

IN SEARCH OF A LESSER EVIL: ANTI-SOVIET NATIONALISM AND THE COLD WAR

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores Western intelligence services' early Cold War employment of former Nazi officers and collaborators who planned and participated in the wartime occupation of Soviet territories. In the early Cold War, Western intelligence agencies actively recruited individuals with clear records of hate-based politics, ethnic atrocities, and tendencies towards authoritarianism. It explores the early Cold War relationship between western intelligence services and anti-Soviet nationalist émigrés, as well the use of ethnic hatred as a political weapon against communism. Its findings alter our current paradigm for understanding international and transnational support for nationalist, ethnic-based movements and the modern manipulation of ethnic hatred as a political tool.

This study draws upon archival materials released under the Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act of 1998, including records of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (RG 65), Immigrations and Naturalization Service (RG 85), Central Intelligence Agency (RG 263), and the records of the Army Staff (RG 319). It also includes declassified records of the British National Archives. These documents include the records of the Security Service (KV 2), records of the Foreign Office: Political Departments (FO 371), records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Northern Department and East European and Soviet Department (FCO 28), and the records of the War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Directorate of Military Intelligence (WO 208).

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INTRODUCTION

In February 1956, a committee of the Central Intelligence Agency convened under the name AERODYNAMICS. Its members planned the creation of *The Nationalist*, a new publication that would serve as a tool in President Dwight Eisenhower's "psychological" offensive against communism. His administration intended for publications like *The Nationalist* to convince the many peoples of the Soviet Union and the Third World that their best interests lay not in communist internationalism but within themselves and their own national communities. As the AERODYNAMICS committee explained:

The ideological and social forces behind nationalism represents [sic] an antithesis of the Soviet Communist ideology that is totalitarian and international in its political philosophy. True nationalism puts the emphasis on the individual character, of the nation and the country, *it represents the centrifugal forces inherently opposed to the maxims and ideas of the Soviet Communist*, and for this reason, could be effectively used in countering the Soviet drive to subvert and alienate the underdeveloped nations of the world.¹

Western intelligence operations like AERODYNAMICS keenly identified the true Achilles heel of world communism and the Soviet system. The most fundamental weakness

¹ "AERODYNAMICS—English Language Publication," 28 February 1956, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 11, Volume 13. Emphasis mine. *The Nationalist* is also discussed in: Jeffrey Burds, *Borderland Wars: The Soviet War to Crush Ukrainian Nationalism, 1944-1948* (Unpublished book manuscript).

of the USSR, planners argued, was not an inefficient command economy. Nor did they believe that appeals for “democracy” would generate enough momentum to counter Soviet influence. Only “true nationalism” could provide the necessary means for concomitant forces of inclusion and exclusion powerful enough to curtail Soviet international prestige and shake the union at its very foundations.

In the early Cold War, Western intelligence agencies actively recruited individuals with clear records of hate-based politics, ethnic atrocities, and tendencies towards authoritarianism. This dissertation explores the early Cold War relationship between Western intelligence services and anti-Soviet nationalist émigrés and the use of ethnic hatred as a political weapon against communism. These relationships were formed in great haste after victory over Germany. Dr. Wernher von Braun is perhaps one of the most famous former SS officer to recreate himself. He became a celebrated father of American space exploration, but he had also been a major in the SS. His V2 rockets, a feat of engineering, were manufactured by slave labor. Von Braun was one of numerous Nazi Party members who were vetted and recruited as part of Operation Paperclip. The CIA act of 1949 similarly allowed the CIA director to personally intervene on behalf of up to 100 individuals per year who would otherwise be ineligible for immigration due to “derogatory information” in their records. Under this act, many former perpetrators’ records were sanitized of Nazi associations for decades.

This argument is supported with collections of documents gathered from multiple archives, but the bulk of archival data comes from the national archives of the United States and the United Kingdom. The portions on British support for nationalist leaders against Moscow are based on documents collected from the British National Archives. These

documents include the records of the Security Service (KV 2), records of the Foreign Office: Political Departments (FO 371), records of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office: Northern Department and East European and Soviet Department (FCO 28), and the records of the War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Directorate of Military Intelligence (WO 208). The files on American post-war operations include files released after the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act and originate from various American agencies: the Federal Bureau of Investigation (RG 65), Immigrations and Naturalization Service (RG 85), Central Intelligence Agency (RG 263), and the records of the Army Staff (RG 319). Together these documents have been used to verify not only the post-war relationships between anti-Soviet nationalists, but also just how aware different agencies were of nationalists' activities before and during the Second World War.

Because of the recent nature of these disclosures, the long-term, international consequences of these operations have yet to be sincerely considered. The SIS and CIA recruited sundry characters in the belief that this hatred of a common enemy could effectively be harnessed and manipulated against Moscow. The re-examination of British and American sponsorship of xenophobic political activism and émigré networks may suggest some pause before emulating a similar reliance on politically extreme personalities and networks, both presently and in the future. Rarely is "the enemy of my enemy" truly a friend.

The fact that Washington and London employed and relied on war criminals with ties to the Third Reich is not new information in itself – the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, after all, was the response to this awareness, not its initiation. But the disclosure reveals a level of depth previously absent from histories of perpetrators in the

West. The earliest works on the Western use of nationalist perpetrators came from journalists. In these narratives, Western agencies found in the Soviet Union an enemy they knew very little about. Thus, former Nazis and their collaborators were able to dupe hapless officials into believing that they were genuine, liberty-loving freedom fighters. Most of all, these authors aimed to persuade readers to take the question of perpetrators in the West seriously. Even as the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) built and argued cases against high-profile collaborators, the authors felt that the matter generally seemed to be an immorally low priority for not only the “bureaucracy of justice,” but veterans’ and Jewish organizations who had fought hardest against Nazism.²

When perpetrators were exposed, agencies tried to protect their former employees, and therefore themselves, from international condemnation and retribution. In more conspiratorial minds, this was enabled by the ODESSA organization, a global network of former Nazi elites working to ensure the safety of former SS officers. Howard Blum’s *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America*, for example, performed a great service for exposing the depth of ties between former perpetrators and the American government, but it too insinuated that American Jews were not doing enough to build a campaign against perpetrators. Blum also indulged the unsubstantiated conspiracy theory of ODESSA, as put forth by one of his main sources.³ Despite their faults, these early journalistic accounts

² Rochelle G. Saidel, *The Outraged Conscience: Seekers of Justice for Nazi War Criminals in America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984).

³ ODESSA was an acronym for *Organisation der Ehemaligen SS-Angehörigen* (Organization of Former Members of the SS). The pre-eminent Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal believed the organization was founded by Nazi elites in 1944, in anticipation of impending defeat. However, there is very little to demonstrate that such a coordinated blanket organization exists. It is very plausible to believe, however, that officers of the Third Reich and their

helped raise popular awareness of the ties between clandestine activities and former war criminals, and works that followed built this case on stronger foundations.

Not all journalist accounts were so problematic. One of the earliest works on the subject also remains one of the best to date. Journalist Christopher Simpson's *Blowback: The First Full Account of America's Recruitment of Nazis and its Disastrous Effect on Our Domestic and Foreign Policy* demonstrated the lengths to which the American government recruited coveted Nazi intelligence assets to gain an advantage over the Soviet Union. General Reinhard Gehlen, the former chief of the German *Abwehr's* intelligence on the Eastern Front was one such prize. However, his network became a laundering service for Nazi compatriots, and his self-serving intelligence reports overestimated Soviet strength and helped further radicalize American foreign policy.⁴ The ties went far beyond Nazi officers. Former OSI investigator John Loftus demonstrated the breadth of American support for perpetrators. Moreover, American agencies were engaging in deliberate obstruction of investigations.⁵

collaborators relied on their existing networks to assist one another in evading international justice. The ODESSA network itself may owe a lot of its existence to Soviet fabrications the romantic pipe dreams of neo-Nazis, and the darkest fears of Nazi hunters. See: Guy Walters, *Hunting Evil: The Nazi War Criminals Who Escaped and the Quest to Bring Them to Justice* (New York: Random House, 2009), Chapter 5; Howard Bloom, *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America* (Greenwich: Fawcett Books, 1977);

⁴ Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Effects on the Cold War* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).

⁵ John Loftus, *The Belarus Secret: The Nazi Connection in America* (New York: Paragon House, 1989). Loftus's work has since been republished as *America's Nazi Secret: An Insider's History* (Chicago: Trine Day, 2010).

The Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act of 1998 opened thousands of classified records for the first time and changed the nature of studies of perpetrators in the West forever, though it took several years for much of these documents to become available to scholars. Many were not declassified until 2005 and 2007. Nevertheless, the wealth of new materials allowed for studies unprecedented in depth, breadth, detail, and nuance. Richard Breitman, Norman J. W. Goda, Timothy Naftali, and Robert Wolfe first explored these disclosures in *U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis*.⁶ Breitman and Goda revisited the subject in *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals, U.S. Intelligence, and the Cold War*.⁷ This work is indebted to their first investigations of the newly declassified materials, as well as studies of covert operations behind the Iron Curtain. These include studies of Soviet counterintelligence. Jeffrey Burds' work has shown the quality that can be achieved through cross-archival research in studies of intelligence.⁸ This is a direction in which this field should continue to move.

The weight of recently declassified documents reveals a more intentional approach taken by American intelligence officials. Rather than being the pawns of perpetrators, or maintaining a willful ignorance of their previous lives, Western intelligence officials purposely drew upon men who espoused extreme nationalist programs. These hatreds

⁶ Richard Breitman, Norman J. W. Goda, Timothy Naftali, Robert Wolfe, *U.S. Intelligence and the Nazis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁷ Richard Breitman and Norman J. W. Goda, *Hitler's Shadow: Nazi War Criminals U.S. Intelligence, and the Cold War* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 2010).

⁸ Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948* (Pittsburgh, PA: Russian and East European Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, 2001).

could be invoked in order to mobilize paramilitary actors with the tacit support of their countrymen.

These men and their networks articulated a narrative of national victimization, often at the hands of a Jewish-Bolshevist conspiracy. These victimhood narratives were key, for they justified not only their political programs and their demands for national independence (in the case of minority separatists), but also the atrocities and mass violence committed against political and ethnic “enemies.” National victimization narratives are an important part of post-Soviet national identities. Stories of personal and collective sufferings convey the suppression of primordial nations that may finally breathe freely. National myths are produced collectively. As Elise Giuliano has argued, both “ethnic entrepreneurs” – intellectuals and prominent leaders – construct these victimization narratives along with a receptive population at large. Ethnic entrepreneurs do not singlehandedly create narratives of national grievance. Rather they are only successful when they can tap into moral values and perceptions that have meaning at the microlevel.⁹ This helps explain why nationalism often centers on heroic figures, men and women with whom a patriot may personally identify.

Although nationalist ideology is not inherently opposed to socialism, it has long been an effective cudgel against leftist politics. Chauvinistic nationalism can be highly effective at uniting the titular group at the expense of political and ethnic “others.” It can build cohesion and loyalty and the pursuit of a shared destiny while denying divergent class interests. At times it serves the interest of anti-democratic, authoritarian

⁹ Elise Giuliano, *Constructing Grievance: Ethnic Nationalism in Russia's Republics* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

structures.¹⁰ However, as an ideology, it is often better at defining itself in the negative. As Peter Pulzer has lamented, it is an idea that “degenerates, like the larger Romantic movement of which it was a part, first into irresponsibility then into nihilism. . . . Though often inspired in its first stage by the urge to emancipate, it finds its logical conclusion in a paroxysm of destructiveness.”¹¹

This work emphasizes the corrosive role of national chauvinism as a political weapon, which has not been thoroughly explored by previous works of the Cold War. It investigates Western, democratic sponsorship of hate-based nationalism. Western intelligence agencies, particularly the CIA, deeply invested themselves in those who embraced and propagated virulent forms of xenophobic nationalism. It was often not enough to be simply anti-Communist. In addition to its mobilization potential, the political programs of these networks were reliable. Compared to other ideologies, hate is very predictable and easily manipulated to destructive ends. Thus individuals’ ties to violent nationalist organizations provided *bona fides*. Problematic pasts also presented powerful “controls” in the initial stages of their relationships. Only later did their biographies become a liability. Although the files of British intelligence are significantly more guarded, the fact that British operations shared sources, networks, and, at times, operatives with the Americans strongly indicates a similar strategy.

¹⁰ John Schwarzmantel, “Nation versus class: nationalism and socialism in theory and practice,” in *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements: The Contemporary West European Experience*, ed. John Coakley, (London: SAGE Publications, 1992), 54.

¹¹ Peter Pulzer, *The Rise of Political Anti-Semitism in Germany and Austria*, rev. ed. (London: Peter Halban, 1988), 287.

In my research, I was shaken by my realization not that their handlers were ignorant of their crimes, nor did they turn a blind eye, but that spotters and interrogators viewed these national hatreds as a credit to these subjects' value as prospective recruits. And yet, a close reader can detect the self-conscious irony, melancholy, and exasperation of the Western agents involved- still convinced, perhaps out of necessity, that they were locked in combat with a greater evil.

Exporting Revolution

Western nations have long used émigrés and their networks against Russia and the Soviet Union. The important difference is that while earlier operations relied on nationalism and ethnic identities, they lacked the same virulence and animosity that would manifest a generation later. Nevertheless, they set important precedents for the ties between anti-Communist émigrés and their state sponsors. Ironically, the Bolsheviks first gained power partly through foreign assistance. After the fall of the Tsar in 1917, the Russian provisional government continued to fight on the side of the Entente. Germany seized on Russian instability and paved the way for Lenin to triumphantly return from a ten-year exile. Moreover, they financed the Bolsheviks with tens of millions of deutsche marks between 1917 and 1918.¹² Germany would once again fall in league with Russian émigrés after the communists consolidated their power, but with counterrevolutionaries forced into exile. These émigré's anti-communism, their taste for authoritarianism, and

¹² Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Vintage Books, 1991), 391, 411.

their strident anti-Semitism struck a chord with the ascendant German National Socialists during the interwar period.

In the meantime the Bolshevik seizure of power provoked the hostility of Western powers in a division of the capitalist and communist worlds that pre-dated the Cold War.¹³ The October Revolution brought to power a new regime that fully intended to close the eastern front of the Great War. Moreover, Western nations had long had their own battles with political radicalism at home. Concerned about the foreign and domestic prospects of a communist revolution in Russia, including the corrosive influence of Bolshevik success, the Entente powers set out to throttle the communist government in its infancy.

White Russian émigrés formed relationships with the British Empire, which had long seen Russia as one of its chief geopolitical rivals. Just as the Germans secretly worked to try to expedite Russia's exit from the First World War, London and Washington scurried to bring about its re-entry. The war endangered the future of all the participating empires, and the Bolsheviks were quite clear in their castigation of capitalist imperialism in exploiting colonial populations and instigating conflict.¹⁴ Their anti-Colonialist subterfuge

¹³ The relationship between the west and the Bolshevik government for the first two decades of its existence was interesting in its contradictions. On the one hand, the conflict initially began much "hotter" than the Cold War, when Entente armies invaded Bolshevik Russia to provoke an armed uprising. President Woodrow Wilson was vehemently opposed to Bolshevism, and extremist violence committed by socialist and anarchist terrorists was presumably linked to a global Bolshevik conspiracy. On the other hand, the western powers, particularly the United States, exhibited a profound lack of interest in the Soviet Union from Versailles until the global depression of the 1930s. For more on this early schism, see: Donald E. Davis and Eugene P. Trani, *The First Cold War: The Legacy of Woodrow Wilson in U. S. – Soviet Relations* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2002).

¹⁴ There was already significant anti-Colonialist activity against Britain and France within Western Europe. The Germans supported these groups against the Entente during the war,

needed to be brought to an end. In 1918, British, American, and French servicemen found themselves re-assigned to a new front. They were to take part in the on-going struggle between the Red Army and the myriad of political forces that opposed them.

The British took the lead in covert operations to bring down the fledgling Bolshevik government. The infamous Lockhart conspiracy of 1918 centered on Robert Bruce Lockhart, the chief of the British diplomatic mission to Russia. With the aid of British spy Sidney Reilly (born Georgi Rosenblum, to a Ukrainian Jewish family) and American agent Xenophon Kalamatiano, the agents established informant networks under Colonel Fride to collect intelligence and plot a restoration of the Romanov dynasty.

The Bolsheviks had monitored Lockhart's transmissions for months, but they did not move to roll up the conspiracy until domestic assassins killed the chief of the Petrograd Cheka and nearly took Lenin's life as well. Lockhart, Reilly, and Kalamatiano managed to flee, but were sentenced to death in absentia.¹⁵ The Bolsheviks later made good on this

and it only followed that the new Russian government would support these groups in a "Germano-Bolshevik" anti-colonialist alliance. See: Daniel Brueckenhaus, "Every stranger must be suspected." Trust Relationships and the surveillance of Anti-Colonialists in Early Twentieth-Century Western Europe," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 36, Jahrg., H. 4 (Oktober – Dezember 2010), 523-566; Daniel Brueckenhaus, "The Transnational Surveillance of Anti-Colonialist Movements in Western Europe, 1905—1945," Yale University, ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing, 2011.

¹⁵ A full account of the affair, including the Cheka's manipulation of the entire network can be found in: John Costello and Oleg Tsarev, *Deadly Illusions* (New York: Crown, 1993); Also see: Richard K. Debo, "Lockhart Plot of Dzerzhinskii Plot?" *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 43, No. 3, September 1971, 413-439; John W. Long, "Searching for Sidney Reilly: The Lockhart Plot in Revolutionary Russia, 1918" *Europe-Asia Studies*, Vol. 47, No. 7, November 1995, 1225-1241. The plot was part of a larger effort by the British and Americans, fighting against leftist radicalism on their own shores, to throttle the center of world communism in its infancy. See: David S. Foglesong, *America's Secret War Against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

threat when Sidney Reilly attempted once more to operate within Russia. Soviet secret police captured him, broke him under interrogation, and killed him in Moscow in 1925.¹⁶ Despite the accusations of the Soviet government, Western states, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and France, refused for decades to acknowledge their role in the attempted overthrow of Communism.¹⁷

The British first established ties to the minority separatist Promethean League, one of the first transnational movements against the Bolsheviks, in the late 1930s.¹⁸ These ties actually were first forged in anticipation of war with Nazi Germany, under MI6's Section D. Section D began to sponsor and plan sabotage operations and stay-behind guerilla networks with league members in Warsaw and Belgrade. Within the Caucasus, the British

¹⁶ Michael Occleshaw, *Dances in Deep Shadows: The Clandestine War in Russia, 1917-1920* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2006), 304; Andrew Cook, *Ace of Spies: The True Story of Sidney Reilly* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004).

¹⁷ David S. Foglesong, *America's Secret War against Bolshevism: U.S. Intervention in the Russian Civil War, 1917-1920* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Michael Jabara Carley, "The Origins of the French Intervention in the Russian Civil War," *Journal of Modern History* 48 (September 1976): 423-39; Leo J. Daugherty III, "... In the Snows of Far Off Northern Lands': The U.S. Marines and Revolutionary Russia, 1917-1922," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* Volume 18, Number 2 (2005): 227-303; Miles Hudson, *Intervention in Russia, 1918-1920: A Cautionary Tale* (Pen & Sword, 2004).

¹⁸ For more discussion of the Promethean League, see: Etienne Copeaux, "Le Mouvement 'Prométhéen'", *Cahiers d'études sur la Méditerranée orientale et le monde turco-iranien* 16 (juillet-décembre 1993); Roman Smal-Stocky, 'The Struggle of the Subjugated Nations in the Soviet Union for Freedom: Sketch of the History of the Promethean Movement', *The Ukrainian Quarterly* III (4) (1947), 324-44; and, one of the most extensive English accounts of the League, Stephen Dorril, *MI6: Inside the Covert World of Her Majesty's Secret Intelligence Service*, (New York: Touchstone, 2000), 185-214.

started to envision the exploitation of Islam as a weapon against communism and unleash pandemonium on Soviet oil production and spread chaos into Central Asia.¹⁹

When Moscow and Berlin agreed to their pact of mutual non-aggression in 1939, the wisdom of Section D's work became more apparent. In fact, it was British plans that partly encouraged Stalin to seek a peaceful understanding with Germany.²⁰ Hitler's decision to violate the pact pulled the Soviet Union into the Second World War. London, in the meantime, largely shelved its plots against Moscow.

Post-War: Eyes Back on Moscow

After the end of the Second World War, the Western hostility to Soviet communism resumed and greatly surpassed its pre-war intensity.²¹ The Soviet Union was now one of

¹⁹Dorril, *MI6*, 187-188.

²⁰ The British and the French continued to plan operations against the Soviet Union even as the Germans massed troops along the Soviet border. Both countries considered arming émigrés from Poland and Ukraine on the side of Finland in the Winter War. In addition, Operation Pike was planned to sabotage Soviet oil fields in the Caucasus to keep them out of German hands. Moscow learned of these plans largely through the cooperation of the Cambridge spy network that deeply infiltrated the British government, including Kim Philby in British intelligence. See: Patrick R. Osborn, *Operation Pike: Britain Versus the Soviet Union, 1939-1941* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000). The exploitation of Islam against Russia had been a British tactic since the nineteenth century competition of the "Great Game" in Central and Southern Asia. Likewise, the British feared that the Germans of Bolsheviks would stoke the flames of Jihadist anti-colonialism against the Raj. See: John Ferris, "'The Internationalism of Islam': The British perception of a Muslim Menace, 1840-1951," *Intelligence and National Security*, Vol. 24, Iss. 1, (2009), 57-77.

²¹ Melvyn P. Leffler has argued that the Cold War began within the first months of 1946, partly because of real conflicts, and partly out of the Truman administration's desire to flatten international challenges and differences between allies by creating a simplified, bipolar dynamic. See: Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), 100. John Lewis Gaddis, a pre-eminent historian of the Cold War, has recently written that it's

two new “super powers.” Its sphere of influence encompassed half of Europe. Communist doctrine and Soviet rhetoric articulated that it would not – and must not – stop there. In February of 1946, Stalin blamed the division of the capitalist world for the outbreak of the First and Second World Wars. Both wars had facilitated the rise of communism as a result of capitalist self-destruction. The most recent war had upheld the superiority of the Soviet system and affirmed the cohesiveness of the “multinational Soviet state” to the rebuke of “foreign journalists” who drew comparisons to the former Austria-Hungary.²²

Émigrés once again became featured players in the fight against communism, particularly in the form of Rollback operations. These operations meant to go beyond a simple policy of “Containment.” Both ideas came out of the writings of the same man, George Kennan.²³ In early 1946 Kennan made a meteoric rise within the State Department

very difficult to pinpoint the exact start of the Cold War post-1945. It instead emerged out of a series of geo-political maneuvers and crises. See: John Lewis Gaddis, *The Cold War: A New History* (London: The Penguin Press, 2005), 27-28. Gaddis certainly believes, however, that the Cold War was an inevitable conflict between American ideals of liberal democracy and Stalinist totalitarianism’s fixation on continental if not global domination. This is a marked shift from his earlier conclusion that the Cold War emerged from the mutual misunderstandings of two sides that actually wanted peace. The largest in particular was the West’s inability to correctly perceive Stalin’s security aims: Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972). Rather, he now places the blame squarely on the shoulders of Iosef Stalin: “...as long as Stalin was running the Soviet Union, a Cold War Was unavoidable.” Gaddis, *We Now Know: Rethinking Cold War History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 292. Also see Jeffrey Burds’ discussion for the debate over who bears responsibility for the Cold War: Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948* (Pittsburgh, PA: Russian and East European Studies Program, University of Pittsburgh, 2001), 3-4.

²² "Speech Delivered by Stalin at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral District, Moscow," February 09, 1946, History and Public Policy Program Digital Archive, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1946. <http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116179>

²³ At least they did as official policy within the United States. As historian Yuri Tetrov has shown, the British took the early initiative on mobilizing resources against the Soviet

from a career diplomat in Moscow to one of the department's most dynamic and influential thinkers. He had been present within Moscow during the height of the Great Terror. This, he believed, was the true face of Communism. Stalin's chastisement of the capitalist countries for instigating two global wars infuriated Kennan, and he aimed to convince his superiors who the chief threat to global security truly was. His famous "Long Telegram" and *Foreign Affairs* article credited to "X" called for demonstrations of firmness coupled with provisions of face-saving outs for Soviet leaders. Moreover, the Soviet Union, Kennan argued, was a paper tiger, and would back down if faced with the real possibility of confrontation. Most importantly, he argued that the United States and its allies needed to openly identify the Soviet Union as a "rival" and not a partner on the international scene.²⁴ But the "Containment" of communism also implied a tacit acceptance of the European *status quo*, and Kennan's policy came under attack by those who saw it as a betrayal of democracy. Even worse, it was reactive. As a policy, Containment prevented the spread of communism into strategic areas, but it also surrendered the initiative to communist aggression.

Union, even before the war's end. By 1943, the British Government Code and Cipher School (GC&CS) began intercepting Soviet military and political communications. They too set up Section IX, the SIS's anti-Soviet section before the United States had a corresponding office. The British took the lead in Rollback, as well, when they first engaged Communist forces in the Greek Civil War. It was the flagging British ability to commit resources to these efforts that drew the United States closer to combating communist movements on both sides of the Iron Curtain. See: Yuri Totrov, "Western Intelligence Operations in Eastern Europe, 1945-1954," *The Journal of Intelligence History*, Vol. 5, Iss. 1, (Summer 2005), 71-80.

²⁴ Telegram, George Kennan to George Marshall ["Long Telegram"], 22 February 1946. Truman Administration File, Elsey Papers, Harry S. Truman Presidential Library; George Kennan "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs*, July 1947, 566-571.

Silently, Kennan and other Cold Warriors went to work, planning the subversion of Communism in Eastern Europe under Rollback. These operations called for the sponsorship of forces working to overthrow the Communist government both from within the Soviet Union and from without. Although the British had been coordinating covert efforts against communism for longer than Washington, the latter soon eclipsed London in these endeavors. Compared to the work of SIS, the relationships between American intelligence and Soviet émigré networks became far more expansive and remained operational over a longer period of time.

Western governments knew precisely the type of men with whom they worked. In some reports, officials demonstrated a sad irony about enlisting Nazis and their allies for the battle with “totalitarianism.” One CIA file captures this in particularly melancholy fashion. The matter involved Ivan Docheff, a Bulgarian nationalist who led the Union of Bulgarian National Legions, a right-wing, anti-Semitic organization modeled after the Hitler Youth.²⁵ After the war, Docheff immigrated to Austria. Back in Bulgaria, he was tried in absentia for crimes such as organizing the executions of Jews in Pleven and Silistra. For these crimes he received three death sentences²⁶.

Because of his past, the Immigration and Naturalization Service denied Docheff's application for Displaced Person status and barred his entry to the United States. The first organization to come to his defense was none other than the intelligence organization of

²⁵ To SAINT, Austria, From SAINT, Subject: Ivan DOTSCHEFF, 14 March 1946, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 26, Ivan Volume 1.

²⁶ “Interview with Prewar Legion Leader,” *Otechestven Vestnik*, 8 October 1991, p. 4, reprinted in Joint Publications Research Service, *JPRS Report, East Europe*, 6 December 1991, p. 3.

Reinhard Gehlen, the former leader of the German *Abwehr* intelligence organization. The Western search for valuable information on the Soviet Union brought Gehlen and his men into the service of the United States.²⁷ Gehlen's network insisted that Docheff's application had been "disapproved without reason" and that immediate action was needed before the denial became final. In defense of Docheff's status as a Displaced Person, the Gehlen organization cited the fact that Professor Asen Kantardzhiev, the founder of the Nazi-allied Ratniks²⁸ had been admitted to the United States in 1949. Based on this precedent, Docheff should surely be granted refugee status. The absurdity of the situation was not lost on one CIA official, who in the margins commented, "Two mistakes instead of one, eh?"²⁹ Docheff did eventually make his way to the United States in 1951. He returned to his native

²⁷ After 1945, the United States quickly began to rely on those who had already been working against Communism, including former Nazi intelligence Chiefs, see: Christopher Simpson, *Blowback: America's Recruitment of Nazis and Its Destructive Impact on Our Domestic and Foreign Policy* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson: 1988). These measures were not only carried out in occupied Germany, but Austria as well. Former *Abwehr* members and Soviet defectors were routinely recruited by American intelligence agents between 1946 and 1947, and Austria was an indispensable strategic beachhead against the spread of communism in Central Europe. See: Siegfried Beer, "The CIA in Austria in the Marshall Plan Era, 1947-1953," *The Marshall Plan in Austria*, Vol. 8, ed. Günter Bischof, Anton Pelinka, Dieter Stiefel (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers), 185-211.

²⁸ The Ratniks (Warriors for the Advancement of the Bulgarian National Spirit) were a right-wing organization that adopted a great deal of the National Socialist program, including deep anti-Semitism, notions of racial purity, and paramilitary violence against Jews. The organization was founded in 1936 and had significant influence among Bulgarian politicians by 1939, despite official bans on overt members holding office. Docheff's Legionaires and the Ratnitsi shared the distinction of having prominent connections, in addition to their combative names. See: Frederick B. Chary, *The Bulgarian Jews and the Final Solution, 1940-1944* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972).

²⁹ Chief, Pullach Operations Base, to Chief of Station, Karlsruhe, Subject: Emigration of Dr. Iwan DOTSCHEFF, MGL-A-1971, 15, May 1950, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 26, Volume 1.

Bulgaria 40 years later, after the fall of the Communist government.³⁰ His punishment was never carried out. He died in 2005 at the age of 99 in Shumen, the city of his birth.

The example of Docheff is demonstrative but not unique. Thanks to the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, scholars can piece together a fuller picture of the Central Intelligence Agency's exploitation of virulently xenophobic nationalism in order to undermine communist rule in Eastern Europe. Within the Soviet Union, this was specifically aimed at stoking the flames of ethnic and national hatreds.

The principal American official behind all these operations was Frank Wisner. During the war, Wisner had worked for the American Office of Strategic Services (OSS). He spent a brief time in war-torn Rumania, where he established ties to anti-Communist leaders. Although Wisner only spent 6 months in the country, Wisner was present when the Red Army entered Romania and arrested prominent anti-Communists. The onset of the Soviet occupation horrified Wisner, and the memory of Communist persecution stuck with him the rest of his life.³¹ Unfortunately, Wisner lacked the same righteous indignation about the men he believed were anti-Communist heroes. Nevertheless, from then on he passionately supported local leaders who vehemently opposed Communism in Central and Eastern Europe. For the next decade, Wisner took Kennan's initial conceptualizations of covert, guerilla warfare behind the Iron Curtain and put it into practice, albeit with a far more grandiose vision than Kennan ever had.³²

³⁰ "Interview with Prewar Legion Leader," p. 3.

³¹ Sarah-Jane Corke, *US Covert Operations and Cold War Strategy: Truman, Secret Warfare, and the CIA, 1945-1953* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2008) 15-16

³² Loftus and Aarons, *The Belarus Secret*, 8-10, 130-131.

According to Harry Rositzke, a former professor and spy who helped run parachute operations into Ukraine, Wisner and the CIA knew exactly what they were doing. "It was a visceral business of using any bastard as long as he was anti-Communist."³³ But Wisner's romantic dream of sparking revolution throughout the Communist East only ended in disaster. The failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956 not only marked the end of American Rollback operations in earnest, but it was also the beginning of Wisner's own steep decline.³⁴ The Red Army crushed the Hungarian rebellion, which had been instigated in part by Voice of America broadcasts promising American intervention for Hungarian independence.³⁵ The American help never came, and Wisner suffered a severe mental breakdown shortly thereafter.³⁶

³³ Harry Rositzke, quote in Evan Thomas, *The Very Best Men: The Daring Early Years of the CIA* (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2006), 35.

³⁴ The failed Hungarian Revolution revealed the contradictions within American liberationism. On the one hand, Hungarian patriots were encouraged to take up arms against Communism. Radio Free Europe broadcasts even embellished the size and strength of the Hungarian freedom fighters' movement vis-à-vis the Red Army. On the other hand, such instigations ran counter to the Eisenhower administration's broader goals of avoiding direct confrontation with the Soviet Union or undermining political objectives on the European continent. See: László Borhi, "Rollback, Liberation, Containment, or Inaction? U.S. Policy and Eastern Europe in the 1950s," *Journal of Cold War Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 3, (Fall 1999), 67-110.

³⁵ Memorandum from William Griffith to Richard Condon, European director of Radio Free Europe, SUBJECT: Policy Review of Voice for Free Hungary Programming, 23 October – 23 November 1956. Document 10, published in *The 1956 Hungarian Revolution: A History in Documents*, ed. Békés, Csaba, Malcolm Byrne, and M. János Rainer (Budapest: Central European Press, 2002).

³⁶ Wisner began to act increasingly erratically, according to those who knew him, and drank heavily. He committed suicide on his Maryland farm in 1965. Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, 135.

Over the next several years, Rollback operations and the employment of defectors both fell increasingly to the wayside. The Hungarian Revolution made plain the disastrous potential of supporting anti-Communist uprisings and Moscow's willingness to use crushing force to maintain the Eastern Bloc. It also exposed the West's reticence to back up its own fiery rhetoric with meaningful action.³⁷ The calls for rebellion were imprudent at best. At the same time, Khrushchev's "new look" had begun to convince leaders in Washington that the new Soviet leadership was perhaps more rational than under Stalin – especially in consideration of a militant People's Republic of China under Mao Zedong.³⁸

Finally, the infamous "Nosenko Affair" played a decisive role in undermining the CIA's reliance on human intelligence assets from beyond the Iron Curtain. A KGB agent named Anatoliy Golitsyn defected to the CIA in 1961 and informed American agents that Moscow would soon send false defectors to discredit him and to muddle the intelligence coming in to Langley. In 1964, another KGB officer, Yuri Nosenko defected to the United States. He accused Golitsyn of continuing to operate as a Soviet agent to spread disinformation to the United States. This rankled James Angleton, who deeply valued Golitsyn as an asset. Angleton was also involved in investigating the assassination of President John F. Kennedy and believed there was an active mole in the agency. Partly due to this fear, the CIA held Nosenko in solitary confinement for three and a half years and

³⁷ Borhi, "Rollback, Liberation, Containment, or Inaction?" *Journal of Cold War Studies*, 67-110.

³⁸ Gordon H. Chang, *Friends and Enemies: The United States, China, and the Soviet Union, 1948-1972* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Lorenz M. Lüthi, *Sino-Soviet Split: Cold War in the Communist World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

subjected him to intensive interrogations.³⁹ Nosenko would not break under these conditions, and he maintained that he was not a KGB plant. The ensuing controversy discredited James Angleton and led the CIA to largely abandon coordinated efforts to exploit Soviet defectors for decades to come. Instead, the CIA attempted to insulate itself from KGB plants, cutting off counterintelligence and legitimate defectors, leading to what Director William E. Colby dubbed a state of “paralysis.”⁴⁰

“Our Bastards?”

“He’s a bastard, but he’s our bastard.” It is a pithy phrase that so wryly captures the essence of so much of Cold War Politics. It has been attributed to prominent members of

³⁹ Angleton did not play any direct role in Nosenko’s incarceration, but he was aware of its developments. He remained convinced that Nosenko had all along been an agent of Soviet intelligence.

⁴⁰ The Nosenko Affair remains steeped in controversy. After a change in leadership at the Soviet Division, Nosenko was accepted as a true defector. He was cleared and hired to deliver lectures to CIA members on Soviet intelligence. Former general of the KGB’s First Directorate likewise maintained that Nosenko was a legitimate defector “whose actions weakened the Soviet Union and jeopardized the lives of [KGB] officers,” see: Oleg Kalugin, *Spymaster: My Thirty-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage Against the West* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 99. Vasili Mitrokhin, one of the defectors who was initially turned away by American intelligence, also deemed the CIA’s investigation and imprisonment of Nosenko “ill-founded suspicions” and “appallingly mishandled,” Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: the Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 3 67-368. Tennent H. Bagley, who worked on the Nosenko case, maintained that Nosenko was a mole. The effects of the affair on CIA counterintelligence operations remain clear. The Nosenko case precipitated a change in CIA leadership that shunned human intelligence assets as a dangerous waste of time. See: Tennent H. Bagley, *Spy Wars: Moles, Mysteries, and Deadly Games* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 213; “Eye Spy Interview of T.H. Bagley,” *Eye Spy*, no. 53, January 2008; William E. Colby and Peter Forbath, *Honorable Men. My Life in the CIA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978), 244–45.

multiple American administrations from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan, in various phrasings, with regard to a collection of far-right dictators. Alternatively, it has been attributed to British Foreign Minister Ernst Bevin, in reference to Marshall Josip Broz Tito. Apocryphal or not, the fact that such phraseology could plausibly be applied to Western foreign policy concerns in a broad array of contexts over several decades should alone give students of history and politics deep pause. Its ubiquity suggests it became something of a Cold War mantra. In retrospect, it may have been less an expression of anti-Communist grit than an attempt at self-assurance.

During the Cold War, “our bastards” rose to the levers of power throughout the third world, often at the expense of elected leaders. The ousters of Iranian Prime Minister Mohammed Mossadegh (Operation AJAX [US]/BOOT [UK]) and Guatemalan President Jacobo Árbenz (Operation PBSUCCESS) set powerful precedents for Anglo-American behavior in the third world. Both leaders made the mistake of seizing assets from Western corporations – the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company and the United Fruit Company. They were punished for their brushes with communism, and their countries were placed in the hands of strong men.

In both cases, Anglo-American intervention abolished liberal democracy for decades to come and served as preludes to instability and ethnic conflict. In Guatemala, the European-descended *Ladino* elites repressed the indigenous population. In the Persian Gulf, the Iran-Iraq war once again brought Western leaders to the aid of the Iraqi Baathist regime, which had its own inflammatory ethnic and religious politics. Time and again, Cold Warriors supported strong men and militants who stood unerringly against liberty and democracy, values professed by the nations of the First World. The extreme right’s

redeeming value was its negative program of anti-Communism. But a common enemy a friend does not make.

From the Greek Civil War to the Mujahedeen, this imperative flattened understandings of local and regional conflicts and politics. Authoritarians and extreme religious fundamentalists became “freedom fighters.” So too did former Nazis and collaborators who continued to struggle against communist rule. For decades, they basked in the lavish praise of Western governments. Even as their past lives and crimes became exposed to daylight, the anti-Communist narrative remained difficult to discredit. The American Office of Special Investigations (OSI), which was charged with uncovering Nazi war criminals within the United States, sometimes relied on evidence supplied by Soviet security services and legal authorities. Many, typically on the political right, took it as a given that the Soviet documents were fabricated, the witnesses coached or coerced, and the charges baseless.

My work has only scratched the surface of a wider Western program that employed ethnic hatred as a modern political tool. State and non-state actors alike wielded it. It would be imprudent to suspect that such a method would be unique to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe, and the sites of the Holocaust. In addition to Eurasia, histories of regions like Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa can benefit from the investigation of high, local, and personal politics. Historians of European empires have long studied “divide and rule” and its consequences, but this has been far less visible within histories of the United States and of the Cold War. These historiographies too may employ a more deliberate investigation of not only the use of hatred as a method of control, but also the necessary relationships formed with local and transnational leaders.

The first rumblings of war criminals freely meeting and working within Western governments came from more left-leaning media outlets. Unfortunately, the political climate of the Cold War made it very easy to dismiss these individuals, but, together with activists and public representatives, they were able to generate enough awareness and political momentum over time to initiate steps to correct these past mistakes. In some cases this ended in the deportations of perpetrators, albeit these were relatively few in number. Although it is laudable that states continue to take stances against perpetrators decades after the fact, in practice these steps were mostly too little, too late. In time, many perpetrators would simply die off and never face justice for their actions. In addition, the United States Congress did not call for the wholesale declassification of records of war criminals tied to the American government until 1998. Many of the records used within this study were not declassified until between 2005 and 2007.

This dissertation follows the careers of several prominent nationalists and their networks. Few if any of the figures featured in the following chapters will be new to students of nationalist opposition to communism or the hunt for Holocaust perpetrators in the West. Far from obscure, these individuals and organizations thrived in the daylight and build positive, even heroic, images. Chapter 1 traces the threat of nationalism and ethnic-based opposition to Communist rule. It summarizes the longstanding threat that nationalism posed as an alternative to communism in the early Soviet period. This period very much set the pattern for anti-Soviet operations after 1945. Such plans relied heavily on émigré networks, but Soviet security agents penetrated them to the point of imploding émigré organizations from within. Nevertheless, the Soviet state became increasingly paranoid of creeping nationalism up to the start of the Second World War.

Chapter 2 presents the first of several case studies. It features the work of the National Union of Labor Solidarists (NTS), one of the longest running organizations opposed to Soviet power. It also boasted one of the largest memberships of any such group. During the war, the NTS espoused a program that was stridently Russian chauvinist and bitterly anti-Semitic. It had a pre-war relationship with the British SIS, with few actual results. Its post-war operations were bolder, and it won the support of American intelligence while promulgating a new line – more pluralistic, if a bit reminiscent of fascism in its “corporatism.”

The subject of Chapter 3 is a Circassian collaborator-turned civic leader, Tscherim Soobzokov. During the war, Soobzokov defected to the Nazi occupation, served as an informant for the intelligence arm of the German SS, the SD, and eventually became a lieutenant in an Einsatzgruppen of the Waffen SS. His CIA interrogators noted his deep-seated hatred of the Russian people and high probability of war crimes in his past. After his recruitment by the CIA, Soobzokov demonstrated a keen ability to continually ingratiate himself with power, including members of his local Teamsters and Democratic Party. He used all of these ties to work his way up to the Chief Purchasing Agent of Passaic County and ruled the Circassian enclave of Paterson, NJ as his own personal fiefdom. He sold favors with the Social Security office to secure power with incoming members. It was a power struggle within his own community that helped expose a man who has become one of the most highly covered perpetrators within the US.

Chapter 4 features the bloodiest of all collaborators in this work, Mykola Lebed. Lebed had long served within the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). When the organization divided in factionalism, he sided with Stepan Bandera’s OUN-B. The OUN-B

was a semi-fascist organization that employed terrorist tactics to further its goal of an independent, ethnically homogeneous Ukraine. Lebed took part in the assassination of the Polish minister of the interior, for which he was still imprisoned when the Germans entered Western Ukraine. After he was freed, he was trained at a Gestapo training camp in Zakopane. He even instructed other Ukrainian recruits in brutal interrogation methods. He put his sharpened repertoire of sadism into effect as the leader of the OUN-B's SB, killing tens of thousands of Jews and ethnic Poles. After the war, he recreated himself as a Ukrainian statesman in exile, securing CIA funding for his own nationalist publishing house. To this day, he, Bandera, and the OUN remain venerated in Ukraine.⁴¹

Juozas Lukša, the focus of chapter 5, also remains venerated in his homeland. Lukša was a member of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF), an anti-Semitic nationalist

⁴¹ This was not without controversy. Former president Viktor Yushchenko bestowed the honor "Hero of Ukraine" on Bandera in January 2010, to the delight of Ukrainian nationalists and chagrin of Jews and ethnic Russians. The award was rescinded the following year, on the grounds that Bandera never held Ukrainian citizenship. The Donetsk region, home to a relatively large number of ethnic Russians and a site of separatist activity today, was instrumental in annulling Bandera's hero status at the federal level. The annulment was officially carried out under Viktor Yanukovich's administration. However, Bandera was officially honored by several Ukrainian cities, in response to the annulment. Moreover, it is currently illegal in Ukraine to dispute the heroic status of Bandera and the OUN as opponents of both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in the struggle for Ukrainian national independence. On Bandera's hero status, see: "Yushchenko grants hero status to controversial Ukrainian nationalist," *Kyiv Post*, 22 January 2010; "Award to Ukraine wartime nationalist is scrapped," *Kyiv Post*, 22 January 2011; "Top Lviv official wants Bandera, Shukhevych celebrated on Ukraine Independence Day," *Kyiv Post*, 4 August 2011; For reports of cities honoring Bandera after he was stripped of formal "hero" status: "Ivano-Frankivs'k prisvoiv zvan'nia pochesnogo gromadiana Banderi i Shukhevich," *Radio Svoboda*, 5 June 2010, <http://www.radiosvoboda.org/content/news/2034277.html>, accessed 5 June 2015; "Zhovka award title of honorary citizen to Bandera," *Kyiv Post*, 26 January 2011. The article reports the activity of the nationalist All-Ukrainian Union "Svoboda" Party in encouraging the municipalities of Zhovka, Dubliany, and Rava-Ruska in honoring Bandera.

organization headquartered in Nazi Germany. The Nazi government sponsored the LAF from its inception. The latter espoused similar views on Communism vis-à-vis European Jewry, and declared that a future Lithuania would be free from both. Lukša, in addition to his LAF membership, played a prominent role in the horrific pogroms that swept the city of Kaunas when the Germans advanced into the Baltic. After the war, he realized that the “Forest Brothers” struggle against Moscow would be fruitless if no country filled the void left by the German defeat and became an activist for international awareness and action in Lithuanian independence. He was in contact with multiple Western security services, and he ultimately worked with the CIA in operation AECHAMP. It was on this operation that he was betrayed by a close contact, who had defected to Soviet security services, and was killed in action.

Chapter 6 examines the single biggest reason that émigré networks were so ineffective in rolling back the Iron Curtain: Moscow was far better at employing a strategy of divide and rule. From its very inception, Soviet counterintelligence was well aware of nationalist threats from abroad. Soviet agents proved highly skilled in setting up front organizations to lure nationalists back into the Soviet Union and decapitate their networks. The end of the Second World War cemented a change in tactics that began over a decade before. Rather than simply assassinating leaders, Moscow added multiple layers for a more nuanced approach. They employed false defectors and moles—both within nationalist organizations and Western intelligence— to minimize the operational effectiveness of nationalist networks and to exacerbate fissures between them. The most representative example of these tactics is General Anton Turkul. One of the founding members of the NTS and a general in the Vlasov army, Turkul was a Soviet agent who consistently attracted the

most virulent of Russian chauvinists. On the side of Western intelligence was Kim Philby, the infamous Soviet double agent who claimed that one of his charges as a spy within MI6's Section IX, dedicated to Soviet affairs, was to pit the nationalist organizations against one another.

The use of case studies sheds light particularly on the ability of perpetrators to reinvent themselves in the Cold War context. With Western support, they could leave behind their brutal pasts as perpetrators and collaborators, and instead project themselves as representatives of oppressed peoples and pillars of their enclave communities. In no small part it was this same chameleonic opportunism that helped them to survive under Soviet power, to participate in the Nazi occupation, and to re-emerge as staunchly anti-communist covert operatives in Western democracies. For decades, these individuals and organizations have been granted the privilege of writing their own histories, both personal and national.

This project yields additional insight into current policy challenges. The political climate of Eastern Europe and the Soviet successor states remains polarized. Ethnic tensions and animosities remain volatile within former Soviet states. This study reveals the ways in which British and American governmental agencies were complicit in perpetuating ethno-national hatreds. Xenophobic extremists were shielded from international investigation. Their personas and ideas were legitimized through Western support. In the pursuit of interests within Eastern Europe today, policymakers may find the temptation to exploit and manipulate national enmities. This work cautions such individuals to think twice.

The tendency among my peers in recent years has been to forecast the imminent demise of the nation-state and to delight in its increasing irrelevancy in a world of regional trade blocs. Transnational religious and ethnic movements challenge political boundaries in Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Perhaps those who forecast the death of the nation-state are hoping its demise will mean the end of the sorts of violence committed in its various names. They may be right. Despite the best efforts of nationalists to project their communities back into primordial eras the nation-state is certainly not the natural and final basis for order. For them, the nation-state is both the social Alpha and the political Omega. But next to monarchies and theocracies that ruled expansive, multi-ethnic empires, or tribal rulers that governed local populations, the nation-state is extremely young. This does not, however, mean its relevance is on the decline. Recent economic unrest has threatened the cohesion of economic unions, immigration into Europe has led to a backlash against multiculturalism, and far-right nationalism is on the rise in Eastern Europe. The pendulum of the nation may be swinging back the other way.

CHAPTER 1 THE NATIONAL THREAT

Part I – Nationalism and Soviet Security

The Russian Empire, like the Soviet Union after it, was a state with a sprawling territory and an ethnically diverse population. Its titular nationality comprised a majority that grew slimmer by the day. From the height of Muscovy to the reign of Nicholas II, Russia's borders moved at a rate of roughly 50 square miles per day.⁴² The Tsars' agents of empire helped raise Russian banners across the Urals to the Bering Strait, west to Warsaw, and south to the borders of the Ottoman Empire and British India. Millions of people, representing scores of ethnicities, as we would understand them today, found themselves under the authority of the Tsar. By the Twentieth Century, Russia was a gargantuan country ripe for schism and conflict. As much of a problem this was for the Tsars – especially regarding religious diversity – it would be even greater for the Bolsheviks, who would by necessity upset the tenuous order to be had.

Reconciling Ideology and Administration

Before the Revolution, the Bolsheviks imagined themselves to be the standard bearers of an entirely unprecedented order. The creation of a proletarian society meant

⁴² A. Brückner, *Die Europäisierung Russlands* (Gotha, 1888), attributed in Richard Pipes, *the Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 1.

not only the abolition of class, but of religion and nationality. Lenin believed in the necessity for Communists to overcome nationalist tendencies and to integrate all peoples into the vanguard of the proletariat. What mattered to Lenin was not the ethnic accident of one's birth but his or her level of political consciousness. He argued that in the "civilized world" outside of Russia, the Jewish people were a shining example of assimilation and class-consciousness. Shunning the clannishness of their rabbis, the Jewish people of the West, Lenin argued, were more likely to integrate with their neighbors while remaining avid supporters of the socialist revolution – comprising a larger membership of socialist organizations than in the national populace. Unfortunately in "semi-barbarous" countries such as the Russian Empire, where roughly half of all the world's Jews lived, they were forced to remain in a primitive "caste." Few Jews were allowed to settle outside of the Pale of settlement, located in what are now Ukraine and Belarus. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat would necessarily put an end to benighted practices of religious and ethnic discrimination against Jews.⁴³

Lenin also lamented the longstanding hostilities between Ukrainians and the "Great Russians." Ethnic antipathies only worked against the international brotherhood of socialist revolution. If the Russian Empire were to move closer to real socialist freedom and democracy, he argued, "Great Russians" would need to lose their chauvinistic attitudes and towards historically suspicious cultural "others" such as the Ukrainians and the Jews. He suggested that Russia follow the example of the United States as a modern, diverse

⁴³ For more on the Pale of settlement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see: Benjamin Nathans, *Beyond the Pale: The Jewish Encounter with Late Imperial Russia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

republic.⁴⁴ The Bolsheviks could thereby undercut national, ethnic, and religious divisions to create a large and viable socialist state.

Historian Francine Hirsch has argued that an this intellectual “tug-of-war” between national autonomy and state security, the security of the Soviet state typically carried the day. Both the People’s Commissariat of Nationalities (Narkomnats), under Commissar Stalin, and the economic decision-makers of the State Planning Committee (Gosplan) had a say in the delineation of national boundaries. Narkomnats based its arguments upon census data that demonstrated the settlement patterns of populations of different ethnic groups so that the boundaries would best represent the people within a given territory. Gosplan’s economists favored borders drawn according to economic manageability of resources for their most efficient utilization.

While both were important considerations, the Communist Party found a compromise between national-self determination and economic cohesion in a security-based paradigm that functioned on a case-by-case basis. The debate that centered on the matter of Belarusian and Ukrainian boundaries serves as an example. The dispute lasted between 1919 and 1921. Some Party members expressed concerns that Belorussian villages were difficult to distinguish from their Russian counterparts and such a national territory would be artificially imposed. The Belarusian nation appeared to be too embryonic and too similar to Russia. Moreover, was it the role of the socialist state to create nations or to erode them? Concerns over Poland and Ukraine helped the case for

⁴⁴ Vladimir Ilich Lenin, “Two Cultures in Every National Culture,” in *The Lenin Anthology*, edit. Robert C. Tucker (New York: Norton, 1975), 654-658.

Belarus. A Belarusian Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR) would serve as a buffer with Poland while providing a necessary counterbalance to a large Ukrainian SSR. With a strong national consciousness and propensity towards separatism, Ukraine needed some form of autonomy to mollify its population. Internally, Belarus had economic and ethnic zones. Gosplan was to manage its regional resources through two economic oblasts within one nationality-based, administrative region. The inhabitants of the Belorussian SSR were declared by Soviet ethnographers to be “ethnographically Belorussian,” whether they were conscious of it or not.⁴⁵ Through improvisation, Bolshevik planners managed to reconcile ideological, economic, and security needs.⁴⁶

Despite the Bolsheviks’ apparent distaste for racial ideology, they nevertheless displayed a strong tendency towards biological determinism that would be repeated over the ensuing decades of Stalin’s rule. Peter Holquist’s research on the Communist campaigns against the Cossacks during the Russian Civil War has yielded a powerful case study for the foundations of Soviet perceptions of enemy “elements.” The Bolsheviks determined that the Cossacks of the Don and Kuban regions of the former Russian Empire opposed Soviet power monolithically, despite obvious evidence to the contrary. While many Cossacks did indeed support the Tsarist forces, and were successful in temporarily driving the Bolsheviks back, others unapologetically fought under the red flag. In spite of this, the Bolshevik Party authorized the conduction of “mass terror” against the Cossackry

⁴⁵ Francine Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations: Border-Making and the Formation of Soviet National Identities," *Russian Review*. Vol. 59, No. 2 (2000): 209.

⁴⁶ Francine Hirsch, *Empire of nations: ethnographic knowledge & the making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 70-98; Hirsch, "Toward an Empire of Nations."

in order to eliminate it. The order was given on January 24, 1919 and canceled by March 16 of the same year. The order to eliminate the Cossacks incited a rebellion among Cossacks from Veshenskaya, who had to that point supported the Bolsheviks. Their defection to the Don Cossacks caused the Bolsheviks to reconsider their policy. Still, de-facto "decossackization" continued on the Don for another six months.⁴⁷

Anti-Cossack policies evolved from the elimination of Cossack privileges to campaign of ethnic attrition. Over time, it waned back to the elimination of the Cossackry as a social class and the end of their separate system of self-governance. Hundreds of Cossacks were executed as a result of these policies that strove to reconcile ideological orthodoxy with the security mandates of a state that was stronger in its coercive power than its legitimacy.⁴⁸ Thousands more were deported from their homes, as in the case of the Terek Cossacks in 1920. According to Russian historian and geographer of forced migrations, Pavel Polian, as many as 45,000 Terek Cossacks were deported from the Volga region to Ukraine and Northern Russia.⁴⁹ They were the first ethnic group that the Bolsheviks targeted for forced relocation.

⁴⁷ Peter Holquist, "Conduct merciless mass terror': decossackization on the Don, 1919," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* Vol. 38, No. 1/2, (Jan. - Jun., 1997): 127-162.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Pavel Polian, *Against Their Will: the history and geography of forced migrations in the USSR*. (Budapest, Central European University Press, 2004), 327. Contrary to what the Bolsheviks claimed, the relationship between the Cossackry and the state had been uneasy for centuries. Since the rule of Peter I, the Cossacks were not simply the trustworthy enforcers of the Tsar but were many complex social and military establishments, the loyalties of which could turn swiftly to rebellion. This included the Don Cossacks, against whom the Party's terror campaigns were primarily aimed, see: Shane O'Rourke, "The Don Cossacks during the 1905 Revolution: The Revolt of Ust-Medveditskaia Stanitsa," *Russian*

The Civil Wars that followed the October Revolution were a formative experience for the Soviet Communist Party and State, and it is plausible that the Bolshevik experience with internal resistance had a lasting impact on the perception of ethnic-based disloyalty within the Soviet government. In addition to the war against the Cossackry, the Bolsheviks faced nationalist rebellions throughout Russia, Ukraine, and the Caucasus. For decades, Soviet power would remain unsympathetic towards nationalities that showed propensities toward bourgeois dreams of independent nations.

The Soviet Union's management of national diversity and internal "others" has drawn comparison to other states. Brian Glyn Williams has compared the "sinister operations" of the NKVD's deportations to "the cold efficiency that resembled the deportation of Jews... in Nazi Germany."⁵⁰ But his and similar statements obscure the fact that the Soviet Union had begun deporting enemy elements years before the first Nazi camps were constructed. Soviet techniques of deportation evolved from the massive dekulakization campaigns of the early 1930s. Dekulakization was the first and largest wave of repression and population transfers of the Stalin era. In order to enforce the disastrous collectivization campaigns in the countryside, Soviet cadres were instructed by the State Political Directorate (OGPU), the forerunner of the NKVD, to disenfranchise and deport the richest 5% of the peasantry as *kulaks*. Kulak, from the Russian "fist," referred to bourgeois, wealthier peasants, but in reality the identification of the kulak was a relatively

Review. Vol. 57 No. 4 (1998): 583-598; B. H. Sumner, "New Material on the Revolt of Pugachev," *The Slavonic and East European Review* Vol. 7, No. 19 (1928): 113-127.

⁵⁰ Brian Glyn Williams, "The Hidden Ethnic Cleansing of the Crimean Tatars," *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Jul. 2002), 333.

arbitrary matter. Soviet propaganda depicted more prosperous peasants as greedy, subhuman exploiters of the countryside who made money off of the work of others. Therefore their liquidation would lead to the greater, shared prosperity of rural communities. Party cadres more often than not ignored the dekulakization quotas imposed by the OGPU, in their desires to please superiors and gain prestige; they also exhibited an urban communist animosity towards the “backward” countryside. As a result, between 1930 and 1937, millions of peasant farmers were deported to special settlements in the Northern Territory, Urals, Siberia, and the Steppe. The OGPU designed the special settlements, hoping they would become self-sustaining labor colonies for the dual purpose of reeducating the kulaks while meeting the industrializing goals of Stalin’s Five Year Plans.⁵¹

In practice, the special settlements were a disaster. Thousands of peasants died en route due to overcrowding in train cars leading to suffocation, dehydration, and disease. Those who arrived at their destination in good health still had to contend with the fact that the settlements did not exist. There was no housing and little to eat or drink. The detailed paper-plans of the OGPU in no way reflected the reality of preparations actually made or control exercised outside of Moscow.⁵²

The dekulakization campaign was successful in that it managed to remove millions of suspected enemies from their home territories and relocate them thousands of miles

⁵¹ Lynne Viola, *The Unknown Gulag: the Lost World of Stalin's Special Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁵² *Ibid.*, 190.

away within the expansive Soviet frontier, with little regard for what happened to them once they got there. This brutally efficient system was more concerned with the immediate elimination of security threats than about the long-term welfare of its deportees. This holds true for other massive population transfers in the age of Stalin.

Race and Racial Politics in the Soviet Union

The discrepancy between the Soviet imagination of a brotherhood of workers and “friendship of peoples” and its repressive practices is often explained as simply the nature of totalitarian states. This depends primarily on comparisons drawn to Nazi Germany.⁵³ The Soviet Union was constantly a nation “becoming,” striving towards an imagined, utopian future. At the same time, the Party rationalized that the future required an elimination of obstructions on the path to Communism. In contrast, Nazi leadership made no pretense of attempting to create anything other than a purely “German” state. In addition, the Nazi-Soviet binary clouds the fact that democratic countries simultaneously engaged in ethnic policing and social engineering. In the United States, the bastion of liberal republican democracy, approximately 110,000 Japanese-Americans were imprisoned in 1942 as potential collaborators under Executive Order 9066. Germans and Italians were also interned, but to a much lesser extent.⁵⁴ That same year, Japanese-

⁵³ Williams, “The Hidden Ethnic Cleansing of the Crimean Tatars,” 331.

⁵⁴ Roger Daniels, *Prisoners without trial: Japanese Americans in World War II* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2002), 51.

Canadians were likewise interned in British Columbia and often forced to live in unsanitary conditions in barns and stables.⁵⁵

The persecution of national minorities during wartime was not practiced solely by totalitarian states. The key, then, is to determine how Soviet policies reflected attitudes towards ethnic minorities in times of peace and conflict alike. According to Eric D. Weitz, the Soviet Union was a state that practiced “racial politics without the concept of race.” Soviet policy, he claimed, rejected notions of race to instead focus on regional institutions that were “national in form, socialist in content.” Nevertheless, the state engaged in “intermittent” and “inconsistent” repression against groups who were targeted for their ethnic or national identity. As a result, the Soviet Union, according to Weitz, was not a genocidal state, but a state that attempted genocide against various ethnic groups, including the Crimean Tatars.⁵⁶

Francine Hirsch, a historian of Soviet nationalities and ethnography, responded that the Soviet Union was precisely the opposite – a state with a concept of race that shunned racial politics. To claim that the Party lacked the notion of race, Hirsch argued, was to ignore the speeches of Party members, as well as the active role ethnographers played in the creation of national policies. Racial-biological politics, however, were not the basis of the Soviet Nationalities project. This project was based on the Marxist assumption that

⁵⁵ Pamela Sugiman, "'These Feelings That Fill My Heart': Japanese Canadian Women's Memories of Internment," *Oral History* 34 (2): 69 (2006): 73.

⁵⁶ Eric D. Weitz, "Racial Politics without the Concept of Race: Reevaluating Soviet Ethnic and National Purges," *Slavic Review* Vol. 61, No. 1 (2002): 3, 27-28. Weitz distinguishes between “genocidal states” (Nazi Germany) and “states that commit genocide” (Soviet Union), to suggest that racist ideology and practice do not necessarily coincide.

ethnicities and nationalities were “sociohistorical groups with a shared consciousness.” It was for this reason that national territories had any importance. National identification and progress were identified as a temporary necessity, in order to help the benighted ethnicities of the Soviet Union on the teleological path to nation-less Communism.⁵⁷ Mass deportations and repressions of whole ethnicities were done so, not because of racial determinism but based on the assumption that subversion was part of their sociohistorical milieu. It would take far longer to remove these “bourgeois” tendencies through Marxist social progression than to simply eliminate the threat through wholesale deportation.

While their ideas are great foundations for understanding Soviet racial conceptualizations, neither Weitz nor Hirsch acknowledges the fact that the Soviet Union had *both* a clear understanding of race and ethnicity *and* that racial politics did not necessarily conflict with the goals and ideologies of the Party. In fact, the Soviet leadership obsessed over the ethnonational makeup of its population. Its agents feverishly compiled taxonomies of Soviet populations – identifying, merging, creating, and erasing entire identities.⁵⁸ Some were determined to be entirely opposed to Soviet communism altogether. Repression was carried out in a combination of ideological assumptions and

⁵⁷ Francine Hirsch, "Race without the Practice of Racial Politics," *Slavic Review* Vol. 61, No. 1 (2002): 30.

⁵⁸ For more on the Soviet classification and management of ethnic and national identities see: Hirsch, *Empire of Nations*; Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001); Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994);

empirical data. The ethnic deportations of the Second World War, for instance, census records that detailed names, locations, and ethnicities of Soviet citizens.⁵⁹

Fifth Columns and the Enemy Abroad

Anti-establishment émigrés posed significant threats to power back to the late Tsarist period. After all, Vladimir Lenin himself participated in revolutionary activity from abroad, returning to Russia only after Tsar Nikolai II finally abdicated the throne. His return was facilitated by Germany, in the hopes of plunging Russia into deeper political discord. This turned out to be precisely the case as “dual power” pitched the legitimacy of the Provisional Government against the new series of “Soviets,” elected councils, established throughout the Empire.

The Bolshevik seizure of power in October 1917 failed to resolve this crisis of legitimacy. The resultant civil war pitted the Bolsheviks against an array of political opponents. The Red Army met resistance from “White” Tsarist counterrevolutionaries, liberal democrats, agrarian socialists, and separatists in Ukraine and Caucasus. Anti-Bolshevists were supported by Germany and, later, Entente forces embittered by Russia’s withdrawal from the Great War. Their assistance came to naught.

The destructive Civil Wars waged in the aftermath of the October Revolution created large refugee communities outside of the Soviet borders. These individuals fled due to their sympathies for non-Bolshevik political blocs, whether Tsarists, liberal-

⁵⁹ Umus Resitova, “Ömrümün Acı Sayfalari,” *Emel*, no. 211, Nov/Dec 1995, p. 23. Recorded and edited by Ismet Yüksel and Safiye Belalova. Translated by Ayla Onart, <http://www.iccrimea.org/surgun/resitova-painful.html> (accessed October 11, 2010).

democratic Kadets, or pro-peasant Socialist Revolutionaries. While most of these individuals were Russian, there was also a significant evacuation of minority groups who fled from “Jewish Bolshevism,” particularly those of Ukrainian, German, and Baltic backgrounds. Both the Russian and these minority émigrés played a significant role in the cultivation of a right-wing, nationalist, anti-Semitic intellectual community.

In spite of these enemies at the gates, the Bolsheviks tried to win over non-Russian populations on both sides of its borders. Terry Martin’s exploration of the Soviet policy of *korenizatsiia*, or “indigenization,” reveals a socialist state that tried to shake a perceived image of being too “Russian” or “Jewish,” especially within Soviet cities. This policy amounted to a sort of affirmative action to recruit more communist cadres who represented local populations. *Korenizatsiia* also increased cultural rights that were “nationalist in form, socialist in content.” These included the use of local languages in administration and education. The ultimate goal was to increase non-Russian support for the socialist state domestically, while winning over neighboring populations to the communist cause by showcasing minority rights and governmental participation. In essence, the Bolsheviks sought to create socialist fifth columns in neighboring states like Poland. Moscow failed in this regard. After the famine of 1933 brought domestic rebellions and hard-right states continued to rise through the 1930s, the Soviet state retreated to a decidedly pro-Russian position and became increasingly fearful of foreign influences.⁶⁰ This only added to what Gabor Rittersporn has called the fear of an

⁶⁰ Martin, *Affirmative Action Empire*.

“omnipresent conspiracy” against the Soviet Union,⁶¹ and it was a tacit admission of partial defeat to nationalists as Moscow assumed a defensive posture.

For many nationalists of the former Russian Empire, the Bolshevik victories in the Civil Wars did not mark the end of their struggle. Their war on Communism was not over. These far-right exiles now looked to end communist rule from without.

Collaboration

White émigrés were instrumental in the maturation of Nazi political doctrine. Their arrival in Western Europe, particularly Germany, helped foment a new political discourse by merging their unique understanding of world politics with European anti-Semitism.

At the same time, a young Adolf Hitler experienced his own political evolution. As a young man, Hitler traveled to Vienna. The experience transformed him from a “citizen of the world” to an “absolute anti-Semite” and “a deadly enemy of the whole Marxist world view.”⁶² In Vienna, he worked alongside other ethnic Germans, and he was astounded by what he found to be national self-loathing. Grievances in their own lives became evidence for national decline and shame:

“All [the Viennese workers feelings] I could understand: that they were dissatisfied with their lot and cursed the Fate which often struck them so harshly; that they hated the employers who seemed to them the heartless

⁶¹ Gábor T. Rittersporn, “The Omnipresent Conspiracy: On Soviet Imaginery of Politics and Social Relations in the 1930s,” in *Stalinist Terror: New Perspectives*, ed. J. Arch Getty & Roberta T. Mannings (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 99-115.

⁶² Lorna Waddington, *Hitler's Crusade: Bolshevism and the Myth of the International Jewish Conspiracy* (London, New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2007), 18.

bailiffs of Fate; that they cursed the authorities who in their eyes were without feeling for their situation; that they demonstrated against food prices and carried their demands into the streets: this much could be understood without recourse to reason. But what inevitably remained incomprehensible was the boundless hatred they heaped upon their own nationality, despising its greatness, besmirching its history, and dragging its great men into the gutter.

“This struggle against their own species, their own clan, their own homeland, was as senseless as it was incomprehensible. It was unnatural.”⁶³

Hitler credited the rise of this bitterness to the Marxist ideology of the Viennese Social Democrats. Hitler identified the Social Democratic Party as a bastion of Austrian and international Jewry, and the Party’s press was likewise “directed predominantly by Jews.”⁶⁴ As religious and ethnic minorities, Jews had much to gain by spreading contempt for patriotism and national cultures. Hitler identified Marxist internationalism as a dark, Jewish plot to subjugate the superior culture and work ethic of the Aryan race.

Hitler’s time in Vienna was an importantly formative experience for his racial and political ideologies, but he had not yet identified Marxism as a global Jewish conspiracy. On this, Hitler’s budding relationship with Alfred Rosenberg proved instructive. Rosenberg had written about the international conspiracy of Jewish Bolshevism since 1917, before

⁶³ Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim, 1943. Reprint (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 60.

⁶⁴ Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, 61.

Hitler began formulating any sort of “programmatic” anti-Semitism.⁶⁵ Rosenberg introduced Hitler not only to the supposed full scale of Jewish plotting. International socialism and capitalism were together two sides of the same coin. Jews manipulated both systems from the top. Whether under socialism or capitalism, Jews predominantly controlled the levers of power and means of production in order to exploit the labor of the majority. Rosenberg introduced Hitler to these fantastical conspiracies, as well as White Russian émigrés such as Max Erwin von Scheubner-Richter, the founder of the anti-Bolshevik *Aufbau Vereinigung* (Reconstruction Organization).⁶⁶

The White émigrés set a new precedent for cooperation between exiles and foreign governments. The most disastrous relationship White activists forged was with the far right of interwar Germany. Michael Kellogg’s study of émigré activism in Germany, reveals the influence that anti-Soviet, xenophobic counter-revolutionaries wielded in Germany at the time. White émigrés of Ukrainian, German, and Baltic descent were instrumental in the ideological formation of the Nazi Party through the *Aufbau*. The *Aufbau* formed after the

⁶⁵ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 19-21; Peter Longerich, *The Unwritten Order: Hitler’s Role in the Final Solution* (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), 28-29.

⁶⁶ Waddington, *Hitler’s Crusade*, 20. The *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a supposed record of a global Jewish conspiracy at global domination, played a relatively small role in Hitler’s anti-Semitic *Weltanschauung*. The *Protocols* first began to emerge in Russian publications in the first decade of the Twentieth Century. They were first translated into German in 1919. For Hitler they were more a confirmation than a source of his beliefs. Though they were discredited as forgeries shortly thereafter, Hitler maintained that the *Protocols* were authentic and used them as instructive materials in *Mein Kampf* and Nazi propaganda. In this, the *Protocols* were disastrously effective. As historian Daniel Pipes has observed, the *Protocols* were remarkable in their ability to cut across social divisions. Individuals of different class, religious, and political identities could embrace the anti-Semitic implications of the vague but sinister conspiracy. See: Daniel Pipes, *Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where it Comes From* (New York: Simon and Schuster), 85.

German occupation of Ukraine in 1918, and its neighbors since then identified the German state as the potential guarantor of national liberation. *Aufbau* members castigated the Bolshevik government as a Jewish conspiracy, an illusory alternative to Jewish-controlled capitalism. The *Aufbau's* linkage of Jewish-Bolshevism coupled with an anti-capitalist posture had strong appeal in an economically depressed Germany recently humiliated by the West.⁶⁷ The Nazi Party was the first foreign political institution to closely collaborate with émigrés in a sustained effort to topple Soviet power. During the war, other nationalists gravitated toward German power to further their goals. As Walter Laqueur observed, anti-Soviet nationalists could exploit the German occupation just as much as they were used themselves.⁶⁸

The Second World War provided a key opportunity for nationalist separatists. Early German successes brought large portions of Soviet territory (Ukraine, the Caucasus, and the recently acquired Baltic republics) under Nazi occupation and gave nationalists another opportunity to seek independence. The German occupation completely disrupted Soviet rule in these areas and cultivated an atmosphere for collaboration with the majority populations of these regions. Some Ukrainians, Latvians, Crimean Tatars, and Chechens, and others embraced this opportunity for national independence and personal advancement under the German occupation. Collaborators sided with the Nazi occupation not just for romantic notions of liberation. Though many were anti-communist, still others were opportunists faced with the chance for upward mobility under the new regime, much

⁶⁷ Michael Kellogg, *The Russian Roots of National Socialism: White Émigrés and the Making of National Socialism, 1917-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁶⁸ Walter Laqueur, *The Black Hundreds: The Rise of the Extreme Right in Russia* (New York: HarperCollins 1993), 83.

like their co-nationals in the Soviet apparatus. For those who were shut out of the Soviet system, however, this gave them a valid reason to side against the failed promises of communism. Whether through partisan units, Nazi-sponsored National Muslim Committees, or service in the Waffen-SS, Soviet minority nationalists began to take matters into their own hands to combat perceived persecution at the hands of Communist, Russian, and Jewish “tormentors.”

The offer, however, was not made in earnest. German staff and leadership were not of one mind in how to handle anti-Soviet nationalists. Under Koch in Ukraine, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and their violence against Poles, Jews, and Communists were very much tolerated during the early stages of the war. After all, in 1939, the Wehrmacht freed members of its leadership imprisoned for the assassination of the Polish minister of the interior. This benign stance evaporated once this leadership proclaimed the Ukraine’s independence as a sovereign state. From then on, the OUN-B engaged in underground warfare against the Nazi occupation, local Poles and Jews, and the Red Army.

Nazi leadership did not see the self-defeating nature of its policy towards non-Germans until it was too late. By 1943, far more concessions were being made to local populations, and anti-Communist forces under defector General Vlasov were given a freer hand to try and rally Russians and engage Red Army forces. But the German change of heart was a desperate gambit. By then the momentum of the war had turned squarely in Moscow’s favor.

As the Red Army pushed the Wehrmacht into a retreat in late 1943 and early 1944, the nationalists’ futures were in doubt. Some like Circassian nationalist and Waffen-SS

officer Tscherim Soobzokov evacuated with their families to the West. There they could evade the Red Army's retribution. Those left behind were not so lucky. As the Red Army re-established Soviet authority in former occupied territories, the NKVD promptly deported entire communities of nationalities dubbed "disloyal." Most of these deportees were women, children, and elderly. Many of them were even family members of Red Army soldiers and had taken no action against the Soviet government. Moscow took no chances.

For many of those who collaborated with the fascist occupation, the end of the war marked the beginning of a much longer odyssey of subversion. Like former Nazi scientists and intelligence operatives, the United States government was very interested in Soviet nationalists as potential human intelligence operatives or an armed fifth column. In his research on Chechen "bandits" and Ukrainian nationalists, Jeffrey Burds, has demonstrated that hostile governments played a central role in encouraging national schisms on the Soviet Union's western and southern flanks.⁶⁹

Part II - The Rise and Fall of the Émigrés

The Architect — Friedrich Buchardt

Friedrich Buchardt, a Baltic-German from Latvia, had long been sympathetic to the political and racial ambitions of the National Socialist Party. Born in 1909 Riga, he grew up as the Baltic States gained their independence from the former Russian Empire. Yet he identified with German culture and politics. His embrace of National Socialist ideology and racial dogma traced back to his days studying law in Germany as a young man. An

⁶⁹ Burds, "AGENTURA"; "The Soviet War against 'Fifth Columnists': The Case of Chechnya, 1942-4," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2007), 267-314.

intellectual, he had briefly joined the militant Stürmabteilung, but he soon left the group to instead concentrate on his doctoral dissertation, “The Rights of National Minorities in Latvia and its International Importance and Administration.”

Buchardt’s interests foreshadowed his future service to the German intelligence service. He briefly published a pro-Nazi newspaper in Riga between 1935 and 1936. Latvian authorities suppressed the publication, and he abandoned both his newspaper and Riga for Germany.⁷⁰ He joined the SS’s intelligence branch (SD) in 1936 and rapidly rose through its ranks. When German forces conquered Poland, he became chief of the SD’s Lublin office.⁷¹ He obtained the rank of Major and oversaw the operation of the Majdenek concentration camp.⁷² He provided analysis of Poland and the Soviet Union for invasion and occupation, including evaluations of the “Germanicness” of populations. Buchardt’s analyses later became the standard by which SS Einsatzgruppen carried out mass violence, which he helped lead as the commander of Einsatzgruppe 5B⁷³ At the same time, he also maintained contact with anti-Soviet separatist and nationalist groups. He was particularly active and influential in the creation of General Vlasov’s ill-fated army of Russian

⁷⁰ Judson A. Stewart, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, Subject: Friederich BUCHARDT, 12 November 46, NARA RG319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 12, File XE077406.

⁷¹ E. C. Whitacre, “Agent Report: BUCHARDT, Friedel Dr.,” VI-1350.2, 24 March 1950, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 12, File Number XE077406.

⁷² US Army Counterintelligence Corps, Memo: 22 Jan. 1948, “BUCHARDT, Friedrich,” 22 January 1948, 137224, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 12, File Number XE077406.

⁷³ Walters, *Hunting Evil*, 235-240.

defectors.⁷⁴ Buchardt believed that the chief weakness of the Soviet Union was its own structure. It was an ethnic morass, in which ethnic Russians were the majority but not decisively so. In the USSR's border regions, some All-Union minorities were decidedly the local majorities. But Nazi racial doctrine, internalized by much of the NSDAP leadership, undermined a strategy of national fifth columns.

As the Red Army repelled the German invasion and moved on to conquer Berlin, Buchardt, like many German leaders, fled for his life. He was a wanted man, marked for death for his crimes. The US Army was officially in pursuit and called for his apprehension in May of 1946.⁷⁵ The "convinced Nazi" was believed to be in hiding in either the American or British zones of Austria and trying to escape to the United Kingdom.⁷⁶

Indeed Buchardt was in British hands. The British held the former SS-Obersturmbannführer, the leader of Einsatzgruppe 5B and intelligence officer Buchardt as a prisoner of war since 1945.⁷⁷ While in captivity, he produced a memoir, "The Handling of the Russian Problem during the Period of the Nazi Regime in Germany." Buchardt's work

⁷⁴ V. R. Williams, Internal Route Slip, European Command Headquarters, Subject: Buchardt, Dr. Friedel, alias Buchard, Friedrich, 21 June 1950, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 12, File Number XE077406.

⁷⁵ Salo Rybhan, Summary of Information, Headquarters United States Forces European Theater, Counter Intelligence Corps Detachment 970, Region I – APO 154, Request Apprehension of Subject, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 112, File Number XE077406.

⁷⁶ Judson A. Stewart, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, Subject: Friederich BUCHARDT, 12 November 46, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 112, File Number XE077406.

⁷⁷ Matthias Schröder, *Deutschbaltische SS-Führer und Andrej Vlasov 1942-1945 "Russland kann nur von Russen besiegt werden": Erhard Kroeger, Friedrich Buchardt und die "Russische Befreiungsarmee"* (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2001).

provided a detailed debriefing of the German strategy of *divide et impera* within seized Soviet territories. It explained that Nazi leaders feared that a sprawling Russia, even if defeated and stripped of communism, would continue to threaten German dominance. The Nazi occupation therefore aimed to separate the Soviet Union's diverse populations along ethno-national lines:

A national, not Bolshevist Russia would be as dangerous for Germany as the Bolshevist Russia... Therefore, no new national life should be permitted to rise... In order to weaken the greater Russian culture as the supreme power of the Slav peoples, the population of Russia should be nationally split up as much as possible.⁷⁸

The difficulty for German administrators came from how they chose to understand this general framework for the handling of the Soviet populace. Its guidelines were vague and contradictory. They seemed to call for the simultaneous nurture and destruction of national identities within the Soviet Union. Its contradictions could perhaps be resolved by favoring one approach over the other, and this led to disagreements between German officials. The most distinct rivalry materialized between the Reichskommissar of occupied Ukraine, Erich Koch, and Alfred Rosenberg, the chief of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories and Koch's nominal superior. Rosenberg believed that Soviet minorities could function as a potent fifth column against Bolshevism, provided the German occupation could present itself as the enemy of Moscow and not the Soviet peoples. Koch,

⁷⁸ Friedrich Buchardt, "The Handling of the Russian Problem during the Period of the Nazi Regime in Germany," 1945, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 112, File Number XE077406. Underlines in original.

on the other hand, favored the severe repression of not just Russian nationalism but that of all non-German groups. Koch's position initially won the favor of Nazi leadership over his boss's more nuanced approach to Slavic and other "inferior" peoples. It was not until after Soviet successes at Stalingrad that Rosenberg's ideas carried more weight in Berlin. Because of Friedrich Buchardt, a similar strategy would find new adherents in London and Langley after the war. His memoirs saved his life and would help re-orient Anglo-American plans against Communism. He soon began working for SIS and, in 1947, the CIA.

Pulling Back the Iron Curtain

By 1946, Communist influence had expanded as far west as Berlin and south into the Balkans. In Greece, a Civil War carried on between communist partisans and the Western-backed republicans and royalists. In 1948, Czechoslovakian communists legally acquired power after a mass resignation of Czechoslovakian leaders. In Italy, Communist politicians grew perilously close to taking control in a popular front government. In China, Chiang Kai-Shek's Kuomintang waged a foundering war against Mao Zedong's communist soldiers, battle-hardened from their war against Japan. Communist power was on the march both east and west.

The Anglo-American reaction eventually coalesced into a three-prong strategy. First, it became absolutely crucial to harden the defenses of allies, especially in Western Europe. To defend against communism required more than military hardware and supplies. President Harry Truman understood that communism carried the greatest appeal where populations most acutely felt the effects of post-war destitution and political disenchantment. Accordingly, the Truman Doctrine pledged support to all "free peoples

who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures.” The United States had a moral imperative to provide economic aid to stave off authoritarianism, for the “seeds of totalitarian regimes are nurtured by misery and want. They spread and grow in the evil soil of poverty and strife.”⁷⁹ Truman and his audience had witnessed the direst outcomes of such conditions. Critics of foreign aid needed only to look to the experiences of Russia in the 1910s or 1920s Germany.

The second prong of the American-led strategy went beyond assuming a defensive posture to meet communist expansion and stem its tide. This idea was reified as George Kennan’s policy of “Containment.”⁸⁰ As an American diplomat in Moscow, Kennan was appalled at Stalin’s increasingly inflammatory speeches against his former allies. Stalin argued that the capitalist countries would always remain hostile to the Soviet Union as the vanguard of world revolution, but that their own competition for markets would inevitably lead to conflict within the capitalist world, as it did in the last two major conflagrations of the Twentieth Century. This would leave them inevitably weakened, and the world revolution would be one step closer to realization. Stalin’s rhetoric convinced Kennan that the United States and its allies were not treating the Soviet Union as the existential threat that it was. In a last-ditch effort to convince his superiors, he sent a cable outlining the

⁷⁹ Harry Truman, Address Before a Joint Session of Congress, 12 March 1947.

⁸⁰ As Beatrice Heuser has shown, the British had their own policy of Containment that ran parallel to the United States’. In Rollback Operations, the British and the Americans collaborated, particularly in Ukraine and the Caucasus. However, the British significantly scaled back their liberationist operations by the time Eisenhower took office. Under Eisenhower, liberationism expanded until the disappointment of the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1956. Heuser, “Covert action within British and American concepts of Containment, 1948-1951,” in *British Intelligence, Strategy and the Cold War, 1945-1951*, ed. Richard J. Aldrich (London: Routledge, 1992), 65-84.

communist threat and how it can be met and even neutralized. In his “long telegram,” Despite Stalin’s invocation of Marxist doctrine, Kennan argued that Moscow spoke the language of power and only respected shows of strength. The Soviet Union, he argued, did not want war. Moreover, it simply could not sustain the losses that another major conflict would incur. Thus, if the United States and the West challenged Soviet geopolitical moves, the latter would necessarily back down.

The third part of the American strategy is the least familiar in the public consciousness. It has remained so for multiple reasons. Its formulation came in secrecy, and its viability required that it remained so. Moreover, its failure ensured that it would never be touted as a stroke of American foreign policy genius. This ill-fated policy was Rollback. While stalwart anti-Communists castigated Kennan’s policy of Containment as a callow acceptance of the geopolitical *status quo*, he was imagining the use of clandestine operations—including guerilla warfare—to undermine communist influence, bring down Soviet-aligned governments, and push Moscow’s sphere of influence back to its own borders, if not eradicate it entirely.⁸¹ This included the use of radio broadcasts such as Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty and psychological warfare aimed not only at Eastern European populations while agitating power struggles within the ruling elite.⁸²

⁸¹ Peter Grose, *Operation Rollback: America’s Secret War Behind the Iron Curtain* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), 94-95.

⁸² For more on American attempts at Rollback through psychological warfare, see Gregory Mitrovich, *Undermining the Kremlin: America’s Strategy to Subvert the Soviet Bloc, 1947-1956* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000) and Kenneth Osgood, *Total Cold War: Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006). Mitrovich is correct in stating that both the Truman and Eisenhower administrations believed primarily in the efficacy of psychological warfare as a tactic against Communist rule. It was low-risk and relatively cost effective. My aim here is not to

Kennan's Rollback was not synonymous with fomenting armed rebellions overseas. The main proponent of that tactic was a former OSS man named Frank Wisner. He shared Kennan's post-victory frustration with the American inability to identify the Soviet Union as an enemy state, and he believed that American intelligence needed to be completely re-oriented towards Moscow. While Kennan made significant inroads in American foreign policy, Wisner grew disaffected with American laxness before Soviet expansion. In his frustration, he retired from government service to resume his pre-war work as an attorney at private practice like his mentor Allen Dulles.

It was Dulles who got Wisner back into covert operations in 1947. Dulles advised him that if he truly wished to steer American intelligence back towards Moscow, he ought to seek out a fairly innocuous position within Washington and posture from there. Wisner took this advice to heart, and re-entered the federal bureaucracy as the deputy to the assistant secretary of state in the office of Occupied Territories.⁸³

Wisner immediately took an interest in using émigré groups against Communism. Wisner had been among the most ardent of anti-Communists from his time in OSS. OSS coordinator William J. Donovan assigned Wisner to collect anti-Soviet intelligence in Bucharest between 1944 and 1945. In fact, OSS spent more time in Romania than any other

challenge Mitrovich's assertions but to add that the mobilization of virulently xenophobic, right-wing networks was only partly psychological. REDSOX planners had every intention of managing them as important sources of human intelligence and fifth-column insurgents through the same time period Mitrovich investigates.

⁸³ Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 109.

country during the Second World War.⁸⁴ Wisner and his staff monitored Soviet cables in Bucharest to gauge Moscow's attempts to overthrow the Romanian Monarchy. This work was technically contrary to the OSS's mission and the larger war effort in which the Soviet Union was officially an ally. Wisner's intelligence work in Romania allowed him to experience Communist takeover firsthand. He watched Soviet soldiers round up ethnic Germans in Bucharest for forced labor in the Soviet Union. He tried to intervene but to no avail. Wisner's family claimed his six months in Bucharest were the most profoundly influential of his life.⁸⁵ Both Donovan and Wisner were convinced that this intelligence would become crucial upon the conclusion of hostilities with the contracting Axis forces. Service in Romania hardened Wisner's convictions. Moscow's post-war arrest and punishment of many of his anti-Communist contacts intensified his animus.⁸⁶ His inability to do anything to stop the spread of totalitarianism affected him deeply. His personal war against Moscow was only beginning. The Truman administration however, was prepared to return to normalcy. The OSS was rolled up, and Wisner returned to the private sector, bitterly frustrated. Now, in 1947, he could begin to make up for lost time.

Wisner continued to have strong ties to Romanian nationalists in exile, and he sought to further expand his circles and networks. Wisner backed a March 1948 study under the State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee (SANACC) for the "Utilization of Refugees From the Soviet Union In the US National Interest." While the

⁸⁴ Eduard Mark, "The OSS in Romania, 1944-1945: An Intelligence Operation of the Early Cold War," *Intelligence and National Security*, April 1994, vol. 9, no. 2, 320.

⁸⁵ Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 21-22.

⁸⁶ Corke, *US Covert Operations and Cold War*, 15-16.

report took a favorable view of utilizing anti-Communists in exile, Director of Central Intelligence Roscoe Henry Hillenkoetter remained far less optimistic. CIA responded to the SANACC report that Soviet émigré organizations were “highly unstable and undependable, split by personal rivalries and ideological differences, and primarily concerned with developing a position for themselves in the Western world.”⁸⁷ Wisner’s moves would have to be made without the CIA for the time being.

Despite the DCI’s skepticism of communist-bloc refugees, Wisner was fascinated by the possibilities they presented. In studying communist agitation and propaganda tactics, he paid particular interest to the communist ability to co-opt rather benevolent sounding organizations: student groups, civic societies, labor unions, and agricultural societies. If this method was so effective for spreading such a sinister program, surely it could work just as well for the cause of liberty, if not better. Organizations committed to democracy for different nations of Eastern Europe, nation-based benevolent societies, and ethnic communities would all be magnets for anti-Communist nationalists in exile. Wisner wanted to tap into these networks while they were still fresh from the war and as cohesive as possible.⁸⁸

Wisner continued to operate within the State Department, but Kennan tried to reign in the deputy assistant secretary. In early 1948, Kennan’s staff was looking into similar possibilities with émigré groups. Wisner’s work encroached on this territory and threatened to move things along too quickly for Kennan. Several months later, Kennan

⁸⁷ David E. Murphy, Sergei A. Kondrashev, and George Bailey, *Battleground Berlin: CIA Vs. KGB in the Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 104.

⁸⁸ Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 25.

needed someone who could head up America's covert political war against Communism. Dulles was unavailable, and backup candidates fell through. Kennan had little choice but to rely on a staffer recommended by Dulles, but about whom he knew almost nothing. The little he did had given him reservations in the past, but he had no other suitable options.⁸⁹ Kennan suggested Wisner to lead the Office Of Policy Coordination. The National Security Council (NSC) approved his appointment on 19 August 1948.

Wisner's appointment came not long after Kennan's Policy Planning Staff penned a document placing covert operations within America's broader national security strategy. The Staff's directive, NSC 10/2, stated that covert operations were an essential part of meeting the communist threat.⁹⁰ It went beyond what Kennan had initially imagined and extended to paramilitary operations. The small amount of accountability of the CIA, which reported to the president's National Security Council, was still too much for what Wisner had been planning. He lobbied Kennan for the creation of a new agency – freer from oversight than the CIA and freer for action than the intelligence-gathering Office of Special Operations (OSO). NSC 10/2 thus gave birth to the Office of Special Projects (OSP), which could engage in “propaganda; economic warfare; preventive direct action, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition and evacuation measures; subversion against hostile states, including assistance to underground resistance movements, guerillas and refugee

⁸⁹ Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 109-110.

⁹⁰ Richard Immerman, “A Brief History of the CIA” in *The Central Intelligence Agency: Security Under Scrutiny*, ed. Athan Theoharis, Richard Immerman, Loch Johnson, Kathy Olmstead, and John Prados (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2006), 17.

liberations groups, and support of indigenous anti-communist elements in threatened countries of the free world.”⁹¹ These were all activities in which the OSO could not engage.

The OSP was shortly thereafter renamed into the even more vaguely benign Office of Policy Coordination (OPC), but its power only grew.⁹² The OPC under Wisner was highly insulated from the oversight of the Director of Central Intelligence. Technically the office was under the policy direction of the departments of State and Defense. It was housed within the Central Intelligence Agency for support, but the DCI had no authority over its actions.⁹³ Aside from Wisner, the OPC effectively belonged to everyone and no one. He was free to assemble his personal armies with few administrative obstacles.

The upstart OPC attracted the jealousy of its sister organization, the Office of Special Operations. Agents within the OSO were of an older stock of spies. They were involved in surreptitious maneuvers, contacting informants abroad, securing defections, and spreading information and disinformation. Meanwhile, Wisner’s OPC attracted new, younger agents and paid them very well. The OPC’s overall budget too came to dwarf that of the OSO. Their intelligence work was far less costly than the action-oriented operations of the OSO, and far less spectacular. The State, Defense, and the Truman White House all came to pay more attention to the aggressive upstarts, and action operations took increasing priority over information. Nevertheless, the unique division of covert operations between OSO and

⁹¹ National Security Council, NSC 10/2, 18 June 1948, published in United States and Michael Warner, *The CIA Under Harry Truman* (Washington, DC: History Staff, Center for the Study of Intelligence, Central Intelligence Agency, 1994), 215-216.

⁹² Thomas, *The Very Best Men*, 29.

⁹³ Harry Rositzke, *The CIA’s Secret Operations: Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action* (New York: Reader’s Digest Press, 1977), 148-149.

OPC would not last forever. By 1952, the two merged into Clandestine Services and integrated properly into the CIA. This was meant to streamline the redundancy of the two organizations and reduce inter-office rivalries, but covert actions remained the preferred method of the CIA for years to come.⁹⁴

Wisner and his fellow Cold Warriors embraced the cause against “godless communism” with the zeal of a holy warrior. William Colby worked under Wisner as a young man. He remembered the holy aura of the OPC at the time. “By hard work and brilliance, and by reaching widely for similarly activist OSS alumni, [Wisner] started it operating in the atmosphere of an order of Knights Templars, to save Western freedom from Communist darkness—and from war.”⁹⁵

Wisner was not unique in this regard. United States foreign policy of the late 1940s had reoriented itself away from historic American isolationism to a crusade for worldwide freedom and democracy. Thus the new philosophy of geopolitics intermingled with the old mythos of messianic America. The Soviet Union was diametrically opposed to the cause of liberty, freedom, and rule of law. Instead Stalin and his Politburo embraced a “fanatic faith” (if one at all) of power and global domination. Kennan had argued that evil needed to be called by its name. His successor Paul Nitze professed that vastly expanded military strength under NSC-68 would ward off the communist menace and ultimately “hasten the

⁹⁴ Ibid., 149-150.

⁹⁵ William Egan Colby and Peter Forbath. *Honorable Men: My Life in the CIA* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978),73

decay of the Soviet system.”⁹⁶ The assumed moral clarity of American policy planners and line agencies severely obscured their tactical vision. Almost anyone who opposed communism could become a heroic ally of the United States. This applied not only to world leaders but also to American intelligence operatives. These views were also widely held within the American populace, which enabled the broader fight against communism at home and abroad.

The Manichean worldview was reinforced by the accounts of unmitigated victims of Soviet repression. Around the same time that the CIA began to expand its émigré ambitions, importing collaborators into the US for training and putting them on the path to citizenship, Western publishers began releasing the survival accounts of former Gulag prisoners. These came even before the better-known accounts of Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Yevgenia Ginsburg. The 1951 memoir of Elinor Lipper was among the first. Lipper, a Belgian communist, moved to the Soviet Union in the 1930s as a true believer. She was arrested in 1937 at the height of the Great Terror and imprisoned until 1948. Her memoirs aimed to convince Western audiences that the camps truly existed. She reinforced the paradigm of the communist godlessness by crediting her turn to faith for her survival. She took up the cause of anti-Communism but disappeared at one such rally in Berlin.⁹⁷

American John H. Noble also published his Gulag memoirs in 1958 and 1959 and was the first to confirm rumors of Soviet prison riots. Prior to the war, his family had

⁹⁶ Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and US Foreign Policy* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr, 1987) 152-153, 157-158.

⁹⁷ Elinor Lipper, *Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps* (Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1951).

owned a German camera manufacturer in Dresden, and they were interned there for the duration of the conflict. When the Red Army took control of the city, they were arrested and sent to Soviet prisons. He claimed that he “put himself in the hands of God” in order to survive, as so many of his fellow prisoners did. He claimed that religion flourished in the camps, with religious services even performed in prison hallways, despite the efforts of guards to stop them.⁹⁸ Narratives such as these confirmed the worst suspicions that Americans had of Soviet communism. The combination of Soviet religious oppression, national subjugation, and disdain for human rights made it very easy for many in the West to sympathize with supposed freedom fighters who fought for God, country, and freedom.

But battles with monsters often bear dire consequences, and men like Wisner believed they were battling with the greatest abomination of all. Such a struggle required that all tools and tactics be maintained as options. General James H. Doolittle submitted to the white house a report on CIA operations. The report came on 26 July 1954, just three days before the CIA-backed overthrow of the Guatemalan government of President Jacobo Árbenz. Doolittle and his committee had evaluated the CIA’s management of personnel, security, expenses, and efficiency, as well as results, and how to improve each. The committee also reiterated the seriousness of the Soviet threat and the important role the CIA played in stemming the tide of global communism. To wit:

...It is now clear that we are facing an implacable enemy whose avowed objective is world domination by whatever means and whatever cost. *There*

⁹⁸ John H. Noble, *I Was a Slave in Russia: an American Tells His Story* (New York: Devin-Adair, 1958); John H. Noble and Glenn D. Everett, *I Found God in Soviet Russia* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1959).

*are no rules in such a game. Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply. If the United States is to survive, long-standing American concepts of "fair play" must be reconsidered. We must develop effective espionage and counterespionage services and must learn to subvert, sabotage and destroy our enemies by more clever [sic], more sophisticated and more effective methods than those used against us. It may become necessary that the American people be made acquainted with, understand and support this fundamentally repugnant philosophy.*⁹⁹

Even if "fundamentally repugnant," support for right-wing extremism proved palatable enough. John Loftus, a former Army intelligence officer and OSI investigator traced the westward movement of anti-Bolshevik nationalists from the February Revolution to the end of the Second World War. Belorussian nationalists who formed the Belorussian National Republic, "betrayed" by the Russians during the Civil War, fled to Poland. There, they increasingly turned to fascism as they were spurned by the Polish government and nursed their grudge against "Jew-Bolshevism."¹⁰⁰ The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact pushed them again further westward to Germany as they stayed ahead of the Red Army. National elites who escaped Poland collaborated with the Germans in the hopes of national liberation. After the war, CIA Office of Policy Coordination (OPC) Chief

⁹⁹ James K. Doolittle et al., "Report on the Covert Activities of the Central Intelligence Agency," 26 July 1954, accessed 15 May 2015 at *Cryptome*, cryptome.org/cia-doolittle.pdf, emphases mine; Rositzke, *CIA's Secret Operations*, 155; John Prados, *Safe for Democracy: The Secret Wars of the CIA* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2006), 148.

¹⁰⁰ Loftus, *The Belarus Secret*, 15.

Frank Wisner had them “smuggled” into the United States to continue what they had started.¹⁰¹

In 1985, Loftus testified under oath before the Congressional Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law that Allan and John Foster Dulles assisted Wisner’s OPC in recruiting former collaborators. They did so under the supervision of Kennan’s Planning Staff (later headed by Paul Nitze). Richard Nixon supervised the OPC’s recruitment process under Eisenhower, as well. Not all of these men necessarily knew with whom they dealt. Loftus claimed that the Soviet double agents of the Cambridge Five spy ring were instrumental in selling the Americans a “bill of goods” containing both fascists and communist moles.¹⁰² The most infamous of these spies, Kim Philby, was also the most significant.

As the Cold War atmosphere took hold, anti-Soviet xenophobia found a new sponsor in the newly ascendant and globally conscious United States, yet Americans themselves had never felt more vulnerable. The fear of Communist subversion harkened back to the Red Scare of a generation earlier. Only now the Soviet Union had far more military, political, and industrial resources in its hands. In the years to come, the United States dedicated an unprecedented amount of its own materials to neutralize the Red menace.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 105.

¹⁰² First Session on GAO Report on Nazi War Criminals in the United States: Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee On Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, 99th Congr. 103-104 (1985) (Statement of Allan A. Ryan, Jr., Director, Office of Special Investigations, Department of Justice).

Yet the American desire for security demanded more than the Containment of Communism. American foreign policy architect George Kennan began planning an all-out global offensive soon after his calls for Containment. While politicians debated America's apparent complacency in accepting the *status quo*, Kennan fashioned a plan that would forever change American foreign policy. Under the concept of Rollback, the United States could wage war against any hostile force through propaganda, sabotage, or funding of guerilla organizations, all under the umbrella of "plausible deniability." The exploitation of covert operations as a political and economic tool caused Kennan to look back on his own formulation with lament.¹⁰³

Under Rollback, American federal agencies fervently sought to cultivate relationships with Soviet émigré communities. Émigrés were potential assets for human intelligence and covert military operations behind the Iron Curtain. Agencies like the CIA were not averse to working with former Nazi intelligence leaders and scientists of significant value and likewise had no significant qualms working with individuals or organizations that collaborated with Germany during the war. The United States willingly inherited the Nazi regime's role of nexus and sponsor of anti-Communist and xenophobic émigré operations.

Nationalist as Hero, Nationalist as Victim

Historian Alon Confino has argued that much of the world lives in an Age of Apology, in which societies have demonstrated an unprecedented compulsion to admit their crimes

¹⁰³ Grose, *Operation Rollback*, 99. Despite Kennan's regrets later in life and his willingness to distance himself from Rollback's failures, such operations proceeded within the original parameters that he helped to create.

of the past, particularly those of the Second World War. The first half of the Twentieth Century was certainly an age of trample, in which states modern states sacrificed entire subsets of populations on the path to utopia. But the memory of the Second World War, Confino states, was not always so remorseful. In the aftermath of conflict, myths of national heroism consistently dovetailed with those of national victimhood. In Holland, France, and Belgium, these were stories of resistance in defeat and occupation. Austria and Italy claimed to be victims of German annexation and occupation as well, and many Austrians claimed their country was the first victim of German expansion. Germans themselves, particularly in the West claimed to be the victims of an out-of-control government. Victimhood became a ubiquitous metaphor for the memory of the war experience. Victimhood may have helped to elude responsibility for wartime actions, but it was not so cynical. It became a large part of personal and national identities and a means of coping with personal and national traumas. It was not until decades later that European populations began to imagine the Holocaust as more than just one part of a universally destructive era, but a distinct historical tragedy. A tragedy in which different nations of Europe bore at least some responsibility. Yet the fact that so many nations came around to this conclusion at all, Confino argues, was a truly unique course of events.¹⁰⁴

Had Confino concentrated on Eastern Europe, in addition to the West, his conclusive optimism on the unprecedented willingness of societies to acknowledge victimization and to confront their problematic pasts would likely have been tempered. Modern states have

¹⁰⁴ Alon Confino, "Remembering the Second World War, 1945-1965: Narratives of Victimhood and Genocide," *Cultural Analysis*, 4 (2005), 46-75.

embedded modern political debate in its double victimization by the German and Soviet states that attempted to destroy national cultures and populations.¹⁰⁵ The inclusion of modern national myths from post-communist countries may have fundamentally altered his understanding of victim narratives.

Confino understood that “victimhood seems to have emerged as a major component of identity” and that victimhood required a violation of some sense of rights. It is on this sense of victimhood, that of national grievance, that many modern national identities are based. This is especially true for the nations of Central, Eastern, and Southeastern Europe

¹⁰⁵ For a very recent example from Ukraine, see: Third Committee of the General Assembly resolution 69/L.56, *Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance*, [A/C.3/69/L.56/Rev.1](#) (17 November 2014). On 17 November of Last year, the Russian Federation and nearly three dozen other countries sponsored a bill in the United Nation’s Third (Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural) Committee. The bill, entitled “Combating glorification of Nazism, neo-Nazism and other practices that contribute to fuelling contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance,” called upon members of the United Nations to condemn Nazi ideology and any groups that continue to celebrate the actions and beliefs of the Nazi party. The bill passed four days later by an overwhelming majority. 115 UN member states approved the resolution, while only 3 opposed. Among those who opposed were the United States, Canada, and Ukraine. The vote fell on the annual commemoration of the Holodomor, the mass starvation and millions of death brought about by Stalinist policies in Soviet Ukraine. The White House released a statement mourning the “singularly tragic chapter In Ukrainian history” and reaffirmed the “shared commitment to Ukraine’s bright future.”

The vote quickly descended into barbs exchanged between Russia and Ukraine. The Ukrainian delegation took the bill as a provocation by their Russian counterparts, who had often accused the Ukrainian government of fascism, anti-Semitism, and open support of neo-Nazi groups within Ukrainian society. The Ukrainian delegation explained that it would vote for a bill condemning Nazism when such a bill included a similar condemnation of Stalinism and neo-Stalinism, for Ukrainians knew the horrors wrought by both ideologies. Further, the Ukrainian delegation accused the Putin administration of rehabilitating Stalinism, illegally seizing Ukrainian territory in the Crimea, and openly supporting pro-Russian neo-Nazi groups in Eastern Ukraine, such as the “Wolf’s Hundred.”

that cite the repeated subjugation of their homelands by foreign powers. The wartime narratives of these countries are that of repeated victimization at the hands of German and Soviet aggressors, followed by decades-long impositions of puppet regimes.

It is true that Eastern Europe saw the most wanton destruction of the war, and was the site of the most brutal fighting and inhuman atrocities. During the war, anti-Communist nationalists and their networks actively collaborated with the Nazi occupation and sought retribution against Russians, Communists, and Jews, among other national enemies in their midst. After 1945, however, their national movements depended on the perpetuation of personal and national biographies of victimhood. If nationalist leaders were not victims but instead were perpetrators, they were criminals and ought to be brought to justice. Moreover, the populace supported these leaders in ethnic cleansings and mass killings, why should they be afforded compassion?

The Cold War struggle further flattened these wartime narratives. Those who collaborated against the Soviet Union simply became freedom fighters, exiled heroes who continued the struggle against godless communism. But, covertly, Western Cold Warriors quietly began recruiting these men precisely for their deep-seated hatreds and wartime histories.

From a close reading of CIA subject and personnel files released under the 1998 Nazi War Crimes Disclosure Act, it is clear that cold warriors in Langley, Virginia saw ethnic animosity as a desirable quality and the only likely way to rend the Soviet Union asunder. Hatreds were potent, had clear potential for political mobilization, and minimized risk of

defection. Past histories of war crimes made xenophobic nationalists even easier to control.

It is telling that the personal narratives of collaborators-turned-heroes did not become widely challenged until the period of Détente. The Carter Administration created the Office of Special Investigations to find war criminals within the United States and to bring them to justice. The press increasingly reported on Nazi collaborators, prison guards, and executioners who had all been living in plain sight for decades. Although Americans were already aware by the 1970s of the former Nazi diaspora in the western hemisphere, the depth of the relationship between the American government and Holocaust perpetrators had not become so demonstrably clear.

No More Heroes

Charles Allen, Jr. was the first American journalist to publicize the presence of prominent former Nazis living openly in America. His article, "Nazi War Criminals Among Us" appeared in the January, February, and March 1963 issues of *Jewish Currents*. Allen exposed the presence of individuals such as Gustav Hilger and Andrija Artukovic, "the Eichmann of Croatia."¹⁰⁶ According to Allen, there were fifteen persons wanted for war crimes residing in the United States at the time of writing. And even though some of them

¹⁰⁶ *Jewish Currents* reprinted Allen's articles into a single pamphlet: Charles R. Allen, Jr., *Nazi War Criminals Among Us* (New York: Jewish Currents, 1963), 5, 13.

were either formally charged or already convicted, they persisted to live in uninterrupted freedom.¹⁰⁷

Allen's was not the first journalist to try and warn the American public of the disturbing presence of Nazis and their collaborators within the United States. Journalist Milton Friedman, who was chief of the Washington branch of the Jewish Telegraph Agency (JTA) wrote a 1 March 1952 article for *The Nation*, "The Nazis Come In," while Allen was assistant editor of the magazine.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps Allen benefitted from temporal distance, since the anti-Communist furor of McCarthyism had already peaked. As a result his articles broke new ground in both the public consciousness of génocidaires living in the "free world" and the will of the press to investigate it further.

In time, it would become clear that Allen's figure of "15 known persons" was embarrassingly small. Still, at the time, over a dozen war criminals appeared to have the tacit approval of the American government while it decried "totalitarianism" abroad. The exigencies of the early Cold War muted concerns over former Nazi and fascist atrocities. The Second World War had ended, and a new struggle began. The Federal Republic of Germany and Japan – a country with its own wartime history of imperially and racially motivated atrocities - became stalwart allies against communism. To prolong investigation and discussion of their past crimes was not only inconvenient but also undermined geopolitical strategy. Alliances with authoritarians, bigots, and génocidaires threatened the First World's claims of moral clarity and ideological superiority.

¹⁰⁷ Allen, *Nazi War Criminals*, 4.

¹⁰⁸ Saidel, *The Outraged Conscience*, 19-20.

Domestic politics likewise undermined the moral clarity of the Central Intelligence Agency. The Watergate scandal that scuttled the Nixon administration likewise demonized the Central Intelligence Agency. Complicit in the administration's abuses of power, as well as the ensuing cover-up, the CIA appeared to now be an arm of federal corruption turned inward on the American people. Its unelected officials and agents came to represent a "shadow government" manipulating events, taking on a role in the American imagination—as wryly observed by historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.—formerly played by conspiratorial communists.¹⁰⁹ The CIA "G-man" had once represented the stoic public servant, whose work to defend the United States would always remain secret and without praise. Now he was a threat to the American republic itself.

By the 1970s, journalists and key American politicians took this hypocrisy to heart and demanded that federal actions become more consistent with national principles. Congresswoman Elizabeth Holtzman of Brooklyn led the charge against known war criminals residing within the US. Other public servants worked parallel with Holtzman, but her preference to take on federal agencies alone made her name synonymous with the cause on Capitol Hill. Her doggedness in confronting the State Department and INS belied the congresswoman's youth. Elected to Congress at the age of 31, she was the youngest woman ever elected to the House at that time. She entered office in January 1973 and first became aware of the INS's list of known Nazi war criminals in 1974. Holtzman was shocked to learn that despite this information, the INS was doing little or nothing to pursue

¹⁰⁹ Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., "Introduction," in Harry Rositzke, *The CIA's Secret Operations: Espionage, Counterespionage, and Covert Action* (New York: Reader's Digest Press, 1977), xvii; Rositzke, *CIA's Secret Operations*, xxvii.

the men named on the list: “My first reaction was one of disbelief . . . But when I asked the Immigration Service about it, they said there was such a list. Then I asked what they were doing about it, and there was silence.”¹¹⁰

Congresswoman Holtzman’s advocacy was instrumental in the creation of the Office of Special Investigations, the Justice Department unit that rooted out war criminals in America. Initially, responsibility for the investigation of human rights violators from abroad belonged to the INS. The investigations moved slowly and yielded few results. The service’s reluctance to pursue war criminals disturbed Holtzman and other Nazi hunters. Something became apparent that few Americans wanted to believe – that there was an intentional effort to undermine investigations through slow work and half-hearted pursuit of evidence. If this were the case, the question remained why the service would shirk such an important responsibility. Ironically, the reason may not have become so clear had one former perpetrator not chosen to out himself as a CIA agent. By doing so, Edgars Laipenieks, contributed to the momentum that would lead to the Nazi-hunting Office of Special Investigations.

The Case of Edgars Laipenieks

The CIA’s intervention in the INS investigations first became apparent in the case of Edgars Laipenieks. Laipenieks had the distinction of being both a veteran of his country’s army during the 1930s and also representing Latvia in the last Olympics of its

¹¹⁰ Saidel, *The Outraged Conscience*, 103-105.

independence until the end of the Cold War.¹¹¹ Laipenieks despised the Soviet regime, and “those dirty Russian dogs” he held responsible for his parents’ deaths.¹¹² A 1962 interview between a CIA official and Laipenieks suggested that darkness lay beneath Laipenieks’ “All-American boy exterior:”

Subject is all that has been written about him; a famous Latvian athlete for many years... with a very fine mind. He appears to be a very volatile person, and made frequent references to his dexterity with the knife and what he would do to certain people if he met them again... Subject is a strange person in many ways, and I do not really understand him on the basis of my two meetings. He could be a real Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde sort of person... He has a very calculating intellect, his face can freeze in a second and his blue eyes become most intense as they stare at you... He also stated that he did not think [the American Intelligence Service] knew of his Abwehr/Gestapo background, but wished to volunteer all as a sign of good faith... [Laipenieks] is a smart operator and an intelligent one. No inexperienced person should be asked to run him at any time or make contact with him.¹¹³

¹¹¹ Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika: CIA and Nazi War Criminals and Collaborators (U)*, Draft Working Paper, History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, April 2003, Chapter 16, 19. Ruffner is an internal historian of the CIA and had access to these files before they were released and declassified for outside scholars.

¹¹² Chief, SR/2 Baltic, Memorandum for the Record, SUBJECT: AESIDECAR/2, Background information, 14 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2. The memorandum explained that Laipenieks’ father died in a “Soviet concentration camp,” ironically invoking images of Nazi brutality.

¹¹³ Memorandum for the Record, SUBJECT: AESIDECAR-2 – Part I, 3-7 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1

During the war, Laipenieks was an investigations officer of the Latvian Political Police (LPP), an organization that collaborated with the German occupation to root out communists and Soviet sympathizers. He joined freely and of his own volition.¹¹⁴ In 1943, the LPP was attached to the Gestapo and renamed the Sicherheitsdienst (SD) Latvian Section.¹¹⁵ He was also the head jailer at the Riga Central Prison and was accused of torturing and murdering inmates.¹¹⁶ He additionally served as an *Abwehr* informant to help counter Soviet attempts to establish operatives within occupied Latvia.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ RE AESIDECAR OPERATION, 9 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

¹¹⁵ Translation of AESIDECAR/2's Autobiographical Statement, 5 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2. Laipenieks may have been a member of the Perkonkrusts (Thunder Cross), a fascist-oriented Latvian party of the interwar period. Former Perkonkrusts members collaborated with the Germans during the Second World War, despite a German ban on the organization in 1941: Valdis O. Lumans, *Latvia in World War II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006), 235-241. A publication of the Russian Ministry of Internal Affairs names one "Laipenieks" as a former Perkonkrusts member who worked with the German SD. See: V. K. Bylinin, *Pribaltika: pod znakom svastiki, 1941-1945 : sbornik dokumentov* (Moskva: Ob"edinennaia redaktsiia MVD Rossii, 2009). Richard Plavnieks, in his study of trials of Latvian collaborationist commandoes and Latvian Security Police, has made the important distinction that the Latvian far-right, though fascist, should not be treated as an extension of German National Socialism. To the contrary, Latvian nationalists often had just as much disdain for German authority and influence as they did for that of Russia: Richards Plavnieks "Nazi Collaborators on Trial During the Cold War The Cases against Viktors Arajs and the Latvian Auxiliary Security Police" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013). For a more thorough exploration of the Latvian right, see: Ieva Za e, "Latvian Nationalist Intellectuals and the Crisis of Democracy in the Inter-War Period," in *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 33, No. 1, (March 2005), 97-117.

¹¹⁶ Laipenieks v. INS, 750 F.2d 1427, 1429 (9th Cir.1985).

¹¹⁷ Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 16, 20; Chief, SR, to Chief of Base, Berlin, SUBJECT: REDWOOD – Edgars Laipenieks [REDACTED], Reference: DIR 18460, May 1957, 7 August 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1. The dispatch refers to the results of Laipenieks' name trace, which yielded information that a Latvian prison guard named Laipenieks committed atrocities during the war. The dispatch

As the Red Army progressed westward, Laipenieks fled to Austria and France. In 1947, he immigrated to Chile, staying one step ahead of Soviet attempts to capture him.¹¹⁸ In Chile, he established himself as a professor of physical education and coached the Chilean Olympic ski team in the 1956 Olympics in Melbourne. The CIA became interested in the Chilean coach with the Baltic name and identified him as a potential spotter for track meets behind the Iron Curtain, requested him a non-immigrant visa, and called for an investigation of “as much biographical information on the Subject as possible.”¹¹⁹ Laipenieks’ CIC file already contained information about his wartime past.¹²⁰ In fact, he was wanted by the CIC in Munich for his role in the Nazi prison.¹²¹ But this information had not yet been shared with the CIA.

Less than three months after initiating this comprehensive background check, Allen Dulles received a message from Stuttgart. According to their records, an unnamed document from May 1946 named an Edgars Laipenieks as an interrogator in a Gestapo prison in Riga. In addition, he was observed killing four individuals during their

sanitized this information and distanced it from the Edgars Laipenieks now residing in the United States.

¹¹⁸ Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 16, 20.

¹¹⁹ Chief of Station [Redacted] to Chief, WHD, REDWOOD/REDSKIN, Edgars (NMI) LAIPENIEKS, HCSW-2490, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1; Chief of Station to Chief, SR, REDWOOD/REDSKIN, Edgars Laipenieks, ACTION REQUIRED: Station Name Trace, 14 May 1957, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1.

¹²⁰ Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 16, 20.

¹²¹ Chief, CLS, to Chief, EE, Dispatch EGSA-11212, SUBJECT: REDWOOD – Edgars LAIPENIEKS – Name Trace Reply, 1 November 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

interrogations and had a reputation of a “most cruel and mean character and for mistreatment of prisoners.”¹²² This information was mostly dismissed, for informants assured the agency that “the Gestapo jails in Riga during World War II were for the most part confinement places for Latvian Communists.”¹²³ Extreme, pro-Nazi violence could thus be explained away as “mostly” anti-Communism. Laipenieks and the CIA would not quite formalize their relationship at this juncture, mostly due to the former’s unwillingness to travel to Soviet territory.¹²⁴ The agency canceled a request for Laipenieks’ operational approval on 11 March 1958.¹²⁵

Laipenieks received an immigration visa in 1960 and established permanent residency in the United States. He began working as a professor of physical education and a track coach for the University of Denver. He also formally established his relationship with the Central Intelligence Agency. His assignment was to establish contact with potential Soviet informants at international track meets. Of particular interest was the international track meet Stanford University was hosting in July of 1962. As part of AEBALCONY, Laipenieks was to establish contact with targeted Baltic athletes and see if he could facilitate their defections.¹²⁶

¹²² From Stuttgart, to Director, REDWOOD AEMARSH REDSKIN, RE: DIR 18460 (OUT 57465), 9 August 1957, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1.

¹²³ Memorandum for: Chief, CI/OA, Subject: [REDACTED], 11 March 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1.

¹²⁴ Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 16, 21.

¹²⁵ Memorandum for Chief, SR/2, Cancellation to Division, SUBJECT: LAIPENIEKS, Edgars, 11 March 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1.

¹²⁶ Memorandum for AD/DDP, SUBJECT: Planned Operations against Soviets Visiting in the United States, 17 July 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume

During his aforementioned CIA interviews in 1962, the agency suspected that Laipenieks was less than forthcoming about his wartime past. In polygraph examinations he appeared to be deceiving about the commission of war atrocities, the torture and execution of prisoners, and hiding details of his involvement with German intelligence (to which the interrogator doubted that Laipenieks had any ties) – all of which Laipenieks flatly denied.¹²⁷

Laipenieks received special attention of the General Accounting Office (GAO) in 1977, when it launched a formal investigation of the Central Intelligence Agency's relationship with former Nazis and their collaborators. This was due largely in part to the significant media attention Laipenieks had attracted to himself.¹²⁸ In spite of that, a CIA official informed Laipenieks that the results of the interview were “apparently very satisfactory, “ and that if, “there is some ancient history with which we are not aware, [we] choose to regard it as so much water over the dam.” The CIA official also asked whether Laipenieks had considered applying for US citizenship after his visa's expiration.¹²⁹ Meanwhile, an undated memorandum concluded that rather than risk upsetting the volatile Laipenieks further with probing questions about his past, the agency should just assume

1.; Memorandum for Chief, SR Division, Attention: [REDACTED] SR/2/Baltic, From: Deputy Director of Security (Investigations and Operational Support), Subject: Laipenieks, Edgars, #161 260, 20 July 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 1.

¹²⁷ Interrogation Research Division to SR/2, SUBJECT: LAIPENIEKS, Edgars, 11 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

¹²⁸ Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 15, 7. The GAO's other prime target was Tscherim Soobzokov. Like Laipenieks, he too was often featured in media exposés. For more on Soobzokov, see Chapter XX.

¹²⁹ Letter to Edgars Laipenieks, 13 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

the worst about his history.¹³⁰ When Laipenieks inquired whether he should reveal his work for the Germans during the war – a detail he omitted from his visa – he was told to “leave it to his conscience” whether to report it or not. “I did tell him, however, that we would take no steps to compromise him with the Immigration Service.”¹³¹ Laipenieks left the information off his visa.

Laipenieks continued to serve as an informant for the agency, but his role declined after his attempt at initiating the defection of a Latvian athlete visiting the United States. Laipenieks’ handlers coached him on how to approach the Soviet-Latvian players on their upcoming trip. This included noticing clear vulnerabilities and willingness to defect. His superiors also provided him a list of topics of conversation in case he engaged any of the players.¹³²

Laipenieks spent days between 22 and 26 November 1962 establishing contact with a Soviet basketball team visiting Denver, in attempts to draw closer to the players and their

¹³⁰ Memorandum for: Chief, SR/2, SUBJECT: AESIDECAR/2 – Operational Assessment , undated, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2. The memorandum likely dates between 18 and 24 October 1962, based on its location within Laipenieks’ CIA file.

¹³¹ Chief, SR/2 Baltic, Memorandum for the Record, SUBJECT: AESIDECAR/2, Background information, 14 September 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

¹³² In his internal history, CIA Historian Kevin Conley Ruffner stated that Laipenieks pursued this “independent plan, not approved by Headquarters.” The fact remains that Laipenieks initiated this operation only after instruction by his superiors prior to the Soviet team’s arrival. Laipenieks was also provided with a hotline to inform Headquarters of major developments throughout the operation, which he used after meeting with Kalnyn at the hockey game. CIA advised Laipenieks to contact the FBI in Denver, in case things proceeded further. Compare Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika*, Chapter 16, 21-22 with Memorandum for Chief, SR/10, SUBJECT: Contact Report – AESIDECAR/2, [REDACTED], 1 February 1963, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2.

management. His target for defection was Juris Kalnins, one of the basketball players. The University of Denver invited the players to watch a hockey game on its campus on the evening of the 24th. There, Kalnins approached Laipenieks and told him that he had been planning his trip to America for quite some time. He asked whether life was better in the United States or Canada. Laipenieks in turn asked whether Kalnins had considered staying in the United States “for good.” Laipenieks could make that happen. Kalnins was nervous, but he agreed. The two planned to meet outside the team’s hotel at 10:00 the following morning. Laipenieks indicated he would be there in a red Volkswagen. The appointed time came and went, but Kalnins was unable to come out. Laipenieks later passed the jittery Kalnins a note with contact information, but repeated attempts to secure his defection failed. Kalnins claimed that he destroyed the note with Laipenieks’ information.¹³³

Laipenieks had sloppily exposed himself as a CIA agent. Kalnins described his encounter with Laipenieks in an interview in Riga the following March. He named Laipenieks as an American agent who attempted to bribe his defection with money, a car, and a free college education. Kalnins claimed he indignantly refused Laipenieks’ proposals and told him to never contact him again. Such a person “cannot understand the psychology of us Soviet people.”¹³⁴

¹³³ Report from Edgars Laipenieks, 22 – 26 November 1962, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 2; Memorandum, Yuri Petrovich Kalnyn, Federal Bureau of Investigation, United States Department of Justice, Denver, Colorado, 14 January 1963, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

¹³⁴ TO LATVIANS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES – FROM RIGA, Transcript of broadcast, Conversation with the basketball player Juris KALNINS, 24 March 1963, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

Kalnins' exposure of Laipenieks prompted a far more critical appraisal of the latter's abilities. Although it yielded no new information in how Laipenieks handled the situation, the CIA's attitude towards the operation was remarkably different. Despite informing his controlling officer of his intentions, an agency memorandum reiterated that Laipenieks was never instructed to try to initiate a defection - though the memorandum does not claim that he was instructed not to proceed with such a course of action. Laipenieks' letter, which Kalnins said he destroyed, likely found its way to Soviet intelligence. His refusal to "go slow" and preference to "shoot from the hip" called his prior assessments into question. The author of the memorandum recommended that Laipenieks not be employed further except with "extreme caution." Moreover, his "overall record of performance for [CIA] does not warrant intervention with INS on behalf of his spotty past, i.e., membership in Latvian Political Police & Gestapo interrogator during WW II [sic]. At the time of his entry into the United States he concealed this information." The Agency should not continue to enable such a liability.¹³⁵ Laipenieks was used sparingly from there on out, only to establish the identities of persons of interest in photographs. After a final contact operation while he coached in Mexico, the CIA released him from further employment.¹³⁶

In spite of the sober recommendations of the 1963 memorandum, the CIA continued to shield a blown asset with a criminal past. Correspondence between the CIA and Laipenieks had ceased for five years after the 1968 Olympics. The latter re-established

¹³⁵ [AUTHOR REDACTED], SR/10/Latvia, to Chief, SR/10, SUBJECT: AESIDECAR/2, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

¹³⁶ From [REDACTED] to Chief, SB, SUBJECT: REDTOP LCIMPROVE AESIDECARE, 31 October 1967, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

contact in the spring of 1973 after he became the subject of an INS deportation investigation. Laipenieks wrote directly to the CIA, cited his service between 1961 and 1967, and asked for the Agency's intervention in his favor in order to block further moves by INS.¹³⁷ It is unclear what action the Agency took in response to Laipenieks' letter, and his name was published by the *New York Times* along with thirty-six other individuals under INS investigation. The release came after Congresswoman Holtzman's castigation of the INS for its leaden progress in rooting out war criminals, creating "a haven for at least 73 alleged Nazi war criminals."¹³⁸ Laipenieks sent a second request to the agency almost exactly two years after his first plea. He denied the charges that he committed atrocities at Riga Central Prison and again asked for CIA intervention.¹³⁹

This letter appears to have sufficed. In an interview with the *New York Times* printed on 15 October 1976, Laipenieks informed writer Ralph Blumenthal that the CIA convinced the INS to drop its investigation of him in light of his service to the agency in the past. Both the CIA and INS denied any undo interference.¹⁴⁰ A facsimile of the letter read:

...we have been corresponding with the Immigration and Naturalization Service about your status. We have now been told that you are "not amenable

¹³⁷ Speed Letter from CI/CI/IS, to CI Staff, Regarding: Edgars Laipenieks, FOIA Request 75-344, 31 March 1973, 4 June 1973, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

¹³⁸ Ralph Blumenthal, "U.S. Immigration Agency Lists 37 in Inquiry on Nazi war Crimes," *The New York Times*, 6 June 1974, 12.

¹³⁹ Correspondence from Edgars Laipenieks, to the CIA, 25 March 1975, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Edgars Laipenieks, Box 76, Volume 3.

¹⁴⁰ Ralph Blumenthal, "Nazi War Crimes Suspect Asserts C.I.A. Used Him as Anti-Soviet Spy: Californian Says Agency Intervened to bar Investigation of Him by Immigration Officials," *The New York Times*, 15 October 1976, 12.

to deportation under existing laws.” It is our understanding that INS has advised their San Diego office to cease any action against you If such does not prove to be the case, please let us know immediately. Thank you once again . . . for your past assistance to the agency.¹⁴¹

Laipenieks’ revelation came suddenly; as late as 6 October his name appeared on a short list of individuals in danger of deportation.¹⁴² Laipenieks’ indiscretion once again brought unwanted attention to the American intelligence community. Not only did it confirm longstanding suspicions that the CIA had close ties to war criminals, but the intelligence community continued to support men like Laipenieks. Representatives Joshua Elberg and Elizabeth Holtzman demanded that INS Commissioner Leonard Chapman provide a detailed report on the contact between INS and CIA in war crimes investigations, calling the CIA’s advocacy work “an intolerable affront to the decency of the American people.”¹⁴³

After repeated Congressional prodding Holtzman announced the creation of an INS task force dedicated to directing the investigations and prosecutions aimed to deport Nazi

¹⁴¹ *Keeping posted*, 26 (October, 1980): back cover, photocopy of letter from CIA to Edgars Laipenieks, 20 July 1976, provided by Charles Allen, Jr. to accompany his article, “US Passport for Genocide,” quoted in Saidel, *The Outraged Conscience*, 113. The letter is not contained within Laipenieks’ CIA file.

¹⁴² Ralph Blumenthal, “Immigration Agency Investigates 9 Suspected as Nazis: Croatian and 5 Eastern Europeans in the U.S. Could Be Deported,” *The New York Times*, 6 October 1976, 20. The List of names included especially infamous individuals such as Karl Linnas and Andrija Artukovic, who were both extradited a decade later. Also included was Serge Kowalchuk, who was stripped of US citizenship and fled to Paraguay.

¹⁴³ “Alien Agency Queried on C.I.A., Ex-Nazi Link,” *The New York Times*, 16 October 1976, 52.

war criminals. Within two months, the State Department informed Holtzman that it had a list of 68 names of suspected Nazi war criminals, and that it would soon submit these names to the Soviet government. In addition, Foggy Bottom would submit all future cases simultaneously to the West German government and its Berlin Document Center, as well as the USSR, as soon as they arise. Progress was slow-going. Both the CIA and FBI admitted to working with former Nazis, but the General Accounting Office (GAO) concluded there were no signs of any governmental conspiracy to protect war criminals.¹⁴⁴

If men like Laipenieks were currently “not amenable to deportation under existing laws,” those laws needed to be changed. The 1978 Amendment to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality barred the entry of anyone who between 23 March 1933 and 8 May 1945 “ordered, incited, assisted, or otherwise participated in the persecution of any person because of race, religion, national origin or political opinion” in the service of the Nazi government in Germany, the German occupation, Nazi-aligned puppet states, or any other German ally. Anyone residing in the United States of foreign origin who fit that description was likewise eligible for deportation.¹⁴⁵

Based on this statute and the testimony from Soviet citizens, the INS Board of Immigrations Appeals unanimously ruled that Laipenieks should be deported to Latvia and await justice in his homeland. The Ninth Circuit court overturned the decision of the BIA, based on the unreliability of witness testimony and the inability of the INS to meet the burden of proof required to determine that Laipenieks was personally involved in any

¹⁴⁴ Saidel, *The Outraged Conscience*, 114-117.

¹⁴⁵ H.R. 12509, 95th Cong. (1978).

violence motivated by race, religion, nationality, or political belief. In the court's opinion joining the LPP to fight communism in general did not meet the standard for political repression in any specific case.¹⁴⁶ The district court ruled that Laipenieks had only pursued and persecuted communists. Evidently the majority opinion did not believe this fit the standard for repression based on "political opinion."

Laipenieks insisted that though he had "roughed up" some prisoners taken into custody, he never killed or seriously hurt anybody during his employment in the LPP. If he had been a war criminal, Laipenieks argued, he would have taken into hiding. He then deflected to his grievances against Russian imperialism and brutality. "When the Russians overran our country, they killed our people by lining them up against the wall and shooting them in the neck."¹⁴⁷ Laipenieks thereby reiterated his personal narrative of hero-victim.

The dual identities of hero and victim combined to create underdog personas that many nationalists and their sympathizers found appealing. It also extended to the ethics of the Cold War. To turn a blind eye to the struggle of freedom fighters under the heel of a totalitarian superpower was the height of moral bankruptcy on the international scene. The hero-victim identity galvanized support not only from Western governments, but also ethnic enclaves who often rejected wholesale any allegations that challenged the righteousness of nationalist figures. Ethnic and political obstacles undermined the work of

¹⁴⁶ Laipenieks v. INS, 750 F.2d 1427, 1429 (9th Cir.1985). For more on trials of Latvian collaborationists, see a recent dissertation: Richards Plavnieks, "Nazi Collaborators on Trial During the Cold War: The Cases Against Victors Arājs and the Latvian Auxiliary Security Police" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013).

¹⁴⁷ David Freed, "Accused War Criminal Wins Appeals Court Ban on Deportation," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 January, 1985.

agencies like the Office of Special Investigations, particularly if it relied on any documentation from Soviet investigators. To oppose Moscow and communism was evidence enough of one's righteousness, let alone their commendation for years of service to the American government.

CHAPTER 2

“IT TAKES A RUSSIAN TO BEAT A RUSSIAN”: THE NATIONAL UNION OF LABOR SOLIDARISTS

On 18 February 1954, Nikolai Sergeyevich Khokhlov walked along the streets of Frankfurt, West Germany. The thirty-two year old native of Gorkii and ethnic Russian was in Germany on a “special assignment.” Khokhlov momentarily put this identity aside. For now, he was Walter Oesch, Swiss traveler. He was a member of Soviet intelligence – among the very first trained to operate behind German lines during the Second World War, masquerading as a German soldier no less. As he walked, he simultaneously drew closer to the address he memorized and the most important decision he would make of his life. He stopped outside the door of a flat. It belonged to Georgiy Sergeyevich Okolovich, the leader of the National Union of Labor Solidarists (NTS), a Russian nationalist organization. The NTS leader answered the door, and “Oesch” introduced himself: he was Nikolai Sergeyevich, the chief of the squad sent to kill the traitor Okolovich.¹⁴⁸

While reviewing his target, Khokhlov read some brief portions of NTS literature.¹⁴⁹ As it turned out, the two men shared more than a patronymic. *Possev*, the NTS newspaper,

¹⁴⁸ Vladislav Krasnov, *Soviet Defectors: The KGB Wanted List* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1985), 28-29, 57-58; Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: the Mitrokhin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB*, (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Nikolai E. Khokhlov, as told to Milton Lehman, “I Would Not Murder for the Soviets,” *The Saturday Evening Post*, 20 November, 1954, 27-29, 121-124.

¹⁴⁹Second Session on Activities of Soviet Secret Service, Hearing Before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 83rd Congr. (21 May, 1954) (Testimony of Nikolai Evgeniyevich Khokhlov).

displayed two slogans, “For Russia” and “God is in Truth, Not in Force.” Khokhlov’s wife, too, was a devout Christian, unwavering in faith. When she learned of Khokhlov’s mission, she encouraged him to spare Okolovich, warn him of the immediate plots on his life, and to defect forever to the West. The marriage of NTS patriotism and religious fervor convinced both of the Khokhlovs of the righteousness of its cause, regardless of the bitter fates that he knew awaited defectors abroad and their families at home.¹⁵⁰

Such was the romantic image of the NTS. Of all anti-Soviet groups that resisted Soviet rule from within and without, the longest operating was the Russian *Natsional’no-Trudovoi Soyuz* (NTS). It was also, perhaps, the most significant. Khokhlov’s own instructions identified the NTS as especially dangerous, for it was the only émigré organization still operational within the Soviet Union.¹⁵¹ But its history failed to live up to the idyllic proclamations within its propaganda.

Of all anti-Soviet groups that resisted Soviet rule from within and without, the longest operating was the Russian *Natsional’no-Trudovoi Soyuz* (NTS), often translated as the National Union of Labor Solidarists. The NTS was also among the most significant émigré networks operating on the international scene. The movement grew out of the collaboration of White Russian émigrés who aggregated in Belgrade at the end of the 1920s. Its two chief founders were the former White Generals, Anton Turkul and Claudius Voss (AKA Boris Alexandrov). The movement was transnational from its inception, designed to have representatives from the exile community throughout the world with

¹⁵⁰ Krasnov, *Soviet Defectors*, 29.

¹⁵¹ Krasnov, *Soviet Defectors*, 28.

chapters—though some had sparse membership— in Europe, Asia, Africa, North America, and Australia. The NTS leadership placed a strong emphasis on a “corporatist” political orthodoxy combined with instruction in Russian history in order to combat Bolshevism.

Along with its fascist leanings the Solidarists also espoused a deeply anti-Semitic political program. In 1939, the Russian All-Military Union (ROVS) asked the NTS where it stood on the “Jewish question” in Russia. The NTS replied that, “Yes, the overwhelming majority of the Jews is hostile to National Russia and to the Russian people. But (as the saying goes), ‘the pike’s in the sea to keep the crustaceans on its toes.’ If we don’t let ourselves be made into crustaceans, no ‘zhids’ can scare us.”¹⁵²

The NTS likewise approved of Germany’s final solution for the Jewish population of Europe. When Hitler announced the creation of a “Lublin Reservoir” for Jews in December 1939, an NTS writer praised the decision. Believing that Hitler intended to create a separate Jewish state and remove all Jews from their current societies, the author was satisfied that, “thus the question of a territory for the Jews has been resolved.”¹⁵³ Over time, Hitler’s true intentions became clear, and the NTS decided to remain silent on the issue and remained so until the USSR seemed poised to fall before the advancing

¹⁵² *Za Rodinu*, No. 88, April 1, 1939, quoted in Boris L. Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration* (Santa Monica: Rand Corporation, 1955), 124.

¹⁵³ *Za Rodinu*, No. 95, December 15, 1939, quoted in Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*, 126.

Wehrmacht. Only then did it openly include an endorsement of the final solution within its platform.¹⁵⁴

During the Second World War, the NTS built a closer relationship to Germany. Its directorate moved its headquarters from Belgrade to Berlin, where it initially operated as a clandestine organization. Over time the Solidarists developed a partnership with the Nazi government. It was partly enabled due to one of Berlin's coercive occupation policies. After conquering the Soviet Union's western borderlands, Germany began to conscript *Ostarbeiters*. These "eastern workers" would provide manpower to German factories and allow the Nazi war machine to press further eastward. Within the populations of the *Ostarbeiters* and Soviet refugees were ethnic Russians who could offer fairly current information about the Soviet Union and perhaps work as NTS informants.

The Nazi leadership had failed to reach a consensus on what to do with Russian nationalists. Officially, Hitler specified the place of the Russians in relation to Germans through his *Ostpolitik*. Alfred Rosenberg favored the mobilization of minority nationalists in order to carve up Soviet territory and create an eastern buffer of weak states. As such, Rosenberg saw no need for promoting Russian nationalism. Such a move could only work against his goals. The NTS had no intention of giving up border territories. The Solidarists sought to replace one stridently authoritarian government with another and was no less hostile towards Western culture than the Soviets.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵⁴ Dvinov, *Politics of the Russian Emigration*, 126.

¹⁵⁵ David Littlejohn, *The Patriotic Traitors: The Story of Collaboration in German Occupied Europe 1940-1945* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1972), 296.

Joseph Goebbels, the German Minister of Propaganda, viewed the eastern nationalities similarly to Rosenberg. The Nazi government's chief propagandist worried about the psychological effect of Nazi ideology on the eastern front. Like Rosenberg, he had no quarrel with the doctrinal inferiority of the Slavs, but he fretted about the problems posed by treating occupied populations as less than human. The resultant resentment would provide fodder for partisan movements and undermine German strategic concerns. Thus, he took a utilitarian view of winning the hearts and minds through a more moderate occupation policy of local collaborator governments. Military commanders on the eastern front likewise saw the wisdom in harnessing local support by stoking hostility for Soviet power. Some officers took their fervor one step further and ignored official orders that prohibited the arming of Soviet citizens in Eastern Europe.¹⁵⁶

Of all Soviet peoples, those of Slavic background had the longest road to gaining official sanction as units within and alongside the *Wehrmacht*. In contrast, the German command embraced the Soviet Muslim populations early on. In December 1941, a top secret memorandum called for the Supreme Command to "set up: (1) a 'Turkestan Legion' consisting of members of the following nationalities: Turkemnians, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Kirghizs, Karakalpaks, and Tadjiks; (2) A 'Caucasian-Mohammedan Legion' consisting of members of the following nationalities: Azerbaijanis, Daghestans, Ingushes, Lezghins, and Chechens; (3) A 'Georgian Legion'; (4) An 'Armenian Legion.'"¹⁵⁷ Slavs, on the other hand,

¹⁵⁶ George Fischer, *Soviet Opposition to Stalin: a Case Study in World War II* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 12-13.

¹⁵⁷ Nuremberg Trial, unpublished document NG-3534, quoted in Fischer, *Soviet Opposition to Stalin*, 48.

occupied a lower rung on the Nazi racial hierarchy. In addition, they occupied some of the principal lands Germany sought to pacify, incorporate, and colonize. Upon a German victory, there would be little place for Slav outside a life of servitude. As such, Russian, Ukrainian, and Belorussian volunteers were relegated to the status of laborers under the occupation, or the *Ostarbeiters* conscripted for work back in the German metropole.

When the German army moved into Soviet territory, it found the need for local populations to take supplementary roles in the occupation. Many members of local communities were eager to oblige. The *Hiwis*, short for *Hilfswilliger* (“voluntary assistant”), filled different roles such as messengers, cooks, administrators, and local police. The *Hiwis* provided the initial talent pool for the groups of *Osttruppen*, which Army Group Center first assembled in November 1941. The *Wehrmacht* High Command authorized these groups of about 200 men under secret order, for their very existence clashed with the mandates of the *Ostpolitik*. A series of security units of Baltic, Belorussian, and Ukrainian extraction were likewise formed to fend off Soviet partisans at the same time as the “eastern legions” mentioned above.¹⁵⁸ Though Rosenberg eagerly embraced the minority nationalities of the Soviet Union, he remained anathema to the mobilization of Russian nationalist troops. This placed him more in step with the highest levels of German policy, at least as far as ethnic Russians were concerned.

In the clash between ideology and official strategy, German attitudes and politics on nationality questions were far more diverse than might be expected of the notoriously repressive and authoritarian regime. On the eastern front, far from Berlin, the *Wehrmacht*

¹⁵⁸ Littlejohn, *Patriotic Traitors*, 301.

armed those who were willing to help in the fight against German enemies. After the *Wehrmacht* captured the gifted Soviet general Andrey Vlasov in 1942, his interrogators were duly impressed with his potential to be a “Russian de Gaulle” who could lead a powerful fifth column. Colonel Claus von Stauffenberg, who later attempted to overthrow Hitler and his regime in the 20 July 1944 plot at Hitler’s bunker at Wolfschanze, was among those who favored the Vlasov movement, but officially it remained out of the question. As the war pressed on and conditions changed in favor of the Red Army, German commanders took matters into their own hands and armed Russians against communism.¹⁵⁹

NTS agents assisted the Germans in the establishment of General Vlasov’s ill-fated army of Russian defectors. Colonel Mikhail Alekseyvich Meandrov, who the Germans captured in 1941, was an NTS-man who collaborated with Colonel Heinz Danko Herre in the creation of an armed Russian unit against Moscow. Meandrov cautioned that without this unit German victory was entirely out of the question. Meandrov made contact with Vlasov’s column evaluated the latter’s organization and instructed its ranks in the NTS’s political ideology. Meandrov’s men reported being received with excitement and kindness by Russian populations.¹⁶⁰ For the first time in its history, the NTS operated overtly on Soviet territory. At the same time, other NTS members reached out to Russian prisoners of war and slave laborers to join the fight against communism. Their central message

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 306-307.

¹⁶⁰ Jürgen Thorwald, *The Illusion: Soviet Soldiers in Hitler's Armies* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 254. Herre himself was interrogated by the CIA as part of the Gehlen network after the war. His statement is included in a report on the creation of the West German intelligence service: *Forging an Intelligence Partnership: CIA and the Origins of the BND, 1945-49*. Edited by Kevin C. Ruffner for CIA History Staff, Center for the Study of Intelligence, and European Division, Directorate of Operations. 1999. Released May 2002.

explained that neither Hitler nor Stalin was nor could they be the saviors of the Russian people. Instead Russia's salvation would come from a new, third force on the ascent.¹⁶¹

By the latter stages of the war, the NTS had fallen out with Germany. The organization's lack of German loyalty and international collaboration made its operations somewhat problematic for the flagging German war effort. The Gestapo arrested most of the NTS leadership it knew of by mid-1944. This decapitation splintered the NTS in Central Europe and propelled the remaining leaders to function via front organizations. The most significant front eventually settled at the DP camp in Mönchehof, where it reunited with NTS leaders after their release. The Mönchehof camp became the *de facto* headquarters of the NTS from 1945 to 1949, when the camp finally closed. NTS members found the US military occupation zone "unfavorable," and many relocated to German territory under British control. The NTS leadership was particularly disappointed in the then-existing immigration exclusion for the group's members. After 1948, many leaders began operating out of Hamburg.¹⁶²

Aside from its opposition to the rule of the Communist Party, the NTS's post-war program was incredibly nebulous. Its difference from Stalinist ideology was also unclear. The commonalities appeared to outweigh the points of contrast. The NTS embraced Russian nationalism, as the Soviet state had since the late 1930s. It believed in maintaining the full territory of the current Soviet Union, and perhaps drawing the conquered states of

¹⁶¹ Report no. R-G16-50, Undated, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, 6. Although the report is missing the first several pages, including its date, it likely originates no later than the autumn of 1950.

¹⁶² Ibid.

Eastern Europe even tighter into the federation of the “New Russia.” Its political and economic program of “solidarity” was described by an American intelligence analyst as an “aggressive, opportunistic, flexible, totalitarian socialism” that was “exactly like the Communist Party program” of its day and opposed the growth of American and English economic power on the European continent. It embraced a future hierarchical political system with voting weighted by social class.¹⁶³ The NTS vision for a post-Communist Russia bore no resemblance to anything resembling a liberal-democratic society. It could be more accurately described as an amalgamation of Tsarist and Communist policies under ethnic Russian domination. Nevertheless, the young Central Intelligence Agency could not resist the appeal of an anti-Soviet network of such magnitude, and drew ever closer to the NTS leadership.

By 1950, the Justice Department and US CIA knew that the organization’s chief, Victor Baidalakoff had established residence in New York, New York. That same year, James Jesus Angleton, as head of Staff A of the Office of Special Operations, fervently supported the exploitation of the NTS against the USSR. Angleton, who would later become the CIA’s chief of counterintelligence staff, saw immense potential in the organization as a ready-made transnational operation.

There were immediate objections. While the NTS was large, it was also unwieldy. The responsibility for corralling its diasporic membership, it appeared, would ultimately fall upon the CIA. The NTS’s size also compounded the problem of organizational security. Even if the Solidarists could be coordinated enough to carry out missions, their interests

¹⁶³ Ibid.

may run counter to those of the United States. In such an event, the missions would likely become shelved in the impasse. In the end, this would all equate to a lot of resources spent on an organization with likely moles, dubious effectiveness, and questionable goals.¹⁶⁴

Worse still, there were already signs that agents from the UK, France, and Soviet Union had penetrated the NTS. In fact, the NTS had likely been a Soviet front since its inception. General Anton Turkul was long believed to be a loyal monarchist who had escaped to Paris during the losing struggle of the Russian Civil War. In 1938, he was expelled from Paris and spent the tenure of the Second World War in Rome, where he cultivated close ties to the Vatican and organized the Klatt network, which funneled Soviet disinformation to the Germans. When Buchardt and Rosenberg raised the Russian volunteer army under Vlasov, Turkul briefly attempted to collaborate with his fellow White General, but the two had a distinct distaste for one another.

At the war's end, Turkul took over Vlasov's contacts, aggregating a large network of anti-Communist Russians as the self-proclaimed Commander-in-Chief of Vlasov's army. For years after the end of the war, Turkul, along with Richard Kauder (aka Klatt) and Ira Longin, were investigated by British counterintelligence under suspicion of being Soviet-controlled agents. Despite numerous interrogations and imprisonment that included a year of solitary confinement, Turkul was never broken. He was determined to be a bit player in the Klatt network and the British found no significant evidence of intentional Communist collaboration. He was cleared. In actuality, he was a mole, a member of a group of elite Tsarist officers co-opted by the Bolshevik government. These high-ranking

¹⁶⁴ FDS/E1 to Chief, FDS, "Discussions with Mr. Angleton and [Redacted] Regarding NTS," 24 September 1950, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

officers proved instrumental during the civil war. Some, like Turkul, continued to do so for decades to come.¹⁶⁵

Angleton roundly dismissed these concerns. As a man who believed war with the Soviet Union was “imminent,” the NTS was too enticing an organization for Angleton to ignore. At the same time, he proposed a more limited use of NTS assets than the objections seemed to presume. He suggested that Langley start working with one “Mr. Boldyreff,” a prominent NTS member residing in the District of Columbia, and a trusted contingent of NTS associates. This way, CIA could more easily control operations and maintain secrecy. Ironically, Angleton’s ambitions for the NTS were rebuffed because the Office of Policy Coordination under Frank Wisner was already planning much more ambitious operations in Europe.¹⁶⁶

AEROSOL

Wisner and the OPC had already begun recruiting Soviet émigrés under the umbrella of REDBIRD/REDSOX operations. These operations assembled anti-Soviet nationalists into units of “military revolutionists” meant to infiltrate the Soviet Union for spotting assets, spreading propaganda to “mobilize” public opinion, and functioning as an armed fifth column in the event of a “hot” war.¹⁶⁷ These operations were first initiated under AEROSOL, with three sub-divisions. Operation CARCASS was dedicated to the

¹⁶⁵ Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity: The Vatican, the Nazis, and the Swiss Banks* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992).

¹⁶⁶ FDS/E1 to Chief, FDS, “Discussions with Mr. Angleton and [Redacted] Regarding NTS,” 24 September 1950, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁶⁷ “Summary of Proposed Plan for AEROSOL,” NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

training of the first group of NTS agents to gather intelligence behind enemy lines. Under Operation SPAIN, NTS agents would target Soviet occupation forces in Germany and Austria in order to help spread a “revolutionary sentiment” among rank-and-file soldiers. Such sentiment could potentially lead to the acquisition of defectors and intelligence. NTS agents would also be trained to broadcast anti-Soviet ideology to create “molecules” of resistance in Central and Eastern Europe under the unimaginatively titled Operation RADIO.¹⁶⁸

The NTS continued to work with the Office of Policy Coordination, which was markedly more grandiose in its conception of Rollback operations than Angleton’s staff within the Office of Special Operations. Though technically a division of the Central Intelligence Agency, Wisner’s OPC did not answer directly to the agency until 1952, when it was reincorporated more tightly under CIA control and merged with the OSO.

The American populace for the most part remained oblivious to the existence of the NTS, its politics, and ties to Western governments. Constantine Boldyreff, an NTS leader and Georgetown professor, wrote articles for *Look* and *Reader’s Digest* to portray a romantic image of the NTS underground battling Stalinism.¹⁶⁹ Few American periodicals contradicted these accounts. In September 1951, *The New Leader* castigated both the NTS and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) as “semi-military” organizations that “quickly

¹⁶⁸ “Subject: REDBIRD/Summary of Projects for [Redacted],” 30 June 1951, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁶⁹ C. W. Boldyreff, “The Story of One Russian Underground Attempting to Overthrow Stalin,” *Look*, October 26, 1948; Constantine W. Boldyreff, “We Can Win the Cold War,” *Reader’s Digest*, November 1950.

joined hands with the Nazis” in 1941. Both organizations, if they had their way, would have remained allies of Hitler’s Germany. They only became anti-Nazi once Germany cracked down on the nationalist organizations for being overly “enterprising.” The *New Leader* article warned Americans about the attempts of the ABN and NTS, through men like Boldyreff, to influence American foreign policy into supporting clandestine, pro-fascist, paramilitary organizations while worthier and more moderate émigré organizations existed in the West.¹⁷⁰ The author was unaware of how deep the covert ties between the United States and the NTS had already grown.

NTS operations started slowly but yielded some early successes. The US-Sponsored NTS school began training a half dozen agents as early as October 1, 1951.¹⁷¹ The school was a joint operation between American intelligence and NTS personnel. The two organizations divided responsibility for agents’ instruction. Two American case officers handled the practical training of operatives, while the NTS was limited to their political education. By the NTS’s open admission, these initial recruits were not the most apt. NTS chief Okolovich purposely withheld more promising agents until the efficacy of American instruction became more evident.¹⁷²

Even before then, the NTS had successfully begun to broadcast “black propaganda” (misinformation attributed to a false source) targeting Soviet occupation forces in East

¹⁷⁰ Fred Forrest, “Allies We Don’t Need,” *The New Leader*, Volume 34, September 1951, 19-20.

¹⁷¹ Memorandum to Chief, ZACACTUS, Washington, D.C., “SUBJECT: REDSOX/AEROSOL,” 11 October 1951, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁷² “Narrative Summary of AIS Relationship with NTS,” Undated, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol.1, file 302A.1.

Germany. These broadcasts initially came out of the British sector but had since relocated to that of the US. Under Operation RADIO, plans began to supplement these broadcasts with three more radio stations – two ½ kilowatt and one 2 kilowatt – as well as mobile transmitters along the eastern border. Operation SPAIN would likewise continue to target Soviet military forces with propaganda to encourage their defection. Red Army soldiers were the most susceptible of Soviet citizens to Western influence at the time. Abroad in Germany and Austria, many experienced non-communist societies for the first time in their lives, even if fleetingly in the case of Germany. In January 1952, the Soviet Russian division received ambitious estimates that NTS recruitment nets could draw in “as many as 100 agents” over the next two years. Up to that point, however, a dozen German NTS nets had yet to recruit a single new Russian defector.¹⁷³

Even worse, the organization was highly susceptible to penetration by Soviet agents. NTS members worked out of their own personal rooms, with no safe storage of notes and messages aside from a single strongbox. The hope was that these shortcomings could be tightened up quickly and security would improve after the organization’s upcoming relocation to Frankfurt. These security problems led up to the Soviet attempt on NTS leaders Georgi Okolovich, Aleksandr Trushnovich, and Valerii Tremmel’ in 1954.¹⁷⁴ Okolovich escaped, but Trushnovich died in a struggle with Soviet kidnappers, who successfully abducted Tremmel’. Yet no remarkable action had been taken by the NTS to prevent further attempts on its members going forward. Soviet counterintelligence did not

¹⁷³ SR/West [Redacted] to Chief, SR Division, “Discussions with [Redacted] 27-January 2,” 7 January 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

give up after this initial failure, and the NTS leaders were the first major assassination targets of the post-Stalin era.¹⁷⁵ Despite these problems, NTS-CIA joint operations continued unabated.

By the winter of 1952, the working relationship between the CIA and the NTS had strengthened considerably. A “most harmonious relationship” had developed between all training instructors, Russian-speaking and English-speaking alike. A CIA progress report attributed this congeniality to the growing trust the NTS placed in their American colleagues. The NTS remained leery of Western agents after their falling out with the Nazi regime. “We[, the CIA] try point out a) that the Germans deceived them less than they deceived themselves; reading ‘Mein Kampf’ alone should have been enough to discourage all hope of an amicable agreement with Nazism; and b) that the still prevalent tendency to lump all Western nations into one category—‘The West’—is dangerous.” The report also noted the fanaticism of two of the NTS instructors at the training school. CACCOLA-2 and CACCOLA-3, were “narrow-minded, but high-minded.” That is, they both exhibited a tendency towards suspicion and exclusionism on the one hand and philosophical purity and vigor on the other.¹⁷⁶

The two men displayed the radicalizing effect experienced by patriots abroad, trying to preserve their identities. “[They] feel an almost pathological necessity to be ‘more Russian than the Russians.’ They are unhappy over their present dependence on money and inordinately sensitive to any pressure which this dependence might entail.” Therefore

¹⁷⁵ Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, 359.

¹⁷⁶ Chief of Station , Karlsruhe, to Chief, Foreign Division M, & Chief, Foreign Division S, 10 January 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

any suggestion that the Americans may withhold material support to correct intemperate behavior could only fall on deaf ears or backfire entirely by confirming preconceptions of coercive Western partners.¹⁷⁷ CACCOLA-2 especially displayed impatience with the American and NTS leadership preference for a slow, measured start.¹⁷⁸ Both instructors initially expected their students to begin disseminating propaganda and engage in recruitment operations upon arriving in the Soviet Union. This was overruled in favor of a more “prudent” timeline that imagined such maneuvers to be at least several years down the line.¹⁷⁹ Despite these tendencies towards self-delusion and distrust, the report was optimistic about the progress of training and upcoming CARCASS operations.¹⁸⁰

After weeks of training, three NTS agents were nearing operational readiness. Agent CACCOLA- 4 was clearly the standout of the trio. He was a former Red Arm sergeant with an agile and inquisitive intellect. He was likewise well read, and having spent a few years in Belgium prior to his current activity, he had practical knowledge of Western societies. His intellect did not yield a cool temper, however, and he was prone to outbursts, including a momentary ultimatum that either he or agent CACCOLA-5 be cut from CARCASS

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Chief of Station , Karlsruhe, to Chief, Foreign Division M, & Chief, Foreign Division S, Attachment to MGMA 07725, 10 November 1951, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁷⁹ Chief of Station , Karlsruhe, to Chief, Foreign Division M, & Chief, Foreign Division S, Attachment to MGMA 07725, 10 November 1951, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24; Chief of Station, Frankfurt to Chief, SR and Chief, SE, SUBJECT: “REDSOX/AESAURUS/CACCOLA 1: Transmittal of final Report on First Cycle of Caccola 1,” 4 June 1952, Attachment, page 11, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Chief of Station , Karlsruhe, to Chief, Foreign Division M, & Chief, Foreign Division S, 10 January 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

operations. CACCOLA-5 was lamentably a heavy drinker– irascible, and lecherous. He was impulsive and lacked charisma, finding it difficult to make friends quickly. Unsurprisingly, he appeared driven more by a desire for adventure than any strong ideological convictions. His conflict with CACCOLA-4 stemmed from the latter’s charge that CACCOLA-5 was an agent of inferior caliber, unfit for service. CACCOLA-6, the last of the trio, was notable for his “penchant for illegal existence.” During the war, he deserted from the Red Army, but turned himself in when a life on the lam proved more stressful than the alternative. After the war, he turned up in Italy where he was involved in “a variety of petty illegal ventures.” He only joined the NTS in August of 1951, and also seemed more interested in excitement than politics. Still, his loyalty was not doubted and he had a solid foundation in conspiratorial affairs. He nevertheless displayed a decidedly anxious demeanor, and it remained unclear how much strain he could take.¹⁸¹ This should have appeared very disconcerting to the writer of the progress report, especially in consideration of CACCOLA-6’s previous decision to surrender to Soviet authorities rather than live on the lam. If these doubts existed, they were not expressed in writing.

Agents CACCOLA-4 (Petr Petrovich Malikov), CACCOLA-5 (Mikhail Sergeyevich Platovski), and CACCOLA-6 (Vasilii Mikhailovich Slavnov) were to cross the Soviet border and establish a semi-legal status using supplied passports, soldier’s papers, and worker’s booklets. Their primary mission was to gain intelligence on Soviet border and internal security controls and report back to their handlers via wireless telegraph. The three may also attempt small-scale recruitment operations, but this was wholly secondary to the

¹⁸¹ Chief of Station , Karlsruhe, to Chief, Foreign Division M, & Chief, Foreign Division S, 10 January 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

gathering of operational intelligence of Soviet society and internal controls. All three agents would be air dropped into Soviet territory from planes out of Germany.¹⁸² The drop zone was set near Baranovichi, in Western Belarus.¹⁸³ Though the three would be dropped together, they were to have no knowledge of each other's assigned regions. CACCOLA-4 was to operate outside of Moscow, within easy access of the city to gauge the "nature and extent of [Moscow's] residence controls." CACCOLA-5 would make his way to the outlying districts of Minsk, while CACCOLA-6 would proceed to the edges of Leningrad. Though all operatives were to semi-legalize themselves within the Soviet Union, CACCOLA-6's past ties to the Soviet black market worlds of the USSR and Italy presented an opportunity for a "black existence" within the city to access information from Leningrad's underworld. All three CACCOLA-- agents were meant to stay behind the Iron Curtain indefinitely, but should war break out, they were to avoid conscription into the Red Army and "take to the woods" to organize radio operations and attract partisan fighters.¹⁸⁴ The CIA's first NTS infiltrations came on 4 May 1952, when the three agents were dropped behind the Iron Curtain into Belarus.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ "CARCASS Operation," 12 March 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁸⁴ Dispatch from Chief of Station, Frankfurt, to Chief, SR Division & Chief, EE Division, "Subject: REDSOX/AEROSOL/CARCASS: Transmittal of Revised Operation Plan," 28 February 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁸⁵ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief, EE, "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA 1, Transmittal of Progress Report, 25 July to 26 August 1952," 4 September 1952, Attachment to EGMA-00009, Appendix B, "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA/Review of Radio Traffic, 5 May - 25 Aug. 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

CACCOLAs 4, 5, and 6 were immediately besieged with problems. The three were meant initially to stay together, prepare their equipment and bury caches of weapons and extra communications gear, and continue on their way. The events that unfolded showed that the trio needed to stray from the plan from the outset. As the most capable radio operator, CACCOLA 4 was to establish radio contact with the base upon arrival, but the broadcast never came. This was to be done only if feasible, so the lack of a signal did not arouse any early suspicions. His movements and activities could only be deduced. He successfully traveled east towards Bryansk, where he successfully – albeit impatiently- met up with his NTS contact. He relayed that he intended to go back for his extra transmitter buried at Baranovichi, the drop site. He had not been heard from since leaving Bryansk. The trip would require some more time for their most promising agent. When the autumn had arrived with no further contact, NTS leadership grew deeply concerned with his whereabouts. Investigation began into all accommodation addresses in the area, as well as with CACCOLA-4's contact, with whom the NTS maintained regular contact.¹⁸⁶

CACCOLA-6 was the next to make contact, after a month of wandering and technical problems. He had repaired a tube in his transmitter, and could now communicate with the base, and often at that. He had sent six transmissions in two months. But his gregariousness often yielded useless information. His sloppy broadcast technique often led to the “frequent garbling” of his messages. Even worse, his “perverted security consciousness” often wasted the short broadcast time with cryptic responses to direct

¹⁸⁶ Chief of Base, Munich, to Chief, EE, “SUBJECT: REDSOX/AESARUS, Transmittal of [Redacted] Report on Meeting with CAPABLE 7, CAPABLE 14, [Redacted], and [Redacted], 25 September 1952, Attachment to EGMA-612, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

questions. When asked for his location he responded that he had “stopped in the desired city.”¹⁸⁷ At any rate, it appeared that he had arrived in the vicinity of Leningrad, and his controllers were prepared to broadcast a critique of his past methods- phrased in a way to avoid injuring his “rather sensitive vanity-” and supply him with new instructions for the months to come.¹⁸⁸

CACCOLA-5, the agent of the lowest expectations, was also the last to report in. He had sustained an injury after landing in a tree, and was immediately separated from the other two. After burying his gear (a radio, a pistol, and currency) he made for his parents’ home in the Gomel Oblast. He was well received and returned to the drop zone for his supplies. He had since left for Moscow, for reasons unknown. He finally established successful contact with the base on 2 July, nearly two months after the drop. His messages, although clear, both in terms of phrasing and signal quality, still did not yield useful information even about his own movement.¹⁸⁹ And like CACCOLA-6, his initial work was dubious, but the base remained hopeful of future progress.

It was not to be. Petr Petrovich, CACCOLA-4, had never resurfaced after his initial, garbled broadcasts. A later report claimed that, after the drop, he had never been heard

¹⁸⁷ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief, EE, “SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA 1, Transmittal of Progress Report, 25 July to 26 August 1952,” 4 September 1952, Attachment to EGMA-00009, Appendix B, “SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA/Review of Radio Traffic, 5 May – 25 Aug. 1952, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

from at all and was immediately presumed dead.¹⁹⁰ Vasili Slavnov, CACCOLA-6, continued operating within the Soviet Union until June 1960. He was apprehended attempting to cross the border into Iran, perhaps in a frantic evasion of Soviet authorities.¹⁹¹ His arrest remained unknown to his CIA handlers until August 1960, when it was reported by the Soviet news agency TASS.¹⁹² The August announcement came in the run-up to the trial of downed U-2 pilot Francis Gary Powers, another agent of the CIA. Slavnov's arrest helped Soviet counterintelligence identify and apprehend CACCOLA-5, Mikhail Platovski. It was in the investigation of Slavnov (presumably his interrogation) that they uncovered Platovski's existence. He was charged with spying on Soviet missile bases and collecting information on Soviet military, political, and industrial structures. This differed considerably from Platovski's original objective of operating out of Minsk.¹⁹³ It is probable that his role had changed over the years, as he had remained in contact with handlers via shortwave radio during his time abroad.¹⁹⁴ In addition to surveillance, Platovski was charged with attempting to recruit "morally unstable elements" within Soviet society as assets. It cannot be noted without a sense of irony that the agent who lacked the full confidence of his handlers and peers was the most successful of these first three infiltrators. But such

¹⁹⁰ "FYI: Infiltrated in May 1952" February-March 1961, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁹¹ "SEVERE PENALTY SEEN IN U-2 CASE," *New York Times*, Aug 4, 1960.

¹⁹² "FYI: Infiltrated in May 1952" February-March 1961, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁹³ Special to the *New York Times*, "MOSCOW REPORTS ARREST OF U.S. SPY," *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1960.

¹⁹⁴ FYI: Infiltrated in May 1952" February-March 1961, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

operations rely on good fortune as much as secrecy, and by the time Slavnov and Platovski were surfaced, Soviet counterintelligence had grown quite aware of NTS agents in US-run schools.

While CACCOLAs 4-6 made their final preparations for their drop, the CIA was already taking defensive measures against Soviet intelligence. Security took on a new sense of urgency after the attempt on Okolovich. Lest they face another "RIS (Russian Intelligence Service) kidnapping attempt," the NTS and CIA needed to take action. Agent trainees had been permitted to travel dozens of miles to neighboring towns on weekends, unescorted for the entirety of their absence. While rest and relaxation were important for agent morale, such free movement of valuable and vulnerable assets was obviously problematic.¹⁹⁵ The agents, based out of Fussen, typically dressed as American GI's, so as not to tip off even American personnel on base. Only the Major who commanded the Fussen Sub-Post was aware of any operations involving non-Americans. The agents-in-training were not allowed to leave to enter town, however they were allowed a "day and a half of liberty twice a month."¹⁹⁶ This involved weekend trips into Augsburg, about 65 miles north of Fussen. There were minor security breaches involving CACCOLAs 5 and 6, but handlers had no concerns that they had contacted Communist agents, or spilling secrets to impress local women. However, "in regard to the perennially difficult problem of the trainees' liberty," the Frankfurt Chief of Station transmitted the following

¹⁹⁵ Name Redacted to Chief/SR/West, "SUBJECT: Points for Consideration in AEROSOL Dispatch (Fran and Muni)," 5 February 1952, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Chief of Station, Frankfurt, to Chief, SR, Chief, EE, Attachment to MGMA-09836, "SUBJECT: REDSOX/AESAURUS/Final Report on First Cycle of CACCOLA 1," 4 June 1952, NARA RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

recommendations: no trainee should ever be left unmonitored; personal liberty, important for morale, should only be granted once he proves the security of his behavior; drinking should be discouraged, and excesses penalized by loss of liberty; instructors should encourage that liberty be exercised in groups of two or three.¹⁹⁷

Watchful eyes constantly monitored CIA activities in Germany. The comings and goings of such a small personnel at the base were noticeable to even the most casual of observers, much less the suspected "Communists in every corner."¹⁹⁸ Local officials had indeed picked up on the patterns of American operations. The local police chief out of Fussen remarked to the American Resident Officer that the base was carrying out the same activities as "those people in Kaufbeuren," where the first cycle of NTS trainees had received jump training.¹⁹⁹ The move of the central school to the US would bolster the security of the school and allow better control of NTS members.²⁰⁰

The school would likewise expand the involvement of NTS leadership. Not only would its members train for operations in European Russia, but also another line would be extended for infiltration of the Far East. Joint operation of dispatch and recruitment would

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.,10.

¹⁹⁹ Chief of Station, Frankfurt, to Chief, SR, Chief, EE, Attachment to MGMA-09836, "SUBJECT: REDSOX/AESAURUS/Final Report on First Cycle of CACCOLA 1," 4 June 1952, NARA RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰⁰ Name Redacted to Chief/SR/West, "SUBJECT: Points for Consideration in AEROSOL Dispatch (Fran and Muni)," 5 February 1952, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

continue out of American bases in Europe, but screened cadres would be transported to the United States for further instruction.²⁰¹

Despite these concerns, the second cycle of CACCOLA agents began in the summer of 1952. "For lack of a better site" the cadre school now operated in a small town 60 miles southeast of Munich. The school was based out of a large house, obscured from local traffic and neighbors. Its walls were "practically soundproof," and even had a ping-pong table, bowling alley, volleyball nets, and a fishable lake for cadre recreation. The trainees, instructors, staff, and Army personnel all took up residence at the house under the cover of an English school for foreign U.S. Army recruits.²⁰² But the school's European location, which made it susceptible to penetration by foreign agents, remained its core security problem.

The Betrayal of CACCOLA-27

The second cycle of NTS training proceeded with higher expectations than the first. With eight cadres nearing the completion of their training, plans called for five upcoming missions. Three would launch in two-man teams and the final two would be solo operations. All were intended to be "stay behind" operations, with no exfiltration planned, except for CACCOLA-10. The rest, like CACCOLAs 4-6, were to take up legal or semi-legal status in or near major metropolitan areas and gather operational intelligence to radio

²⁰¹ "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CARCASS Conference with CABOCHE 7," Attachment to MGAA-168, 2 February 1952, NARA, RG263, ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰² Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief, EE, "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA 1, Transmittal of Progress Report, 25 July to 26 August 1952," Attachment to EGMA-00009, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

back to base. Again, if war broke out, they were to take to the woods and mount resistance from there.²⁰³

The missions expanded from the first drop in Belarus. CACCOLAS 10 and 28 were to establish themselves in Odessa. 10 was well acquainted with the city of his birth, but 28 had no background there. The two were to communicate via dead drops and some personal encounters in order to brief CACCOLA-28 on the city and contacts before CACCOLA-10's departure.²⁰⁴ Once on his own, CACCOLA-28 was to attempt to enroll in an educational institution, preferably a technical school, where he could find work. Additionally, when the opportunity presented itself, he was to travel to the Crimean coast and assess civilian and military controls in the strategic peninsula.²⁰⁵ CACCOLA-10 appeared to have been ideal for the task of setting up his colleague, for he excelled in wireless transmission, photography, and most- significantly- falsifying documents.²⁰⁶ CACCOLA-28, on the other hand appears to have started training later than his colleagues, or at least had been behind in some fashion. By January 1953, he had caught up.²⁰⁷ To his

²⁰³ Chief of Base, Munich, to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACOLA, Transmittal of Operational Plans," 7 January 1953, Attachment A to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰⁴ Chief of Base, Munich to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACOLA, Transmittal of Operational Plans," 7 January 1953, Attachment A to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24; Attachment B to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰⁵ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief SR (Attn: [Redacted]), Attachment e-8, CACCOLA 28, 9 June 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²⁰⁶ Chief of Base, Munich to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACOLA, Transmittal of Operational Plans," 7 January 1953, Attachment F to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

credit, CACCOLA-28 appears to have been a strong wireless operator, since an incoming radio instructor's talents were compared against his.²⁰⁸

CACCOLAs 20 and 21, were the next team, and a curious one at that. The two were native ethnic Ukrainians, and fluently spoke Russian as well as Ukrainian. Their motivations for joining the NTS, a Russian nationalist organization, remain unclear. Yet their reports on the Ukrainian nation were decidedly anti-separatist.²⁰⁹ CACCOLA-20 was succinctly described as "one of the best students in all subjects," but CACCOLA-21 was more problematic to say the least. His love for drinking contributed to lapses in judgment. He showed trouble arriving to training on days following time off. Early on New Years' Day, 1953, he leaped – ostensibly from jubilation – out a second story window. Fortunately he did not sustain any injuries. He posed a security risk even while in training – his Christmas vacation was scaled back and he could not leave the school without approved companions. His gluttony worried his handlers, who did not quite buy his promises to take up sobriety once arriving in the Soviet Union. A handler's summation of his habits reads like a line out of an old comedy routine: "It is not that CACCOLA 21 is an alcoholic; he simply cannot stop drinking when he begins."²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ "CSOB Prog. Report for Dec 52," 8 January, 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 1.

²⁰⁹ Chief of Base, Munich to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACOLA, Transmittal of Operational Plans," 7 January 1953, Attachment A to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²¹⁰ Chief of Base, Munich to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACOLA, Transmittal of Operational Plans," 7 January 1953, Attachment F to EGMA-2877, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24 Vol. 2.

CACCOLA-27 was to head to the area of Minsk and Brest and establish himself there like CACCOLA-5 had the previous year. If possible, he would resupply CACCOLA-5 with additional funds and instructions through dead drops. As for his own primary mission, CACCOLA-27 was to travel between Minsk and Brest, after establishing a plausible reason to do so, and transmit operational intelligence back to base. It appears his handlers intended for him to keep a close eye on Soviet military movements and to investigate local airfields. His watchfulness could provide an early warning of Soviet mobilization before the outbreak of war.²¹¹

There was reason for great optimism in NTS operations in 1953, particularly after the death of Stalin. The Soviet system, a morass of Party and state bureaucracy, was so wholly tied to the personality of Stalin that it was foreseeable that the Party-state could very well decay as well. In the uncertainty that followed his death, many Soviet citizens may perhaps sense openings for change or, more romantically, for revolution. The American recruitment of NTS agents to this point had already been growing, albeit modestly, and CIA planners anticipated even more ethnic Russian support in the current political climate. The NTS for its part was energized for more and bolder operations, including more overt propaganda and diversionist work. The CIA welcomed the increased participation and recruitment of NTS members, but still wished to pursue a cautious line of

²¹¹ Ibid.

covert agents gaining intelligence on Soviet security checks and military organization before proceeding further.²¹²

The truth, however, was that Soviet counterintelligence remained just as effective as ever. On 28 April 1953, the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) announced in *Izvestiya* that it had apprehended four spies parachuting into Ukraine from an unmarked American plane. The four made their jump on the night of April 26, and were arrested the following day. A quick search of the four yielded their wireless transmitters, Soviet currency as well as foreign gold coins, materials for forging documents, invisible inks, printing blocks, poisons, and firearms.²¹³

The MVD report further charged that upon further investigation, the ministry discovered that at least three of the four worked alongside the German fascist occupation during the Second World War. "Thus, for example, the prisoner Lakhno betrayed 5 Soviet patriots who were shot by the Gestapo; the diversionist Makov, as a member of the punitive battalion 'Black Sea', repeatedly took part in atrocities and acts of violence committed against Soviet patriots by the German fascist usurpers." As the German army crumbled, the four fled to the Western zones of Germany, where they found "new masters and protectors in the shape of the American Intelligence Service."²¹⁴

²¹² Chief of Base, Munich to Chief EE (Attn: Chief SR), "Subject: REDSOX/CACCOLA, Transmittal of Plans for 1953-54, CACCOLA Training and Operations," Attachment to EGMA-4571, 25 March 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²¹³ "Soobshchenie: Ministerstva vnutrennix del, Soyuzna SSR," 28 April 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²¹⁴ "Soobshchenie: Ministerstva vnutrennix del, Soyuzna SSR," 28 April 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

The agents were quickly broken under interrogation, giving up their real names and the central role of American intelligence. They even gave up the location of the CIA school outside of Munich, as well as others in Munich, Frankfurt-on-Main, Kaufbeuren, and Bad Worishofen. The four agents apparently gave full descriptions of their missions in Kiev and Odessa, where they were to gain legal status and disappear into the populace. They even gave up the names of American intelligence officers operating in Central and Southern Europe.²¹⁵

The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR quickly tried the four agents, CACCOLAs 10, 20, 21, and 28. Under the 1950 Decree of the Presidium on traitors to the motherland and spies, they were sentenced to death. The MVD report stated that the sentence had already been carried out, less than three days after the failed infiltration began.²¹⁶ The MVD announcement was re-circulated by TASS in May, complete with charges of former Nazi collaboration, and was picked up by international media outlets.²¹⁷

The security of the CIA schools in Germany, which had long been a cause for concern, was now thrown into chaos. The CIA immediately began internal investigations of

²¹⁵ The names included: Major Ronald Otto Bollenbach, an assistant Air and Naval Attaché in Moscow between 1946 and 1947 and head of the Kaufbeuren school; a Captain Holleday, who accompanied the four agents to the Athens airfield from where they began their infiltration flight; and Major Harold Irving Fielder, a former State Department courier to the USSR and who currently worked at the Athens airfield. "Soobshchenie: Ministerstva vnutrennix del, Soyuz SSR," 28 April 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²¹⁶ "Soobshchenie: Ministerstva vnutrennix del, Soyuz SSR," 28 April 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²¹⁷ "USSR Executes Four Spies of U.S." *TASS*, May 27, 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.; "Reds Execute 4 Chutists as 'Spies' for U.S.," *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1953; "Four Men Shot as U.S. 'Spies'," *The Times*, May 27, 1953; "Russ Report Shooting 4 As U.S.-Trained Spies," *Reuters*, May 27, 1953.

how the MVD could apprehend all four agents within 48 hours. This timeline was assumed based primarily on the fact that all four agents had been captured. There was ostensibly no reason for the four to linger in the vicinity of the drop zones, which means they would have been immediately mobile. The apprehension of all four agents meant that they were likely intercepted at or near the drop sites. This, of course, required that Soviet security agents had some foreknowledge of the drop zones.

The CIA's internal investigation report concluded that, barring the possibility of internal betrayal, the most probable cause of failure was the MVD's ability to interpret and exploit electronic and visual data on the US aircraft and its course. With this data, they were able to identify possible drop zones within its flight path and secure them. Other contributing factors included the plane's lack of markings, the possibility that the plane entered radar range near the two drop zones, and the instruction of the agents to remain in the area of the drop zone for up to 48 hours. What was most certain in the appraisal was the CIA's culpability for not taking more deliberate security measures.²¹⁸

Meanwhile, the Soviet Intelligence Service had compromised CACCOLA-27. He now appeared to be acting as a double agent. Since the beginning of his mission, ". . .his traffic has shown, by its sponginess and lack of specific information, that the [Russian Intelligence Service] is playing the game for any possible information that may come from us, and especially information that may lead to the capture of other western agents." Part of CACCOLA-27's mission involved leaving two packages to re-supply other NTS members

²¹⁸ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief SR, "REDSOX/CACCOLAB: Investigation of the Capture of CACCOLAS 10, 20, 21, and 28," 7 July 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

behind Soviet lines. Soviet counterintelligence likely hoped to exploit these deliveries to uncover other agents. With the delivery locations staked out, Soviet agents may begin to suspect that CACCOLA-27 had concocted control signals to communicate with his American handlers.²¹⁹

The Soviet reliance on CACCOLA-27's channel could be exploited to deal significant damage. By communicating with CACCOLA-27 on fictitious operations of other agents, they could bluff Soviet counterintelligence into overestimating the size and effectiveness of CIA-NTS operations. This could be further exploited to prompt self-inflicted wounds. For instance, CACCOLA-27 could be informed that three agents were involved in a delivery of hidden NTS propaganda. The material could supposedly be en route to a railway depot or a port warehouse. For added plausibility, some dummy fliers could be planted in areas leading up to the shipment. There were four big advantages to this plan. First, CACCOLA-27 remains alive and could be exploited as a channel for disinformation. Second, the responses of Soviet counterintelligence could yield significant insights into Soviet security controls. Third, Soviet agents would expend time and resources in pursuit of three phantom agents, and fears of growing NTS activity would appear to be confirmed. Finally, Soviet agents could shut down and upturn entire warehouses in pursuit of NTS fliers.²²⁰

²¹⁹ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief, EE (ATTN: Chief, SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA B/Operational, Exploitation of CACCOLA 27 Channel," 2 November 1953, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

²²⁰ Chief of Mission, Frankfurt, to Chief, EE (ATTN: Chief, SR), "SUBJECT: REDSOX/CACCOLA B/Operational, Exploitation of CACCOLA 27 Channel," 2 November 1953, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

Tightening Up

By the summer of 1953, it had become amply clear that the long-standing security problems of joint CIA/NTS operations had become further compounded by the extraordinary failure rate of CARCASS agents. Of the 8 agents discussed above, 7 were complete failures. The ultimate fate of CACCOLAs 4, 5, and 6 would not be clear for some time, however. The only one whose status as a failure is debatable is CACCOLA-27, whose ability to act as a legitimate agent had been neutralized and could, by then, function as a disinformation channel.

As a result of the significant security lapses in CACCOLA operations, the CIA decided to suspend the third cycle of agent training until a more reliable system of safeguards could be put into place.²²¹ The early imperative to move CARCASS agents across the Atlantic had become increasingly dire, but now the NTS and CIA had to be increasingly selective about who those agents would be. The entire process from spotting to deployment required a much more sophisticated, deliberate approach. The “funnel system” of recruitment used previously needed to be abandoned in favor of a more careful vetting system. Candidates identified by the NTS were to be carefully evaluated for their talents and aptitude for operational skills. These assessments would be kept on file along with their full biographical debriefings, psychological profiles, and medical examinations. At this stage,

²²¹ SR/3 WI, to Chief, DOB, “SUBJECT: Housing Requirements for the CACCOLA SCHOOL,” 30 September 1953, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2.

some candidates may be deemed unfit for future participation in CACCOLA missions, but they could still be trained for jobs in propaganda or working within NTS headquarters.²²²

Perhaps the most significant change was that future CACCOLA candidates would not take up permanent residency at the cadre school. Previous CACCOLA prospects were recruited and brought to the cadre school under the assumption that they would not be returning to their former lives. They would live their places of employment and remain in the custody of the CIA for the indefinite future. That had now changed. Future candidates were to be recruited into the program with the explicit understanding that they would return to their residences and employment upon the completion of their training program. School administrators would be far more discrete about the performance of candidates during their time at the school. Moreover, candidates who have been selected for future CACCOLA operations would not be notified that such a decision had been made until it was time for them to prepare for their missions. In the meantime, they would continue their professional employment and involvement with the NTS as previous. There were a few cases in which this could be violated for the sake of operations, such as those in which CACCOLA agents planned to relocate, marry, or take long-term contract labor. When needed, a CIA case officer would contact them directly and provide them with appropriate cover stories.²²³

²²² Chief of Base, Munich, to Chief EE (Attn: Chief, SR), "Subject: REDSOX/Operational, Proposals for Resumption of CACCOLA C Training and Recruitment," NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2, 1-3.

²²³ Chief of Base, Munich, to Chief EE (Attn: Chief, SR), "Subject: REDSOX/Operational, Proposals for Resumption of CACCOLA C Training and Recruitment," NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 2, 2-3.

These changes would control for potential interference of Soviet intelligence agents at each stage of the training program. The opening of the “funnel” would be cut back, making it more difficult for Soviet moles to pass through undetected. Further, the decoy training programs would divert and help spot Soviet agents trying to penetrate the program. An example would be a course in wireless communications, which would be stated as a necessary component for foreign operations. Despite the importance tagged to the class, no actual CACCOLA selections would take part. But Soviet agents would be thusly duped into using the course to attempt to identify penetration agents. American counterintelligence personnel on premises would attempt to pick out Soviet agents enrolled in this fairly innocuous program. NTS members enrolled would not be a waste, either. The inexpensive program could produce a surplus of men who could be called upon for work in wireless communications at short notice.²²⁴

In spite of new protocols and security measures, NTS operatives continued to fall prey to Soviet counterintelligence. A major blow came in 1954 when CACCOLAs 24 and 26 reportedly surrendered to Soviet authorities. The two men handed over all of their equipment, codes, maps, and weapons without any struggle. The article exposed their past collaboration with the Nazi occupation. Further, the two described the training program that they received under the Americans in West Germany and Paris, the names of Americans and Russians involved, as well as the location of the Greek airfield from which they were deployed.²²⁵

²²⁴ Ibid., 3.

²²⁵ “Izvestia Woos ‘U.S. Spies,’ Reports Surrender of Two,” *Reuters* in *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 15, 1954, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

The *Izvestiya* article told a horrific tale signifying the treatment Russian émigrés received at the hands of the Americans. The two men, and agents like them, were described as being treated worse than livestock in American camps, deprived of food and water to drive them into submission and herded with sticks. The way out was to become an American agent and a “DP,” a displaced person, with nowhere to call home. This reportedly did little change their treatment. The Americans remained cruel up to the final moment of dispatch, kicking the men out of the plane upon a moment’s hesitation. The alleged reluctance of the two men to betray their homeland was consistently played up throughout the article, with no mention of the NTS at any point. The article simply portrayed the pair as lost, abused, and misled. They were not freedom fighters, but men without a country who wanted nothing more than to return home.²²⁶

Rather than trying and punishing the men, the Soviet government reportedly elected to grant the pair “full opportunities to live freely and work on their native soil.” The *Izvestiya* report contrasted this to the instruction the men received in event of their capture. Rather than face Soviet punishment, the two agents reportedly explained that their American handlers instructed them and other agents to take their own lives with cyanide pills in the event of discovery, for they would surely be shot dead if they surrendered. The Soviet announcement of their pardon sent a clear message to all émigrés: return to your homeland, and all may be forgiven.

CACCOLAs 24 and 26 supposedly leapt at this offer. They had simply grown fatigued from their social and political isolation. The romantic mission of the NTS and

²²⁶ “Oni iavilis’ s povinnoi. . .,” *Izvestiia*, 15 June 1954.

employment under the CIA simply had not been enough to counter their “unbearable loneliness” and inability to “look the Russian people in the eyes again.” The two men’s whereabouts, however, remained unclear.²²⁷

The Soviet government sought to turn the collective grievance of Russian nationalists on its head. In this formulation, the homeland was an idea and a place that appeared to transcend politics. Even if a man took up struggle against the Soviet government, he could not abandon the Russian land or its people. This was quite similar to the wartime propaganda use of the term *rodina-mat’* – “motherland.” The word was purposely vague, in that it could simultaneously refer to one’s own village as well as the entire Soviet state. Thus, many men and women taking up the call to defend their “motherland” surely took up the call to arms to defend their villages and loved ones, rather than the government in Moscow. Now, the *rodina-mat’* asked Russians not to take up arms, but to lay them down.

The U.S. State Department remained skeptical that anti-Soviet émigrés would buy into the apparent Soviet policy of “redemption through repentance.”²²⁸ Only two days earlier the Soviet state media reported that two infiltrated saboteurs received 25-year prison sentences while a third had been shot dead.²²⁹ However, this new Soviet line would

²²⁷ “Izvestia Woos ‘U.S. Spies,’ Reports Surrender of Two,” *Reuters* in *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 15, 1954, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3; Curiously, the Reuters translation used the adjective “Russian” consistently in place of “Soviet” when discussing the men’s loneliness and national pride.

²²⁸ Charles Bohlen to John Foster Dulles, State Department Telegram, 15 June 1954, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

²²⁹ “Izvestia Woos ‘U.S. Spies,’ Reports Surrender of Two,” *Reuters* in *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 15, 1954, NARA RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

have to be monitored going forward in order to effectively counter it. The third cycle of CACCOLA agents was once again postponed until December or until January of the following year.²³⁰

A June 1954 memorandum from AEVIRGIL, another NTS operation, contained significant pessimism about the long-term viability of émigré operations. While the mutually hostile NTS and the OUN were the two most promising and potent émigré organizations, their prominence made them the most vulnerable to Soviet intrigues. They were large targets with very few obstacles to Soviet agent infiltration. The NTS, the largest international anti-Soviet group was “completely uncovered and defenseless organization as far as Soviet provocation and infiltration are concerned.” The memorandum’s author was well acquainted with Soviet “Trust” operations of the interwar period. These operations involved the creation of false front nationalist organizations and activists. These fronts lured émigré nationalist leaders across the Soviet border to their death, while phony activists infiltrated legitimate networks abroad. In those years Western intelligence agencies provided material support for nationalist groups and maintained a *laissez-faire* posture toward their activities. This was their Achilles heel then, and this mistake, the author argued, and Western agencies were perpetuating this mistake. Émigré networks were far too porous, and Soviet counterintelligence was far too experienced. The CIA needed to take greater control of émigré organizations if they were to stand any chance.²³¹

²³⁰ David E. Murphy, Chief, SR/3, to Chief, SR/DOB, “SUBJECT: AENOBLE C,” 7 July 1954, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

²³¹ Memorandum, “Effort to Analyze Soviet Provocation and Inspiration in Recent Years in Western Europe and Role in such Provocation Activity of Émigré Political Organisation,” 30 June 1954, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 25, AEVIRGIL, Vol. 1.

Despite continuous setbacks, CIA officials continued to believe that the infiltration of NTS agents was a viable strategy to destabilize the Soviet government. The National Security Council provided explicit support for the expansion of covert operations in Communist territories through directive NSC 5412/2. The NSC called for the operations designed to:

- a. Create and exploit troublesome problems for International Communism, impair relations between the USSR and Communist China and between them and their satellites, complicate control within the USSR, Communist China and their satellites, and retard the growth of the military and economic potential of the Soviet bloc.
- b. Discredit the prestige and ideology of International Communism. . .
- d. Reduce International Communist control over any areas of the world.
- e. Strengthen the orientation toward the United States of the peoples and nations of the free world, accentuate, wherever possible, the identity of interest between such peoples and nations and the United States . . . and increase the capacity and will of such peoples and nations to resist International Communism.
- f. In accordance with established policies and to the extent practicable in areas dominated or threatened by International Communism, develop underground resistance and facilitate covert and guerrilla operations and ensure availability of those forces in the event of war, including wherever practicable provision of a base upon which the military may expand these forces in time of war within active theaters

of operations as well as provision for stay-behind assets and escape and evasion facilities.²³²

The NTS fulfilled the parameters of the NSC directive with flying colors. Its explicit program of chauvinistic Russian nationalism precluded the possibility of international communism. And, while this alienated it from other anti-Soviet émigré organizations, the successful spread of its ideology in Soviet Russia would foment national tensions not only between the Soviet Republics, but also between the Union and its satellites. The CIA would continue to expand its infiltration operations designed to exacerbate the “tensions inherent in the Soviet system.”²³³

This outlook was encouraged by new proposals for collaboration between the CIA and the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS). Some of the earliest acknowledgments of CIA-SIS collaboration in CACCOLA and similar operations appeared in late 1954. A joint center for the two intelligence agencies’ work with the NTS had been established in Frankfurt, and the Soviet Russia Division was thoroughly pleased with the tighter security and control it had over NTS agents. Further, the SIS had already offered the possibility of future training centers in the United Kingdom, which would only further enhance operational security while diminishing the CIA’s own financial responsibilities. And despite the high attrition rate of CACCOLA operatives (see **Figure 1**), the SR Division remained

²³² Douglas Keane and Michael Warner, “NSC 5412/2,” in “Foreign Relations of the United States, 1950-1955, The Intelligence Community, 1950-1955,” Office of the Historian, U. S. Department of State,” <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1950-55Intel>.

²³³ Chief, SR Division, to Chief of Operations, DD/P, “SUBJECT: NTS Penetration Operations into the USSR,” 8 December 1954, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

optimistic about the quality and viability of NTS operatives. According to their observations, and backed up by MVD defectors, the Soviet government remained fearful of the NTS as the single greatest émigré threat to the Soviet system. The defection of KGB agent Nikolai Khokhlov, the would-be assassin of NTS leader Georgiy Okolovich, was itself a massive propaganda victory.²³⁴ If the United States ceased to back the NTS in its eagerness to continue infiltration operations, it risked surrendering this moral victory to the USSR, as well as a victory for Soviet counterintelligence.²³⁵ No longer was the agency's support of the NTS simply a means to combat Soviet communism. American support of the organization had become an end in itself.

But the SIS had finally had enough of the NTS. Despite its decision to go in on the joint NTS-CIA-SIS school in 1954, the service pulled an abrupt about-face. MI6's joint operations with the NTS, which pre-dated those of the CIA, were met with consistent failures from the start, and in spite of the Americans' rosy assessments of CACCOLA reports there was little indication that significant gains would be made anytime soon. In 1956, Her Majesty's Government removed itself from involvement with the Frankfurt school along

²³⁴ Nikolai Khokhlov himself became marked for death by the very same man who ordered him to kill Okolovich, Alexander Sakharovsky, Sakharovsky, as chief of KGB Directorate One, ordered the assassination of other nationalist leaders, including Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera. Soviet assassins poisoned all three men. Khokhlov survived poisoning of Soviet thallium and continued to work as a professor and CIA informer in the United States. See: Oleg Kalugin, *Spymaster: My Thirty-Two Years in Intelligence and Espionage Against the West* (Philadelphia: Basic Books, 2009), 275; CIA Memorandum, "Soviet Use of Assassination and Kidnapping," President's Commission on the Assassination of President Kennedy, available on the world wide web at https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/kent-csi/vol19no3/html/v19i3a01p_0001.htm, accessed May 13, 2015.

²³⁵ Chief, SR Division, to Chief of Operations, DD/P, "SUBJECT: NTS Penetration Operations into the USSR," 8 December 1954, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

with all involvement in NTS infiltration operations – past, present, and future. It transferred the cases of all NTS agents from previous infiltrations to the exclusive custody of the CIA.²³⁶

On the sixth of February 1957, a Soviet press conference thoroughly demonstrated the prudence of the British decision to sever ties with NTS infiltration operations. In a three-hour conference with 200 or more Soviet and Western journalists, four captured CACCOLA agents (22, 24, 26, and 27) revealed the depth of their ties to Western intelligence organizations. They gave detailed and largely accurate descriptions of their assignments in military and industrial espionage, their training in West Germany, and their furnishing of US-supplied weapons and documents provided their credentials.²³⁷

The fact that CACCOLA-24 and his colleagues betrayed their former handlers – and so quickly if one were to believe the Soviet reports – is remarkable in itself. CACCOLA-24, whose real name was Nikolai Ivanovich Yakuta was not a wide-eyed neophyte in anti-Soviet operations. During the Second World War the German Army captured Yakuta, and he joined their ranks. After the war, he was interned in Munich camp for Displaced Persons, but left for Casablanca, Morocco. There he met up with former companies of the Vlasov Army and worked jobs in intensive labor for little pay. But the work kept former comrades together, and it kept them strong for future conflict with the Soviets. These work colonies were organized by Constantine Boldyrev, a co-founder of the NTS, and subsidized

²³⁶ Headquarters Case Officer (Redacted), Project Outline, AESAURUS/AENOBLE, 1 July 1956, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

²³⁷ Charles Bohlen, US Embassy in Moscow, to Secretary of State, 7 February 1957, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

by Western intelligence agencies. They thus became recruitment camps for CIA training in Bad Homburg and Bad Wiessee and MI6's station in Klagenfurt, Austria. Longtime combatants of Bolshevism now cashed in what chips they had for self-preservation, undoubtedly divulging more than they stated for the world at their press conference.²³⁸

The length of the conference and the mass coverage the men received reflected the exposure the Soviet government wished to achieve both at home and abroad. The announcement came after American row over the arrest of three alleged Soviet spies and growing unrest in the midst of Khrushchev's program of "De-Stalinization." In the face of continued provocations of the "imperialist aggressive quarters in Western countries," the Soviet government called for collective vigilance.²³⁹ Two of the men, CACCOLAS 22 and 27, were already known to have been under Soviet control and evidently had outlasted their usefulness, though the former allegedly maintained radio contact with the US as late as two months prior to the conference.²⁴⁰

Contrary to false reports by the NTS gazette, *Possev*, the men claimed that they had not been executed by Soviet authorities but were instead treated quite humanely. Instead they claimed to have surrendered voluntarily after seeing just how far the Soviet standard of living had exceeded what they had been told in the West. They likewise invoked a more

²³⁸ Dorril, *MI6*, 416-417.

²³⁹ Memorandum for the Director, Central Intelligence, Subject: Soviet Statement on American Subversive and Espionage Activity, 6 February 1957, 7 February 1957, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

²⁴⁰ US Embassy, Moscow to Secretary of State, 7 February 1957, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.; O.J. Cutler, "4 'U.S. Spies' Tell All on Moscow TV Show," *The Washington Post and Times Herald*, 7 February 1957.

spiritualistic explanation for their changes of heart: they wished to make amends for their “sins [against the] fatherland.”²⁴¹

By this point it had become abundantly clear that Soviet counterintelligence excelled at rapidly neutralizing NTS agents who attempted infiltration. However, the extent to which Soviet agents had infiltrated the NTS itself had not. By the 1950s, the organization had already largely been co-opted by Soviet agents and was little more than a KGB front. By the mid-1960s British policy officially shunned the any attempts to divide the Soviet Union. A clarification of British policy by D. V. Bendall stated that while there may be some individuals within Britain who advocated for a “Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals,” this did not mean the abolition of communism in the East. Rather, “The policy of Her Majesty’s Government is to work for closer links between the economic groupings in Western Europe and for improved relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.”²⁴² London abandoned support for militant émigré organizations.

²⁴¹ Memorandum from Charles Bohlen, US Embassy in Moscow, to Secretary of State, 7 February 1957, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

²⁴² D. V. Bendall to Mr. P S. Linnik, 26 August 1965, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/18283.

Figure 1: Attrition of CACCOLA Cycles A & B (1952 & 1953), CIA

Cycle A - 1952	
CACCOLA-4 (Malikov, Petr Petrovich)	- Probably killed or apprehended at DZ
CACCOLA-5 (Platovski, Mikhail Sergeyeovich)	- Surfaced 1960
CACCOLA-6 (Slavnov, Vasilii Mikhailovich)	- Probably controlled 1957 - Surfaced 1960
Cycle B - 1953	
CACCOLA-10 (Makov, Alexander Nikolayevich)	- Apprehended near drop zone - Executed
CACCOLA-20 (Remiga, Dmitri Nikolayevich)	- Apprehended near drop zone - Executed
CACCOLA-21 (Gorbunov, Sergei Isosimovich)	- Apprehended near drop zone - Executed
CACCOLA-22 (Khmelnitsky, Konstantin Il'ich)	- Immediately assumed likely controlled - Broke contact 1956 - Surfaced 1957 in Soviet press conference
CACCOLA-24 (Yakuta, Nikolai Ivanovich)	- Surfaced/Surrendered 1954 - Present at 1957 Soviet press conference
CACCOLA-26 (Kudryavtsev, Mikhail Petrovich)	- Surfaced/Surrendered 1954 - Present at 1957 Soviet press conference
CACCOLA-27 (Novikov, Adam Mefodevich)	- Immediately controlled - Surfaced 1955 in "Return to Homeland" Program - Present at 1957 Soviet press conference
CACCOLA-28 (Lyakhov, Alexander Vasilyevich, AKA Alexander Lakhno)	- Apprehended near drop zone - Executed

Figure 2: Attrition of Previous NTS Recruits, SIS²⁴³

SHUBA 812	Engineer	- Infiltrated 1945, Tambov Area - Controlled
SHUBA 813	Writer	- Infiltrated 1940, Moscow - Controlled
SHUBA 814	("Prob.") Engineer	- Date of Infiltration Missing, Pskov - Status Uncertain
SHUBA 815	Bathhouse Attendant	- Date of Infiltration Missing, Petrozavodsk - Controlled
SHUBA 823	Student	- Infiltrated 1944, Sverdlovsk - Controlled

²⁴³ Memorandum for the Director, Central Intelligence, "SUBJECT: SOVIET STATEMENT on American Subversive and Espionage Activity, 6 February 1957," 7 February 1957, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

Years later, the toxicity of the NTS was openly acknowledged in London. The Northern Department of the Foreign Office advised Parliament to avoid any future support of the NTS or its “dangerous” activities. As N.P. Bayne explained in 1968, “the dangers of becoming involved with the N.T.S. are increased by the fact that the Soviet authorities, through the K.G.B., have effectively penetrated the organization and are thoroughly aware of their activities both inside the U.S.S.R. and abroad. . . In fact, all émigré organizations are objects of attention from the Soviet authorities.”²⁴⁴

The CIA continued to sponsor NTS operations well into the late 1950s. The scant information that these agents were able to broadcast out of the Soviet Union remained highly valued. This was for the simple reason that Soviet society remained so thoroughly guarded to the West, let alone developments in Soviet politics and military structures. American intelligence was willing to pay dearly for whatever information they could glean by whatever means. The continued loss of low-level NTS agents was not a difficult call. By 1958, the CIA’s posture towards the NTS as a viable organization had significantly changed. It had become abundantly clear that the organization had grossly exaggerated the extent of its networks behind the Iron Curtain and the quality of its recruits.

The incredible rate at which Soviet counterintelligence apprehended, broke, and even turned NTS agents back on the US was even more alarming. Both the operational and propaganda value of such operations were highly dubious. The only remaining agents still in the field were CACCOLAS 5 and 6, soon to be surfaced. The operation under which they were deployed was disbanded and reshuffled to its parent project. “Even with the pick-up

²⁴⁴ N.P. Bayne to Michael Jenkins, Northern Department, 6 February 1968, National Archives, Kew, London. FCO 28/502.

of these cases,” the termination memorandum read, “the probable disposition of [CACCOLA 5 and 6] is that they will be ultimately dropped as sub-marginal or put to some non-FI use by turning these cases over to the NTS to run with CIA assuming a monitor role.”²⁴⁵ This course of action became wholly unnecessary when Soviet counterintelligence arrested and exposed these two final operatives in the summer of 1960 as they tried to flee Soviet territory.²⁴⁶

The NTS seemed to present one of the most powerful and dynamic émigré networks that Western nations could put at their disposal, but the endeavor was flawed from the beginning. The Solidarists, with their quasi-fascist ideology, lacked any coherent political program for a post-Communist Russia. Their dismissal of non-Russians put them at odds with other organizations that opposed communism, particularly Ukrainians. Moreover, Soviet intelligence agents had thoroughly penetrated the NTS and MI6’s Section IX. By the 1960s, it had become clear that the NTS, though “more Russian than the Russians,” offered only diminishing returns. The CIA officially closed NTS infiltration operations on January 4, 1961.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵ Memorandum for Chief of SR Division, SUBJECT: Termination of Project AENOBLE, 13 October 1959, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3. By this time Project AESAURUS was using the name AENOBLE. AENOBLE was disbanded by this order, and the control of CACCOLA (now AENOBLE) 5 and 6 were placed under control of AEGIDEON. I continued using the cryptonym CACCOLA throughout for the sake of simplicity and clarity.

²⁴⁶ Special to the New York Times, “MOSCOW REPORTS ARREST OF U.S. SPY,” *New York Times*, Nov 2, 1960.

²⁴⁷ Memorandum to Chief, Europe Division, Office of Communications, From Chief, SR/3-CA, SUBJECT: Termination of Communications Support, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 24, Vol. 3.

CHAPTER 3

“AN INCORRIGIBLE FABRICATOR”: TSCHERIM SOOBZOKOV

On December 14, 1955, an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) submitted a report on his interview with a prospective asset. In his report, the interviewer noted his subject’s remarkable animus towards the Russian people:

Safe to say, he is a Caucasian with great national feeling, hatred for Russian and Communist imperialism and dedicated to his people and the future of his homeland...

Soobzokov’s nationalist prepossession is unusually strong. I avoid the word prejudice since the use of such a term in Soviet nationality questions only denotes the partisanship of the user. But to label him a patriotic separatist is no exaggeration. *This patriotism affects, nay, governs his attitude towards other peoples and nations.* To wit:

- a. Subject has an uncompromising antagonism against Russia, Communist or Czarist, as the subjugator and despoiler of his homeland.
- b. Subject quit the civil administration of German occupied Circassia when the Germans began to interfere directly with the civil rights of the Circassian people. Subject resolved his disagreement by

joining the fighting forces in which political differences were minimal...

- f. Subject took a firm stand against Circassians' participating in the Palestinian war. His position was that the Jews had no quarrel with Circassia...²⁴⁸

The subject in question was Tscherim Soobzokov, an ethnic Circassian from the Caucasus. As the Red Army advanced, Soobzokov and his family fled his village and ultimately settled in a Circassian enclave in Jordan. Now, he looked to start a new career in America. Even though he attempted to conceal the full nature of his past, his deep-seated hatred of all Russians and communists intrigued his handlers.

The tensions between Circassians and Russians, like those between Russians and other populations of the Caucasus, run deep. Circassians constitute a relatively small ethnic group that has long resided in the Northern Caucasus. The difficult terrain of the region ensured that even though they repeatedly fell under the influence of foreign powers, they consistently maintained effective autonomy. For this same reason, the Circassians did not become Islamified until after the 15th Century, when they fell under the competing influences of the Ottoman Empire and the Crimean Khanate. This Islamification began with the Circassian elite and trickled downward until the majority of the population had become followers of Sunni Islam in the 18th century.

²⁴⁸ "Contact Report Tscherim SOOBZOKOV," 14 December 1955, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1. Emphasis mine.

Initially many Circassians held favorable opinions of Russia. Their leaders were allies of Tsar Ivan IV, whose second wife, Maria Temryukovna, was Circassian. The Circassians were lauded throughout Europe for their pleasing physical features, and Maria was no exception. The Tsar was taken with her beauty and hastily married her, just two weeks short of a year after of his first wife's death. As the Tsaritsa failed to gain the political support of her Russian subjects, his headiness turned to regret. She died eight years later at the age of twenty-five from apparent poisoning.²⁴⁹ It remains unclear whether the Tsar or a disgruntled subject played the decisive role in her death.

The Crimean war soured the Russian-Circassian relationship. The empire continued to expand south along the Black Sea, bringing the former allies into bitter conflict. The Russo-Circassian War played out in a series of battles between the Russian Empire and Circassian tribes. Together, these battles lasted over a century, from 1763 to 1864, and were part of the larger Russian drive southward towards the Ottoman Empire and British India. Empress Catherine II and Alexander I rapidly expanded the size of the Russian Empire, adding to its European prestige while making it a largely Asian country. It was a paradox that posed a significant challenge to Russian identity, and it was not easily resolved. Religious diversity became even more of a challenge. Muslims made up the second largest religious affiliation after Orthodox Christianity, and by the early Twentieth Century, the Russian Empire had more Muslim subjects than the Ottoman Empire.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁹ Nikolai Karamzin, *Istoriia gosudarstvo Rossiiskogo*, Book IX, (London: Glagoslav Publications, 2013), Chapter III.

²⁵⁰ Robert D. Crews, *For Prophet and Tsar: Islam and Empire in Russia and Central Asia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006).

Both the Russians and the Circassians took heavy losses during their protracted conflict, but the last five years of the war turned especially disastrous for the Circassians. In order to permanently pacify the region, the Russian military was to drive out as many disloyal Circassians as possible. About 500,000 Circassians were forced into diaspora into the adjacent Ottoman Empire, which offered passage for their coreligionists. According to historian Walter Richmond, over 600,000 Circassians died at the hands of Russian soldiers or succumbed to starvation and the elements during the conflict. In his analysis, the Russian treatment of the Circassian population was consistent with a modern ethnic cleansing.²⁵¹ Turkey remains host to easily the largest Circassian population in the world. There are a bit less than two million individuals who self-identify as “Circassian” in Turkey, but less than one million are still able to speak their native tongue, let alone as a first language.²⁵² This makes it very difficult to gauge the number of ethnic Circassians within the country moreover the health and markers of contemporary Circassian cultural identity.

For many Circassians who remained in Russia, the wounds of the Russo-Circassian conflicts festered. The fall of the House of Romanov and the rise of the dictatorship of the proletariat provided no panacea. However, the two did offer an opportunity for independence. In the chaos of the Civil Wars that followed the Bolshevik seizure of power in November 1917, different minority populations of the former Russian Empire declared

²⁵¹ Walter Richmond, *The Circassian Genocide* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 90-92. Richmond goes further than I do here and argues that the Russian Empire committed a purposeful Genocide on the Circassian people. Based on population data of the time, the Circassians numbered about 1.5 million. Assuming a regular growth in population today, the number of Circassians in their homeland should be 30 million, compared to the 700,000 who live within the Russian Federation today.

²⁵² Richmond, *Circassian Genocide*, 130.

their independence. On 11 May 1918, the Republic of the North Caucasus was one such new nation that asserted its sovereignty. The small proto-state combined the various Muslim-majority populations of the Caucasus who wished to secede from Russian rule. It immediately received the recognition of Turkey along with the other Central Powers, Germany and Austria-Hungary. Britain, bitter from the Russian withdrawal from the conflict, joined in the recognitions of the new state.

This independence was short lived. The small Caucasian force was overrun after the Red Army had already crushed the White Armies. The Republic of the North Caucasus was disbanded and replaced with the Caucasian Mountain Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Caucasian Mountain ASSR) in January 1921. Moscow restructured the status and borders of the region several times over the next two decades, but it did little to effect any change in popular national sentiment. These longstanding grievances retained their potency through the Second World War.

“I was of pure Turkic blood... I professed Islam”: Ismail Akhmedov

The inability of the Soviet Union to solve these social and historical tensions, between Russia and minorities, between Orthodoxy Christianity and Islam, is represented very well by one of the most prominent defectors of the Stalinist Era. Ismail Akhmedov, a Lieutenant-Colonel in Red Army Intelligence (GRU) came of age under the Soviet system. He was born in 1904 in the town of Orak.²⁵³ Akhmedov wanted to believe in the

²⁵³ The town has since been re-named Chkalov, in the Orenburg Oblast of Russia.

internationalism of the Soviet Union that he was raised to venerate. He was a good Communist, and he rapidly rose to prominence within Party and state organs. At the age of sixteen, he was nominated as a candidate member of the Communist Party and selected for “Sovietization” of Turkestan. Akhmedov delighted in his travels to the Aral Sea, Samarkand, and Tashkent and met fellow Muslims, especially those of Turkic background. The Stalinist purges and terror of the 1930s, however, shook his internationalist faith. Soviet security organs increasingly associated non-Russians with political unreliability, conflating matters of ethnicity and national security. As an officer in the GRU, Akhmedov began to feel out of place.

As a Muslim Tatar, he felt increasingly isolated from Moscow. With little recourse, he worked his way up the GRU, and in 1941 was dispatched to the Berlin embassy. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union, Gestapo officers arrested him, diplomats, and other Soviet citizens and used them in exchange for German prisoners. After his release, he was reassigned to Ankara. Less than a year into his new assignment, he received word that Moscow had recalled him. All of Akhmedov’s tasks had been re-assigned to other officers. He was to return as soon as possible. Akhmedov was sure the recall was prelude to a death sentence, like so many Soviet cadres before him. He decided to defect.

Akhmedov returned to Istanbul, walked into the police headquarters and requested asylum. He also invoked his ethnic and religious identities that had become so wholly incompatible with Soviet ideology: “I told [the police chief] that I was an intelligence officer, that my true name was Ismail Akhmedov, that I was of pure Turkic blood, and that I

professed Islam.”²⁵⁴ The Turkish response was disappointing. Beyond the status and welfare of Turkic peoples within the USSR, the Turkish government had little interest in the intelligence he had to provide. In 1948, he made contact with the Soviet double agent, Kim Philby, who at the time directed the British SIS in Istanbul. The meeting should have been fruitful, for Turkey provided an important bulwark against further Soviet encroachment towards the Mediterranean and the Near East.²⁵⁵ Akhmedov grew to despise Philby, particularly after the latter’s exposure. In his memoir, Akhmedov conveys that Philby meant to keep him under thumb. He was only concerned in what Soviet intelligence Akhmedov had betrayed to Turkey. Philby was delighted when Akhmedov admitted the Turkish government had little interest in what he had to offer. To him, Philby was a deluded coward. He had “socialist dreams,” but he was also a “sick alcoholic weakling.” Unfortunately, Philby omitted the entirety of his meetings with Akhmedov from his own memoir, choosing to concentrate on other Soviet defectors who fit the mold of self-aggrandizing opportunists.²⁵⁶

The Third Reich and Islamic Resistance

²⁵⁴ Ismail Akhmedov, *In and Out of Stalin’s GRU: A Tatar’s Escape from Red Army Intelligence* (Frederick, MD: University Publications of America, Inc., 1984), 170.

²⁵⁵ For Turkey’s strategic role in the Middle East and how it factored into the Cold War in the Near East, see: Süleyman Seydi, “Making a Cold War in the Near East: Turkey and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945-1947, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 17, (2006), 113-141.

²⁵⁶ Akhmedov, *In and Out of Stalin’s GRU*, 196-198; E.D.R. Harrison, “Some Reflections on Kim Philby’s *My Silent War* as a Historical Source” in *Intelligence, Defence and Diplomacy, British Policy in the Post-War World*, ed. Richard J. Aldrich and Michael F. Hopkins (London: F. Cass, 1994), 211-212.

The Soviet crackdown on minorities corresponded with the state's fear of rising fascism, Pilsudski's Poland, and the Japanese Empire. When war finally came, Moscow's enemies did indeed exploit ethnic grievances and separatism. The Axis powers took particular interest in winning the support of Muslim populations residing behind enemy lines. Italy, the first to do so, sustained Arabic shortwave propaganda broadcasts to North Africa from 1934 to 1943. Germany began its own Arabic broadcasts in October 1939 and continued until March 1945, well after its possibilities of military victory had dissipated. In the Middle East and North Africa, the Axis powers attacked French, British, American, and especially "Jewish" imperialism. Despite his own ideologies of German racial and cultural supremacy, Hitler saw Islam as a religion on equal standing with Christianity. He likewise praised the Islamic world for its scientific advances and cultural development. However, local predilections for collectivism over the achievement of the individual placed it in an inferior position. This did not matter so much, in consideration of what Hitler believed was Islam's greatest credit. He saw Muslims as natural allies against a common Jewish enemy. Historian Jeffrey Herf has pointed out that the Nazi attack on Jews in the Muslim world depended less on lines from *Mein Kampf* or the *Protocols* (both of which were translated into Arabic by the Second World War), but more so on a "selective reading of the Koran and a focus on the anti-Jewish currents within Islam," combined with denunciations of Western Imperialism and godless Communism.²⁵⁷ Hitler sought to unleash a religious tempest to wreak havoc on all of Germany's enemies from North Africa to the Caucasus.

²⁵⁷ Jeffrey Herf, *Nazi Propaganda for the Arab World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 5, 47; Barry Rubin and Wolfgang G. Schwanz, *Nazis, Islamists, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 75. Rubin and

After Germany opened the Eastern Front, the Nazi government became more keenly interested in securing the support of Soviet Muslims. They were particularly impressed with Muslims' resistance to Soviet power, and they sought to exploit their longstanding grievances. To German officials, Islam as an identity and ideology inherently opposed atheist, materialist Communism. Gerhard von Mende, a Latvian German, specialized in the ethnic composition of the Soviet Union. Through the 1930s, von Mende's works increasingly embraced Nazi ideology. He charged that the Soviet Union enabled the power of Jews, whom he erroneously claimed increasingly dominated its apparatus, and he called for the liberation of the Soviet Union's increasingly separatist minorities. In 1941, he worked for the Ostministerium, and headed its Caucasus division. von Mende took particular interest in harnessing Islam against communism. The high representation of Muslims within the ranks of collaborators reflects von Mende's advocacy. Of the 1 million Soviet defectors who collaborated with the Germans, perhaps as many as a quarter were from Muslim backgrounds.²⁵⁸

Schwanitz's work also provides a thoughtful exploration of the long-term ramifications of the Nazi—and, later, Western intelligence—ties to leading religious figures in the Middle East, including the grand mufti Haj Amin al-Husseini; Norman Goda's work on the Axis in North Africa demonstrates that Hitler's campaign in the region indicated an interest beyond the seizure of power in Europe. Hitler saw Northwest Africa as a stepping stone to becoming an Atlantic power and launching a naval war against the United States. However, his own missteps in negotiating with Vichy France (which did not yield territories for bases to Germany) and other allies undermined this grand vision. See: Norman J. W. Goda, *Tomorrow the World: Hitler, Northwest Africa, and the Path toward America* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1998).

²⁵⁸ Ian Johnson, *A Mosque in Munich* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2010), 10. Von Mende's work did not end in 1945. He soon established a relationship with British, American, and West German intelligence to set up his own firm, the Research Service Eastern Europe (RSEE). The service sheltered Muslim collaborators. The CIA relationship with von Mende

Many of these forces came not only from the Caucasus but from the republics of Central Asia as well. The region was developmentally far behind the European portions of the USSR. It lacked significant industrial centers, and Soviet cadres struggled with breaking the population of traditional nomadism and religious mores.²⁵⁹ The politicization of Islam in this region only further cemented self-identification as Muslims, rather than “Soviets” or even “Kazakhs,” or “Turkmen.”²⁶⁰ As a religious group, Muslims enjoyed preferential status relative to most other nations under German rule. They were the only non-German group to receive Adolf Hitler’s express consent to serve in the Wehrmacht early in the war: “I consider the Mohemmedans to be safe. All the [other national groups] I consider unsafe.”²⁶¹ The fact that Soviet Muslims tended to inhabit inhospitable areas that the

became more distant after the agency set up a rival organization, the American Committee for Liberation from Bolshevism (Amcomlib). This committee too employed former Nazi collaborators, and its planners staunchly backed the Muslim Brotherhood as an antidote to the spread of communism in North Africa and the Middle East. For more on von Mende, in addition to Johnson’s book, see his CIA personal file: NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 73, Mende, Gerhard von.

²⁵⁹ Douglas Northrop, *Veiled Empire: Gender & Power in Stalinist Central Asia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004); Paula A. Michaels, *Curative Powers: Medicine and Empire in Stalin’s Central Asia* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003).

²⁶⁰ Johnson, *Mosque in Munich*, 10. For a somewhat different perspective see Olivier Roy’s work on the Soviet nationalities project in Central Asia. Roy argued that the Soviet state under Stalin took considerable effort not only to modernize and the republics of Central Asia, but also to nurture national distinctness between their populations. While they proletarianized the lowest strata of society, the Party convinced Central Asian intellectuals of their unique identities particularly linguistic differentiations. This divided Central Asian Muslims against each other while making them more dependent on Moscow as a source of order. As Roy wrote, “Stalin’s great victory was to have brought the intellectuals of Central Asia to a position of defending their language and their ‘nation’ against their neighbours, and not against Moscow, whom they then called upon to assist in the mediation of conflicts,” Olivier Roy, *The New Central Asia: The Creation of Nations* (New York: New York University Press, 2000)73.

²⁶¹ Johnson, *Mosque in Munich*, 11.

Germans had no interest in settling certainly made them seem more benign, but it did not necessarily make them ideologically “safe” or reliable to arm. The observed tendency to think in religious rather than ethnic or national terms certainly played a role in their elevation.

Central Asian Muslims may have not yet embraced a significant ethno-national movement, but this was not the case for Muslims of the Caucasus. In fact, the German occupation noted in 1942 that the “Mohammedan Circassians” retained their religious identity in spite of two decades of Soviet suppression of religion. The German command of Cherkessk noted that the “Mohammedan youth seems in parts still closely bound to Islam... whereas the Russian youth is fully estranged from Orthodox Christianity.”²⁶² Muslims continued to be seen as the trustworthiest of Soviet populations and the most resistant to Sovietization. Moreover, they seemed to be the most generally compliant with the German occupation, especially within the Caucasus.²⁶³ Those who joined the Germans did so for a variety of reasons – hatred for Russians, Communists, and Jews, desire for expanded religious and cultural expression, upward mobility within a new social order, or some combination thereof. For the young Circassian, Tscherim Soobzokov, hatred and self-interest were powerful motivators that he would bear for a lifetime.

²⁶² David Motadel, “Islam and Germany’s War in the Soviet Borderlands, 1941-5,” *Journal of Contemporary History*, October 2013, vol. 48 no. 4, 792.

²⁶³ Alexander Dallin, “The North Caucasus”, in Paul A. Armstrong, (ed.) *Soviet Partisans in World War II* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964), 628.

Tscherim Soobzokov

At the time of the German Occupation, Tscherim Soobzokov was a young Circassian man. Despite never knowing a Circassia free of Russian rule, let alone Soviet power, he closely held the historic grievances of the Circassian nation. Soobzokov was born August 24, 1924 in Tachtumakai, Russia, a small village in the Northern Caucasus. In 1940, prior the outbreak of war with Germany he and a friend were arrested for hooliganism and were sentenced to one year in jail in Krasnodar and Belostok.²⁶⁴ The outbreak of war saw him released and drafted as a laborer for the Red Army. In the Spring of 1942, he was wounded in the shoulder, and hospitalized. The Tachtamukai Military Recruiting Office thereafter permanently released him from military service.

In 1942, after the region fell to the Germans, Soobzokov voluntarily joined the local police force, and was made a chief of a Circassian Field Gendarmerie and soon became the chief of its commandos. Though officially a member of the local police, he also had been recruited by German SD to serve as an informer against Circassians in his village who opposed the Germans. In December 1942, the Germans permitted him to search the area of Tochtamukai for Jews and members of the local Komsomol.

Soobzokov voluntarily joined the Caucasian units of the German Army in 1942 until he was wounded in the winter of 1943. Several months after his release from the hospital, he was charged with recruiting more Circassians to help the German war effort. He joined the Waffen SS in January 1945 and received the rank of Obersturmführer, the equivalent of

²⁶⁴ Tcherim Tuobich Soobtsokof, "Biography of an Emigrant," 22 October 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1

a Lieutenant. He was assigned to recruit other Caucasians who had fled to Austria and Hungary. These efforts were unsuccessful because of the state of the war effort. By March, the German army was in retreat, and Soobzokov withdrew with his wife to Villach, Austria. There they met up with his father-in-law, who served in Andrei Vlasov's collaborationist Russian Volunteer Army.²⁶⁵ His wife gave birth to their first son, Kasbek. At the time, he declined to pull out further to Italy with his SS unit, and would wait out the end of the war in Austria.

By the end of the war, the SS unit had returned to Ober Drauburg, Austria, and Soobzokov joined them at the camp. He estimated there were 10,000 émigrés altogether. When the British arrived at the camp, they feared they'd be repatriated to the Soviets, so they elected a committee to forestall this. Soobzokov was part of this committee.

²⁶⁵ Soobzokov's relationship with his father-in-law appears complicated. On the one hand, his father-in-law collaborated with the Germans, as had Soobzokov, before the two became related by marriage. It was Soobzokov's future father-in-law that the Germans allegedly appointed to be the "chief" of Soobzokov's village. This was due to the bureaucratic pull he had under Soviet rule as a card carrying member of the Communist Party. See: Tcherim Tuobich Soobtsokof, "Biography of an Emigrant," 22 October 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1. However, Soobzokov told his CIA handlers that he had cut all contact off with his father-in-law for his participation in Vlasov's army. Soobzokov claimed at the time that this was a betrayal of their homeland: Subject: Tscherim Soobzokov, 11 July 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Folder 1. Years later he explained that his bitterness toward the British partly extended from their repatriation of his father-in-law to the Soviet Union: Interrogation Report, SUBJECT: Tscherim Soobzokov, 23 February 1956, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Folder 1; Tcherim Tuobich Soobtsokof, "Biography of an Emigrant," 22 October 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1; When journalist Charles R. Allen received a pack of Soviet affidavits against Soobzokov in 1978, the contents included testimony from Soobzokov's father-in-law and nephew. Their testimony placed him in a punitive unit of the Waffen-SS. See: Herb Jaffe, "Soviet provide data on suspected ex-Nazi," *The Sunday Star Ledger*, 10 September 1978, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

Circassian POW's were being loaded into trucks and sent to Italy, likely facing repatriation. Soobzokov escaped from one of these trucks and went into hiding, ditching his SS uniform. Whether through bribes or threats (accounts vary), Soobzokov obtained false documents for him and his Circassian followers to be deemed Greek émigré workers. He took the documents to the English Red Cross and received a permit to travel to a Greek consulate in Italy, to gather those who had already been sent.

The Greek consul refused to allow Soobzokov and his fellow Circassians to travel to Greece. It was clear from their conversation that he did not know Greek and had never lived in Greece. The Turkish consul likewise refused to meet with him, weary of émigrés looking to travel there. A Russian black marketeer assured Soobzokov that there was nothing to fear in Italy; the Vatican protected anti-Soviet DPs. And so he remained in Italy until 1947.

When the upcoming parliamentary elections appeared to favor the communists, Soobzokov once again grew restless. The prospect of forced repatriation propelled him to seek somewhere else for the Circassians to settle. He obtained the backing of the Italian Red Cross to travel to Egypt to negotiate their immigration. He met with the Chief of the Muslim Brotherhood, who advised him to try to depart for Jordan instead. The Hashemite Kingdom was already home to an enclave of about 10,000 Circassians. Soobzokov left for Amman, and obtained an audience with King Abdullah, who issued a decree allowing Soobzokov and his group to arrive. The Circassian community in Amman reached out to their co-nationals in Italy. It donated thousands of dinars to pay the group's immigration expenses – 67 people total.

The first American intelligence on Soobzokov came in 1949 and evidences some of Soobzokov's earliest attempts at deception with the CIA. The report stated that Soobzokov spent nearly the entirety of the war as a German prisoner after he and his unit (which he claimed to lead) surrendered at Minsk. His handlers do not appear to have questioned this version of events at the time. The evaluation went on to note that one of Soobzokov's useful qualities was his intense ethnic prejudice. Soobzokov, "like all good Circassians, detests the Russians and the British. He dislikes the British not only because they turned Circassian PW's over to the Soviets, but also because, historically, the British have always been allies of the Czars against the Circassians."²⁶⁶ Soobzokov thus based his hatred on both contemporary and historical grievances.

The CIA source also claimed Soobzokov was the leader of the Circassian community. In 1950, The International Refugee Organization office in Beirut recognized Soobzokov as the Leader of 200 Circassian Nationals residing in Jordan. The CIA continued acquiring whatever information they could about him over the next two years, and his renown seemed to grow. He was recognized by the North Caucasian National Community in Munich as a "capable, honest, discreet, and reliable person... authorized to speak in the name of" the committee in Jordan. An agency spotter noted in July of 1952 that Soobzokov had become "fairly influential" but that the Karbadian community "bitterly opposed" him.

In the same evaluation, Soobzokov attempted to dispel any suspicions of anti-Semitism, perhaps to pre-empt any suspicions of his past with the Waffen-SS. The evaluation reported that Soobzokov himself claimed that Glubb Pasha [Sir John Bagot

²⁶⁶ "Tscherim SOOBZOKOV," 28 July 1949, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

Glubb] invited Soobzokov and his men to help the Arab Legion fight against “the Jews.” Soobzokov’s supposedly refused, for the war against the Jews remained outside the Circassian cause.²⁶⁷

The CIA first contacted Soobzokov for employment in December 1950 and began screening him as a potential agent.²⁶⁸ By 1952-53 Soobzokov was a quasi-CIA spotter in Jordan. He was a failure of an agent. He only offered two prospects to his handlers. One of the two was transferred to Germany for training, but did not complete it. The agency dismissed him and sent him back to Jordan.²⁶⁹

He was a reckless and brazen braggart. Despite never being officially told he was in contact with CIA, he openly boasted of his ties to “American intelligence” in Jordan, to further elevate his status. In the meantime, he served as the deputy propaganda delegate of the North Caucasian Committee. He created anti-Soviet propaganda not only in Jordan, but “among all the Mohammedans.” He likewise encouraged his neighbors not to see Soviet films in theaters and told them, “If you would be a true Circassian you would hate not only the communists, but all the Russians, because they all have been enemies of our people and of our country.”²⁷⁰

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ “Highlights of Agency Relationship,” 15 July 1975, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

²⁶⁹ Memorandum For: Director, Immigration and Naturalization service, SUBJECT: Tscherim Soobzokov, 15 July 1975, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

²⁷⁰ Tcherim Tuobich Soobtsokof, “Biography of an Emigrant,” 22 October 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

As early as 1952, the Agency realized that although Soobzokov had many contacts in the Circassian émigré community, this could work to his disadvantage: “Many reports re NOSTRIL [Soobzokov]. . . indicate that he is a rather unscrupulous individual who has on occasion taken steps to better his own position at the expense of other Circassians. Headquarters has discussed NOSTRIL with recent Circassian arrivals to the United States and we find that this reputation is generally prevalent here as well as in Germany and the Middle East.” However, the report concluded that Soobzokov was committed to Circassian independence and that he would make an effective recruiter for Circassians in Jordan, provided he could curb “prejudiced attitudes” towards some members of the Circassian community. He claimed at the time to have cut off all contact with his own father-in-law for joining the Vlasov White Russian volunteer army during the war. To side with the Russians, even against communism, was to betray the Circassian homeland.²⁷¹ This propensity for infighting, grudges, and intra-community politicking would have a profound impact later in Soobzokov’s life.

²⁷¹ Subject: Tscherim Soobzokov, 11 July 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Folder 1; “Operational/REDSOX: NOSTRIL and Project AE-ASTER,” 8 October 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1; Soobzokov features prominently in Eric Lichtblau’s recent work on the US government’s reliance on Nazi leaders and perpetrators. However, Lichtblau’s repeated reference to Soobzokov as a “White Russian” does not represent Soobzokov’s self-identification as a Circassian nationalist and obfuscates the motivation behind all of his actions. See: Eric Lichtblau, *The Nazis Next Door: How America Became a Safe Haven for Hitler’s Men* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2014).



Figure 3: Photograph of Tscherim Soobzokov, CIA Personal File²⁷²

²⁷² NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Folder 1.

E 1

Geburtsurkunde

(Standesamt Bruck a.d.Mur ----- Nr. 103/45
Kasbek Soobzokov -----

 ist am 1. April 1945 um 13 Uhr -----
 in Bruck a.d.Mur, Krankenhaus ----- geboren.
 Vater: SS-Obersturmführer Tscherin -----
Soobzokov, mohammedanisch, gegenwärtig -----
Waffen-SS -----
 Mutter: Hausfrau Roschasechko Soobzokov -----
geborene Dschanierse, mohammedanisch -----
 Änderungen der Eintragung wohnhaft in Villach,
Kärnten, auf der Durchreise. -----
Bine Zwischenseite. -----
Bruck a.d.Mur den 6. Mai 1947.
 Der Standesbeamte
 in Vertretung: *fuchsberger*
 A 51. Geburtsurkunde (eheliche Geburt) A 51
 Verlag C. G. Pöschel, Wien I, Seitenstraße 14. Nachdruck verboten.

Figure 4: Birth Certificate for Kasbek Soobzokov, 6 May 1947²⁷³

²⁷³ Birth Certificate for Kasbek Soobzokov, 6 May 1947, NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Folder 1. The certificate lists the father as “SS-Obersturmführer Tscherin Soobzokov, muslim [sic], currently Waffen-SS.”

The CIA knew Soobzokov's past history with the German military and Waffen SS by October of 1952. Soobzokov had been working as an unwitting informant for US intelligence since 1950, after he was initially identified as a possible source. By mid-1952, he was unemployed, and his intelligence contact offered to help Soobzokov find work, possibly with the United States Air Force in West Germany. It was in October of that year that Soobzokov personally delivered the first documentation of his crimes. It was an authorization from the mayor of Tachtamukai, Soobzokov's hometown, under Nazi occupation. The mayor authorized the "Oberleutnant and Chief of the Circassian Field Police Tscherim SOOBZOKOV...to search all villages in my area." The mayor himself acted under the special order of the German Field Command no. 548, handed down on 26 December 1942.²⁷⁴ A 1974 memorandum confirmed what one would immediately suspect: Soobzokov searched North Caucasian communities for Jews and Komsomol (Communist Youth League Members), and participated in their executions.²⁷⁵

In December 1952, Soobzokov, under the cryptonym "NOSTRIL" completed a recruiting exercise in which he was unknowingly being evaluated. The object was to recommend potential Circassian recruits on a list of CIA prospects. Among the list were known or suspected Soviet operatives from the old emigration. Had he recommended any of those men, his reliability would be in doubt. He performed well enough to confirm his

²⁷⁴ Attachment to Air Pouch No. [Redacted], Document re T. Soobzokov, 8 October 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1. Soobzokov supplied other documents, including a Red Army excusal from service for illness, and the Hungarian military authorization for the "Circassian ____ Military Commander" to reserve a Kaphaza building for use in November 1944.

²⁷⁵ Memorandum for the Record, Subject: Tscherim Soobzokov, 19 July 1974, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

usefulness in further recruitment operations, and the Agency decided to proceed further in his training.²⁷⁶ He faced subsequent polygraph examinations in Beirut, in which he continued to deceive about his past. The State Department as late as August 1953 had still acknowledged Soobzokov's service under the Germans. An operations memorandum out of the American embassy in Amman explicitly stated that Soobzokov worked with the German Army between 1941 and 1945 in both the Caucasus and in Hungary.²⁷⁷

A February 1953 interrogation of Soobzokov revealed that not only had Soobzokov collaborated with the Germans, but he was also very likely a war criminal. His interrogator reported that Soobzokov, ". . . has consistent and pronounced reactions to all questions regarding war crimes, and is, no doubt, hiding a number of activities from us on that point." Soobzokov also "freely admitted" to holding an Austrian clerk at gunpoint to procure falsified documents. Rather than exclude him from further use as an operative, his CIA handlers approved of this new information. Soobzokov's crimes could only make him a more reliable. His "Clear evidence of a war crimes record might also serve as a possible control."²⁷⁸

The agency obfuscated Soobzokov's past when corresponding with other line agencies. In November of that same year, the CIA's Directorate of Plans provided the

²⁷⁶ "Operational NOSTRIL Testing," 21 December 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

²⁷⁷ American Embassy in Amman, Jordan to Department of State, Washington, D.C, Operations Memorandum, 5 August 1953, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

²⁷⁸ Chief of Base, Pullach, to Chief, EE, 9 March 1953, HARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

Secretary of State with a heavily sanitized version of Soobzokov's biography. It claimed that he and his Red Army unit "surrendered to the Germans at Minsk in 1951" and Soobzokov, "remained a prisoner for the duration of the war."²⁷⁹ The Deputy Director meant 1941, but that was only one of the factual errors that would become clearer with time. Nevertheless, Soobzokov continued to run contact and recruitment operations for the CIA in Jordan up to 1955. Of particular interest to his handlers was the growing influence of communist and leftist parties in Jordan. These groups venerated Soviet-style development to rapidly modernize Jordan. They were also the only significant groups to push for republican governance and expanded liberty. Of course, they combined this program with strong anti-British and anti-American rhetoric.²⁸⁰

In late 1955, Soobzokov was provided the necessary documentation to immigrate with his family to Paterson, New Jersey. The CIA contacted him for an interview shortly thereafter, regarding his continued employment as a spotter for AEDEPOT. He underwent interviews on 20 February 1956 and again on 22 February. His interviewer reconfirmed the nationalist prejudices noted in Soobzokov's earlier evaluations. Soobzokov adamantly denied that though he had served under the Germans, he had not harmed anyone who was not a communist. He committed no war crimes.²⁸¹ As part of his screening, an agency psychologist analyzed his frame of mind. She commented that he was

²⁷⁹ Correspondence from Deputy Director for Plans to the Secretary of State, 16 November 1953, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 1.

²⁸⁰ Walter Z. Laqueur, *Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1956), 124-133.

²⁸¹ Assessment Report, SUBJECT: Tscherim Soobzokov, 23 February 1956, NARA, RG 263, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

a somewhat paranoid but clever man. Soobzokov was emotionally intense and the sort of person who subtly tested boundaries of authority in interpersonal relationships. In this manner, he could use his imposing demeanor to take control of situations. If he approached his limits, he could quickly and seamlessly present that things had been the same as they always were, without defensiveness or groveling.²⁸² These were valuable skills for one ingratiating himself with power and gaining it for himself.

As a Muslim, Soobzokov alternated between professing his commitment to his faith and remorse for not living up to his professions of belief. Other times, he easily rationalized his behaviors in violation of doctrine. This easy shifting on matters of deep, personal importance signaled a man whose behavior could be difficult to predict.²⁸³ The interviewer who administered his polygraph examination determined that did not appear likely that Soobzokov had deceived about his past but admitted that he was personally not familiar enough with his reaction patterns to make any definitive conclusions. He suggested the possibility of future interviews to confirm Soobzokov's biography.²⁸⁴ During this time, Soobzokov became a part of the CIA's covert operations meant to train an army of fifth columnists, should a "hot war" with Moscow break out. These largely fell under the umbrella of "REDSOX" émigré operations.

²⁸² Memorandum for Chief, SR/7, SUBJECT: Tscherim N. Soobzokov, 9 March 1956, NARA RG 263, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

²⁸³ ASSESSMENT REPORT – PSYCHOLOGICAL , 15 March 1956, NARA, RG 263, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

²⁸⁴ C-15651, #79367, 17 March, 1956, NARA RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

REDSOX

After a two year hiatus in operational activity, Soobzokov resumed working for the CIA in 1957. He was involved in project AEACRE, which were meant to train émigré paramilitary units against the Soviet Union. Soobzokov was trained for 7 months in 1957 at Ft. Meade and then dispatched overseas on a 3-month mission. The details of this mission have been redacted.²⁸⁵

Planners for these operations knew exactly with whom they were dealing. In the margins of a provisional training plan, one administrator strongly suggested that Russians and minority nationalities not be trained together, for it could jeopardize the entire operation: "I do not believe it possible to train any minority group with Great Russians as these people are not only anti-Communist but anti-Russian."²⁸⁶ These were not men who imagined each other common in motivation or cause.

AEACRE was meant to give the CIA far stricter control over its human assets than it ever exercised in its tenuous partnership with the NTS. From its inception, there was to be a training center established in the vicinity of Washington, D.C. This would shield REDSOX recruits from Soviet manipulation better than the schools could hope for. It provided an additional stage of recruitment that could potentially screen out false defectors before they could penetrate too deeply into the schools and training programs. Soviet operations in

²⁸⁵ NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Memorandum for the Record, Subject: Recontact of Staff Office, [REDACTED], by [REDACTED] Tscherim Soobzokov [REDACTED], 12 July 1974.

²⁸⁶ NARA, RG263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Volume 3, Folder 2, Memorandum to Chief, FDS, from [REDACTED], Subject: Plan Redcap, undated. Although undated, the memorandum likely dates between July 1950 and December 1951, based on its location within the AEACRE file.

Japan, Turkey, and Germany – particularly after the formal establishment of the German Democratic Republic – cast the future of foreign recruitment centers into doubt.

Additionally, this would be more convenient for agency members involved in planning and running AEACRE, without the need to operate abroad under contrived explanations for the school's existence. The most significant reason for the school's establishment in the United States was that by 1951, the reliable pool of anti-Soviet agents in Western Europe had already run dry. Most of the nationalist "true believers" had long emigrated from Europe to the Americas. REDSOX recruiters shifted westward accordingly.²⁸⁷ The project was approved on 22 January 1952.

The new recruitment of agents relied on collaboration between different security arms of the federal government. The CIA office of Investigations and Security (I&S) took the lead in screening recruits. Further, it was also the primary office in establishing the entry and legal status of these recruits, with the support of the FBI and the INS.²⁸⁸

The CIA hoped to tap into pre-existing émigré networks in order to find suitable agents. Spotters were to concentrate mostly on organizations with a politically conservative or ethnic identity, such as "religious organizations, cultural and recreational clubs, welfare foundations, USSR nationality organizations and individuals whose names have been furnished by other resources of the CIA."²⁸⁹ By 1954, spotters looked for

²⁸⁷ Memorandum for the AD/SO, SUBJECT: Basic Plan AE-ACRE, 29 December 1951, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Folder 1.

²⁸⁸ Memorandum for the AD/SO, SUBJECT: Basic Plan AE-ACRE, 2 April 1952, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Folder 1.

²⁸⁹ AEACRE Amendment No. 2, FY 1954, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Folder 1.

possible recruits not only in the US, but in Brazil and Argentina as well. The potential for recruitment in Latin America was very promising, partly due to the tighter legal restrictions on the Agency's operations within the United States.²⁹⁰ Through 1954, the Domestic Operations Base (DOB) used AEACRE to become the Soviet Russia (SR) Division's primary agent training program. By 1 February, 41 agents had been accepted into its school, with 23 trained, 11 withdrawn, and 7 still undergoing training. In the face of its failure in Germany, Turkey, and Japan, the REDSOX program seemed to be rebounding very well to meet evolving Cold War challenges.

Between 1950 and 1955, REDSOX operations had almost exclusively focused on the infiltration of Soviet émigrés into the areas of Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic states.²⁹¹ In late 1954, the DOB first acknowledged that it had considered expanding its recruitment to "certain Caucasian black penetration agents." One such agent affiliated with a Soviet-East European (SE) Division project had been trained by the DOB in August 1954. At the time, the DOB planned no significant expansion of Caucasian operations.

The DOB's recruitment challenges only became more pressing with time. It estimated that the total number of Slavic Displaced Persons stood at about 2,000,000

²⁹⁰ Multiple CIA documents begrudgingly refer to the restrictions imposed on recruitment by CSN 10-6. While none of them elaborate on what these restrictions are, they were significant enough to warrant not only complaints but also the CIA's push towards recruitment in Latin America. Canada, due to the non-compliance of Canadian authorities, was not an active recruitment site. See: AEACRE Amendment No. 2, FY 1954, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Volume 1.; Memorandum for Chief, Foreign Intelligence, Subject: Project AEACRE (Renewal and Amendment), 21 May 1954, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Volume 1.

²⁹¹ Project Outline, AEACRE, 7 September 1955, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Folder 1.

worldwide. Of that number, 366,000 were believed to currently reside within the United States. The global number, though significant, was spread thin. A worldwide recruitment apparatus would need to operate across Germany, Belgium France, North and South America, Australia, and the Middle East. The expense and difficulty to coordinate such a system would be substantial.²⁹²

Fortunately for the DOB, the INS did some of the initial scouting. The service supplied the DOB with manifests of ships carrying DPs into American ports. The Tolstoy Foundation, a non-profit based in Rockland County, New York, also helped facilitate the CIA's mission. Alexandra Tolstaya, Leo Tolstoy's youngest daughter, founded the organization in 1939 to help former Soviet citizens create new lives in the West. The foundation collaborated with the CIA in the securing of target recruits, under contract with the U.S. Escapee Program.²⁹³ It allowed the DOB to microfilm its files containing 15,000 names and biographies in order to screen them for potential agents. The Foundation was identified as a potential cover organization for agent spotting in South America, Europe, and the Middle East. The foundation consulted with the CIA on Soobzokov's initial conduct among émigrés in Jordan.²⁹⁴ At the same time, each year saw that potential talent pool

²⁹² NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Volume 1, Memorandum for Chief of Foreign Intelligence, DDP, From Foreign Intelligence Staff, SR Division, Request for Renewal of Project AEACRE for the Fiscal Year of 1957.

²⁹³ NLBA-1547, 20 August 1954, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 1.

²⁹⁴ According to Kadir I. Natho's memoirs, the foundation initially assisted the Soobzokov family and other Circassians immigrate to the United States from Jordan. Natho served as the Circassian representation to the Tolstoy Foundation. See: Kadir I. Natho, *Memoirs* (Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation, 2010), 300; While working in Jordan, Tscherim Soobzokov repeatedly butted heads with the Tolstoy Foundation. Alexis Wrangle, one of

growing older, with increased encumbrances of family and professional obligations, as well as diminished political fervor and physical suitability. The Soviet Return to Homeland propaganda, as discussed in Chapter 2, was attractive to many who tired of life in exile. They were rapidly becoming unable to aid the cause, and some no longer willing.²⁹⁵

Soobzokov continued to run operations for the CIA through the 1950s, but his repeated attempts at deception undermined his reliability. He was interrogated under polygraph seven times between 1953 and 1959, and he seemed consistently evasive about his past. He admitted that he worked for German intelligence during the war (despite having denied that earlier), and that he volunteered for military service to further that end. He provided no details about his involvement in either. Attempts to clear up inconsistencies in his past, including his activities with the Nazi occupational forces led his examiner to conclude that Soobzokov was an “incorrigible fabricator.” The examiner believed that his lengths to conceal information about his past indicated information so damaging as to endanger his welfare in the future. Any further interviews would be a

the foundation’s chiefs, alleged that Soobzokov passed derogatory remarks about the foundation and its leadership. The CIA found Wrangle’s accusations against Soobzokov disconcerting enough to polygraph the latter upon his return to the United States. It was during this examination that Soobzokov first admitted to fabricating portions of his biography. Wrangle’s accusations, may have been instrumental in the CIA’s re-evaluation of his value. See: Classified Message no. 47931 from Director, 5 December 1957, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 2; “S.F. #79367,” 8 May 1958, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 2.

²⁹⁵ NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 1, AEACRE, Volume 1, Memorandum for Chief of Foreign Intelligence, DDP, From Foreign Intelligence Staff, SR Division, Request for Renewal of Project AEACRE for the Fiscal Year of 1957.

waste of time.²⁹⁶ A January 1960 letter informed Soobzokov that the CIA had chosen to terminate their relationship.²⁹⁷

By the end of his employment with CIA, "NOSTRIL" was already well on the path to citizenship. In December of 1960, the INS wrote to the CIA asking for any derogatory information about him. The CIA claimed that it had no such information or evidence of any information that would bar him from naturalization. He and his family gained US citizenship on April 17, 1961, less than 5 months later. He soon after was able to parlay his ties to government agencies into a job as the chief inspector of Purchasing Department of Passaic County. In an immigrant enclave that had ingrained deference to government officials, Soobzokov wielded significant power. He allegedly began capitalizing on this power by pulling favors within the local Social Security Administration to give legal status and find employment for incoming Circassians, for a fee. Thus, those could benefit from Soobzokov's "pull" but they would remain indebted and vulnerable to him.

Rumors of Soobzokov's war criminal past began to emerge out of the Paterson Circassian Community nearly a decade later. In 1969, a man named Mahamet Perchich wrote letters to INS, claiming that Soobzokov told a Palestinian refugee camp chief that the

²⁹⁶ S.F. #79367, 14 December 1959, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 3.

²⁹⁷ Letter to Tscherim Soobzokov, 11 January 1960, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 3.

killed so many Jews during the war, that if that number were still alive the blood of all Palestinians would not be enough for them to drink.²⁹⁸

The situation soon devolved into a power struggle within the enclave community, with the politically connected Soobzokov under an assault led by the affluent Dr. Jawad Idriss. Misceust Chuako submitted a statement to the Paterson Resident Agency of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The statement was signed by Chuako and other Circassian émigrés from Paterson. The statement alleged that Soobzokov was engaged in personal and political intimidation in Paterson. Soobzokov allegedly bragged often about his ties to the Democratic Party leadership in Passaic County and his personal relationship with Congressman Charles S. Johnson. Soobzokov allegedly used these ties to peddle political and legal favors to members of the Circassian community, even fixing the outcomes of civil cases. These same relationships shielded Soobzokov from any consequences. Soobzokov also allegedly used ties to the Teamsters labor union to intimidate anyone to speak against him. Many Circassians living in the Northern New Jersey-New York area, "... are terrorized by Soobzokov because they know he is vicious."²⁹⁹

In 1973, the federal government obtained hard evidence of Soobzokov's ties to the Waffen-SS. The Social Security Administration, while investigating allegations that Soobzokov was pulling special favors for Circassian immigrants, performed background searches. The Administration obtained from the Berlin Document Center a Waffen-SS

²⁹⁸ NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 15, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Letters from Mr. Mahamet Perchich to INS, 10 May 1969.

²⁹⁹ NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 123, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Volume 3, "Tscherim Soobzokov: Internal Security – R," Federal Bureau of Investigation, 8 May 1969.

roster, which named Soobzokov as an Obersturmführer. The Document Center explained that, from what its staff could tell, Soobzokov was neither a member of the regular German army or a regular Waffen-SS unit. He likely took part in either the SS Bandenkampfverbände (combating-bandit formations) or the infamous Einsatzgruppen death squads.³⁰⁰ He joined the Kaukasischer-Waffenverband of the SS in January 1945 and served in the Caucasus, Byelorussia, and Hungary.³⁰¹

In October 1974, Chuako initiated another salvo against Soobzokov. This time he meant to have Soobzokov deported as a Nazi war criminal.³⁰² Chuako claimed to have personally witnessed Soobzokov commit atrocities while wearing a German uniform. Chuako had not offered this information to American authorities prior to 1974, and the claim came several months after a barrage of media exposés of Nazi collaborators hidden in America. Between 14 and 18 July, newspapers ran several articles on Nazi collaborators in the New York-New Jersey area, naming Soobzokov among a few dozen others.³⁰³

The coverage alarmed Soobzokov and the CIA alike. The agency took stock of Soobzokov's past, producing a summary biography that included his service with the Waffen-SS. Soobzokov himself wrote a letter of protest to the Director of Immigration and

³⁰⁰ Berlin Document Center to Social Security Administration, 11 April 1973, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 15, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰¹ Berlin Document Center to INS, 25 July 1974, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 15, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰² "Tscherim Soobzokov," Federal Bureau of Investigation, 15 November 1974, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰³ Paul Meskil, "The Nazis Next Door," *Sunday News*, 14 July 1974; Paul Meskil, "Records of 3 War-Crimes Suspects Raided," *Daily News*, 16 July 1974; "Soobzokov Mum on Nazi Complicity," *The Evening News*, 16 July 1974.

Naturalization Service in Newark, Domenick P. Rinaldi that September. He urged Rinaldi to reveal the sources behind the “rumors” of his war crimes.³⁰⁴

While the INS withheld its sources, the CIA shielded Soobzokov from other Federal agencies. In a March 1975, the Director of the INS requested CIA information on Soobzokov’s background, in order to see the extent of federal knowledge of any war crimes Soobzokov might have taken part in. The CIA claimed that, aside from falsifying his birth date, and serving as an informant for German Intelligence, the Agency could not find “any firm information or evidence of a derogatory nature.”³⁰⁵ Citing the lack of evidence to make a case, the overwhelming reliance on hearsay, and the fact that one eyewitness (Chuako) had since recanted his initial account of Soobzokov’s atrocities, the INS dropped the investigation in June.³⁰⁶ Though there were many in Paterson’s Circassian enclave who disliked Soobzokov, there were fewer who would stand openly against him.

Soobzokov’s political friends also came to his assistance. In 1976, a series of political gestures pandered to the Caucasian community of northern New Jersey. The New Jersey Executive Department proclaimed May 1976 “North Caucasians Independence Month,” honoring the short-lived independence of the North Caucasus achieved during the Russian Civil War.³⁰⁷ Congressman Robert Roe, a supporter of Soobzokov, authored a

³⁰⁴ Tscherim Soobzokov, Letter to Domenick F. Rinaldi, Director, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 6 September 1974, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰⁵ Draft of Memorandum to INS Director, 15 July 1975, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰⁶ Dean Bender, “Immigration Service Drops Probe of County Inspector,” *The Morning News*, 7 June 1976.

“Congressional Salute to the People of North Caucasia on the 58th Anniversary of Their Declaration of Independence.”³⁰⁸ A 58th anniversary typically does not warrant commemoration, and Roe’s gesture may have been typical campaigning combined with a nod to Soobzokov. The next month, the INS announced it was dropping its investigation of Soobzokov. It seemed his powerful friends had come through.³⁰⁹

It was journalist Howard Blum’s *Wanted! The Search for Nazis in America* that thrust Soobzokov into prominent national attention. Blum investigated the rumors of Soobzokov’s past, his ongoing power struggles within the American Circassian community, and his ties to prominent politicians such as Congressman Robert Roe, one of Soobzokov’s stalwart defenders in Washington. By 1977, Soobzokov publicly admitted to wearing the uniform of the SS, but that he never took part in the group’s activities “in any form or shape.” Rather, he wore the uniform to save himself and friends from the Germans as well as the advancing Red Army. One reporter claimed to be unable to find anyone to substantiate Soobzokov’s version of events, and came up short. “Many,” he noted, “termed the explanation ‘a crock of shit.’”³¹⁰

³⁰⁷ Executive Department, State of New Jersey, “Proclamation: North Caucasians Independence Month,” 26 May, 1976, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰⁸ Robert A. Roe (NJ), “Congressional Salute to the People of North Caucasia on the 58th Anniversary of Their Declaration of Independence,” Congressional Record, Proceedings and Debates of the 94th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 127, 11 May 1976. NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-16, Box 49, Soobzokov, Tscherim, Folder 2.

³⁰⁹ Dean Bender, “Immigration Service Drops Probe of County Inspector,” *The Morning News*, 7 June 1976.

³¹⁰ Richard Steiger, “The Trouble With Howard Bloom’s *Wanted!*,” *The Soho Weekly News*, 26 May 1977, 8.

Soobzokov's fortunes changed for the worse once more in May 1978 when the Justice Department received affidavits of Soviet citizens testifying to Soobzokov's crimes. The press became aware of the Soviet documents contents when journalist Charles R. Allen, who had long taken special interest in right-wing extremism and perpetrators in America, obtained the same documents the following September. The witnesses claimed to have personally observed Soobzokov's actions as part of a punitive battalion of the Waffen-SS. Among them were Soobzokov's own father-in law and nephew.³¹¹ The documents were a large part of ongoing federal investigation of Soobzokov for perjury and reinvigorated the INS' movement towards deportation proceedings, which rapidly gained momentum. The case appeared simple enough. Soobzokov denied both publicly and privately denying being a member of the Waffen-SS and a war criminal for decades. German records, Soviet eyewitnesses, and even Soobzokov himself appeared to say otherwise. The OSI and INS were closing in.

Ultimately, Soobzokov could only save himself by confessing his past. In April 1985, the CIA revealed a copy of Soobzokov's 1952 Personal Data Form, or Form V-30. Soobzokov completed the form at the embassy in Amman while he and his family still lived in Jordan. The revealed copy of this form listed Soobzokov's affiliations with the Waffen SS, the North Caucasian Legion (a foreign unit of the Wehrmacht), and employment by the local police under Nazi occupation. The Office of Special Investigations concluded that the form appeared to be legitimate. Thus, the CIA claimed, Soobzokov never deceived the federal government about his past collaboration and his immigration was entirely legal.

³¹¹ Herb Jaffe "Soviets provide data on suspected ex-Nazi," *The Newark Star Ledger*, 10 September 1978.

Former collaborators could only be deported not for their actions but attempts to conceal them.³¹² This firmly established a few things: first, that the CIA knew Soobzokov was a member of the Waffen-SS and a likely war criminal before expediting his immigration in 1955; the State Department also knew this information, because it received it directly and forwarded it on to CIA without any interference; this information was concealed by State and the Agency for the entirety of the OSI investigation.

John Loftus, former OSI investigator and author of *The Belarus Secret*, which exposed the federal government's recruitment of former Nazi leaders in occupied Belarus, offered Congress an explanation for similar cases. It was not uncommon in his experience for the State to Department to issue "double files," two sets of personal data forms for men like Soobzokov. One set would completely acknowledge their records. One was sanitized. The sanitized version would often prevail as the official version, but if significant agents faced deportation the full disclosure could be produced. The CIA at the time considered communist sympathies, "derogatory information," but not Nazi affiliations. Further, he excoriated the methodology of the General Accounting Office (GAO)³¹³ in its investigation of executive ties to war criminals. One of their biggest mistakes was to look for incriminating evidence within personal (agent) files. That would surely be the last place that incriminating details would be kept.³¹⁴ Testifying before Congress, the Director of OSI

³¹² Thomas O'Toole, "CIA 1952 Files Save Ex-Nazi in Deportation Case," *The Washington Post*, 10 July 1980.

³¹³ In 2004, the agency was renamed the Government Accountability Office (GAO).

³¹⁴ First Session on GAO Report on Nazi War Criminals in the United States: Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee On Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, 99th Congr. 103-104 (1985)

understood the outrage Soobzokov's acquittal could provoke: "Some may find it ironic that we must terminate this litigation because the defendant admitted his affiliation with organizations loyal to the Third Reich. But that, in my opinion, is the law, ironic or not, as it applies to this case."³¹⁵ Though Soobzokov may have escaped deportation, his image, along with that of the CIA, was significantly damaged.

Soobzokov could not evade his past forever. When legitimate institutions failed to bring Soobzokov to justice, assassins decided they would take matters into their own hands. The army detonated a suspicious package from at the Soobzokov residence in 1979. On the parcel, a cigar box, was a hand-written message: "Buddy. You didn't kill enough of them. Have a smoke on me. Fedorenko."³¹⁶ The note referred to the "gasman" of Treblinka, Feodor Fedorenko, who was under investigation by the OSI for concealing his own part in the Holocaust. In 1984 he became the first American extradited to the Soviet Union. The note's attribution was thus meant to instill fear in Soobzokov, even if it tipped off its deadly contents.

The second attempt on Soobzokov's life was far more calculated. On 15 August 1985, one of his Paterson neighbors woke him at 4:30 in the morning; his care was on fire.

(Statement of Allan A. Ryan, Jr., Director, Office of Special Investigations, Department of Justice).

³¹⁵ First Session on GAO Report on Nazi War Criminals in the United States: Oversight Hearing Before the Subcommittee On Immigration, Refugees, and International Law of the Committee on the Judiciary House of Representatives, 99th Congr. 103-104 (1985) (Statement of Allan A. Ryan, Jr., Director, Office of Special Investigations, Department of Justice).

³¹⁶ The Associated Press, "Man Cleared of Nazi Charges Dies of Bomb Injuries," *The New York Times*, 6 September 1985.

As Soobzokov went to investigate, a pipe bomb exploded outside his home. He was critically injured and lost the lower portion of his right leg.³¹⁷ He succumbed to his wounds on September 6, 1985. The following November, the Federal Bureau of Investigation suspected the Jewish Defense League (JDL) was responsible for the attack on Soobzokov, along with other recent bomb attacks on an Arab leader and two other men with alleged Nazi ties. The JDL, however, denied responsibility.³¹⁸

Mordechai Levy, a former member of the JDL and founder of the Jewish Defense Organization (JDO), was particularly vocal about the attack on Soobzokov. He created the JDO in the early 1980s due to a falling out with JDL leader Irv Rubin. Levy denied any involvement of the JDL or JDO in attempts on Soobzokov's life, and he admitted that he had been arrested for questioning about a previous attempt on Soobzokov and several other incidents. Still he applauded the attack on Soobzokov and staged rallies outside the family's home. The notoriously hot-headed Levy warned, "If [Soobzokov's supporters] attack us in any way, God help them. . . We will defend ourselves."³¹⁹

Instauration, a monthly magazine, featured Soobzokov as the cover story in its August 1986 issue. None of the magazine's articles are attributed to authors; even readers letters are signed only with the last three digits of zip codes. This was in keeping with the magazine's "policy of anonymity." *Instauration* charged that the JDL bore the responsibility

³¹⁷ Ralph Blumenthal, "Man Accused on Nazi Past Injured by Bomb in Jersey," *The New York Times*, 16 August 1985.

³¹⁸ Judith Cummings, "F.B.I. Says Jewish Defense League May Have Planted Fatal Bombs," *The New York Times*, 9 November 1985.

³¹⁹ Lu Stanton León and Patricia Alex, "Militant Jew, Paterson clash," *The Record*, 21 August 1985.

of the “murder of an innocent,” and that “Tscherim Soobzokov survived the Russians and the Nazis, but not the Jews.” The article particularly blamed Levy, Blum, and INS investigator Anthony De Vito, one of Blum’s sources, for fixing a target on Soobzokov’s back. *Instauration* maintained Soobzokov’s innocence, repeating that official investigations cleared him there had yet to surface any evidence directly tying him to any atrocities. The *Instauration* article concluded that the truth about the “innocent and guiltless American and Circassian patriot” did not matter to the “vengeance specialists of the Simon Wiesenthal Center,” JDL, JDO, or Soobzokov’s other detractors. “Their kind have [sic] been known for millennia. They are the fanatics described in *Proverbs* 4:16-17: ‘For they cannot sleep unless they have done wrong; they are robbed of sleep unless they have made some one fall. For they eat the bread of wickedness and drink the wine of violence.’”³²⁰

It does not take much imagination to realize exactly who “they” was. *Instauration* was a publication for what sociologist Mitch Berbrier has dubbed the “thinking racist.”³²¹ It took old presuppositions about minority groups, particularly Jews and people of African descent, and presented them in a veneer of cool objectivity before facts. Yet for all its erudite phrasing, it retained all the old neuroses. The August issue could scarcely go a single page without mentioning Jews (only page two, of thirty-six, did not directly make mention). Other articles decried the ubiquity of Holocaust coverage and memorials. One article charged that the American political left and right were controlled by a Jewish

³²⁰ “The Murder of an Innocent,” *Instauration*, August 1986, 3-10.

³²¹ Mitch Berbrier, “Impression Management for the Thinking Racist: A Case Study of Intellectualization as Stigma Transformation in Contemporary White Supremacist Discourse,” *The Sociological Quarterly*, Volume 40, Number 3, 411.

“pincer movement” that threatened the future of the country. “About the only ground on which Jews stand firm is belief in the Holocaust – but even that may be negotiable.” The author did not expound on what sort of negotiations she had in mind.³²²

Soobzokov’s life had come full circle. He had now been openly and fully embraced by those he had attempted to publicly disown for decades. He was once again transformed from perpetrator to victim-hero. The case study of Tscherim Soobzokov demonstrates how complicated the paths of émigré nationalists could be. Over his lifetime, Soobzokov took on many roles: Soviet soldier; Waffen-SS; a refugee in Jordan; agent; insurance salesman; community leader; patriot; defendant; pariah. Many Americans, including federal employees, were unnerved by Soobzokov’s close relationship with both Nazi Germany and the United States. Yet Soobzokov was instrumental in the recruitment of other émigrés who shared his values. Covert relationships do not forever remain secret, and a former asset could easily turn into a liability.

Nevertheless Soobzokov’s activities during the Second World War are part of what made him, and others like him, so attractive to the CIA in the first place. His intense anti-Communism combined with an uncompromising hatred of the Russian nation in a way that beckoned Cold Warriors to harness it. Hate was reliable. It had definition. Hate meant operatives would pursue their objectives with vigor while minimizing the chance of defection. They were meant to drive the peoples of the Soviet Union further and further apart, under the banners of nationalism. From the rubble of the Soviet Union, new states would be based on mutual animosity. It was a Faustian pact. Between Washington and the

³²² Ursula Wolf, “The Pincer Movement,” *Instauration*, August 1986, 16. Curiously, this is the only author named in the August 1986 issue.

émigré enclaves, seldom was it clear who was using whom. There was always a fine line between player and pawn.

CHAPTER 4

“VOLHYNIA WAS AFLAME”: MYKOLA LEBED AND THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

Of all the nationalists who fought for the independence of Ukraine, few were as influential or as radical as Mykola Lebed. As described by the Army Counterintelligence Corps (CIC), Lebed was “intelligent and adroit...energetic...uncompromising...very radical, possibly more so than [Stepan] Bandera,” the then-leader of the most militant faction of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN-B).³²³ Lebed’s appearance, a balding man with small, sharp eyes behind round-frame glasses and three-piece suit, was more akin to that of a banker than a brutal assassin. Beneath the surface was a man whose cruelty matched his intelligence. Of all the individuals featured in this dissertation, not only was Lebed responsible for the most atrocities by far, he was the most successful in recreating himself as a diplomat and nationalist intellectual.

Lebed was born in 1909 in Galicia. This strip of land, populated mostly by ethnic Ukrainians, was a site of little political stability. Over the next three decades of his life, Lebed saw his homeland dominated by four different states. At the time of his birth, the Kingdom of Galicia was a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the empire’s collapse and dismemberment in 1918, the land and its people were divided between a reconstituted Poland and the short-lived West Ukrainian People’s Republic. Brief wars

³²³ Headquarters, Counter Intelligence Corps Region IV, 970th Counter Intelligence Corps Detachment, APC 407-A, US Army, “LEBED, Mykola,” Personality Report, 29 December 1947, NARA, RG319, Entry A- 134-B, Container 457, File C8043982WJ, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1.

with West Ukraine and the Soviet Union brought the region completely under Polish control, where it would remain for the next two decades.

Similar to Ukrainians in the Soviet Union, the Ukrainians of Poland were the country's single largest minority and many of them felt their culture was consistently under threat of dissolution. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact reunited Western Ukrainian territories with those within the USSR, but this reunion did nothing to satisfy Ukrainian nationalists. In fact, the possibility of a post-war Ukraine, united but under the might of the Soviet Union, would cast the possibility of independence even further in doubt. For Ukrainian nationalists, the Second World War brought a significant opportunity for Lebed and his compatriots.

Lebed's entire life up to 1945 was steeped in second-class ethnic status, political instability, and mass violence. It is perhaps of little surprise, then, that likewise most of the leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement came out of these Western Ukrainian territories, bringing lifetimes of xenophobia, grievances, and resentments with them. These resentments legitimated the OUN's use of terrorism against state and civilian targets. They made mass ethnic violence not only palatable, but encouraged the belief that such tactics were necessary for the creation of a "Ukraine for the Ukrainians."³²⁴

Antecedents – Foreign Support for Ukrainian Nationalism

³²⁴ As he is an important figure of the Second World War, the Cold War, and Ukrainian nationalism, there have been significant biographies of Mykola Lebed. For strong, concise accounts of his activities and ties to American intelligence see: Burds, "The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine;" Breitman and Goda, *Hitler's Shadow*, Chapter 5.

The Russian Revolution of February 1917 created an unprecedented opportunity for the minority populations of the Russian empire. The spectrum of groups that supported the overthrow of the Tsar – liberal democrats, nationalists, Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and agrarian socialists – failed to create any political consensus, and Russia spiraled further into instability. Momentum shifted clearly in favor of national separatists in Finland, the Caucasus, the Baltic peninsula, and Ukraine.

Nationalist leaders in Ukraine declared the formation of the Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) on 23 June 1917. The Republic was tentatively established as an autonomous republic within Russia, but the Central Rada declared the UNR's independence on 25 January 1918. This independence came in the wake of the Bolshevik seizure of power and the ensuing Civil Wars between the Party and "counterrevolutionaries." The Bolsheviks initially supported the uprising in Kiev, in order to eliminate the Russian Provisional Government's presence in Ukraine and establish Soviet power. But Soviet power and influence remained limited within Ukraine, and the Ukrainian leadership had no intention of supporting the Bolsheviks in the struggle with the White armies. The Red Army seized Kiev by February 1918.

This setback forced the UNR to seek foreign support if Ukrainian independence were to survive. They signed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk on February 9, 1918 in order to secure German and Austro-Hungarian support for the UNR. With German support, the UNR was able to force the Red Army out of Ukraine, but it moved significantly towards being little more than a German client state. Germany supported the UNR as long as the relationship proved beneficial for Berlin. Over time, the Germans grew dissatisfied with the UNR government's management of the republic, and the slow rate at which Ukraine

was able to supply the German army with food to fight on the western front.³²⁵ The German army disbanded the Central Rada on 29 April 1918 and arrested the Ukrainian prime minister on charges of terrorism and detained other senior members of the Central Rada. They dissolved the UNR and established in its place the Ukrainian Hetmanate under Pavlo Skoropadsky.³²⁶

The Germans hoped that Skoropadsky would be the strong man needed to restore order in Ukraine and stem the tide of the Bolshevik Red Army. The British intercepted a letter from the former Assistant Military Attache to Russia at Paris to the Serbian Minister in Russia, which claimed that the German Reichstag was unnerved by the overwhelming presence of “cadets” and even “octobristes” within the Skoropadsky government. Even worse, its true sympathies appeared to lie with the Allies. The writer, Lt. Colonel Alexis N Pantchoulidzaff, declared that Skoropodsky was “an honest man and a soldier of great courage who belongs to our highest nobility. Even so, as it was with the revolution, the only hope for the re-establishment of an acceptable order in Russia could originate from outside.”³²⁷

The decorated Russian General was a “man of blood and iron type” who had “full dictatorial powers under the aegis of Prussian bayonets,” but he could not secure the full

³²⁵ K. Vishevich, “Ukraine’s Fight for Freedom,” *Current History, A Monthly Magazine of the New York Times*, Volume XI, (October 1919 – March 1920): 123-126.

³²⁶ Ibid; Andrei Sergeevich Kruchinin, *Beloe dvizhenie. Istoricheskie portrety* (Moscow: Astrel’, 2012).

³²⁷ Letter from Lieutenant Colonel Alexia Pantchoulidzaff, 20 May 1918, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661.

support of his German sponsors, let alone the Ukrainian population.³²⁸ The imposed Hetmanate's rule was short lived. Ukrainian nationalists under the leadership of Symon Petliura rebelled against Skoropadsky's rule. They re-established the UNR under a directorate, rather than reinstating the authority of the Central Rada. The deposed Skoropadsky fled to Munich, where he reportedly began attempting to assemble a Ukrainian émigré legion to aid the Poles in their war against Russia.³²⁹

By 1920, the British concluded that Skoropadsky had never been a German agent in the strict sense of the term, and that he had always preferred ties to the Entente powers. Moreover, the British Secret Intelligence Service concluded that he enjoyed a significant following among Ukrainian patriots, particularly among significant military men. They began to pursue closer ties with the ousted hetman, including the provision of financial and material support for Skoropadsky and his supporters.³³⁰ Although Skoropadsky's network mostly died off after the German withdrawal and he fled abroad, the British were determined that they could resurrect Skoropadsky's organization.³³¹

The British remained ambivalent towards Skoropadsky into the 1930s. Her Majesty's Government caught wind of a plot the former hetman was creating with Chancellor Kurt von Schleicher. Sir Henry Deterding, who founded Royal Dutch Shell and

³²⁸ Press cutting from *Truth*, 29 May 1918, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661.

³²⁹ Political Report, Germany, White Russian News, 23 June 1920, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 16.

³³⁰ Political Report, the Ukraine, An interview with Stepanowski, 18 August 1920, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 18.

³³¹ Extract from MI1c. report re: Skoropadski, 6 October 1932, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 34a.

later voiced support for the Third Reich, was a prominent financial supporter of Skoropasky's movement. The so-called "Napoleon of Oil" attempted to arrange a personal meeting with the hetman in Britain, but administrative concerns complicated the matter. The British government did not grant a visa to Pavlo Skoropadsky, but they issued one to his son, Danylo.

The younger Skoropadsky began to act a sort of emissary for his father in order to secure material support for a revived hetmanate. Pavlo still claimed to the British that he had a "widespread organization" in his home country and was spreading dissent among the peasantry. This included the spread of propaganda through his networks and encouraging peasants not to plant corn for the Party. He was still trying to secure funds for an open rebellion against the Soviets, but should he succeed (the figures repeatedly changed in absurdity, from £2 million to £500,000 and back up to £200 million), the uprising would begin. Railways into Russia would be bombed and crippled. Ukrainian soldiers in the red army would defect, and "more than half" would simply refuse to march against their countrymen. The British source on this intelligence strongly insisted that this plotting not be tolerated on British soil.³³²

Skoropadsky had previously learned the lesson of being overly reliant on a single foreign power for support. Even while appealing to the British, he continued to cultivate ties with the rising Nazi Party. He became increasingly close with Hermann Goering in the early 1930s. The hetman also grew particularly close with Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi

³³² National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 40A.

Party's biggest supporter for Soviet minority separatists.³³³ The ascendant Nazis recognized the 1918 treaty that Wilhelmian Germany signed with Skoropadsky's hetmanate, maintaining he was the proper, legal ruler of Ukraine. In addition, they pledged material support should he stage an uprising within Ukraine.³³⁴

In spite of this, Skoropadsky's German allies realized that his networks were lacking and financial support was sparse, aside from the major backing of Deterding and the meager funds supplied by Ukrainian émigrés in North America.³³⁵ This problem was ameliorated with not only German support but the financial backing of the Vatican.³³⁶ Despite Nazi assurances that Skoropadsky was the rightful ruler of a free Ukraine, they chose not to back a single horse. They maintained funding of Yevhen Konovalets' Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).³³⁷

The German-OUN relationship became more complicated by the middle of the 1930s, when the Nazis assisted the Polish government in apprehending the terrorists responsible for the 1934 assassination of Polish interior minister Bronislaw Pieracki. Two men who would later lead the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera and

³³³ Friedrich Buchardt, "The Handling of the Russian Problem during the Period of the Nazi Regime in Germany," 1945, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Box 112, File Number XE077406, 9.

³³⁴ Copy of report re: Hetman Skoropadsky by W.M.A., National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 68a.

³³⁵ Ibid.

³³⁶ M.I.1.c. report re Hetman SKOROPADSKY, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 69a.

³³⁷ Extract from report from S.I.S. re: Ukrainian Movement and Skoropadsky, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 77a.

Mykola Lebed were among those who took part in the plot to kill the Polish leader. The pair would become even more notorious for their brutal atrocities against Polish and Jewish populations several years later. Bandera ordered the execution and provided Lebed the funds and instructions for the assassin. Lebed fled Poland after the attack. He fled to Danzig and was apprehended by German authorities.³³⁸ The Germans extradited him to Poland to serve a death sentence that was commuted to lifetime imprisonment.³³⁹ Ironically, it would be the Germans who would free him and train him in SS repertoires of violence and ethnic repression.

Over the course of the same decade, London became increasingly convinced of the wisdom in supporting Ukrainian separatism. The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact unnerved the British and Skoropadsky alike, and he began to make more overtures to the British over the Nazis. His son Danylo traveled to Britain and Canada to speak to Ukrainian national organizations and generate material support for his father's cause. This may have been more difficult than he expected. In 1938, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police reported on Danylo Skoropadsky's visit to the Ukrainian National Organisation in Saskatoon. The audience wanted little to do with "the Prince as they considered that his father had done nothing to help the Ukrainian people, and was known to have very pro-german [sic] views."³⁴⁰

³³⁸ Undated Report, "Report on the assassination of Minister Pieracki," NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-18, Box 80, Lebed, Mykola; Personality Report, LEBED, Mykola, 29 December 1947, NARA, RG 319, Entry 134B, Box 457, File Number C8043982WJ

³³⁹ David R. Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2007), 91.

The sojourns continued into 1939, when the *Evening Standard* reported that the younger Skoropadsky was “on a secret mission” to generate support for Ukrainian independence beyond his already strong base of those “whose hatred of Soviet Russia transcends all other political considerations.” The trip was reportedly financed by an unnamed right wing organization in order to make the movement less dependent on German support. This would enable an independent Ukraine that would damage the Soviet Union and not be a German client.³⁴¹

By March 1939, it was apparent to the Home Office that the Germans no longer had any real interest in Skoropadsky’s network and would likely pursue ties with another group.³⁴² The Germans believed Skoropadsky to be too divisive to gain any real traction in gaining broad Ukrainian support.³⁴³ In a July conversation between Danylo and Guy McCaw, Danylo asked what Her Majesty’s Government’s response would be should Germany invade Poland. He recommended that the British should joint he Poles against Germany should Poland fight back. This raised suspicion that his father was still working more closely with the Germans than they thought.³⁴⁴ By September 1939, Danylo

³⁴⁰ Cross-reference to R.C.M.P. report re: General Paul SKOROPADSKY, 2 February 1938, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 77a.

³⁴¹ S.B. report re: arrival of Daniel Skoropadsky in England, 27 January 1939, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 113a; Press cutting from *Evening Standard*, “Mission in London” 4 February 1939, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 113b.

³⁴² Copy of Report of check on Korostovets sent to H.O. on 15 March, 1939, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 125.

³⁴³ Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia*, 625.

³⁴⁴ Note from Dy. B. to B. re: –, 27 July 1939, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 126c.

Skoropadsky and Vladimir Korostovetz, another of Pavlo's trusted men in London, were prohibited from leaving Great Britain.³⁴⁵

By February 1940, Britain was still in a state of "Phoney War" with the Germans, and it appeared that the Soviets maintained a favorable attitude toward Berlin, as cemented in the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. As such, London began envisioning ways they could undermine Soviet power in the "Slavonic east." Planners looked to the British citizens of Ukrainian extraction, particularly the significant number of whom resided in Canada. These ethnic Ukrainians could be mustered into a Ukrainian Volunteer Legion to help fight Bolshevism. Their initial use would be in helping the Finns fight off the Red Army, but in the future they could possibly be used to create an independent Ukraine as a counterbalance to German and Soviet power and to provide the British an important foothold in eastern Europe. To this end, Ukraine was "much more important than Poland, [and] lies in the center of future events dealing with the Slavonic East," including a possible war with Moscow.³⁴⁶

The British understood that the Germans for too long had taken the lead in sponsoring nationalist opposition to Bolshevism. A memorandum explains: "The UKRAINIANS and GEORGIANS have for long been led to hope for liberation from the Bolshevik yoke by the German aid, and, if tactfully handled by Ribbentrop and Goering,

³⁴⁵ National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 131. All copies of this order were destroyed within the Skoropadsky file. The order is still partially transcribed in the KV 2/661 Minute Sheet listing.

³⁴⁶ Memorandum on the "Organisation of a Ukrainian Legion in Canada," February 1940, enclosed in Note to D.S.S. from B.2., 15 March 1940, National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661, 145b.

will welcome German control.” The memorandum praised the Skoropadskys and their “very efficient organization,” which continually agitated for British support in restoring and independent Ukraine. The proposed Ukrainian Legion would fight alongside the Allies and re-establish the hetmanate, and draw upon the estimated half-million Ukrainians living in Canada. For the British this presented an opportunity to undermine German influence in the east, to correct policy mistakes of the past, and expand their influence in the future. As one British official admonished, “We were too late for CZECHO-SLOVAKIA, too late for FINLAND! Do let us sometimes be ahead of events.”³⁴⁷ But this initiative never materialized. No Ukrainian Legion ever formed.

Skoropadsky failed to survive the war, let alone resurrect an independent Ukraine. He died on 26 April 1945; his grand dream of restoring the hetmanate would never come to fruition. Members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) continued their guerilla warfare against Soviet authorities in Galicia, but the tide turned against them as Soviet counterintelligence infiltrated and neutralized their networks.³⁴⁸

The political wrangling between different Ukrainian factions *en émigré* remained unresolved even after the war. The younger Skoropadsky met with Stepan Bandera, the leader of the predominant faction of the OUN, in Munich in 1948 while the latter was under American protection from Soviet authorities. Bandera assured D. Skoropadsky that he still

³⁴⁷ Memorandum on “The Russian Ukraine,” enclosed in Note to D.S.S. from B.2., 15 March 1940, “National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/661,” 145b.

³⁴⁸ Jeffrey Burds, “Agentura: Soviet Informants’ Networks & the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48,” *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 11, No. 1, Winter 1997, 89-130.

maintained contact with followers in and outside Ukraine, and they were amenable to collaboration in future conflict with the Communists. Skoropadsky informed Bandera that he had taken steps to moderate the temper of Banderists in the UK, in order to not upset the support of the British government. Bandera approved, and the two “parted on cordial terms.” The OUN-B thereafter secured the lion’s share of British support.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists

While the deposed Hetman and his son attempted to play off Germany and the United Kingdom at the same time, the Ukrainian nationalists of the OUN focused on securing an ally in the ascendant German fascist state. Their political ideologies steeped in xenophobia, anti-Semitism, authoritarianism, national purity, and historical grievances made for kindred spirits. John A. Armstrong, one of the earliest Western scholars of Ukrainian nationalism, and who was sympathetic to the Ukrainian struggle, readily acknowledged the growing relationship between Berlin and the OUN in the late 1930s. The OUN had a powerful state for its patron, and the Germans gained a client organization that had no qualms with using terroristic tactics capable of destabilizing regional neighbors, particularly their common enemy, Poland.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁹ John A. Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), 22-25; One of the more significant examples of OUN-induced entropy – and the vacillating support of Germany – was the work of the Bandera wing of the OUN to assassinate Bronislaw Pieracki, the Polish minister of the interior in 1934. Germany was cooperative in the Polish government response and extradited the OUN leadership, including Bandera and Lebed. The two were sentenced to death in 1936, but the sentences were commuted to life. They were released from prison when Germany took control in 1939.

OUN leaders emulated the Nazi's organizational structure and portions of its political ideology. Both wings of the OUN had an affinity for Nazi-style organization, based on the dictatorial *führerprinzip* that placed a single leader above the law itself. In 1940, the OUN movement split between two rival factions, led by Stepan Bandera (OUN-B) and Andrei Melnyk (OUN-M). The *führerprinzip*, however, was still firmly in place, and it needed to be more strictly enforced than ever. Bandera, who led the more radical faction, was especially notorious in this regard. He spared nothing in his attempts to maintain organizational cohesion and discipline. His methods only provoked bitter disputes between he and the opposing OUN faction led by Melnyk, Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) leader Taras Bulba-Borovets³⁵⁰, and Mykola Lebed, one of Bandera's top deputies and leader of the organization's Sluzhba Bezbeki (SB) security service.

Doctrines of national and ethnic purity were equally important for the OUN. Mykola Sukherovs'kyi, a former OUN-M member and liaison to Germany, recalled in his memoirs:

In the "Zaporozhe" [student fraternity] we had decided that no member was allowed to marry an alien girl—a non-Ukrainian. That decision was made on the basis of Mykola Mikhnovs'kyi's *Decalogue*, which was printed in the *Samostiina Ukraina* and which stated: "Don't marry a foreigner, since your children will become your enemies." It needs to be recognized that Ukrainians who married Romanian girls of course ceased to be good

³⁵⁰ Borovets founded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and refused to cede his organization's authority to Bandera. He likewise rejected the OUN-B's program of ethnic cleansing and genocide: Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 164. OUN-B assassins responded by murdering his wife and co-opted the UPA while Borovets was imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp in Oranienburg, Germany.

Ukrainians, and their children directly came to belong to Romanian culture. . . I came up with two suggestions: 1) if we want to preserve our order, then no aliens are supposed to be invited to our parties or dance courses and 2) we should invite Ukrainian girls only from peasant homes, from the surrounding areas.³⁵¹

The Ukrainian nation faced numerous threats: “alien” girls; male ignorance of racial and cultural hygiene; fraternization with non-Ukrainians; and the decadence of modern urban centers.

The Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact irked Ukrainian nationalists, but it failed to hamper collaboration between them and Berlin. More moderate elements may have questioned the wisdom of maintaining a course with a pro-Soviet Germany, the most active and significant portion of the membership proceeded undeterred.³⁵² In fact, the bonds between leading OUN members and Germany only grew stronger. In November 1939, the Gestapo established a school at Zakopane, Poland to train OUN members in interrogation, intelligence, and counterintelligence techniques, “exercises in the hardening of hearts,” according to former OUN member Mykyta Kosakivs’kyy. Kosakivs’kyy revealed his knowledge of the training program to Yad Vashem in 1958. Battling heart disease and near the end of his life, he wanted to reveal the full nature of his OUN service.³⁵³

³⁵¹ Mykola Sukhovs’kyi, *Moi spohady* (Kyiv: Vydavnytstvo “Smoloskyp,” 1997), 50.

³⁵² Armstrong, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, 26-27.

³⁵³ Joe Conason, “To Catch a Nazi,” *Village Voice* (11 February, 1986): 19.

Kosakivs'kyi's graphic testimony revealed Lebed's early embrace of brutality. Lebed, under the tutelage of German Gestapo officers Walter Krüger and Wilhelm Rosenbaum, would travel from the training center into town after dark and capture Jewish men. The men would be brought back to the school and subjected to interrogation and torture. Lebed and his men would beat the men with swords, bars, and bare fists. They were even burned to force confessions to fabricated crimes such as raping "Aryan" women. One man, even after his confession, suffered the final indignity of being stripped naked and forced to stand "sentry" outside the unit while repeatedly doused with water on a wintry night. Kosakivs'kyi claimed he lost his nerve and could not bear the spectacle. He retreated to his room during the beating. He and a friend protested to Lebed the next day, to which Lebed replied that "it was the duty of every member of the OUN to show the Germans that his nerves are just as tough as a German's and that the heart of any nationalist is as hard as steel."³⁵⁴

Lebed's work as an instructor at Zakopane qualified him to command the OUN-B's Sluzhba Bezbeki, and the shifting dynamics on the eastern front brought him into further prominence within the OUN. By 1941, the OUN-B had beaten the OUN-M for control of the bulk of the national struggle. This came at a severe cost, through internal conflicts that displayed as much brutality as the OUN's treatment of non-Ukrainians. With control of L'viv in June of that year, Stepan Bandera's faction declared Ukrainian independence. This was a move too far for Berlin, and the organization paid the price. The bulk of the OUN-B leadership was either imprisoned – like Bandera himself – or murdered. Mykola Lebed

³⁵⁴ Conason, "To Catch a Nazi," 19.

remained free, and the leader of the most radical branch of the OUN now effectively commanded the entire organization.³⁵⁵ Under Lebed's leadership, the OUN-B unleashed a wave of terror against local Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians who continued to support Melnyk or Borovets.³⁵⁶

Bleeding Ukraine

By 1943, Lebed led the OUN, his own security service in the Sluzhba Bezbeki, and a new "totalitarian" UPA. Lebed used this authority to call for the mobilization of young men into the UPA. Lebed sought a force of at least 200,000 to turn combat operations away from bands of communist partisans and towards undermining the German population. First he needed to pacify opposition from Poles, Jews, and fellow Ukrainians within the western territories. Time worked against him, for Soviet forces were well on the move to reclaim the borderlands.

As the Red Army entered Volhynia in January 1944, the German Transocean telegraph service reported on the mass violence. The killing, it acknowledged, broke out between ethnic Ukrainians and Poles well before the Soviet presence. Timothy Snyder has attributed the mass violence to the political instability wrought by the "triple occupation"

³⁵⁵ Snyder, *Reconstruction of Nations*, 164-165.

³⁵⁶ In some cases, Lebed's SB committed even more violence against Ukrainians than other ethnic groups. According to a report from the SB in Volhynia, over the span of one month it executed more Ukrainians than any other group. Of 110 total people killed, 68 were Ukrainian. Only 18 of that number were identified as communists. In comparison, the SB executed 33 Poles: National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, *Litopys UPA, Volyn i Polissia: UPA ta zapillia, Dokumenty i materialy* New Series, Vol. 2, eds. O. Vovk and I. Pavlenko (Kyiv: "Litopys UPA" Publishing House, 1999), 312.

of the region by the annexing Soviet army, invading Germans and their collaborators, and resurgent Soviet forces. Political realities shifted radically and repeatedly over only a few years. It created a context ripe for political and ethnic attacks and reprisals in which about one-quarter of the region's population "experienced national violence in one form or another, as victim, accomplice or both."³⁵⁷

"Volhynia was aflame in the truest sense of the word long before regular Soviet troops had put in an appearance. Information only now available for the first time permits the making of a detailed report of the fight between partisans and Poles in Volhynia which began in 1943." Transocean, however, placed the blame squarely on Moscow. "The deep hatred all along existing between Ukrainians and Poles led to the systematic massacres of Poles in Volhynia when parts of the Ukrainian partisans had concluded an agreement with Moscow in 1943. Between twenty and thirty thousand Poles have been killed since then [sic] and some 900 Polish villages have been burnt down by Partisans... [Exact] figures are difficult to obtain because large parts of Volhynia have fallen into Partisan hands since last Autumn."³⁵⁸

The violence in Volhynia was part of Lebed's attempt at cleansing the region of ethnic Poles and other ethnic and political undesirables. Lebed ordered violence against national minorities within Ukraine. Jews and Poles were particularly targeted for their

³⁵⁷ Timothy Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," *Past and Present*, Number 179, (May 2003), 197-234.

³⁵⁸ "German Telegraph Service (Transocean) in English for Far East," 14 January 1944, National Archives, Kew, London. WO 208/1836.

“cooperation with the Communists.”³⁵⁹ Jews were doubly despised for allegedly serving as agents of Polish domination as well. A pre-war pamphlet entitled *Ukraina: Europe’s Greatest Problem* decried the superior status of Jews in Western Ukraine. With the Ukrainian peasantry “ground into misery and destitution... the Jews were then all powerful. They managed estates. They monopolized the cities.” The author even alleged that Jews financially controlled the operation of the Orthodox Church, collecting money for baptisms and funerals. Jews, according to the author, profited from Ukrainian birth, death, and everything in-between.³⁶⁰

According to historian Ivan Katchanovski, the violence was overwhelmingly one-sided. While the Polish Home Army (AK) carried out attacks and reprisals on the Ukrainian population, the violence committed by the OUN-B, the UPA, and Lebed’s SB dwarfed Polish violence in geographic and human scales. The AK simply could not match the manpower of the Ukrainian partisan organs. Moreover, the greatest massacres committed against Ukrainians by Poles were done so by units subordinated to the German occupation, not independently organized Polish groups.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Arnold D. Margolin, Report on Mykola Lebed, September 1953, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1.

³⁶⁰ Lancelot Lawton, *Ukraina: Europe’s Greatest Problem*, (G.R.B. Panchuk, 1950), pp. 6-7. Reprinted from *East Europe and contemporary Russia*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring, 1939. The text was reprinted by Ukrainian Canadian Committee chairman G.R.B. Panchuk and supplied to the British Foreign Office. National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

³⁶¹Ivan Katchanovski, “Ethnic Cleansing, Genocide or Ukrainian Polish Conflict? The Mass Murder of Poles by the OUN and the UPA in Volhynia” Paper prepared for presentation at the 19th Annual World Convention of the Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York, 24-26 April 2014. Draft, 18.

American Intelligence Work

As the Red Army cut through German lines to reclaim its border territories, Lebed went into exile. He and other Ukrainian leaders, including Father Ivan Hrynioch and Yaroslav Stetsko³⁶² created a new organization out of their growing independence from Stepan Bandera. They created the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), of which these leaders represented the council's External Delegation (ZP/UHVR). Lebed took the formal title of the council's foreign minister and operated out of the American Zone in Munich.

The United States early relationship with Lebed's organizations began in 1946. In Operation BELLADONNA, members of the ZP/UHVR and Lebed's SB screened Ukrainians in Displaced Persons camps for Soviet agents. In addition, they provided the Americans with valuable intelligence on Soviet developments through their contacts in Soviet Ukraine and sympathetic Ukrainian-Soviet informants in the Soviet zone.³⁶³

The Army Counterintelligence Corps (CIC) was instrumental in Lebed's flight across the Atlantic. A November 1947 memorandum located Lebed and his family in Rome. With the impending withdrawal of American and British forces, it would become increasingly likely that Lebed would fall into the hands of Soviet agents. Lebed's capture would reveal

³⁶² Stetsko, despite his involvement in the UHVR, remained loyal to Bandera. It was Stetsko who was named the head of the independent Ukraine declared by the OUN-b in 1941. He led the OUN-B after Bandera's assassination by Soviet agents and headed the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations until his death in 1986.

³⁶³ Operational Memorandum, Operation Belladonna, MGH-391, 27 December 1946, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 9, Aerodynamic: Operations, Volume 9, Folder 1.

the bulk of the involvement of the UHVR in the anti-Soviet insurgency. By protecting Lebed, the Americans could also gain access to that same information.³⁶⁴

The CIC knew of Lebed's terrorist activity with Bandera's OUN.³⁶⁵ It also acknowledged his leadership of its organs in Bandera's absence, but there is no acknowledgment of his collaboration with German forces. Lebed appeared to have a powerful international network. In the lower margins of the document, one reader wrote that, "Lebed has allegedly corresponded with Secy. [George] Marshall and [Ernest] Bevin." It was recommended that Lebed and his family be transported from Italy to the United States to preserve his safety and gain all intelligence possessed by the UHVR.³⁶⁶

This intelligence was of particular interest to CIC special agent Camille S. Hajdu. Hajdu received a request from Father Ivan Hrynioch, a Catholic priest and a close ally of Lebed, to assist in the subject's flight from Soviet authorities. Hrynioch had previously assisted Hajdu by supplying the agent with both the UHVR and OUN's intelligence on Soviet activity relative to the American zone of occupation. Hrynioch had previously supplied

³⁶⁴ Memorandum for Lt. Caslin from Steve Haider, 1947, NARA, RG319, Entry A1 134-B, Container 457, Lebed, Mykola, Folder 1.

³⁶⁵ The CIC itself allegedly helped the OUN-B and UHVR carry out terrorist attacks and assassinations against so-called anti-Communists. However, the organizations tended to identify as Soviet agents those who merely opposed their power, regardless of ties to Moscow. The CIC, by one account abandoned its ties to the OUN because it actually took time to background check the OUN targets and found that less than 1% were confirmed communist actors. As the CIC distanced itself from the OUN, the CIA and other American intelligence organizations grew closer and continued to sponsor OUN and UHVR violence against communism in the West. See: Maris Cakars and Barton Osborn, "Operation Ohio: Mass Murder by US Intelligence Agencies," *Win*, Vol. 11, Iss. 30, 5-19.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

Hajdu with extensive information on Ukrainian émigrés within the American occupation zone. Hajdu believed that assistance to Lebed could help gain the confidence of the Ukrainian émigré leadership. In turn, the CIC may have some influence over Lebed and expedite a meeting between the CIC and Bandera. As such, Hajdu requested assistance in transporting Lebed from Rome to Munich.³⁶⁷

On October 4, 1949, Lebed and his family were admitted to the United States. He, his wife, and seven-year old daughter received Alien Registration Receipt Cards (green cards) under the surname Turan.³⁶⁸ The family arrived in New York and was now on the path to United States citizenship. The Lebeds used the alias Turan, for “[Mykola] Lebed’s face and true name are well known in Germany, Poland and Western Russia as the result of a police search for him due to his Ukrainian nationalist activities.” In Germany, he had remained in hiding due to threats on his life.³⁶⁹ After all, Lebed was a fugitive from multiple governments. In Poland, he still owed a lifetime sentence for the Pieracki assassination, and he was now marked for death throughout Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe.

It is clear that by 1953, both the INS and FBI were well-acquainted with the darkness of Lebed’s past. A report by Arnold D. Margolin aggregated the derogatory information directed against Lebed. The information came from Ukrainian former

³⁶⁷ Camille S. Hajdu, Memorandum for the Officer in Charge, 17 November 1947, NARA, RG 319, Entry A1 134-B, Container 457, Lebed, Mykola, Folder 1.

³⁶⁸ Alien Registration Receipt Card, Olga Daria Turan; Alien Registration Receipt Card, Zorjana Turan; Immigration Visa and Alien Registration, Roman Turan, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1 .

³⁶⁹ Correspondence between Captain Clarence Winecoff and Argyle Mackey, 20 June 1949, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1.

acquaintances of Lebed. The report was damning. Not only did it provide details on Lebed's war crimes, but it also stipulated that his current politics remained openly fascistic. Moreover, Lebed and his networks may have compromised themselves beyond usefulness. Prior to and during the Second World War, Lebed worked closely with Richard Yary. According to Margolin's report Yary worked for the OUN, the Gestapo, and NKVD all simultaneously. His loyalties seemed to lie primarily with Soviet intelligence, and he worked for years as an informant and saboteur.

Margolin concluded that Lebed's forces were responsible for 35,000 Polish deaths in Volynia and Western Galicia. Jews in these regions "suffered even much more from this vandalism. Those few of the Jewish population who were saved from the annihilation by the Nazis due to the friendly sympathy of Ukrainians who hid them were later brutally killed by these Ukrainian bands led by Lebid [sic] Wherever these followers of Lebid [sic] discovered a Jew in a Ukrainian house, they killed the Jew and his Ukrainian hosts, and burned the house." Margolin's report scapegoats Richard Yary for the orders of ethnic violence. Although Lebed gave the orders, Yary was the "inspirer... who in turn acted by directives from the NKVD." By Summer 1943, Western Ukraine was driven into the chaos of ethnic violence and retribution as Lebed and Ukrainian nationalists wrought havoc on Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians who opposed them. The blame once again fell on Moscow.³⁷⁰

Langley and Lebed

³⁷⁰ Arnold D. Margolin, Report on Mykola Lebed, September 1953, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1.

Agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) had difficulty becoming comfortable with Lebed's presence within the United States. As early as 1951, Lebed was under investigation for his past terrorist activities in Poland and collaboration with the German occupation during the war. Investigator Mitchell S. Solomon openly levied accusations that Lebed and his followers were trained in Gestapo schools, armed by the German military, and helped "suppress local resistance" to the Germans. Lebed's paramilitary forces were also involved in the "wholesale murders of Ukrainians [presumably communists], Poles, and Jews." Contrary to CIA and FBI narratives that placed Lebed equally at odds with the Wehrmacht and the Red Army, Solomon charged that Lebed's Sluzhba Bezbeki (SB) was directed by the Gestapo. For his "terroristic activities on behalf of the Germans," the INS should move to deport Lebed.³⁷¹ The New York office of the FBI had no objections to the investigation, but Investigations Chief C. M. Pennington noted the interest of another government agency in any scrutiny of Lebed.³⁷² That same day, INS District Director Edward J. Shaughnessy requested all information the Bureau's New York office had on Lebed's terrorist activities.³⁷³ It was in response to this request that the INS first learned of Lebed's collaboration with the German occupation.

³⁷¹ Mitchell S. Solomon, Memorandum to Mr. T. Avery, Assistant Chief, Investigations Section, 20 March 1951, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁷² C. M. Pennington, Office Memorandum to Commissioner – Central Office, "MYKOLA LEBED also known as ROMAN TURAN," 17 May 1951, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁷³ Edward J. Shaughnessy to Edward Scheldt, "Re: MYKOLA LEBED; Your file 105-1504," NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6; For an even more detailed survey of the recently declassified documents of Lebed's growing relationship with the CIA, see: Breitman and Goda, *Hitler's Shadow*, Chapter 5.

What began as an investigation into his pre-war involvement in an anti-Polish assassin squad had taken on even more gravity. The Service forwarded their findings to Central Intelligence Director Walter Bedell Smith. The INS warned Smith that the information it had collected on Lebed, if duly substantiated, may subject him to deportation, and in turn requested all information the Agency may have to either support or refute the accusations against him.³⁷⁴

Those within the investigation and enforcement arms of the INS found the CIA's dismissal of charges put forth by Lebed's detractors, particularly those of Ukrainian origin, insufficient. In a letter to Bedell Smith, Colonel Sheffield Edwards acknowledged the heavy accusations Peter Jablon and Taras Bulba had made against Lebed. Still, he cast these "probably biased" sources in a shade of red by comparing them to those of "Soviet Russians, Great Russian émigrés, the Polish government and emigration, [and] some Eastern Ukrainian anti-Galician factions." Edwards took issue with investigator Solomon's charge that Lebed's SB was "directed by the Gestapo."³⁷⁵ He supplied the fact that Lebed had been declared wanted "dead or alive" by the Germans since October 1941, and that the "UPA fought with equal zeal" against German and Soviet control. This belied the significant inconsistency with which the Germans approached the OUN-B, or the fact that they remained in collaboration for much of the tenure of the war.³⁷⁶ Even so, he insisted that

³⁷⁴ James E. Riley, Letter to Director, Central Intelligence Agency, 7 June 1951, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁷⁵ Mitchell S. Solomon, Memorandum to Mr. T. Avery, Assistant Chief, Investigations Section, 20 March 1951, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

any deportation of Lebed would be “detrimental” and “would create serious political repercussions among the anti-Soviet Ukrainian groups all over the world.” Furthermore, sending Lebed overseas would create new security hazards, presumably by the heightened threat of capture and interrogation.³⁷⁷ At the request of the CIA, the INS moved to suspend further investigation.³⁷⁸ However, the Service informed Bedell Smith that, once Lebed ceases working for CIA, it would “pursue our investigative responsibilities in this case.”³⁷⁹

The next point of contention between CIA and INS came when the former intended to send Lebed overseas. In correspondence between INS and the Deputy Attorney General, Commissioner Argyle Mackey made it quite clear that his service was growing weary of CIA’s flouting of the law. Mackey reiterated the severity of the allegations of Lebed, contrasted with the good faith INS had thus far shown toward CIA in a “clear-cut deportation case.” If Lebed were to leave the country and return, it would be treated as a

³⁷⁶ For a summary of the German approach to the OUN and how myths of the organizations “equal zeal” in combating Nazism and Communism took form and continue to persist, see: Per A. Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths* (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2011). For a more detailed breakdown in OUN collaboration with the Germans in the mass violence of the Holocaust, particularly in 1943 Volhynia where Lebed was active, see: Ivan Katchanovski, “The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Nazi Genocide in Ukraine,” Paper presented at the “Collaboration in Eastern Europe during World War II and the Holocaust” Conference, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum & Vienna Wiesenthal Institute for Holocaust Studies, Vienna, December 5-7, 2013.

³⁷⁷ Sheffield Edwards, Correspondence with Bedell Smith, 7 June 1951, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁷⁸ W. W. Wiggins, Memorandum to W. F. Kelly, “Mykola Lebed,” 4 October 1951, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6; W. F. Kelly, Memorandum to District Director, New York, New York, 12 October 1951, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁷⁹ W. F. Kelly, Letter to Bedell Smith, 17 October 1951, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

new incident, and his past would be opened once more. In light of Lebed's history Mackey could not give any assurances of the former's readmission should he leave the country. Therefore, he referred the issue to the Attorney General's office.³⁸⁰ The Attorney General's office seems to have upheld Mackey's stance, and he in turn informed Bedell Smith that no assurances of Lebed's reentry could be made.

Deputy Director of Intelligence Allen Dulles personally responded to Mackey's admonitions. Dulles touted Lebed's credentials for having worked with CIA since 1948. An investigation of his past upon re-entry would jeopardize Lebed's "unique contribution" to the Agency and the national security mission of the United States government. To prevent the issue in the future, Dulles proposed granting Lebed and his family permanent resident status under Section 8 of the CIA Act of 1949.³⁸¹ This portion of the act sweepingly allowed the CIA to carry out its activities "Notwithstanding any other provisions of law..." These functions included but were not limited to the use of means of transmission and printing and attendance of meetings "subject to policies established by the Director." The Agency may spend its funds towards these ends, again, "...without regard to the provisions of law and regulations..."³⁸² This also allowed the Director of Central Intelligence to bypass immigration eligibility laws and to sponsor as many as 100 foreign nationals for admission

³⁸⁰ Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, Letter to Deputy Attorney General, 13 February 1952, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁸¹ Allen Dulles, Letter to Mr. Argyle Mackey, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, 5 May 1952, NARA, RG 85, Entry P3, Box 6.

³⁸² Public Law 81-110, the Central Intelligence Agency Act of 1949, 63 Stat. 208 as amended, 50 U.S.C. 403a-403j.

to the United States each year under the auspices of national security.³⁸³ This change in Lebed's status allowed him to travel in and out of the country without further investigation.

INS investigators remained the most dogged in scrutinizing Lebed. A March 1952 request for the State Department to reveal any negative information it had on Lebed yielded nothing. The month preceding, however, the Field Inspection and Security Division of the INS informed the Intelligence Division of Lebed's sordid past, based on military intelligence from Governor's Island dated 12 March, 1951. The report claimed that by the admission of unnamed nationalist publications, Lebed had been recruited directly by the Nazis – presumably shortly after his release from prison– to organize Ukrainian resistance to the Soviets. Under Lebed, nationalists committed atrocities not only against the Soviets and local populations, but also against rivals of Lebed within the movement. The report excludes any animus that may have manifested between Lebed's SB and the German occupation. Quite contrary, when the Germans retreated from Ukraine, "the leader of the Specile [sic] Defense Service, Bloody Lebid, also retreated, in a German auto and under the protection of the SS, to previously prepared positions, first to Czechoslovakia, then to Austria and finally to Rome; and we will add to that and finally to Washington, D.C."³⁸⁴

Nationalist Fissures

³⁸³ Kevin Conley Ruffner, *Eagle and Swastika: CIA and Nazi War Criminals and Collaborators*, History Staff, Central Intelligence Agency, Washington, DC, April 2003, Chapter 6, p. 25.

³⁸⁴ Edward A. Jungans, Supervisory Investigator, to the Field Inspection and Security Division, Central Office, Attn: Mr. Staley, Intelligence Division, "Lebed, Mikola (reference to our memo dated 2-25-57)," 28 February 1957, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5.

INS continued to collect derogatory information on Lebed. In an April 1954 memorandum, Subversive Alien Branch Investigator W. H. Morse reacted to actions leveled against Lebed by the leader of Christianform, an anti-Communist organization. The group's head, Nicholas T. Nonnenmacher, personally contacted Morse and tore into Lebed. Nonnenmacher called Lebed a "totalitarian gangster," an assassin, and agent provocateur whose anti-Communist credentials were in doubt. Referring to past INS reports, Morse confirmed that Lebed was among a core of Ukrainian extremists who made themselves "willing tools" of the Nazi drive eastward. Morse reiterated Lebed's mass killings of Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians who stood in the way of an independent Ukraine, and he was confident in the INS's ability to find Polish and Ukrainian émigrés who could substantiate this under oath. Morse also noted the political immaturity of the Ukrainian nationalist movement, which depended on the West's lack of understanding of the USSR. He noted its adoption of the "usual Communist [style] methods of using certain terms interchangeably in order to create the impression that Bolshevism, international Communism, Leninism, etc. are identical with Russian imperialism, messianism, etc." Morse explained that this rhetorical tactic corresponded to the pro-Communist conflation of the words "state, government, democracy, elections...etc., etc."³⁸⁵ Rather than pursue further investigation on its own, INS instead notified CIA of Nonnenmacher's accusations so they may contact him and investigate of their own volition. If CIA had no objections, INS would explore the

³⁸⁵ W. H. Morse, Office Memorandum to Mario T. Noto, Chief, Subversive Alien Branch, "Mykola Lebed, aka Roman Turan," 5 April 1954, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5.

matter further on its own. Either way, INS wished to know the conclusions of any inquiries made into Lebed's loyalty to the US government.³⁸⁶

Of all of Lebed's Ukrainian critics, none was more vocal than Peter "Yari" Jablon. Jablon was a former member of the central committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), between 1945 and 1947, and he claimed to have also served in Lebed's SB during the Second World War.³⁸⁷ Jablon reached out to the FBI in early 1951, after hearing from, as he put it, confidential contacts that Lebed had been collaborating with American intelligence agencies. Jablon alleged that Lebed was an unreliable "bandit" who would "use" American agencies for his own ends. When interviewed about Jablon's accusations, Lebed insisted that Lebed was "strange man" and "pathologically ill." Lebed insisted he and Jablon had never met, but he had previously read defamatory articles the latter had published between 1945 and 1947.³⁸⁸

In the summer of 1952, Jablon resumed his literary offensive on Lebed. He began publishing articles in both English and Russian, castigating Lebed and Ukrainian nationalists for their actions both past and present. In the left-wing, anti-Communist *New Leader* Jablon (as Jaro Halat) criticized not only Lebed but his allies in the American government as well. The "Nazi puppet," was on the path to American citizenship and

³⁸⁶ William A. Hogan, Special Assistant to the Commissioner, to Mr. Sheffield Edwards, Director of Security, Central Intelligence Agency, "Attention: Alien Affairs Officer," 13 April, 1954, NARA RG 85, Entry P3, Box 5.

³⁸⁷ SAC, New York to J. Edgar Hoover, Office Memorandum. 5 August 1952, NARA, RG 65, Entry A1-136AB, Box 128, Mykola Lebed, Folder 1.

³⁸⁸ James W. Ryan, Report: Mikola Lebed, was., 2 February 1951, NARA, RG 65, 105-12528, Box 128.

acquiring significant funds (\$13,000) to build a “mythical Ukrainian Army.” Jablon excoriated American politicians and policymakers for hobnobbing with Lebed and granting him a platform of legitimacy while Ukrainian democrats continued to languish in Displaced Persons camps. Among those Jablon singled out was Interior Secretary Oscar Chapman. In a speech before the Fifth Congress of Americans of Ukrainian Descent, Chapman lamented that Ukrainians “have been held in bondage by the Russians.” Jablon took exception, stating that all peoples of the Soviet Union are victims of a Communist minority, and words like Chapman’s reflect a purely anti-Russian orientation. Such a “racist approach,” Jablon wrote, “can only weaken the common fight of all the peoples of Russia against Stalin.” The idea that Russians were the *herrenvolk* of the USSR, and that Ukraine must be divided from Russia- no matter who governs it- “is the *raison d’etre* of the nationalists.” In the eyes of the Ukrainian nationalists, those who subordinated national separatism to the overthrow of Communism, were perpetuators of “Russian Imperialism.” Admiral Alan T. Kirk, Chairman of the American Committee for the Liberation of Peoples of Russia, fell victim to such criticism.³⁸⁹

Jablon’s differentiation between “Russian” and “Soviet” domination put him at odds with Ukrainian nationalist leadership. Even though the Ukrainian leadership was probably the most splintered of nations-in-exile,³⁹⁰ nearly all factions castigated dual threats of Bolshevism and “Russian imperialism.” The autumn 1950 edition of the *Ukrainian*

³⁸⁹ Peter Jablon, as Jaro Halat, “The Assassins and the Admiral,” *The New Leader*, 28 July 1952, p. 10, NARA, RG 65, 105-12528, Box 128.

³⁹⁰ B. A. B. Burrows to Northern Department, “Comments on some articles dealing with the Ukrainian resistance movement which appeared in the Autumn issue of the *Ukrainian Quarterly*,” no. 18282/4/51, 22 January 1951, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

Quarterly contained an article written by O. Hornovy, a journalist and member of the Ukrainian underground operating behind the Iron Curtain. Hornovy began his article with the insistence that the Ukrainian independence movement was not a fight against the Russian people, but the Soviet government. However, the Soviet government was the inheritor of the Russian imperial structures and habits.³⁹¹ He argued that it was by the suffering of the Ukraine as a Russian colony that the latter's industry prospered and grew. Russians who bore goodwill towards the Ukraine did not indicate a positive relationship between the two peoples in the past or the present, but it provided the hope for one in the future.

Even in his attempt to assure readers of the lack of enmity between Ukrainians and the Russian people, Hornovy perhaps reveal his true convictions. Though Russians are distinct from the Soviet government, "*...it would be a crude mistake to think that this fact places the Russian people as a whole in the camp hostile to the class of Bolshevik exploiters or of Russian imperialism as a whole.*" The massive Soviet apparatus could only function with the support and cooperation of the Russian people, wittingly or otherwise. Those who aided the Bolsheviks without knowing better were akin to the "German masses, befuddled by racism... We have an analogy in the case of the Russian people." Even the most progressive of Russians faced the difficulty of unhinging themselves from the long tradition

³⁹¹ O. Hornovy, "The Attitude of the Ukrainian Resistance Towards the Russian People," *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. VI – Number 4, Autumn 1950, p. 318, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

of national chauvinism and great power desires. Thus the Ukrainian struggle was not only against the leadership in Moscow, but those who shared their imperial desires.³⁹²

A March, 1951 editorial in *The Ukrainian Bulletin* echoed Hornovy's sentiments. The article, "On Knowing Russia the Enemy," castigated American scholars and officials who attempted to "whitewash" the role of Russians in the Soviet system. The article used the words of prominent Western leaders to refute the case that Russia was another nation fallen victim to Soviet dominance. President Truman reportedly declared the Russian leaders in Moscow the "spiritual descendants of Genghis Khan and Tamerlane." In January 1951, Clement Attlee charged that the "present rulers of Russia are the inheritors of Russian imperialism," seeking to continue its expansion across the globe. While the editorial conceded that there are many Russians who suffer under Soviet rule, "*there are other millions of Russians who are staunch supporters of the regime, fanatically dedicated to its policies wherever they may be, and who are rewarded for their efforts.*"³⁹³ Thus, Ukrainians were not only victims of the Russian Imperial and Soviet governments, but ordinary Russians, too, bore responsibility for Ukrainian subjugation.

According to the Ukrainian émigrés, there could be no rapprochement between Ukrainian and Russian anti-communists, nor between Russians and other minority nationalities. The Ukrainian National Council created a pamphlet in June 1949 which it supplied to Western governments. The booklet extolled the virtues of the Ukrainian nation, which pre-dated Russia by centuries, and denigrated Russian culture for its inability to

³⁹² Hornovy, "The Attitude of the Ukrainian Resistance Toward the Russian People," p. 319-320, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

³⁹³ "On Knowing Russia the Enemy," editorial, *The Ukrainian Bulletin*, New York, Vol. Iv, No. 5, 1 March 1951, pp. 1, 4, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

surpass tyranny. “The Russian people in the history,” the Council claimed, “had never known political freedom nor respect for the freedom of other peoples.” Therefore a “true federalism” was not possible under Russian tutelage. The Council particularly targeted the Russian “League for the Fight for People’s Freedoms” for its disingenuous stance towards national self-determination. The League insisted that the future makeup of the Soviet territories could only be decided through a constituent assembly. To the council, the numerically superior Russians voting on the status of Ukraine was an absurdity, and they concluded that organizations like the League would simply perpetuate Russian imperialism under a new banner.³⁹⁴

Despite Lebed’s dismissal of Jablon, the FBI remained interested in his accusations through 1953. Jablon continued to lambast Lebed in the immigrant press. As P. Yarovy, Jablon wrote an article in the July 24, 1952 issue of *Novoye Russkoye Slovo*. The article condemned the UPA’s collaboration with the Nazi occupation in June 1941 under the leadership of Lebed, Stepan Bandera, and Yaroslav Stetsko. Jablon reiterated that the OUN/UPA leadership bore the responsibility of thousands of Jewish deaths, yet the United States government continued to grant them VIP status, fast-tracking immigration paperwork and supporting their speaking tours while innocent Ukrainians remained in DP camps.

By the summer of 1953, the Bureau moved to sever ties with Jablon. In May 1953, Jablon reportedly made claims to Colonel William Mayer of the Military Intelligence Corps that the FBI were tapping his phones and surveilling his home. He claimed these were

³⁹⁴ Ukrainian National Council, *Documents of Ukrainian Foreign Policy*, Published by the Information Service of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian National Council in Exile, 1949, 13-16, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/94811.

tactics of government intimidation. Jablon protested that his harassers were so brazen as to announce themselves, "FBI," every time he picked up his home phone. He demanded that his Bureau contact allow him to speak directly to the chief of the New York Office. By this point, the Bureau began repeating Lebed's charges of Jablon's emotional and mental instability.³⁹⁵ By August 12, 1953, J. Edgar Hoover personally decided to sever all ties between the FBI and Jablon due to the latter's "psychopath tendencies."³⁹⁶

Jablon's motivations for his crusade against Lebed are not entirely clear. It is well within the realm of possibilities that he was simply a deranged émigré with a fixation on the renowned Lebed. However, the fact that he had established contact with the FBI suggests there is more to his *bona fides* than is readily apparent from Lebed's file. Therefore, he may very well be a former subordinate of Lebed within the Ukrainian nationalist security police, now experiencing pangs of conscience. As another possibility, he may be a member of a rival Ukrainian nationalist faction, such as those under Stepan Bandera, Taras Bulba-Borovets, or Andriy Melnyk. The Ukrainian leadership experienced significant fractures during the Second World War, and the divisions only continued to deepen in its aftermath. The legitimacy of different Ukrainian factions was driven largely by the charismatic appeal of their leaders, which only intensified the personal nature of their conflicts. After the war, Bandera remained an intelligence asset of MI6 in London. The final possibility is that a pro-communist network had recruited Jablon to undermine Lebed and the Ukrainian nationalist cause by proxy.

³⁹⁵ James W. Ryan, "Mikola Lebed, was," 5 June 1953, NARA, RG 65, 105-1504, Box 128.

³⁹⁶ J. Edgar Hoover, memorandum to Allen Dules, "Mikola Lebed, was. Internal Security – UK," 12 August 1953, NARA, RG 65, Box 128.

Josip (Joseph) Kruty, a former Ukrainian Nationalist who defected to the East German authorities, echoed Jablon's sentiments in *Pravda* in the Spring of 1954. The East German Ministry of Interior announced the defection on April 26, 1954. This was a big gain for the Soviet Union as well as the East Germans, as it presented a counterbalance to the defection of Nikolai Khokhlov, a famed spy and Soviet hero who refused to murder a leader of the Russian nationalist NTS, on the account of the latter's true patriotism for Russia.³⁹⁷ Kruty reportedly delivered to the East Germans documents on OUN activities and the organization's ties to Washington. He alleged that not only had the OUN worked as spies for Nazi Germany, but were currently working for "American Secret Service."³⁹⁸ Kruty professed that he was a former member of the OUN working out of West Germany and broke with the organization because of its abandonment of the Ukrainian people for a program of self-aggrandizement and financial gain. The OUN and Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera were criminals, embezzlers, solicitors of bribes, and beholden to clandestine American funding and manipulation.³⁹⁹ Kruty's background and charges bear a

³⁹⁷ Gen. William Oliver to Foreign Office, "The East German Ministry of the Interior has stated that a Ukrainian Émigré, Josip Kruty who alleges to have worked for the 'American Secret Service' has put himself at their disposal," 27 April 1954, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/111793, NS 1821/2; Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokin Archive and the Secret History of the KGB* (New York: Basic Books, 1999), 359.

³⁹⁸ Gen. William Oliver to Foreign Office, "Josip Kruty," 27 April 1954, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/111793, NS 1821/2.

³⁹⁹ British Embassy in Moscow to Northern Department, Foreign Office "Comments on press announcements about J. O. Okhromovich, a Ukrainian alleged to have been an American spy who has been sentenced to be shot and Joseph Kruty a Ukrainian nationalist who is stated to have surrendered to Soviet authorities," 21 May 1954, National Archives, Kew, London. FO 371/111793, NS 1821/3.

strong similarity to those of Peter Jablon, though there remains no evidence that the latter worked for any Soviet-aligned intelligence agencies.

Jablon's public condemnations of Lebed gained the attention of the Army, as well as the Justice Department. Margolin's report was forwarded from Albert H. Mackenzie to Army Deputy Chief of Staff Mark McClure.⁴⁰⁰ Attached along with it was a report by Dr. Stephen Wytwytsky from the Ukrainian National Council. As Vice-Chairman of the council's Executive Committee, Wytwytsky noted a shift in the Kremlin's tactics against Soviet national minorities under Khrushchev. The Khrushchev regime appeared to have adopted a new, more liberal posture towards national minorities. Wytwytsky noted the crackdown on national hardliners and a slight devolution of political power to non-Russians. In June of that year, a Ukrainian had been appointed the head of the Ukrainian Communist Party for the first time since the "Bolshevist occupation." His predecessor, an ethnic Russian, had been removed for suppressing Ukrainians through "selection of personnel and setting up the use of Russian language in the higher schools of eastern Ukraine." The following month Semen Stefanyk, a Western Ukrainian, was appointed first vice-premier of the USSR.

Wytwytsky interpreted Moscow's moves as a panicked scuttle: "This new deal of the Soviet policy is due to the increasing patriotic spirit and attitude of the non-Russian enslaved peoples." In the words of Senator Wiley, the Soviet Union sat upon a "powder keg of subjected peoples – a keg that could blow sky high overnight." Khrushchev, who led the Party in Ukraine from the Great Purges to the end of the Second World War, was well aware of the challenges of Ukrainian nationalism. Now, his moves appeared to be aimed at

⁴⁰⁰ Albert H. Mackenzie to Brigadier General Mark McClure, Deputy Chief of Staff, G-2, Department of the Army, 22 September 1953, NARA, RG 65, 105-12528, Box 128.

undercutting the grievances of Ukrainian nationalists and mollifying local populations through a combination of personnel changes and price subsidies.

Wytwytsky insisted that the challenge of nationalism was far greater than any power struggle the Soviet system could endure in the Kremlin. Authoritarian regimes, he argued, have always managed to survive “momentary trouble” within the upper echelons of power. “However, the nationalities problem constitutes a constant organic weakness of the Soviet regime and of any Russian imperialism.” Nevertheless, if left unchecked, this new Soviet propaganda could gain momentum and be difficult to combat. Wytwytsky accordingly called upon the United States and Western governments to aggressively counteract Russian imperialism. He dovetailed his call to action with a criticism of American rhetoric. Wytwytsky particularly bristled at the careless use of the term “Russian” as a synonym for “Soviet.” Such a use, he claimed, belied the diversity of the Soviet Union and failed to capture the disaffection of non-Russian peoples. Even the Soviet state displayed greater sensitivity to national identities, if only nominally.⁴⁰¹

The Prolog Research Corporation

Mykola Lebed was prescient enough to understand that the future struggles of Ukrainian nationalists would primarily be fought not on battlefields but on bookshelves. This transition occurred through the Central Intelligence Agency’s sponsorship of the External Delegation of the Ukraine Supreme Liberation Council (ZP/UHVR) under Project

⁴⁰¹ Dr. Stephen Wytwytsky, Ukrainian National Council, “New Tactics of the Soviet Policy Toward Non-Russian Nationalities,” NARA, RG 65, Entry A1-136AB, 105-12528, Box 128. Emphases in original.

AERODYNAMIC, of which Lebed was the minister of foreign affairs. Through 1952, the Central Intelligence Agency sponsored the ongoing war in Ukraine between the Red Army and Ukrainian nationalist partisans. When Mykola Lebed established a working relationship with the CIA in 1949, the latter gained access to his remaining links in Western Ukraine and Eastern Poland, background information and intelligence on Ukraine, and prospects for stay-behind agents.⁴⁰²

Despite the hopes they had for Rollback, the ZP/UHVR and CIA soon had to change tactics. Although the nationalists in Ukraine held the initiative early on in their war against Moscow, the Soviet security service's penetration of Ukrainian nationalist networks imploded the resistance from within, and it soon became clear to observers in Western intelligence that the nationalist resistance in Ukraine could only present little more than a nuisance for Moscow and a source of embellished propaganda.⁴⁰³ The project's cover was the Prolog Research Corporation, a publishing house created in 1952 and funded by the Central Intelligence Agency, in whole or in part, for the tenure of the Cold War.⁴⁰⁴ In 1954,

⁴⁰² TAB B, A SYNOPSIS OF QRPLUMB OPERATIONS 1946–DATE, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 58, QRPLUMB Volume 1.

⁴⁰³ For more on the use of clandestine agents, moles, and informants in the Soviet counterinsurgency in Ukraine, see: Jeffrey Burds, "Agentura: Soviet Informants' Networks & the Ukrainian Underground in Galicia, 1944-48," *East European Politics and Societies*, Volume 11, No. 1, Winter 1997, 89-130.

⁴⁰⁴ Prolog enjoyed tax-exempt status as a non-profit until 1968. In an effort to cut costs, the CIA pushed Prolog towards self-sufficiency. In June of 1968 the non-profit Prolog Research and Publishing Association, Inc. became the Prolog Research Corporation. Profits from its publications sales would ostensibly help fund future projects of the UHVR, along with the help of private boosters. The CIA continued to fund Prolog, but on a smaller scale. Chief, Soviet Bloc Division, to Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, Subject: Project AERODYNAMIC, 12 June 1968, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 9, AERODYNAMIC Volume 5.

the OUN Abroad (OUN-Z) joined the ZP/UHVR in the endeavor. By 1970 AERODYNAMIC (later renamed QRPLUMB) was the CIA's only operation aimed at a non-Russian population in order to "[exploit] the minority question in the USSR."⁴⁰⁵

The CIA approached Prolog in a manner as to make it entirely plausible that the agency had nothing to do with the publisher's operations. Mykola Lebed was one of the few individuals within Prolog and the UHVR who was fully cognizant of the agency's guiding hand. He ran the company's headquarters in New York. Fr. Ivan Hrynioch, the president of the UHVR, managed the actual publishing house in Munich. All the while, Hrynioch personally remained in contact with Langley and received the funds to keep the presses of the "Ukrainische Gessellschaft für Auslandsstudien" (Ukrainian Society for International Studies) running.⁴⁰⁶ Hrynioch was the only man in the Munich office who knew where the money came from. The CIA kept the day-to-day operations of the company so compartmentalized that aside from Lebed, Hrynioch, and a handful of other members, Prolog workers were in the dark about their secret benefactor. In reality, the CIA was Prolog's sole financier through 1967 and thus had full control over all of its productions and operations.⁴⁰⁷ The goal of these operations was to continue to promote "Ukrainian nationalism and its counterpart, anti-Russian sentiment... [Some] form of nationalist

⁴⁰⁵ Memorandum for ADDP, Subject: CI Staff Review of Project AERODYNAMIC, 21 April 1970, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-20, Box 9, AERODYNAMIC Volume 7.

⁴⁰⁶ Chief, Soviet Bloc Division, to Assistant Deputy Director for Plans, Subject: Project AERODYNAMIC, 12 June 1968, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 9, AERODYNAMIC Volume 5.

⁴⁰⁷ 15 February 1967, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 9, Volume 4.

feelings continues to exist [there]... and there is an obligation to support it as a Cold War weapon."⁴⁰⁸

The ZP/UHVR sought to create a more moderate image and message that still relied on nationalist grievances against communism and Russian imperialism, but this does not mean that Prolog distanced itself from its leaders' toxic pasts. Rather it sought to whitewash them. Prolog produced works to further the cause of Ukrainian independence largely through the creation of national myths, including fabrications of the nature of the Ukrainian opposition to the Soviet Union during the Second World War. In fact, Prolog went beyond the written word. It mimicked the operations of American agencies like the CIA and the United States Information Agency under the State Department. Prolog media included books, radio programs, newspapers, and even an intellectual journal. Lebed was the head of the corporation, but it remains doubtful that he played that large a role in the majority of Prolog publications.⁴⁰⁹ However, his own gravitas as a freedom fighter and representative of the Supreme Liberation Council lent an air of legitimacy and urgency to Prolog's mission. In return, the organization provided him a cover for employment and naturalization as an American citizen. Lebed sat atop the organization from 1952-1974, after which he continued to serve on its board of directors.

Prolog Shelved

⁴⁰⁸ Project Aerodynamic, Renewal FY 1959, 28 September 1958, NARA RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 8, AERODYNAMIC, Volume 3.

⁴⁰⁹ Director, FBI to SAC, New York, 20 June 1962, NARA, RG 65, 104-12528, Box 39; Director, FBI to SAC, New York, 28 June 1965, NARA, RG 65, 105-12528, Box 39.

Compared to other émigré operations, the CIA and ZP/UHVR collaboration, Prolog, lasted an exceptionally long time. The end of the Cold War, however, sealed its purpose. CIA frustrations were prelude to the removal of American funds. An audit of Prolog's financial practices for the 1987 and 1988 fiscal years revealed that the corporation had "a lack of administrative and financial controls, inadequate accounting procedures, and problems which were discussed in prior Reports of Audit but had not been corrected." This despite Prolog's previous assurances that they had. The audit recommended that Prolog hire a consultant and a bookkeeper "either full-time or part-time." For its part, the agency should follow up with Prolog within a few months to verify the changes. A publishing house four decades old was "in such poor shape," that it needed financial counsel from an organ of state intelligence. One reviewer of the audit commented, "This is disquieting. [Please] explain how this situation was allowed to continue."⁴¹⁰

By 1990, the agency had decided to "wean" Prolog off of American funds within the next two to three years. The primary concern was to do so without creating any fractures that would suggest anything untoward beneath the surface of Prolog's operations.⁴¹¹ Another complication was raised in early 1990, in discussion of English-language publications Prolog had started in the mid-1980s. In 1984, it began printing a monthly newsletter, the *Soviet Nationalities Report* for third-world audiences. In 1986, it started an

⁴¹⁰ [Redacted] and Deputy Inspector General for Audit, to Chief, Political and Psychological Staff, SUBJECT: QRPLUMB Audit for the Period 1 January 1987 – 31 December 1988, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

⁴¹¹ Chief, Operations and Resource Management Staff, to Deputy Director for Operations, SUBJECT: Approval of OPACT QRPLUMB for FY 1990, 4 April 1990, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

English language quarterly, *Soviet Ukrainian Affairs*. Naturally, these attracted subscriptions from readers within the United States. The level of subscriptions had risen to a problematic proportion of the entire circulation of printings by 1990.⁴¹² Even the Ukrainian language journal *Suchasnist'* had grown too popular within the US. Executive Order 12333 expressly banned the Central Intelligence Agency from influencing the American political processes, policies, media, or public opinion. This had typically been interpreted that the agency could only run influential media abroad. Although, the agency's assistant general counsel determined that the American readership had not violated the order, the agency nevertheless needed to end distribution to Harvard University and Ukrainian religious groups due to their popular influence and level of activity.⁴¹³ Further subscription requests from universities should be discouraged internally and ignored when received. Other libraries should be "weaned off" by ignoring their requests and renewals as well.⁴¹⁴

The presidency of George H. W. Bush led to a significant decline in covert operations against the Soviet Union. As instability grew within Soviet territories, Bush feared the possibility of Soviet Balkanization into a collection of mutually hostile, nuclear states. Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan each had stockpiles of nuclear weapons, and

⁴¹² PPS/SIS, Memorandum for the Record, SUBJECT: Subscriptions for QRPLUMB English Language Publications, 20 December 1989, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

⁴¹³ [Redacted] and Assistant General Counsel, to Chief, Political Propaganda Staff, U.S. Subscribers to QRPLUMB Publications, 16 February 1990, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

⁴¹⁴ Memorandum for the Record, SUBJECT: Meeting with OGC and PCS Reps on English Language Publications, 11 October 1989, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

Eurasian instability could lead to their severe mismanagement. This would be even more likely if the United States continued to pursue a covert policy stoking ethnic enmities in the region, much more difficult to resolve than any tangible economic or political disagreements. In his infamous “Chicken Kiev” speech before the Ukrainian parliament on 1 August 1991, Bush warned that the United States “will not support those who seek independence in order to replace a far-off tyranny with a local despotism. [It] will not aid those who promote a suicidal nationalism based upon ethnic hatred.”⁴¹⁵ The speech outraged nationalists and democrats in Ukraine as well as many within the United States. The president had seemingly sold out democracy for stability.⁴¹⁶ But by this time, American line agencies had already fallen in line with the president’s change of course.

As the CIA continued to distance itself from Prolog and its Ukrainian Press Agency, the National Security Council (NSC) pushed it towards a clean break. After a review of the agency’s Soviet Nationalities Programs, the NSC mandated that the CIA terminate its Ukrainian propaganda program within three years. According to former Prolog chief of Prolog from 1978-1988, the impetus for the NSC’s demand came from the president himself.⁴¹⁷ The agency responded with gusto. Officials decided on the least complicated and, therefore, most secure course of action – a large, lump sum payment in the amount of \$1,750,000. Upon payment, the CIA would no longer have any liability or creative control

⁴¹⁵ George. H. W. Bush, Speech to a session of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, 1 August 1991.

⁴¹⁶ John-Thor Dahlburg, “Bush's 'Chicken Kiev' Talk--an Ill-Fated U.S. Policy : Ukraine: Efforts to keep the Soviet Union intact are recalled with bitterness by some in new nation,” *Los Angeles Times*, 19 December 1991.

⁴¹⁷ Roman Kupchinsky, “Ukraine During the Cold War: the role of Prolog Research Corp,” *The Ukrainian Weekly*, 30 November 2008.

of Ukrainian propaganda activities. Prolog and the Ukrainian Press Agency could use the funds to finance themselves until they could find more permanent sources.⁴¹⁸ The payment was made in September 1990, after which the CIA received no more operational reports. The nearly forty-year program had reached its end.⁴¹⁹ Ukrainian independence came in December of 1991, when the leaders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus declared their secession from the union. The Prolog Research Corporation did not last much longer. It ceased operation in November 1992.⁴²⁰ Mykola Lebed died in independent Ukraine in 1998, at the age of 89.

Conclusion

Mykola Lebed and his networks were valued for nearly the entirety of the Cold War. This was largely in part due to the ability of Lebed and his cohorts to constantly reinvent themselves in response to the evolution of working relationships and international climates. In this way, a known terrorist trained by the Nazis and responsible for tens of thousands of deaths could become a statesman in exile with his own international press. The Prolog Research Corporation released hundreds of books and ran several journals to further the cause of Ukrainian independence. At the heart of this mission was the

⁴¹⁸ Operational Activity Action, QRPLUMB – TERMINATION OPACT, 10 August 1990, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

⁴¹⁹ From [Redacted] and Chief, Political and Psychological Staff, to Chief, Operations and Resource Management Staff, QRPLUMB Liquidation Plan, 14 January 1991, NARA, RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, Box 53, QRPLUMB, Volume 5.

⁴²⁰ Taras Kuzio, "U.S. support for Ukraine's liberation during the Cold War: A study of Prolog Research and Publishing Corporation. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* (2012) 1-14.

mythologizing of the Ukrainian resistance to both the Germany and Soviet armies during the Second World War. Former members of the OUN-B, UPA, and Lebed's SB wrote their own histories that neglected the slaughter of Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians who opposed their national program.

Western governments, particularly the United States share some responsibility in the propagation and perpetuation of these myths. Perpetrators like Mykola Lebed were shielded from international justice for their crimes and celebrated for their actions. In spite of repeated charges against them over the years, he and others remained immune to any ramifications. The lack of consequences visited upon them validated their protestations of innocence. Nearly twenty-five years ago, many in the West dismissed President George H. W. Bush's warnings of self-destructive, hate-based nationalism as fecklessness and appeasement. From the present, they appear to be a rare moment of clarity and sobriety. One hopes that both of these qualities may yet return and do so in earnest.

CHAPTER 5:**THE “DEATH DEALER” OF KAUNAS:
JUOZAS LUKŠA**

More and more people in our village were being rounded up [by the Red Army] each day. Soon even [my brother] and I became concerned about our safety and decided that it might be best for us to lay low for a while. (After all, [he] had belonged to some sort of political student organization at the university; and as for me—I had actually been jailed during the first Russian occupation because of my political activism in *high school*.)⁴²¹

Juozas Lukša’s memoir on his role in the Lithuanian partisan resistance against Soviet domination is a romantic tale of a young Lithuanian standing for his country and loved ones against totalitarianism. He and his “forest brothers” battled against the Red Army and Soviet Secret Police for Lithuanian independence. As the tide turned against them, Lukša knew that the movement would need foreign support and escaped to the West through Poland. He made contact with the American Central Intelligence Agency as Rollback operations were first gaining traction. In 1950, he parachuted back into Lithuania to rekindle the partisan movement and foment rebellion against the Soviets. He lived

⁴²¹ Juozas Lukša, as Juozas Daumantas, *Fighters for Freedom, Lithuanian Partisans versus the U.S.S.R.* (Toronto: The Lithuanian Canadian Committee for Human Rights, 1988), 12. Emphasis in original.

underground for a year. The Soviet counterintelligence became so concerned about Lukša's presence that the office of Special Tasks dedicated Major-General Leonid Eitingon to finding Lukša and eliminating him. By the spring of 1951, Lukša's courier was captured by Soviet secret police and broken in interrogation. He led Lukša into a Soviet ambush. When Lukša suspected a trap, he reached for a grenade and was gunned down.⁴²² His unlikely path from architecture student to partisan martyr has emblazoned him, to this day, as a hero of the Lithuanian nation.

Lukša's autobiography provides insight into the reflections and maturation of an anti-Soviet partisan. Yet glaring omissions in his life's narrative raise important questions. Why would the committed anti-Communist and anti-Russian have been so reluctant to join in agitation for his country's freedom, if he had been a "political activist" in the past? Why, too, would he have neglected what that activism entailed? How long was he imprisoned? How did his community receive him on his release—with admiration, or with fear of association? Surely the German occupation was exploitative – how did Lukša occupy himself before the Red Army arrived in his native Kaunas once more? Such details would likely be important in conveying his passion for liberty and building the legend of a partisan freedom fighter, but he only refers to these important chapters in his life in passing. The relatively small amount that is known about Lukša in the west—especially in Anglophone scholarship—begins where he does: at the Soviet occupation. What happened before then that he neglected to include in his personal narrative?

⁴²² Oleg Rossov, "Mif o 'pereodetykh enkavedeshnikakh:' spetsgruppy NKVD v bor'be s bandformirovaniiami v Zapadnoi Ukraine," in Igor Pyhalov, Alexander Dyukov, *Velikaia obolgonnaia voina-2: Nam ne za chto kaiat'sia!* (Moscow: Yauza, Eksmo, 2008), 228.

Independence and Domination in the Baltics

For most of its history, Lithuania never existed as a sovereign state. Since 1395, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania allied itself with the Kingdom of Poland. The two grew closer together until they entered into the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania in 1569. The state was ruled much like the Dual Empire of Austria-Hungary, in that the sovereign was both king of Poland and the Grand Duke of Lithuania. The union comprised an impressive territory at its peak, but Poland-Lithuania was beset by rivals on all sides. By the late 18th Century, the Habsburg emperor in Vienna, the Kingdom of Prussia, and the Russian Empire divided the union in partition between themselves. By 1795, Lithuanians were subjects of the Russian Emperor, who asserted authority on the entire Baltic peninsula. It remained that way for nearly another 125 years.

As it did for other minorities under the Russian Tsar, the fall of the Russian Empire created the opportunity for an independent Lithuanian state. Beset by internal and external foes, the Bolsheviks sought to bring a swift end to its involvement in the First World War. After the spectacular failure of Trotsky's proclamation of "no war, no peace," the Bolsheviks and Germans eventually sued for peace under the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The treaty surrendered a large swath of Russian territory in the West and the Caucasus. The Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania now belonged to Germany, but Berlin's dominance was short-lived. The Treaty of Versailles stripped Germany of its wartime acquisitions, and the Council of Lithuania declared the independence of a democratic

Lithuania on 16 February 1918. After a series of wars with Russian armies, both White and Red, and Poland, Lithuanian independence gained international recognition in 1920.

The independence was sadly short-lived. By 1939, the Baltic States were once more subject to the whims of leaders in Germany and Russia. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact solidified the mutual non-aggression of the dominant fascist and communist states. The agreement stunned populations across the world, including German and Soviet citizens. In addition to waving aside the mutual animosity between Berlin and Moscow, the two parties agreed to divide territory between their frontiers. With the Soviet Union mollified by the arrangement, the Wehrmacht plunged into Poland, launching the Second World War.

The Soviet Union responded by invading Poland (thereby violating a pre-existing treaty of neutrality with Kraków), Galicia, Finland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic States. Moscow and Berlin coordinated their invasions and together planned methods of occupation. On 21 September they agreed to coordinate movements together, to crush any “enemy resistance” within each other’s territories, and the “purging” of “saboteurs.”⁴²³ The Red Army marched westward and secured its new territories. As a result, the Soviet leadership reincorporated Lithuania and its neighbors into the Soviet Union. Among those

⁴²³ Aleksander Moiseevich Nekrich, and Gregory L. Freeze, *Pariahs, Partners, Predators: German-Soviet Relations, 1922-1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 129-130. Though the agreements helped liquidate the existence of the Polish state, precise stipulations were not necessarily fully understood by both sides. As a result, skirmishes broke out between the Red Army and the Wehrmacht over who was to maintain control of where. For instance, prior to the opening of the Eastern front, the *Wehrmacht* attacked the city of Lvov, which both sides agreed would be a Soviet territory. The Soviet Union retained control of the city, and the matter was resolved with a joint parade through the city. It would certainly not be the last time the city exchanged hands.

who observed their arrival was a generation of Lithuanian young adults who never knew life under a foreign power.

As the Soviets entered Lithuania, nationalist leaders made their exodus. They re-assembled in Germany and on 17 November 1940 founded the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) with Berlin's support. The LAF swiftly initiated the creation of cells within Lithuania and used them to spread anti-Communist and anti-Jewish propaganda. The two were more or less synonymous to the LAF, which charged Lithuanian Jews of Bolshevist treachery. An LAF declaration from 19 March 1941 proclaimed that the fated hour of liberation was "close at hand," and traitors would soon face retribution. Not all were beyond hope. A Christian Lithuanian who allied with the communist takeover could redeem himself, "provided he proves beyond doubt that he has killed one Jew at least." The proclamation called upon Jews to leave Lithuania with whatever they could carry, to "avoid unnecessary casualties."⁴²⁴ The message to LAF members was clear: all Jews were enemies of the Lithuanian nation and were beyond redemption; their alleged embrace of Soviet invaders was but a symptom of immutable Jewish hostility and lust for power. The LAF sought their total removal, peaceably or otherwise.

⁴²⁴ Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Special Archive of Lithuania) F. 3377. Op. 48. D. 712. L. 212. L. Truska, V. Vareikis, *Holokausto prielaidos. Antisemitizmas Lietuvoje* [*The Preconditions for the Holocaust. Anti-Semitism in Lithuania*], (Vilnius, 2004), P. 264; Also published in Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, and Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2009), 91-92. For an analysis of multiple versions of the proclamation and the culpability of the LAF and Lithuanian nationalists in the violence of the Holocaust, see: Aleksandr Dyukov, "Prizyval li Front Litovskikh Aktivistov k ubiistvam evreev? Litovska "Dorogie ugetennye brat'ia" i istoria ee bytovaniia," *Zhurnal rosiiskikh i vostohnoevropeiskikh istoicheskikh issledovani*"No. 1 (6), 2015, 52-65.



Figure 5: "The Jew - Your Eternal Enemy!"⁴²⁵

⁴²⁵ "The Jew – Your Eternal Enemy" – a poster created in Germany and spread throughout Lithuania by the Lithuanian Activist Front. It was also translated and distributed elsewhere in the Baltic. The poster blames Jews for all suffering in Eastern Europe in a communist conspiracy: "Who brought you famine, tears, and mass murder? The Jew! . . . Who denounced capitalists the most but had an insatiable lust for money himself? The Jew! . . . Who tortured millions of people in the NKVD cellars? The Jew! . . . Who started the

Of all the countries that became sites of Holocaust perpetrators' brutal disdain for human life, Lithuania was especially horrific. Lithuanian nationalists were both the most eager to engage in anti-Semitic violence, and they did so with the most fervor. Lithuania was the first territory of the Soviet Union to initiate pogroms. The destruction wrought on the Jewish community was also most destructive in Lithuania. During the Second World War, the Lithuanian and German perpetrators murdered more than 95% of the Lithuanian Jewish population.⁴²⁶

The interwar period had been relatively benign for Lithuanian Jews. Though it was never a source of great Jewish culture, the Lithuanian Jewish community did an excellent job of maintaining its identity in a period of European national homogenization. Jewish centers of learning flourished in Lithuanian territories, whether of Zionist, Orthodox, or secular orientations. The 1930s brought relative economic decline for Lithuanian Jews, however, as a young generation of Lithuanian entrepreneurs competed more effectively with longstanding Jewish businesses. There was little fascination with the so-called Jewish

war? The Jew! . . . Who developed the parasitic system to drain you? The Jew!" And, the poster concludes, "STALIN AND THE JEWS – ONE BIG GANG OF VILLAINS!" United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Hidden History of the Kovno Ghetto, online exhibition, Credit: Lithuanian Central State Archives, <http://www.ushmm.org/exhibition/kovno/invade/poster.htm>, accessed 5 June 2015.

⁴²⁶ Dina Porat, *The Holocaust in Lithuania: Some unique aspects*, in *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation*, ed. David Cesarani (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), 160

question in Lithuania, as opposed to Poland, Hungary, or Romania, and were spared much of the violence visited on their co-religionists elsewhere.⁴²⁷

Violence against Jews in Lithuania was based largely on the myth that the Jewish population wholesale supported the Communist takeover. Although most Lithuanian Jews were not communists, the local Communist Party had a significant Jewish membership, and Jews held positions of leadership accordingly. Historian Dina Porat explains the political gulf between Lithuanian Jews and Christians. For the Jewish population, the Soviet Union, with its ideology that supposedly transcended national and religious identities, was certainly preferable to Nazi rule. For non-Jews, the Red Army meant the suppression of Lithuanian national self-determination, culture, and identity. Annexation into the Soviet Union represented a return to Russian imperialism. Lithuanian Jews who supported the Communist takeover, even tacitly, were traitors.

Jews did not dominate any Soviet or communist institutions, yet they became largely associated with them. Lithuanian Jews had previously been largely excluded from previous Lithuanian administrative bodies. Their presence within Soviet organs made them especially conspicuous.⁴²⁸ Historian Liudas Truska has traced the level of Jewish involvement in various communist institutions. At the beginning of 1940, Jews comprised 8% of the Lithuanian population. The 21 July meeting of the People's Seimas that requested that Lithuania be annexed as a republic of the Soviet Union included 67 Lithuanians, 4 Jews,

⁴²⁷ Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe Between the World Wars* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983), 233-236.

⁴²⁸ Alfonsas Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians and the Holocaust* (Vilnius: Versu Areus, 2003), 151.

and 7 members of other national backgrounds –this Seimas underrepresented the Jewish population. Nevertheless, Lithuanian Jews initially made up about 1/3 of the communist Party membership before the Soviet annexation. But after 1940, this fell to 12.6%. This was still well above their national proportion, but in no way a display of Jewish dominance. Even at the highest levels, Jews held 5 out of the 47 seats of the Central Committee, and 1 out of eleven members of the Central Committee Bureau. Even within the punitive organs of the NKVD and NKGB, Jews were not overwhelmingly represented. In the case of the former, only 10% of *enkevedisti* were Jewish.⁴²⁹ The fact, however, that Jews played any role at all in the new regime, the Communist Party in Lithuania and the USSR more generally, attracted the attention of Lithuanians hostile to both communism and Lithuanian Jewry.

This sentiment was most fervently expressed by the Lithuanian nationalists, including members of the LAF. Their propaganda placed the entire blame for the Soviet occupation on the Jewish population. The Lithuanian partisan movement had enjoyed German sponsorship for years, and the German invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 literally freed them to engage in open warfare with enemies within and without. The LAF seized the city of Kaunas on 23 June and declared the establishment of the Provisional Government of Lithuania with their founder, Kazys Škirpa, as prime minister. Škirpa was still in Germany at the time, and the Nazi government opposed this brash move. Škirpa

⁴²⁹ Liudas Truska, "Contemporary Attitudes toward the Holocaust in Lithuania," *Jews in Eastern Europe*, Vol. 2, No. 45 (2001): 7-8. Eidintas, *Jews, Lithuanians, and the Holocaust*, 151.

was placed under house arrest.⁴³⁰ *Einsatzgruppe A* reported that “the Lithuanian population does not agree with the self-proclaimed Lithuanian government under Colonel Skirpa... who has vested interests, first of all to take advantage of the presently unclear conditions, and to gain material profits.”⁴³¹

In the meantime, the German army and *Einsatzgruppe-A* exploited nationalist extremists on the ground. The Wehrmacht entered Kaunas on 24 June 1941. The following day, they released political prisoners from the Soviet jails. According to *Einsatzgruppe A* leader, Franz Walter Stahlecker, the German occupation encountered more difficulty in provoking anti-Jewish violence in Kaunas than it expected. The execution of Jews was an important objective of the German occupation:

“But it was desirable that the Security Police should not put in an immediate appearance, at least in the beginning, since the extraordinarily harsh measures were apt to stir even German circles. It had to be shown to the world that the native population itself took the first action by way of natural

⁴³⁰ Rolf-Dieter Müller, *The Unknown Eastern Front: The Wehrmacht and Hitler's Foreign Soldiers* (London: I.B. Tauris & Co., 2012), 180.

⁴³¹ “Operational Situation Report USSR No. 14,” 6 July 1941, in *The Einsatzgruppen Reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign Against the Jews in Occupied Territories of the Soviet Union, July 1941-January 1943*, eds. Yitzhak Arad, Shmuel Krakowski, and Shmuel Spector, trans. Stella Schosberger (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 10.

reaction against the suppression by Jews during several decades and against the terror exercised by the Communists during the preceding period.”⁴³²

Despite the supposed difficulty, Stahlecker claims German security police were able to provoke a pogrom within “a few hours.” An explanation may lie in Stahlecker’s insistence that the German occupation maintain total control of violence without the appearance of being its source. Acknowledgment of local initiative would undermine this image before his superiors and rob him of the prestige of ensuing death tolls. The German reliance on partisan attacks on the Jewish population in Kaunas became the model for other massacres throughout Lithuania and the Baltics. In some Lithuanian localities Communists even joined in the violence against the Jewish population. But nowhere else did the scale of the *Aktionen* match that of Kaunas, in which 3,800 Jews died in the single pogrom.⁴³³ Under the German occupation, Stahlecker reported the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Baltic Jews in 1942, including over 136,000 Lithuanian Jews – more than the number murdered in Estonia, Latvia, Belarus, and Russia combined.⁴³⁴

⁴³² Franz Walter Stahlecker, “Comprehensive Report of *Einsatzgruppe A* up to 15 October 1941,” Office of the United States Chief of Counsel for Prosecution of Axis Criminality, *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression*, Volume VII, Partial Translation of Document L-180 (Washington, D.C.: USGPO, 1946), 979-980.

⁴³³ Franz Walter Stahlecker, “*Einsatzgruppe A*: General Report up to October 15, 1941” published in *Documents on the Holocaust*, ed. Yitzhak Arad, Israel Gutman, and Abraham Margalio, trans. Lea Ben Dor (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press: 1999), 389-391.

⁴³⁴ Map from the Stahlecker Report, “Jewish Executions Carried out by *Einsatzgruppen A*.” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives #80190. Courtesy of Thomas Warternberg. Copyright of United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Whether at their own whim or with German encouragement, Lithuanian nationalists unleashed their fury on the Jews of Kaunas. The liberated prisoners turned on their jailers, many of whom had been detained within the Lietukis garage in Kaunas. The prisoners grabbed what was readily available—crowbars, spades, chains—and began to brutally beat their former persecutors.⁴³⁵

Juozas Lukša, a young nationalist, played a prominent role in the violence. Under the supervision of the Wehrmacht, Lithuanians turned on their Jewish neighbors. German soldiers photographed the horror. Some of these photographs feature the “Death Dealer” of Kaunas, as Colonel Lothar Von Bischoffshausen later dubbed him. In his testimony to the Central Office of State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes in 1959, Bischoffshausen recalled the events in vivid detail:

On the concrete forecourt of the petrol station a blond man of medium height, aged about twenty-five, stood leaning on a wooden club, resting. The club was as thick as his arm and came up to his chest. At his feet lay about fifteen to twenty dead or dying people. Water flowed continuously from a

⁴³⁵ Aleksandras Bendinskas, “Death in the Lietukis Garage,” *Gimtatis Krastas*, no. 32, 10-16 August 1989, published in Zvi Y. Gitelman, *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press), 200-202. The author, Bendinskas, was a member of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF), a demonstrably anti-Semitic organization. He claimed that the murders at Lietukis garage were of only about ten individuals. He likewise frames his narrative in a narrative voice that separates himself and the LAF with the events that transpired. He acknowledged that the victims were proven to be mostly Jewish but insisted this was entirely coincidence. He claimed that the victims’ religious or ethnic identity were not a factor the attacks. Instead, the violence was purely political or retributive in nature. There are certainly reasons to be cautious before Bendinskas’ account of the Kaunas pogrom. The author’s account comes nearly five decades after the fact. It also coincided with the rising tide of the Lithuanian independence movement.

hose washing blood away into the drainage gully. Just a few steps behind this man some twenty men, guarded by armed civilians, stood waiting for their cruel execution in silent submission. In response to a cursory wave the next man stepped forward silently and was then beaten to death with the wooden club in the most bestial manner, each blow accompanied by enthusiastic shouts from the audience.

It was “probably the most frightful event” he had witnessed in the course of two world wars.⁴³⁶ Bischoffshaunsen’s story came nearly eighteen years after the events he witnessed, but they appear to have truly haunted him. They very accurately describe the photograph of this young man, proudly posing with crowbar in hand. The Association of Lithuanian Jews in Israel has alleged that the Death Dealer is none other than a young Juozas Lukša, who later became a prominent partisan fighter against the Soviet reoccupation of Lithuania. At the time of writing, the organization alleges that Lukša was “a cruel sadist,” responsible for the “Massacre of 68 innocent people at the garage of “Lietukis”

⁴³⁶ L. von Bischoffshausen , Testimony to the Zentralstelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen zur Aufklärung nationalsozialistischer Verbrechen (Central Office of State Justice Administrations for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes), 19 April 1959 at ZSt: 207 AR-Z 14/58, p. 297 ff., published in *“The Good Old Days:”The Holocaust as Seen by its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, eds. Ernst Klee, trans. Deborah Burnstone, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess (New York: The Free Press, 1988), 28.



Figure 6: "Jewish Executions Carried out by *Einsatzgruppe A*"⁴³⁷

⁴³⁷ "Jewish Executions Carried out by *Einsatzgruppen A*." United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives #80190. The map marks Estonia "Free of Jews." 128,000 Jews are noted to remain in Belarus.

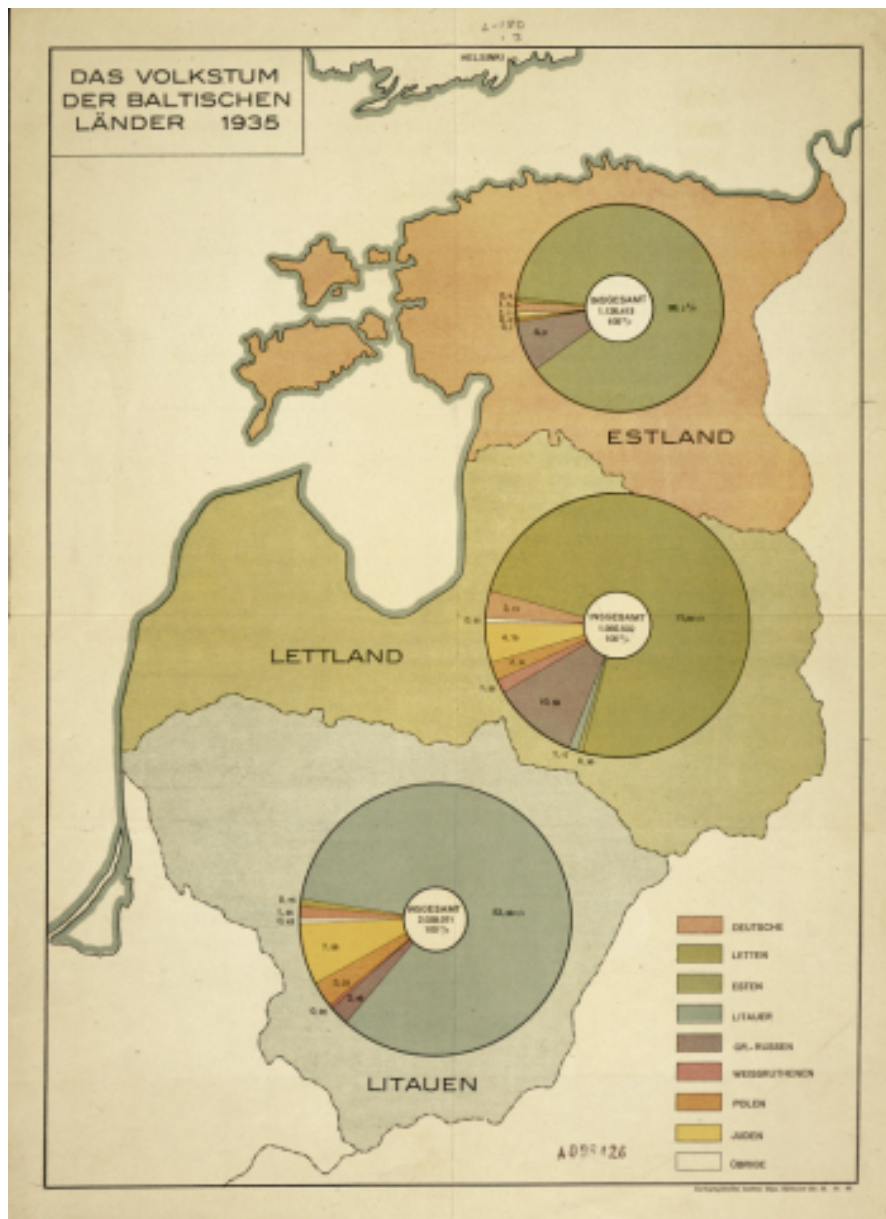


Figure 7: "The Population of the Baltic States, 1935"⁴³⁸

⁴³⁸ A pie chart indicating the populations of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania by ethnic group that accompanied the report of SS-Brigadier General Stahlecker to the Reich Security Main Office, Berlin. 15 October 1941 – 31 January 1942. United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photo Archives #89046C. National Archives and Records Administration. Public Domain. In Lithuania, Jews represented 7.58% of a population of 2,028,971 (153,796). Latvian Jews, in comparison, were 4.79% of a total population of 1,950,502 (93,429). Though the 1935 population of Lithuanian Jews was roughly 1.6 times greater than that of



Figure 8: The Death Dealer Delivers A Deadly Blow as German Soldiers and Lithuanian Civilians Watch⁴³⁹

Jews in Latvia, the former were killed at a rate nearly four times greater than the latter (136,421:35,238).

⁴³⁹ "Willi Dressen, "Kovno, Lithuania, Local Lithuanians and German soldiers inspecting the bodies of Jews they murdered, 24/06/1941" Yad Vashem #13173, 2725/16. Courtesy of Dr. Krakowski. Copyright Yad Vashem.



Figure 9: The Death Dealer of Kaunas, 24-28 June 1941⁴⁴⁰



Figure 10: Juozas Lukša (Far Left) with Lithuanian Partisans⁴⁴¹

⁴⁴⁰ Willi Dressen, "Kovno, Lithuania, A young Lithuanian by the bodies of his Jewish victims, 24/06/1941," Yad Vashem #15694, 2725/2. Courtesy of Dr. Krakowski. Copyright Yad Vashem. Different dates of the photo have been given, ranging from 24 June by Yad Vashem to 28 June according to the German Bundesarchiv, B 162 Bild-04126- Bundesarchiv Picture Database. By Stahlecker's account the Pogroms began the evening of 25 June, placing doubt on Yad Vashem's earlier chronology. The pogroms lasted for days, and the Lietukis Garage incident in which Lukša took part is often dated to 27 June.



Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B12290
Foto: o.Ang. | Juli 1941

Figure 11: Lithuanian Collaborators Arrest Jews, July 1941⁴⁴²



Figure 12: German Soldiers With Lithuanian Collaborators, Summer 1941⁴⁴³

⁴⁴¹ Genocide and Resistance Research Centre of Lithuania,
<http://www.genocid.lt/centras/ru/152/c/file=2512/>, accessed 22 June 2015.

⁴⁴² "Bundesarchiv Bild 183-B12290, Litauen, Festnahme von Juden" by Bundesarchiv, Bild 183-B12290 / CC-BY-SA, Bundesarchiv, Picture Database.

in Kaunas on June 27, 1941,” as well as the murders of “thousands of Jews in Kaunas and elsewhere.”⁴⁴⁴

At the time of the pogrom, Lukša was just 2 months from his twenty-first birthday, close to the age of the man Bischoffshausen remembered in 1959. Lukša described in his own words that he had been a “political activist” in his youth, and was imprisoned by Soviet administrators for his activism. His actions may very well have been under the orders of the Lithuanian Activist Front. Unfortunately, Lukša is very vague on the subject, and his memoirs only begin with the Soviet advance into the Baltic in 1944 and his supposedly hesitant involvement with the Lithuanian partisan struggle.

⁴⁴³ “Litthuanian *Selbstschutz*, 1941,” *Chronicles of the Vilna Ghetto*, http://www.vilnaghetto.com/gallery2/v/vilna/album69/Lithuanian_Selbstschutz_1941.jpg.html, accessed 22 June 2015.

⁴⁴⁴ Association of Lithuanian Jews in Israel, “Kaunas/Kovno,” http://www.lithuanianjews.org.il/HTMLs/article_list4.aspx?C2014=14343&BSP=14336&BSS6=13971, accessed on the world wide web 30 May 2015; Association of Lithuanian Jews in Israel “Pogrom at Lietukis,” http://www.lithuanianjews.org.il/HTMLs/article_list4.aspx?C2014=14416&BSP=14058&BSS59=14058, accessed on the world wide web, 30 May 2015; Abe Larwe, “A bitter pill to swallow,” http://www.lithuanianjews.org.il/HTMLs/article_list4.aspx?C2014=14512&BSP=14481&BSS6=14481, accessed on the world wide web 30 May 2015. In 2011, the Lithuanian government demanded that the Association of Lithuanian Jews retract charges against Lithuanian nationalists, including Lukša. The dispute was over the Association’s report “Lithuania, Crime and Punishment,” no. 7. It named Lukša as the principal villain at Lietukis. The leader of the organization, Yosef Melamed, claimed the Association of Jews In Lithuania submitted the report to the “Lithuanian Justice Minister” thirteen years prior. At the time of writing, the organization has not retracted its accusation against Lukša, and the Lithuanian government has not pressed the issue further. See: David Lev, “Lithuania Demands Survivors Retract Explicit Holocaust Report,” *Israel National News*, <http://www.israelnationalnews.com/News/News.aspx/147762#.VWpgYB8Zf7E>, accessed 30 May 2015.

In his memoir, *Forest Brothers*, Lukša provides an indication that he and his compatriots were active members of the LAF prior to the Second World War. When he and his brother first arrived at Kaunas University in 1944, they entered the School of Medicine, the principle building out of which the university operated under the German occupation. Under Soviet supervision, Lukša and his brother were assigned with cleaning up and reorganizing the university.

We were curious about the chaos in the Department of Medicine. Student and teaching staff files were strewn about the corridors along with surveys and other archival papers. We were most concerned over the surveys. Students and teaching staff and office works had them filled out during the German occupation. These surveys showed who had resisted the first Bolshevik occupation by belonging to the Lithuanian Activist Front. They also showed who belonged to cultural organizations during the period of independence. *After a good deal of effort, we managed to find our own files. Our hair stood on end. There was enough material there to have us executed on the spot.* We hurried to find the files of our friends who had not escaped to the West. In the end we decided that it would be faster and our consciences would rest more easily if we simply burned all the files. And, that is what we

did. We carted them over to the crematorium oven and turned all those documented sins into smoke.⁴⁴⁵

Unfortunately it seems that the most detailed documentation of Lukša's activities with the LAF was destroyed that day.

Lukša continued to fight a losing battle against the Red Army in Lithuania for several years. By the end of the 1940s, it became readily apparent to the Lithuanian partisans in Iron Wolf Regiment that the struggle could not be successful without external support. In 1946, Lukša played a key role in an attempt to unite the various Forest Brothers under the United Democratic Resistance Organization (BDPS). The organization relied on the activism of émigré personalities to raise international support. In 1948, after Lukša escaped to the West via Poland, the BDPS invited him to be one of its leading members. The organization in reality functioned as a coordinating body of the British Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), which steered the UDRM to pushing for political activism over partisan actions. The SIS preferred the intelligence value of the Lithuanian delegation to fomenting revolution in Lithuania. As a result, the UDRM failed to gain any real traction among the Forest Brothers, and even continued to mobilize armed wings of its own against the Red Army.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁵ Juozas Lukša, *Forest Brothers: The Account of an Anti-Soviet Lithuanian Freedom Fighter, 1944-1948*, trans. Laima Vince (Budapest, New York: Central European University Press, 2009), 48. Emphasis mine.

⁴⁴⁶ Dorrill, *MI6*, 282-283.

The Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) had initially faced an uphill battle in combating the Lithuanian partisan movement. The partisans were well-armed, well-disciplined, and had done an excellent job of maintaining their Forest Brotherhood resistance without outside support.

Late in 1945, with Germany already defeated, the Red Army had a difficult time pacifying the Baltic region. Partisan units were very good at evading Soviet apprehension and incurred heavy losses on Red Army units as they were neutralized. Compared to the other Baltic republics, Lithuania was far less urbanized. “Forest Brothers” there had no shortage of wooded areas in which to take cover. Even so, by 1946 and 1947, Lithuanian partisans had the initiative, and were even living semi-legally. They no longer had to take exclusively to the woods. George Reklaitis has explored Soviet security organs’ significant reorientation of tactics in order to take a more sophisticated, multi-faceted approach to neutralizing the partisans. Collaborators were identified using leftover German occupation documents– the very sort that Lukša destroyed. The Soviet counterinsurgency likewise used false flag partisans to dupe the populace into giving up information on the partisan movement – and then ferret out those who would aid and abet them. Terror and reprisals on those who aided the false partisans fostered reluctance within the Lithuanian population to help any roaming bands. Secret police also undermined partisan groups from within, sending false partisans to act as moles within their ranks. Finally, Moscow relied on a proven method of political reprisal – deportation of suspect populations.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ George Reklaitis, *Cold War Lithuania: National Armed Resistance and Soviet Counterinsurgency* (Pittsburgh: Center for Russian & East European Studies, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, 2007). For more on the Soviet

This included not only those suspected of being among the “Forest Brothers.” It was a form of collective punishment against the families and contacts of “bandits” placed under arrest or known to be operating within the forests of the Baltic.⁴⁴⁸

Intelligence Work and Death

The CIA recruited Lukša at Pfulligen, Germany in November of 1949. Prior to this employment, he had been in contact with Swedish intelligence. The latter debriefed Lukša in February of 1948. Swedish intelligence had intended to deploy Lukša on a mission between February and June that year, but it never materialized. He had a similar experience with French intelligence, which trained Lukša and two other Lithuanians in parachuting, but they were later released by March 1949. Including the role of the British SIS in the BDPS, the CIA became the fourth Western intelligence service to control Lukša.

The Americans had a sound understanding of Lukša’s biography. They knew of his recruitment into the LAF in 1941, his release from prison the week of the Kaunas pogroms, his involvement with Lithuanian partisans after his release, and his subsequent ties to

use of deportation as a political weapon and social engineering, see: Lynne Viola, *The Unknown Gulag: the Lost World of Stalin’s Special Settlements* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Pavel Polian, *Against Their Will: the history and geography of forced migrations in the USSR* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2004); Michael Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation: The Far-Eastern Koreans". *Russian Review*. 54, no. 3 (1995): 389-412; Aleksandr M. Nekrich, *The Punished Peoples: The deportation and tragic fate of Soviet minorities at the end of the Second World War* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978).

⁴⁴⁸ Soviet Security forces applied this policy throughout the Baltic republics they sought to pacify. An Estonian NKVD-NKGB memorandum from February 1945 makes this policy of collective punishment quite clear: ERAF 17sm-4-17, I. 32p-34.

Western intelligence services.⁴⁴⁹ None of these dissuaded his handlers from utilizing him, and perhaps only bolstered his *bona fides*.

On 4 October 1950, the CIA dispatched Lukša along with Benediktas Trumpys and Klemensas Sirvys into the Kaliningrad Oblast, west of Lithuania. Their goal was to establish contact with the Lithuanian underground still operating in the Baltic. By 14 January 1951, Lukša had made no additional wireless or shortwave broadcasts from behind the Iron Curtain, and was presumed dead.⁴⁵⁰

In actuality, Lukša survived for another 9 months evading Soviet authorities. As mentioned above, Soviet counterintelligence became so concerned about Lukša's presence in the country that Special Tasks dispatched Pavel Sudoplatov's deputy, Major-General Leonid Eitingon, to dispose of Lukša. Eitingon's plot used a tried and true method of Soviet counterintelligence: the capture and recruitment of a target's most trusted confidants. Lukša was betrayed by Jonas Kukauskas, a man he knew since his parachute training in Paris. Lukša trusted Kukauskas, and their relationship continued as the two entered into a working relationship with the CIA.

The Agency dispatched Kukauskas and his partner, Julijonas Butenas, into the Kaunas District on 18-19 April 1951. There were clear signs of his faltering resolve before

⁴⁴⁹ Central Intelligence Agency, "Study, Review, Analysis of all CAPSTAN Agents, Personal Histories, Contacts and Associations," 23 March 1953, NARA , RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, AECHAMP. Vol. 1, 3-8.

⁴⁵⁰ Central Intelligence Agency, "Study, Review, Analysis of all CAPSTAN Agents, Personal Histories, Contacts and Associations," 23 March 1953, NARA , RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, AECHAMP. Vol. 1, 3.

the drop. If they were to fall into the hands of the enemy, Butenas insisted, he would kill himself. Kukauskas, however, said he would “do his best” with the situation.⁴⁵¹ The meaning of this would soon become clearer to his handlers.

Once in Lithuania, Kukauskas played a pivotal role in the Soviet neutralization of Lukša and CIA drop agents. Shortly after his drop, he made contact with his friend Lukša and served as his courier. In his first contact with CIA on 15 June 1951, Kukauskas made no mention of Lukša. In August, he reported that Butenas and a partisan commander had been killed by Soviet Ministry of State Security (MGB) agents after a local farmer gossiped to neighbors about the men’s activities.⁴⁵² As Soviet forces surrounded the men in a firefight, Butenas was wounded. Kukauskas killed him and surrendered. From then on, he operated under Soviet control.

Kukauskas continued to pose as a member of the Lithuanian underground, and maintained contact with his CIA handlers. Nine days after he reported Butenas’ death, he reported that he was attempting to contact Lukša.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵¹ Central Intelligence Agency, “Analysis of Cookee Traffic,” Enclosure to MGMA 07689, 1 December 1951, , NARA , RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, AECHAMP. Vol. 1, p.5.

⁴⁵² Central Intelligence Agency, “Study, Review, Analysis of all CAPSTAN Agents, Personal Histories, Contacts and Associations,” 23 March 1953, NARA , RG 263, Entry ZZ-19, AECHAMP. Vol. 1, p.13. According to the CIA report on the deployments, the second team (Kukauskas) was not informed about the deployment of the first (Lukša). Still, the CIA concluded that it would be naïve to assume that they did not know of its occurrence, especially because of the overlap between the networks of the CIA, the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania (VLIK), and BDPS.

⁴⁵³ The CIA later assumed that Kukauskas had been under Soviet control for quite some time, and suspected that he played a role in Butenas’ death. The difficulty came in determining at what point, and in what manner, Soviet counterintelligence had recruited

Kukauskas played a decisive role in the blow dealt to the Lithuanian underground. It was Kukauskas, a defected partisan and CIA operative, who delivered Lukša into the hands of the MVD in September 1951.⁴⁵⁴

Lukša and Lithuanian National Memory

Juozas Lukša and his myth occupy a prominent but delicate place within the historical narrative of modern Lithuania. The successor states of the Soviet Union have been confronted with the need to create coherent myths for collective national identity within a modern nation-state. This includes the creation of modern national heroes. If statues of Lenin and Dzerzhinsky are torn down, with what (or whom) will they be replaced? The Russian government has a comparative advantage in its ability able to select its own national heroes from the Soviet, anti-Communist, and imperial past. States such as Lithuania and Ukraine feel the need to be far more selective. Prominent figures from the Soviet era would rehabilitate a system that contemporary narratives portray as Russian imperialism. Even worse, they undermine the broader national myth of the Soviet system being a quintessentially “foreign” government. In this sense, figures of the extreme

him. His handlers seem to have wanted to believe that Kukauskas was operating against his will and looked for “signals” he was providing that he had been compromised. Kukauskas cooperated with Soviet authorities under the assurance of a full pardon. This included his appearance in anti-nationalist Soviet propaganda films.

⁴⁵⁴ Oleg Rossov, “Mif o ‘pereodetykh enkavedeshnikakh:’ spetsgruppy NKVD v bor’be s bandformirovaniiami v Zapadnoi Ukraine,” in Igor Pyhalov, Alexander Dyukov, *Velikaia obolgonnaia voina-2: Nam ne za chto kaiat’sia!* (Moscow: Yauza, Eksmo, 2008), 228.

nationalist right, in spite of their crimes and poisonous ideologies, are far less problematic for the facilitation of national pride.

Writer and educator Laima Vince has taken a special interest in Lukša and the Lithuanian partisan movement. She translated Lukša's memoir, *Forest Brothers*, in 2009. It was the first time the book was printed in English and unabridged. Vince's introduction and afterword, however, deeply romanticize the Lithuanian partisan struggle. Vince rightly describes the suffering inflicted on the Lithuanian people under successive foreign occupations, and her sympathy for their plight is clear. However, she reserves her outrage only for the actions of German and Soviet troops and avoids any criticism of Lithuanian partisans. The Lithuanian Activist Front, a Nazi-sponsored, anti-Semitic paramilitary organization, is briefly discussed in a single footnote:

LAF: Lietuvių aktyvistų frontas (The Lithuanian Activist Front). An anti-Soviet resistance organization that was founded in the summer of 1940 and which organized and enacted the June 23, 1941 revolt against the Soviet occupation. On June 28, the German occupying forces managed to disarm LAF and shut down their activities on September 23. The former members of LAF went on to organize anti-Nazi resistance organizations.⁴⁵⁵

The description is highly problematic. Her failure to mention the Nazi involvement in the group's inception and pre-war operations is stunning. Accordingly, Vince does not acknowledge the mass, anti-Jewish violence in which Lithuanian partisans played a leading

⁴⁵⁵ Juozas Lukša, *Forest Brothers*, trans. Laima Vince, 198n28.

role. By Vince's phrasing, the LAF was an independent nationalist organization, equally opposed to Moscow and Berlin. In actuality, the LAF only turned on Germany after the latter terminated their partnership.

In the case of Vince's follow-up to *Forest Brothers*, the romanticization became quite literal. Her book, *Journey into the Backwaters of the Heart: Stories of Women Who Survived Hitler and Stalin*, is based on a series of interviews with Lithuanian women connected to the partisan movement, survived deportations, and other trials under totalitarianism. The interviews centered around love and its ability to allow one to sustain crushing hardships. Vince interviewed Lukša's widow Nijolė Bražėnaitė. Bražėnaitė met Lukša as a young doctor in Paris in 1948. She knew his work was shrouded in secrecy from the beginning, but knew little of the details. The two fell deeply in love, despite long periods of absence from one another. They married in Germany two years later, one week before Lukša's ill-fated mission to Lithuania.

Despite their nuptials, Nijole took a back seat to Lukša's "first wife" – Lithuania. Nijole did not grudge Lukša for this. Rather she told him she envied him for being able to take up the fight. Nijole continued to visit his grave 60 years after his death. She insisted that she only came forward under pressure in 1991, to reveal more information about the heroism of her former husband.⁴⁵⁶ The two today represent the quintessential patriotic Lithuanian man and woman.

⁴⁵⁶ Laima Vince, *Journey into the Backwaters of the Heart: Stories of Women Who Survived Hitler and Stalin* (Create Space Independent Publishing, 2012), 102-117. At least in this publication, Vince addresses the Holocaust in Lithuania, but the role of Lithuanian participants is minimized. The ties between the LAF and Nazi regime are once again

Lukša's experiences have also become the subject of a 2014 documentary, *The Invisible Front*.⁴⁵⁷ The film's creators interviewed several dozen individuals about the Lithuanian national resistance. These interviews include Lithuanian citizens, Baltic politicians, American officials, former CIA operatives, and agents of the Soviet government and counterintelligence. The film reinforces an uncontroversial image of Lukša as a heroic freedom fighter. Valdas Adamkus, the former president of Lithuania (1998-2003, 2004-2009) introduces Lukša as the most "brilliant" of Lithuanian heroes, who "believed in the ideals of free nations and free men."⁴⁵⁸ Even one former Soviet security agent confesses that, over time, he has come around to see Lukša as a national hero. The parallel story of the love between him and Nijole conveys Lukša as a deeply sensitive man torn between his personal feelings and national duty. His compounded sacrifices of exile, separation from Nijole, and his own life are what make his story so compelling, though incomplete. The

omitted, save the fact that founder Kazys Skirpa was a "former Lithuanian military attaché to Germany," on page 11. Vince acknowledges that one factor for the destruction of 95% of Lithuania's Jewish population was due to the "significant support for the 'de-Jewification' of Lithuania coming from the Lithuanian populace," but that the Kaunas pogrom was German-initiated violence, orchestrated by Stahlecker to appear as though Lithuanians began the killing on their own. Never mind that Lithuanians did play a prominent role, and that Stahlecker's deception would mean that Lithuanian participants believed they *had* started it themselves: Vince, *Journeys into the Backwaters of the Heart*, 39.

⁴⁵⁷ *The Invisible Front*, directed by Jonas Ohman and Vincas Sruoginis, (2014; Aspectus Memoria).

⁴⁵⁸ Adamkus himself experienced exile from Lithuania and turned to national activism. His family fled Lithuania ahead of the Soviet army. He received an education at the University of Munich and immigrated to the United States in 1949. As an official in the EPA, he served on delegations to the Soviet Union on environmental pollution – one of the primary motivations for the creation of *Sajudis*, a reform movement that became the leading organization in Lithuanian independence. For a contemporary account of *Sajudis'* activism and rise, see: V. Stanley Vardys, "Lithuanian National Politics," *Problems of Communism* 38, 4 (1989): 53-76.

film, however, also includes the accounts of AECHAMP operatives, including Trumpys, who was deployed with Lukša, and Kukauskas' uncomfortable defense of his shooting of Butenas and role in Lukša's death.

Works like Vince's and "The Invisible Front" still provide us with a reminder of some powerful lessons. Contrary to popular understandings, horrific acts are often not perpetrated by nightmarish villains, by men and women who would be at home within works of popular fiction. Perpetrators, like Lukša, defied these expectations. They could be far from the brooding, acerbic, socially isolated and easy to spot. It is comforting to think they may be so.⁴⁵⁹ But individuals like Lukša were young, handsome, charming, dynamic, and even romantic. These qualities make for the legends that remain so powerful to this day. It should not be forgotten that one person's hero may be another's villain. This is a dialogue that needs to be conducted in earnest. To challenge national heroes can be a difficult battle within any country, even without the additional baggage carried by the post-Communist states of eastern and central Europe.

The creation of national heroes is as much a process of memory as it is of selective amnesia. National figures that represent modern Lithuanian patriotism must be those who opposed Soviet rule in the Baltic. In that sense, members of the Lithuanian extreme right were unimpeachably anti-Communist. At the same time, Lithuanians need to remember these individuals as just as fervently anti-German or anti-Nazi. However, this case cannot

⁴⁵⁹ The question of how "ordinary" people can become ruthless killers remains one of the most haunting of the Second World War. For one of the best explorations of this question, see: Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York: HarperCollins, 1992).

be made. Contemporary Lithuanian nationalists prioritize the anti-Russian and anti-Communist orientations of the far right over a lack of culpability in war crimes motivated by religion, ethnicity, and political expression. After all, the German occupation of the Baltics, despite its horrors, was only a few years in comparison to the Russian rule that preceded it and Soviet domination that re-asserted itself for decades to come.

Chapter 6

TURNABOUT WAS FAIR PLAY

Back to the Beginning

The Civil War conflicts between the Bolsheviks and their opponents ended in the defeat and exile of counterrevolutionaries of all stripes. These included Russian monarchists and minority nationalists. The most significant assembly of these counterrevolutionary forces in the interwar period was known as the Promethean League. The so-called League took its name from the concept of Prometheism. Prometheists, like the Greek Titan, took the burden on themselves to defy brutally enforced dogmas for the benefit of mankind. Presumably, they hoped to also defy his fate.

The Prometheists found state sponsorship early on in their struggle against Bolshevism. One of their principal benefactors was Polish dictator Józef Piłsudski. Piłsudski had designs on the expansion of the Polish state at the expense of Russia, and minority nationality Prometheists provided a means to this end.

Ukrainian nationalist leader Symon Petliura worked closely with the Piłsudski government for an autonomous Ukraine. Petliura, a former subversive journalist had assumed leadership of the Directorate of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic (UNR) between 1919 and 1921. Despite his public declaration of full equality of Jews within the republic, UNR soldiers committed pogroms and mass atrocities against the Ukrainian Jews. The Directorate under Petliura chose to take only enough action against the pogroms as to

not alienate its soldiers in this critical time period. Thus, the cohesion of the doomed UNR was coolly valued above the lives of its Jewish citizens.⁴⁶⁰

Petliura's forces continued to run raids into Bolshevik-held Ukraine from exile. General Yurko Tutyunnik personally managed the UNR's "partisan headquarters," which dispatched Ukrainian nationalists to establish underground networks behind enemy lines.⁴⁶¹ The Bolsheviks feared the continued potential for Ukrainian nationalists to foment chaos in Bolshevik Ukraine and sought to turn this intelligence back on the UNR networks.

The Bolshevik's State Political Directorate (GPU) ran a series of operations designed to create false nationalist fronts. The GPU's move against Tutyunnik was one of the first successful implementations of this tactic. In 1922, one of Tutyunnik's closest deputies, Zayarny, was apprehended sneaking across the Ukrainian border. The GPU turned him and sent him back to Tutyunnik with false reports of a Supreme Military Council operating underground within Ukraine. Tutyunnik was cautious, but the GPU deception was elaborate. He sent additional emissaries to verify the Military Council's operations, and they reported back on the council's meetings, which were completely staged by GPU officers. One of these additional emissaries, Pyotr Stakhov, was also turned to supply even more bogus information to partisan headquarters.

The deception paid off on June 26, 1923, when the GPU successfully lured Tutyunnik back to Ukraine from Romania under cover of night. Hesitant, Tutyunnik would not cross

⁴⁶⁰ Lars Fischer, "Whither *Pogromschina* – Historiographical Synthesis or Deconstruction?", *East European Jewish Affairs*, 38:3, 307-308

⁴⁶¹ Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield: The Mitrokhin Archive and the Secrets of the KGB*.

the Dniester to return to his homeland. Zayarny met up with him and claimed the council was waiting. Tutyunnik sent Stakhov and his bodyguard to investigate. When Stakhov returned, Tutyunnik still felt something was amiss. "Pyotr, I know you and you know me. . . The [Council] is a fiction, isn't it?" Stakhov assured him once more, "That's impossible... You know you can rely on me..." Once across the river, Tutyunnik was apprehended. Letters allegedly written by him were disseminated to his co-conspirators, damning the Ukrainian cause as hopeless and proclaiming his support for the Bolsheviks. The loyalty was not mutual – the GPU executed him six years later.⁴⁶²

Petliura himself fell victim to assassination in Paris in 1926. His killer, Samuel (Shalom) Shwartzbard claimed his entire family had been killed in the pogroms under Petliura's rule. The trial turned into a castigation of the UNR Directorate, as "white and black bearded Jews...exchanged shocked glances with flat-faced Slavic Ukrainians."⁴⁶³ Despite Shwartzbard's admission of guilt, the affair ended in a mistrial. Shwartzbard himself has never been proven to be a Soviet operative. However, Bolshevik Jews overwhelmingly served as communist assassins and secret police. According to Richard Pipes, Jews comprised nearly three-quarters of the staff of the Kiev Cheka.⁴⁶⁴ The assassination of the Romanov family was likewise planned, led, and carried out by Jewish members of the Cheka. This association was not lost on the opponents of Bolshevism, who saw this as direct evidence of Communism as a foreign movement and a Jewish-led conspiracy. Robert Wilton, a sixteen-year correspondent for the *Times* in Russia,

⁴⁶² Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, 32-33.

⁴⁶³ "France: Petlura Trial," *Time*, 7 November 1927.

⁴⁶⁴ Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution*, (New York: Knopf, 1990), 824.

perpetuated these charges in his bitterly anti-Semitic account of the Romanov family's murder in 1920:

The Germans knew what they were doing when they sent Lenin's pack of Jews into Russia. They chose them as agents of destruction. Why? Because the Jews were not Russians and to them the destruction of Russia was all in the way of business, revolutionary or financial. The whole record of Bolshevism in Russia is indelibly impressed with the stamp of alien invasion. The murder of the Tsar, deliberately planned by the Jew Sverdlov (who came to Russia as a paid agent of Germany) and carried out by the Jews Goloshchekin, Syromolotov, Safarov, Voikov and Yurovsky, is the act not of the Russian people, but of this hostile invader.⁴⁶⁵

By using Jewish assassins, the Bolsheviks played to the bigoted expectations of the Russian right. At the same time, this placed Jews in the position of the potential scapegoat to buffer the responsibility of the Bolshevik Party as a whole.

The State Political Directorate employed a similar network of false patriots against Russian nationalists leaders. High-ranking moles, such as General Zelenin, factionalized white leadership and created power struggles that weakened authentic White leaders. But the work of Artur Artuzov was nothing short of masterful. Artuzov led the OGPU's counter-intelligence department that designed *SINDIKAT* (SYNDICATE) and *TREST* (TRUST)

⁴⁶⁵ George Gustav Telberg and Robert Wilton, *The Last Days of the Romanovs* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1920) vi, 392-393

operations in a combination of assassinating nationalist leaders abroad or luring them into Soviet territory, break them, and decapitate their networks.⁴⁶⁶

The SINDIKAT targeted Boris Savinkov, an anti-Bolshevik activist and the former deputy minister of war under Alexander Kerensky in the Provisional Government. He organized rebellions against the Bolsheviks in 1918, but set up his network in Poland when that country invaded Russia. SINDIKAT-1 placed a mole within Savinkov's intelligence network. Once infiltrated, this network was completely neutralized, and Savinkov's network went dark inside Soviet Russia in August 1921. Savinkov should have realized the need for greater caution, but as Christopher Andrew and Vasili Mitrokhin explain, he grew more deluded. In July of 1923, one of Artuzov's lieutenants visited Savinkov in Paris, where he moved after the collapse of his intelligence network. Posing as a representative of a fictitious underground movement, he persuaded Savinkov to send his top aide, who was turned and used to lure Savinkov directly into a trap. Like Tutyunnik he was apparently broken and declared his support for Soviet power. Savinkov was so thoroughly deceived, even his cellmate was an OGPU officer, and drew more information about Savinkov's operations over eight months together. Shortly thereafter, Savinkov died under mysterious circumstances, allegedly throwing himself from a window after a "drinking bout with a group of Chekists."⁴⁶⁷

The Bolsheviks continued hunting those who resisted them, even being so bold to use kidnapping and assassination abroad. General Alexander Kutepov, the former head of

⁴⁶⁶ Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, 33.

⁴⁶⁷ Andrew and Mitrokhin, *The Sword and the Shield*, 33-34.

the Volunteer Army and leader of the White Russian Military Union centered in Paris, died in a kidnapping attempt in 1930. Kutepov resisted his captors, but his heart gave out in the struggle. The kidnapping plot was planned by Yakov Serebryansky, who then sat atop the NKVD's Administration for Special Tasks. Serebryansky was well-experienced in the techniques of violence and terror. Before the revolution, he was particularly active in the assassination of Tsarist police and counterintelligence officers. According to Pavel Sudoplatov, who succeeded Serebryansky, by the time of Kutepov's kidnapping the administration had established networks throughout France, Germany, and Scandinavia.⁴⁶⁸ Soviet secret police continued to rely on kidnapping and assassinations to combat nationalist opposition into the early Cold War, particularly against leaders of the NTS and Ukrainian networks.

A Spy or a Fool – General Anton Turkul

To this day, the Tsarist General Anton Turkul remains one of the most controversial figures in the struggle against Soviet communism. Born 24 December 1892, Turkul excelled within the Russian Imperial military and served the Tsar in the First World War. After the Bolshevik seizure of power, he joined the White Army in its struggle to overthrow the Bolsheviks. As the Bolsheviks pacified the outlying regions of the former Russian Empire, Turkul fled his homeland from Crimea to Gallipoli. From there, he fled to Paris, a

⁴⁶⁸ Pavel Sudoplatov and Anatoli Sudoplatov with Jerrold L. and Leona P. Schecter, *Special Tasks* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1994), 58-59.

city that would become home to many anti-communist émigrés – where “all the misters” were, as Mikhail Bulgakov would later write.⁴⁶⁹

As an exile, Turkul took a central role in the establishment of networks in order to overthrow the Communist Party. Among Russian émigré patriots, Anton Turkul was probably the single most revered man in the world. As the co-founder of the National Union of Labor Solidarists (NTS), Turkul carried enormous prestige as the progenitor of the largest, most-organized anti-Soviet organization the world over.

But Turkul was a Soviet double agent from the start. The CIA realized this far too late, but officials convinced themselves that he was worth funding, regardless – if Turkul in fact turned out to be a Soviet double agent, all the Agency lost was money.⁴⁷⁰ This was, of course, an absurd rationalization. The general was a corrosive influence on every anti-Soviet organization with which he came into contact.

Before the NTS, Turkul was a prominent member of the Russian All-Military Union (ROVS), an organization of émigré veterans who opposed the Soviet government. The decorated White Russian general, Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel, founded the union in 1924 and led it until his death four years later. General Alexander Pavlovich Kutepov, the head of the ROVS’s “Inner Line” counterintelligence unit, assumed the leadership of the ROVS in 1929, but Soviet counterintelligence had already penetrated its ranks. In January 1930, Soviet secret police kidnapped Kutepov after disguising themselves as Parisian police. The general resisted his abductors, but his heart gave out in the struggle. They buried him in

⁴⁶⁹ Mikhail Bulgakov, *Sobach'e serdtse* (Prospekt: Moscow, 2011), 72.

⁴⁷⁰ Aarons and Loftus, *Unholy Trinity*, 349-350, note 136.

Paris, not far from an agent's home.⁴⁷¹ Kutepov was succeeded by General Evgenii Miller, perhaps a capable military mind, but nonetheless naïve. Soviet counterintelligence strengthened its hold on the ROVS under his leadership. General Nikolai Skoblin, Miller's assistant, defected to Soviet intelligence shortly after Kutepov's death.⁴⁷²

The July after Kutepov was killed, Turkul and his ROVS superior Claudius Voss created the National Labor Union (NTS) in Belgrade, where they had already been assigned to run nationalist operations. From Belgrade, Voss continued to run Kutepov's Inner Line and received MI6 funding allocated to the ROVS.⁴⁷³ Turkul made direct contact with the Secret Intelligence Service via Dick Ellis, an SIS agent operating in Paris and Berlin. Through Ellis, Turkul secured the support of Stewart Menzies, the chief of SIS. Menzies supported the ROVS and Kutepov's Inner Line. He likewise extended financial support Turkul's NTS.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Sudoplatov, *Special Tasks*, 91.

⁴⁷² Walter Laqueur, "New Light on a Murky Affair", *Encounter* LXXIV.2 (March 1990), 33; Despite accusations to the contrary, Skoblin was not a Soviet agent prior to Kutepov's death. One enticing rumor is that his wife, the beautiful singer Nadezhda Plevitskaya was a vehement communist who sang for Red Army soldiers. According to the story, she seduced the general— who was prepared to hang her at the gallows— and won his heart. Depending on one's politics, this is either a romantic story of music and beauty soothing beastly ire, or a cautioning tale of feminine deception and White naïveté. Either way it is almost an entire fabrication. Plevitskaya sang for Red Army troops but also for White forces. There is no indication she was anything other than apolitical and uninvolved in her husband's NKVD employment. She made a much better scapegoat than a spy. See: Walter Laqueur, *Soviet Realities: Culture and Politics from Stalin to Gorbachev* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 94-95.

⁴⁷³ Dorrill, *MI6*, 189-190, 405.

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 189; Chapman Pincher, *Too Secret, Too Long* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984), 429.

Ellis himself was a spy. In 1945 a captured Nazi spy revealed that there was a significant leak within MI6. One captured *Abwehr* officer claimed that a White Russian named Alexander Zilenski (Ellis' brother-in-law) had a good source in SIS. Another *Abwehr* agent named a Captain Ellis, an Australian with a Russian wife. The identification could not have been more direct. The British took no further action. The responsibility for further investigation of a leak tied to White Russian defectors would have fallen to Soviet counterintelligence chief Kim Philby. Philby himself called for no further action against Ellis. British journalist Chapman Pincher believed that it was at this time that Ellis began to work knowingly for Soviet intelligence, if not earlier.⁴⁷⁵ Ellis maintained communication with White Russian double agents, and Anton Turkul remained one of most trusted contacts.

Turkul penetrated Japanese intelligence networks by early 1937.⁴⁷⁶ By then Turkul had been posturing for the Japanese to tap into his NTS network. The Japanese believed the NTS operatives would be a reliable bank of Soviet data and the Japanese General Staff subsidized their work. Meanwhile, Turkul maintained contact with Richard Sorge, who provided the GRU with invaluable data on Japanese military movements. By 1938, Turkul and the NTS's attention turned back west to Germany.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁵ Pincher, *Too Secret Too Long*, 428-431, 442.

⁴⁷⁶ S. Vychuzhanian, "Sud'ba Generala Turkula," *Novosti razvedki i kontrarazvedki* 1 (1 January 2003), 14, Cited in Jeffrey Burds, "AGENTURA"; "The Soviet War against 'Fifth Columnists': The Case of Chechnya, 1942-4," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 42, No. 2 (2007), 281.

⁴⁷⁷ Mark Aarons and John Loftus, *Unholy Trinity: The Vatican, the Nazis, and the Swiss Banks* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 158-159.

Turkul also involved himself in the doomed army of General Vlasov. Soviet intelligence infiltrated its ranks not only at the top, but also within its rank and file. Among the Vlasov volunteers recruited from German camps in early 1945, there were some who allowed themselves to be captured to join Vlasov's forces. Nobody knew who these men were, and they were suspected of being Soviet spies. Vlasov organizers tried to root out spies and provocateurs, punishing anyone even suspected of being a suspected agent.⁴⁷⁸ Turkul's example demonstrates that it is likely that some Soviet agents managed to evade suspicion and find themselves among the 20,000 in the First Division. Moreover, these defections established a network of Soviet agents in the West, masquerading as nationalist true believers.⁴⁷⁹

Klatt's relationship with Nazi intelligence reads, at least in retrospect, as the most absurd of fantasies. The Abwehr believed that the German Jew offered his services as a fellow Fascist who wished to spare himself, and his loved ones, the same fate of the 6 million Jews murdered during the war. Out of the impulse of self-preservation Klatt and others promised Soviet intelligence – priceless information from a secret network of NTS members who infiltrated the Kremlin and sought to bring it down from within. In reality, there were no such White interlopers. It was the NTS that was riddled with spies at the highest levels. Klatt was no Fascist, but a Soviet agent. Nor was he the master spy – he was simply a go-between for the apparently aloof and oblivious General Turkul.

⁴⁷⁸ Jürgen Thorwald, *The Illusion*, 253-254.

⁴⁷⁹ Yuryk Boshyk, Wsevolod W. Isajiw, and Roman Senkus, *The Refugee Experience: Ukrainian Displaced Persons After World War II*. (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, University of Alberta, 1992), 346.

When the British interrogated him as part of the Klatt network, Turkul played the role of the deceived victim. The virulent anti-Communist, the decorated White general, the leader of the NTS, who supposedly dedicated decades of his life to a romantic dream of abolishing communism in his homeland, claimed to be duped. Turkul claimed that Ira Longin, one of his intelligence contacts, carried out this deception and must have been an agent of the Soviet military intelligence (GRU). Even though Turkul had misgivings and indications that Longin was less than forthright with him, he continued to trust in him because he seemed to be of good character. Turkul's story bewildered his interrogator. Realizing this, Turkul offered to take his life with the suicide pill MI5 found when it searched him, and he insisted he was not and never had been a Bolshevik agent. "The alternative," his interrogator flatly rebutted, "is to believe that you are, and you were all the time, a fool."⁴⁸⁰

Turkul was no fool. His British interrogators were fairly certain of this, too. On September 25, 1946, his interrogator reported that Turkul's explanations of his relationship with Ira Longin, his intelligence chief was falling apart. Turkul claimed that, although he was Longin's superior, Longin had deceived him and been using him for Soviet manipulation. The White General and seasoned spy would have the security service believe he was well-meaning but naïve, a victim of Longin's long string of lies. The interrogator believed that both he and Longin were together agents of the Soviet's Ministry

⁴⁸⁰ R. E. Hedger to Miss J. Chenhalls, 21 September 1946 National Archives, Kew, London. KV 2/1591, 29b; J. Chenhalls to Kim Philby, Interrogation of Anton Turkul, 20 September 1946, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1591, 29a.

of State Security (MVD) and that Turkul would not likely break soon.⁴⁸¹ Turkul tried to point British intelligence towards Longin while preserving himself in order to continue his White Russian front operations. These reports were forwarded to Lt. Commander Winston Scott of the American Strategic Services Unit (SSU) and Kim Philby.⁴⁸²

The Klatt network was a Soviet controlled operation from beginning to end, and Turkul's man Longin was an unmitigated Soviet disinformation agent. This belief was backed up by George Leonidovitch Romanoff, a committed monarchist and former compatriot of Turkul. Romanoff served as a liaison between Turkul and contacts in Belgrade and Sofia. According to German Intelligence Officer Josef Matl, who worked with Romanoff, he was also instrumental in establishing ties with "the most important Turkul Group" in Istanbul.⁴⁸³ Romanoff informed British intelligence that he had long suspected Longin of being a Soviet disinformation agent. He repeatedly tried to warn Turkul of this, and the latter's unwillingness to heed his counsel led Romanoff to leave Turkul's organization. He also supplied other leaders within the organization with a letter he addressed to Turkul, which denounced Longin as a liar and a Soviet plant. Romanoff, however, maintained that Turkul was "an honorable man." He rejected the notion that

⁴⁸¹ Progress Report on Turkul, 25 September 1946, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1591, 31a.

⁴⁸² J. Chenhalls to Winston Scott, 25 September 1946, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1591, 31b; J. Chenhalls to Kim Philby, 25 September 1946, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1591, 33a.

⁴⁸³ Extract from Interrogation report on Josef Matl, German I.S. Official, 5 September 1947, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1453, 23a.

Turkul, too, could be a Soviet interloper.⁴⁸⁴ Romanoff's interrogation seems to have been the final real investigation of Turkul's true orientation. The British passed him off to American authorities in Frankfurt.⁴⁸⁵

The NTS established Turkul's unshakeable credentials as a Russian national hero. It also provided him with an unwitting network to gather intelligence on Western governments and nationalist operations outside the USSR. The NTS had every intention of keeping the territory of the Soviet Union in tact after the overthrow of communism. This directly conflicted with the objectives of minority nationalist organizations, which were entirely separatist in nature. While Turkul openly professed that he was against the aspirations like those of the Ukrainian nationalists, he still reached out at times to the Ukrainian-led Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and the Melnyk wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. What appeared to be cool-headed pragmatism could easily lead to the placement of double agents into minority networks.⁴⁸⁶

Turkul pushed for increased collaboration between Russian and minority nationalist organizations under the auspices of the ABN. The organization was a magnet for extreme right wing opponents of communism, including Stepan Bandera and Ferdinand Ďurčanský, the Czechoslovakian collaborationist. The Soviet government used this organization like moths to a flame, stoked by masquerading nationalists like Turkul and

⁴⁸⁴ "Report on the Interrogation of George Leonidovitch Romanoff (now Father George), 33 Avenue de la Roserale, Geneva on 19th and 20th November 1946, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1593, 70Z.

⁴⁸⁵ J. Chenhalls to T. Speske, 25 November 1940, National Archives, Kew, London, KV 2/1593, 71A.

⁴⁸⁶ Aarons and Loftus, *Unholy Trinity*, 153-155.

Mikolai Abramtchik, a Belorussian monarchist under Communist control.⁴⁸⁷ Kim Philby synchronized MI6 with the ABN ostensibly for the purpose of recruiting British counterintelligence assets. He vouched for the reliability of Soviet agents interloping with the far right true believers. Philby similarly duped American intelligence by selling these networks to Washington and Langley.⁴⁸⁸

General Turkul used the NTS to draw out Russian nationalists to keep them in plain sight of Soviet intelligence. Under his guidance, the NTS had fascist tendencies and was stridently anti-Semitic.⁴⁸⁹ It was also the only Russian nationalist network that survived the Second World War in any meaningful way. Its highly penetrated networks were primed for continued collaboration in the early Cold War, and the West was desperate to gain any glimpse it could behind the Iron Curtain. It was for this same reason that the United States recruited Reinhard Gehlen and his heavily penetrated - and largely ineffective - intelligence network. The organization functioned largely as a US-subsidized laundering system for Gehlen's contacts, which included notorious war criminals like Alois Brunner.⁴⁹⁰

Even through the 1950s, Turkul's organizations exhibited xenophobic and anti-Semitic tendencies. In 1953, Turkul launched a monthly periodical, *Dobrovolets* and served as its editor. The periodical was printed, in Russian, in Munich and distributed to Russian nationalists in exile. It often commented on international affairs and also provided

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., 156.

⁴⁸⁸ John Costello, *Mask of Treachery* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1988), 595-596.

⁴⁸⁹ United States, Department of State, Office of Intelligence and Research, "NTS - The Russian Solidarist Movement," External Research Paper Series 3, No. 76, 1951.

⁴⁹⁰ Simpson, *Blowback*, 281-282.

historical analysis from the Russian nationalist perspective. An article from January 1956 criticized “foreigners, especially American researchers” interested in the diverse populations of the Soviet Union. “It is often almost impossible,” the author lamented, for Westerners to make sense of the contradictory materials concerning different nationalities *vis a vis* the communist government. In matters concerning history, it was important for Western observers to obtain their information from “disinterested” parties. The author submitted a 1918 report by Colin Ross, who was attached to the German occupation of Ukraine. The report “would be more than useful for foreigners to read.” The report was an indictment of the Ukrainian Rada of the day. Ross wrote his superiors that “Chaos reigned at the time of the German troops’ entry into Ukraine. . . I can say I’m glad that at the time of signing the peace treaty, [the Rada] had neither power nor supporters in the country.” Generally speaking, the Bolsheviks had far more supporters. This included the Jewish population, whom Ross claimed were entirely “on the side of the Bolsheviks, and most of the leaders of the Bolsheviks are Jews.” As a result the Ukrainian Rada “operates now, and likely for a long time in the future, on German bayonets.”⁴⁹¹ Using Ross’ report, the author was able to wholly discredit the Ukrainian Rada of the civil war era as a foreign, illegitimate entity while simultaneously reiterating the longstanding Jewish-Bolshevist stereotype.

Post-war nationalist organizations like the NTS and ABN functioned as updates on the Soviet models of *SINDIKAT* and *TREST*. They attracted the most virulent and aggressive opponents of Moscow and funneled them into networks where they could be turned or otherwise neutralized. As long as the organizations officially maintained strident anti-

⁴⁹¹ N. Staritskiy, “Nekotorye stranye dokumenty aktual’ny i nyne,” *Dobrovolets*, no. 37, January 1956, 7-10.

communism and presented some tactical value, they could continue to identify and destroy nationalist opposition in perpetuity. Western financing, whether from governments or private donors, provided them sustainability without requiring significant Soviet funding. These Potemkin villages were nothing short of a masterstroke. Men like Turkul convincingly posed as authentic leaders of fictitious resistance networks while selling out their sponsors and subordinates.

Turkul's behavior reflects a clear pattern. Playing the role of a virulent nationalist, Turkul was involved in the creation and operation of several anti-Soviet émigré factions – the ROVS, the NTS, the Klatt Bureau, the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). In each case, men close to Turkul were revealed to have all along been members of Soviet intelligence. Turkul meanwhile managed to abandon these organizations shortly before the depth of penetration was discovered and preserve his reputation. He convinced Western intelligence services that he had been duped and remained committed to combating Moscow. It is possible that Turkul was simply a focal point for Soviet intelligence operatives who continually followed his networks and corroded them from within, and that the naïve general was continually deceived despite previous experiences and knowledge of his enemy. But Turkul was also deeply involved in two of the most actively anti-Soviet networks in the post-war era, the NTS and ABN. That Soviet intelligence never attempted to unleash its wrath upon Turkul—as it had to other icons of anti-Soviet resistance, such as Alexander Kutepov, Evgeny Miller, Georgi Okolovich, Aleksandr Trushnovich, Stepan Bandera, or Lev Rebet—is remarkable in itself.

Historians have not yet fully revealed the nature of Prince Turkul's relationships with Western and Soviet intelligence services. Perhaps the general was a convert to Soviet

power and continued Russian dominance under a red banner. More likely, the general who distasted communist ideology remained committed to defending his homeland, whatever the current government. As he told he had been heard to admit to other Russian émigrés, he believed that the USSR was simply one temporary form of eternal Russia. The communists would inevitably fall, and the monarchy would once more rule over the Russian Empire.⁴⁹² The rebirth of the Russian Empire required that the Soviets controlled its territories, or, even better, expanded them. If the Bolsheviks were distasteful, more so were the minority separatists and Westerners who plotted to tear the empire asunder.

⁴⁹² Armen Gasparyan, *Generala Skoblin: Legenda sovetskoi razvedki* (Moscow: Veche: 2012), 160. Historian Armen Gasparyan, rightly points out that many Russian émigrés felt the same way. But Turkul's words are revealing. They do not convey the sense of urgency or moral clarity one would expect to find in a leader of multiple anti-Soviet organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

In the early Cold War, the American and British governments exploited the Soviet Union's severe ethnic tensions in attempts to foment chaos behind the Iron Curtain and, perhaps, roll back the borders of the communist world. Coordinated efforts to undermine Moscow were nothing new to London and Washington. Both governments had covertly conspired with anti-Communist leaders since the Bolshevik seizure of power in November of 1917. Prior to the Second World war, it was London who pursued these operations with the greatest vigor, as White émigrés simultaneously strengthened their ties with the German far right.

The brutality of the Second World War brought the severity of Soviet national divisions to the fore. As the *Wehrmacht* cut through Soviet territory, local populations greeted them as liberators from the communist yoke. German commanders reached out to local partisans and anti-communist leaders to help instill a new authority and seek retribution against their old exploiters. These reprisals targeted not only former representatives of the Communist government, but also local Jewish populations. This hatred was based partly on residual, religious anti-Jewish sentiments, but newer articulations of Jewish hatred played a larger role. Works like the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and Nazi political and philosophical treatises argued that both capitalism and communism were merely two sides of a single sinister coin. Both were Jewish conspiracies to seize the levers of power and keep majority populations under heel. Thus, in the Soviet republics, Socialism and Jewish power became synonymous within the myth

of *Zhidokomuna*. If socialism and capitalist democracy were both merely fronts of a conspiring minority, only a government constructed on the basis of nationalism could preserve the identity and security of the majority. Anti-Communist activists accordingly adopted political programs strikingly similar to German National Socialism.

For émigré networks, opportunism and mimicry were important survival tactics. After the Second World War, they distanced themselves from their fascist, national-socialist, and anti-Semitic foundations. The war in Europe, a struggle to liberate the continent from fascism, thoroughly discredited those ideologies. The records of groups like the NTS and OUN-B could not be so easily whitewashed. Western governments, their militaries and intelligence agencies, remained fully cognizant of their past politics and behaviors. Moreover, these organizations' newfound professions of love of liberty and democratic pluralism were dubious when coming from the same leaders who championed wholesale ethnic cleansings. Others, like Tscherim Soobzokov, proved that in lieu of gaining national independence they would be willing to settle for their own personal fiefdoms en émigré. At any rate, the ability to ingratiate oneself with power remained essential.

Western governments in turn forged Faustian pacts with men who were fugitives from communist and international courts. The Cold War required the pursuit of all available advantages against Moscow. The destructive potential of émigré nationalist networks, ready for remobilization after the Nazi defeat, was too tempting to pass up. The wartime activities of many of these groups and people were well known. Military and civilian intelligence organizations had ample data Nazi ties and the commission of war

crimes. While London and Washington no longer condoned these behaviors and some of their more virulent ideologies, they kept perpetrator networks in tact. These various groups often worked at cross purposes, such as Ukrainian nationalists and the NTS, but they shared the common ideology of ethnic supremacy. And though the NTS may have been the largest and most organized of the anti-Communist groups, it was the national separatists who had the most to offer. The success of their political programs would necessarily leave any remaining Soviet state weaker and create client states along the border.

Nationalist émigré operations failed to achieve these goals. Five decades of work from the Bolshevik takeover to the Nosenko affair did not bring the Soviet Union closer to topple. The minority republics remained firmly integrated. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the closest the West had come to helping initiate an anti-Communist revolution in the Eastern Bloc, was a catastrophe. Moreover, Soviet counterintelligence was so adept at infiltrating and scuttling émigré organizations—a skill honed by Soviet security agencies since their inception—that any meaningful progress was all but impossible. Worse still some of the most influential figures in Western intelligence, including Kim Philby, had been acting for Moscow all along. Thus, when it came to SIS-émigré operations, Moscow worked agents three levels deep: in Moscow, in opposition networks, and in London. Eventually, as the Nosenko case demonstrates, it became nearly impossible to tell the difference between true and false defectors—or even, possibly, two genuine defectors fed with false information! This incredible frustration makes the decision to abandon human counterintelligence operations easier to understand.

Nationalist perpetrators remained liabilities even after their usefulness ran out. Though men like Soobzokov would no longer be dispatched to their homelands, federal agencies still needed to protect them and to run interference on other actors, whether special interests or individuals within other agencies and branches of the federal government. The best they could do was delay what appeared to be the inevitable. And ultimately they were undone by the braggadocio of Edgars Laipenieks, undermining both of them in the process and providing more credibility to those arguing for more transparency on the part of federal agencies. Agencies like the CIA were effective in protecting their men. This is evidenced by the fact that Feodor Fedorenko and Karl Linnas were extradited to the Soviet Union, while someone like Laipenieks was not. Fedorenko worked at Treblinka and Linnas at a camp in Tartu, Estonia. Laipenieks was at the Riga Central Prison. The difference was that Fedorenko and Linnas, the first and second American citizens to be extradited to the Soviet Union, had not worked for American intelligence.

Every chapter case study in this dissertation features men whose statuses as perpetrators and Nazi collaborators remain disputed. Despite the weight of the documentary evidence against each of them, their defenders insist on their patriotism and records above reproach. In some cases, family ties inform defenses. But each of them became symbolic of matters far larger than themselves. To discredit them would in turn threaten causes championed by nationalist movements and Western cold warriors. Any admission of partnership with perpetrators - or worse, allowing them to take a leading role - would almost necessarily cede the moral high ground to the "Evil Empire."

The cases of Laipenieks and Soobzokov remind us that perpetrators needed to maintain their own self-preservation long after Nuremburg. Both men had long since gone “respectable,” and Soobzokov had even become a local administrator and prominent member of the Democratic Party, complete with powerful political ties. Their respectability was based on their civic contributions, and, in Soobzokov’s case, the ability to lead a prominent local ethnic and religious enclave in Paterson, NJ. Here came in to play not just special or moral interests, but also personal, as local rivalries became a political fight for Soobzokov’s citizenship and, ultimately, his life. This battle seems to even transcend the grave, as Soobzokov’s next of kin have advocated for his innocence and undue defamation, without success.⁴⁹³

Others like Mykola Lebed remained unscathed despite accusations against them within the press and academic publications. To this day it remains controversial to challenge the heroic status of OUN and UPA leadership. In present-day Ukraine, it has even become illegal to do so. In the past, denigration of nationalist heroes was dismissed as Communist agitation. Today, it is similarly castigated as Russian propaganda. There is no longer a “Soviet” buffer between former minorities’ resentments and Russia. In this sense, the nationalist stakes and ethnic components within these mythologies are greater than they have ever been.

The historian stands on unsteady ground when looking to the future, and it remains unclear how present challenges will unfold in the years to come. There is certainly cause for pessimism. The growing tensions between Russia and the former Soviet republics to its

⁴⁹³ Aslan T. Soobzokov v. Eric P. Holder, et al., Civ. No. 10-6260 (DRD), 1429 (D. N.J., 2011).

West will take time to diminish. For all the Western condemnation of Russia's recent behavior towards former Soviet republics, specifically Georgia and Ukraine, it should not be lost in the narrative that in both cases anti-Russian nationalist agitation preceded Russian belligerence.⁴⁹⁴ The continued use of History as a political weapon is always distressing and can only further exacerbate relations in a growingly volatile region. Even worse, the West once again draws closer to nationalist leaders who castigate Moscow and champion them as democrats.⁴⁹⁵ The mistakes of the past are clear, and we must fight our impulse to repeat them.

⁴⁹⁴ The two conflagrations overlap in another bizarre way: Mikheil Saakashvili, the former Georgian president who sent his army into South Ossetia and Abkhazia, in exile, was recently appointed governor of Ukraine's Odessa region. See: "Ukraine appoints Georgia ex-president Mikheil Saakashvili governor of Odessa," *The Guardian*, 30 May 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/may/30/ukraine-appoints-georgia-ex-president-mikheil-saakashvili-governor-of-odessa>, accessed 30 May 2015.

⁴⁹⁵ An especially demonstrative example of the western media's ignorance of the region and its history comes from *VICE News*' 2014 reports on the Ukrainian struggle against Russian separatism in Donbas. *VICE* conducted an interview with Mark Gregory Paslawsky, hailing him as the "only American fighting in Ukraine." Paslawsky went by the *nom de guerre* "Franko" but insisted he chose it without much thought, because he liked the sound. His duty to Ukraine, he claimed, stemmed from his "parents' background" and as a Ukrainian. A colleague of Paslawsky gave slightly more insight to Paslawsky's motivations, saying "He really hated the Russians. We all hate the Russians": Simon Ostrovsky, "The American Volunteer in the Donbas Battalion: Russian Roulette (Dispatch 66)" *VICE News*, 7 August 2014, <https://news.vice.com/video/russian-roulette-dispatch-66>, accessed August 21, 2014; Paslawsky died less than two weeks later, fighting separatists: Simon Ostrovsky, "The Only American Fighting for Ukraine Dies in Battle," *VICE News*, 20 August 2014, <https://news.vice.com/article/the-only-american-fighting-for-ukraine-dies-in-battle>, accessed 20 August 2014. Unreported by *VICE* was the fuller picture of Paslawsky's family background. Paslawsky, in fact, was the nephew of Mykola Lebed. A report from Russia Today provides evidence for his relation to the nationalist leader: Bryan MacDonald, "The true story of Mark Paslawsky, the 'only' American fighter with Kiev forces," *RT*, 29 August 2014, <http://www.rt.com/op-edge/183796-mark-paslawsky-us-ukraine/>, accessed September 13 2014.

Glossary

ABN	Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations; founded in 1943 by Yaroslav Stetsko of the OUN-B, this was an amalgamation of non-Russian, anti-communist organizations that endeavored to overthrow the communist system and divide the Soviet Union into separate, sovereign nation-states
Cheka	Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage; This was the first Soviet state security organ, founded in December 1917 under Felix Dzerzhinsky; Succeeded by the GPU in 1924
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency, USA
DOB	Domestic Operations Base, United States Central Intelligence Agency, USA
GAO	Government Accountability Office, USA; conducts audits and internal investigations of the federal government; formerly the General Accounting Office (1921-2004)
GPU	State Political Administration, USSR, 1922-1923; Succeeded by the OGPU ; a Soviet state security organ
GRU	Main Intelligence Directorate, USSR; foreign military intelligence for the General Staff of Soviet Armed forces; presently operates under the General Staff of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation
HRSP	Human Rights and Special Prosecutions office of the Justice Department, USA; the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) was reconstituted within this office in 2010.
KGB	Committee for State Security, USSR, 1953-1991; a Soviet state security and foreign intelligence organ
LAF	Lithuanian Activist Front; founded in 1940 by Kazys Škirpa, who had formerly served as the Lithuanian military attaché to Germany. The LAF helped disseminate Nazi propaganda in the Baltic and called for violence against Lithuanian Jews and communists.
MGB	Ministry of State Security, USSR, 1946-1953; Predecessor to the KGB ; a Soviet state security organ
MI5	Security Service (Military Intelligence, Section 5), UK; The domestic arm of British intelligence
MI6	Secret Intelligence Service (Military Intelligence, Section 6), UK; The foreign arm of British intelligence (see: SIS)
MVD	Ministry of Internal Affairs, USSR, 1946-1991; a Soviet state security organ.

- NKGB** People's Commissariat for State Security, USSR, 1941-1943 and 1943-1946; predecessor to the **MGB**; a Soviet state security and foreign intelligence organ;
- NKVD** People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, USSR, 1934-1946; Predecessor to the **MVD**; a Soviet State Security Organ
- NSC** National Security Council, USA
- NTS** National Union of Labor Solidarist; this organization was founded in Belgrade in 1930 by the White Generals Anton Turkul and Claudius Voss.
- OGPU** Unified State Political Administration, USSR, 1923-1934; Succeeded by the **NKVD**; a Soviet state security organ
- OPC** Office of Policy Coordination, USA; This organization, initially led by Frank Wisner, was created to engage in psychological and paramilitary warfare behind the Iron Curtain. It was initially created as a mostly stand-alone office in 1948. In 1951 it was merged within the **CIA**.
- OSI** Office of Special Investigations, Department of Justice, USA; established in 1979 to investigate and extradite war criminals within the United States; Reconstituted into the Justice Department's office of Human Rights and Special Prosecutions (**HRSP**) in 2010
- OSO** Office of Special Operations, USA; This organization, in contrast to the **OPC**, engaged more in the gathering of intelligence than propaganda and sabotage. These tasks were delegated to the newer Office of Policy Coordination.
- OSS** Office of Strategic Services, United States Army
- OUN** The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; This nationalist, paramilitary organization was first created in 1929 in Western Ukraine under Polish governance. It employed propaganda and terror against the Polish government prior to the Second World War. The movement was led by Yevhen Konovalts until 1938. In 1940, the organization split into two rival factions: the OUN-M under Andrei Melnyk, and the more radical OUN-B of Stepan Bandera. Mykola Lebed was a prominent member of the OUN-B. Under Lebed, the OUN-B, along with the **SB** and the new **UPA**, conducted mass violence against Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians.
- ROVS** Russian All-Military Union; White Russian officers' organization founded in Serbia in 1924 after defeat and exile from Soviet Russia; The organization was undermined by Soviet moles like General Nikolai Skoblin; Prince Anton Turkul, who co-founded the **NTS** in Belgrade, 1930, was also a member.
- SANACC** United States State-Army-Navy-Air Force Coordinating Committee
- SB** Security Service of the **OUN-B**; Led by Mykola Lebed

- Section IX** Anti-Soviet Section of the British Secret Intelligence Service (**SIS**); Kim Philby, a mole, transmitted data from this section, which included British and American information, to his Soviet handlers.
- SIS** Secret Intelligence Service, UK (see: **MI6**)
- UHVR** Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council; formed in 1944 by Mykola Lebed (foreign minister) and Ivan Hyrniok; Its external delegation (**ZP/UHVR**) collaborated with the **CIA** in the creation of the Prolog Research Corporation in order to produce and spread Ukrainian nationalist propaganda.
- UPA** Ukrainian Insurgent Army; the paramilitary organization was originally founded by Taras Bulba-Borovets in 1941. Borovets, unlike Bandera and Lebed, opposed wholesale violence against the Polish population. By 1943, the OUN-B successfully marginalized Borovets and co-opted the UPA's name and organization.
- Waffen-SS** The armed wing of Nazi Germany's *Schutzstaffel* ("protection squad," or SS); The Waffen-SS became a collection of non-German military units, with thousands of recruits from enemy and occupied territories.
- Wehrmacht** The German Army, 1935-1945
- ZP/UHVR** External Delegation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (see: **UHVR**)

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Elsey Papers

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