politics

announcers, minor officials, and consultants. Just what their status was, no one seemed able to tell.

Thus another gap developed between official policy and practice. It was nowhere more strikingly illustrated than in the case of the Ukrainian emigres.

History and O.N.

Ever since 1918, one of the principal Ukrainians supported by the German government had been Hetman Paul Skoropadski, who had headed a reactionary Ukrainian regime under the German occupation in 1918. Hitler, who never attributed special importance to either Ukrainians or emigres, resented his early disagreements with Skoropadski on the use of Skoropadski.

Yet, what do you promise yourself from this man?

Well, Hitler continued for that he would have to be in Russia. The people who make a revolution must be within their country.

Events have shown that all this was a phantom. The emigres have accomplished nothing at all.

The Nazis increasingly looked upon the ex-Hetman as a semite figurehead and shifted their support to more extremist groups.

Reduced to inaction, the emigres from the Soviet Ukraine found friends among the anti-parliamentary Ukrainian parties in Galicia. Having adopted uncompromisingly revolutionary methods and a programme parallel to the Nazis, the O.N. (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) had become the centre of anti-Polish activities in Galicia. Under Colonel Eugene Konowalski the O.N. and its predecessor organizations had cultivated ties with German intelligence from as far back as 1921. After the assassination of Konowalski in 1935 by a Soviet agent, leadership of the O.N. had passed to Colonel Andrew Melnyk, who continued the co-operation with Berlin.

¹ See *History of Ukraine*, October 1942, Document No. 217-2.

The Nazis continued to pay the humanitarian grant from the Reich (Schindler Document No. 5552). Supporting remained probably the same. In December 1939, pro-German of Ukrainian publication had failed to find any editorial following. See also page 822.

² See *History of Ukraine*, October 1942, Document No. 217-2. The Nazis continued to pay the humanitarian grant from the Reich (Schindler Document No. 5552). Supporting remained probably the same. In December 1939, pro-German of Ukrainian publication had failed to find any editorial following. See also page 822.

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The decisive role in the activation of O.N. forces on the German side was played by the Abwehr. Admiral Canaris, its clever little chief, saw in them welcome and active helpers and unlike the Nazi AIA, cared little about the details of the O.N.'s programme. In 1939, as the prospects of war against Poland increased, the Ukrainian collaborators were brought into action. First they appeared in the short-lived Capadocian-Ukrainian government of March 1939.¹ Then the Abwehr secretly organized a regiment of O.N. members, known clandestinely as *Bryghadnytsia* (BHL), literally 'Mountain-Breast' (Help).² Holding open the possibility of a future 'Ukrainian state', the Abwehr groomed the Ukrainian unit both for action as a legion and for a revolt behind enemy lines in case of a German attack on Poland.³ When the invasion came, one of the possibilities initially considered involved establishing a nominally 'independent' Galicia under German auspices. In this case, Canaris noted in his diary.

I would have to make appropriate preparations with the Ukrainians so that, should this alternative become real, the Wehrmacht Organization (O.N.) can produce an uprising which would aim at the annihilation of the Jews and Poles.⁴

¹ See Ribbentrop memorandum on *Major Vasilov*, May 6, 1939, Document No. 1927. ² Michael Wachs, *People for a Day* (London: Hale, 1931) and W. E. D. Allen, *The People's Army* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931). ³ See also *Die Wehrmacht* (Berlin: Mittler, 1931) and Karl Albrecht, *German People and Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt: Vieweg, 1931).

⁴ See also *Die Wehrmacht* (Berlin: Mittler, 1931) and Karl Albrecht, *German People and Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt: Vieweg, 1931).

⁵ See also *Die Wehrmacht* (Berlin: Mittler, 1931) and Karl Albrecht, *German People and Wehrmacht* (Frankfurt: Vieweg, 1931).

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РУСАУКА

УКРАЇНА-РУСЬ

Продовжено в наступній таблиці
Україна-Русь
Україна-Русь
Україна-Русь
Україна-Русь

ПРОБІЛКА

№ 1, 1938

ВІСНИК УКРАЇНО-РУСЬ



ОПІС
УКРАЇНО-РУСЬ
№ 1, 1938

Україна-Русь

Україна-Русь

1938

Україна-Русь
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Україна-Русь
Україна-Русь
Україна-Русь

№ 1, 1938

Україна-Русь

COMITÉ D'AIDE SOCIALE AUX REFUGIES TCHÉCOSLOVAQUES

FONDÉ EN 1948

149, Rue de Grenelle - PARIS-VII^e - Tél. : INV. 17-93

Paris, le 30 Janvier 1959
BR/31/137/59/

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Léon Blum
Pauline M. Bonger
F. Charles-Roux
Michel Chavencou
Général Cochet
André Colin
Yves Dallos
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Pierre Laro
Bernard Lavigne
Jean Lecomte
André Le Troquer
Louis Marin
François Mauriac
Léon Moll
Joseph Paul-Boncour
Ernest Pascal
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René Pléven
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Mme Randa Fournier
Général Faucher
Général Jouart
P. E. Maggior
Léon Noël
Mgr Rodheim

Cher Monsieur,

Je vous remercie des vœux que vous
avez bien voulu m'adresser et vous prie de trouver
en retour ceux que je formule à votre intention.

Vos informations concernant M. DUBOIS, comme vous venez de me les communiquer, sont exactes et je peux encore ajouter qu'au moment de la crise dite "sudète", en Septembre 1938, avant Munich, il s'est établi à Vienne, à la solde de la propagande hitlérienne où il dirigea les émissions en langue slovaque émises contre la Tchécoslovaquie. Il appartient au clan le plus extrémiste des anciens collaborateurs slovaques avec les nazis. Son anti-communisme est du genre nazi..... C'est tout.

Croyez, cher Monsieur, à l'assurance
de mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Emmanuel Remy

Emmanuel REMY,
Président du Conseil
de Direction.

Paris, le 27 Février 1958.

Monsieur,

En réponse à votre lettre du 22 c., je m'empresse de vous dire que le Mouvement de Libération Hongrois est bien connu dans l'émigration hongroise depuis la fin de la deuxième guerre. Il s'agit, au fond, d'un mouvement bien réduit qui a à sa tête, comme vous dites, le général XILOBARNAKI FARKAS Ferenc et qui fait partie du BEHE. M. Farkas est officier de carrière qui se situait toujours, comme la très grande majorité de l'armée hongroise, à la droite nationaliste et germanophile. Il semble qu'il s'est courageusement battu contre les armées soviétiques dans les Karpathes. En 1944, il était le commissaire d'évacuation de Budapest, puis au printemps 1945 il est venu en Occident avec une partie des forces armées hongroises. En émigration, il est devenu ce qu'on appelle un officier politique. Il a tôt fait de former un groupe composé surtout de militaires et de quelques personnages civils qui avait, en 1948, la prétention d'un contre-gouvernement. La couleur de ce groupe était plutôt d'extrême-droite, sans aller jusqu'à l'organisation fascisante de Szilasi. Bien que les années aient diminué le groupe même de M. Farkas ainsi que son importance, il maintient toujours une certaine activité, voire agressivité. Je dois ajouter encore que la plupart des anciens combattants hongrois en émigration sont groupés dans une organisation "MHBK" avec le général ZAKO Andras à leur tête. Il existe depuis 5 ans un autre groupe que l'admiral Horthy a essayé de former et dont le chef est un vieux général appelé SCHYI Fugó. Depuis Octobre-Novembre 1956, les militaires /et aussi civils/ de la nouvelle émigration ont formé, avec l'aide américaine, une nouvelle émigration: son chef était jusqu'à présent le général KIRALY Bela. L'organisation s'appelle Fédération hongroise de Combattants pour la liberté. Cette Fédération aura son congrès mondial en Mars, à Paris. Son nouveau chef sera le général général VERESS Lajos, très âgé, bonne renommée militaire, politiquement irréprochable.

COMITE NATIONAL BULGARE

"La Bulgarie libre et indépendante"

Président - Dr. G. M. Dimitroff

Washington D. C.
724, 9-th Street N.W.
Tél. République 1714

9 RUE PASQUIER
PARIS 8^e
TEL. ANJOU 22 22

PARIS 147 Février

1958

Cher Monsieur,

En vous accusant réception de votre lettre du 22 Février or.
je m'empresse de vous communiquer les renseignements que vous me
demandez :

Le Front National Bulgare organisé en exil est composé de monarchistes, anciens nazi et pro-fascistes bulgares. Parmi eux, certains étaient directement au service de la Gestapo, comme c'est le cas de leur chef; Dimitar WALTCHBFF.

Nous ne sommes pas étonnés que ces gens-là continuent à travailler en suivant l'ancienne ligne politique, cherchant aussi la collaboration des autres organisations pro-nazistes des différents groupes nationaux. Nous ne serions même pas surpris si certains d'entre eux étaient liés aujourd'hui avec nos ennemis communs, les communistes, pour lutter contre les organisations démocratiques en exil.

Le Comité National Bulgare n'a jamais collaboré avec ces gens-là ni en Bulgarie, ni en exil.

Veuillez croire, cher Monsieur, à mes sentiments les meilleurs

Le Secrétaire

(Ts. Baryev)

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