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MEM-W-

16 January 1952

Chief of Station, Frankfurt

Attn: CSOB

Chief, SR

Chief, EE

REDSOX/OPERATIONAL

[] Report on Conversation with CASSOWARY 2.

Attached is a summary of conversation between CASSOWARY 2, []
and [] on 16 November 1951.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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Conference with CASSOWARY 2 on 18 November 1951

1. On 18 November 1951, [] and [] held a rapid and fruitful conference with CASSOWARY 2 at the Idlewild Airport in New York. Very briefly, the reactions of CASSOWARY 2 to our 1952 program were as follows:
 - a. he agrees that civilian clothes, identity documents, plus intensive training on how to behave in the Soviet Union are essential for all CARTHAGES we plan to dispatch in 1952;
 - b. if CAWNPORE headquarters has survived, he sees the re-establishment of W/T contact with CAWNPORE as the team's primary duty;
 - c. if CAWNPORE headquarters or at least some of the primary members of that headquarters have not weathered it out, then he believes that the CAWNPORE organization as such must be considered for all immediate and practical purposes destroyed, i.e., any medium or lower level illegal units still in existence after the demise of headquarters would be isolated, unable to establish effective contact among themselves, bent only on survival and helplessly vulnerable to the stratagems of the RIS;
 - d. should the underground cease to be an effectively organized reality, CASSOWARY 2 recommends the dispatch of small teams to various areas to organize an entirely new underground organization, distinct and separate from what has existed up to now (just how and whether these small radio teams should have any lateral liaison CASSOWARY 2 did not say);
 - e. CASSOWARY 2 went on to say that if BROADWAY also sends CAVATINA teams to build separate, independent underground cells after the dissolution of the present one, then there is no sense in our sending any CARTHAGE teams for the foreseeable cold-war future for two rival nationalist cells operating in the same area would eventually lead to each others destruction; (Case Officer Comment: [] and [] had no opportunity to talk over the obvious cogency of this point to the BROADWAY-ZACABAL conference scheduled for December because [] plane departed some thirty minutes after CASSOWARY 2 raised this issue).
 - f. there are indeed men available to CASSOWARY 1 who will go in so long as CAWNPORE exists, but since these men are all volunteers the serious problem arises as to what logical and compelling reasons can be given after CAWNPORE is pronounced dead to men from the emigration;

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in other words, what explanation can be given why they should go in now when there is not only so little Western appreciation of the Ukrainian cause, but also many evidences (which CASSOWARY 1 cannot justify to these men) that the United States is mildly hostile to non-Russian nationalists as opposed to Russian nationalists;

g. politically, CASSOWARY 2 views the future with patient optimism, firm in his belief that the United States will be led by events beyond its control to a substantial re-evaluation and improvement of its present policy towards the non-Russian nationalities of the Soviet Union;

h. from Ukrainian emigre reactions to QKACTIVE, it should be obvious now to the Department of State that when it comes to basic issues there are no splits between Easterners and Westerners in the Ukrainian emigration: the Eastern Ukrainians have been, if possible, even more united in opposition to QKACTIVE than the Westerners (how does the Department of State square this off with the Great Russians' contention that Eastern Ukrainians think differently than the Westerners and are far from being so nationally conscious?);

i. concerning the QKACTIVE-subsidized Ukrainian "federalist", CASSOWARY 2 volunteered the information that they have already been nicknamed by other Ukrainian emigres as the Ukrainian "stipendist", a play-on-words connoting their obviously greater love of cash than country; Prince Poltavets-Ostrianytsa, prominent leader of the new "federalist", is, according to many Ukrainians a typical "federalist": he duped his friend, the Nazi Minister Rosenberg, into backing him politically to the tune of 200,000 Reichsmarks and now he has apparently found friends among the American backers of QKACTIVE;

j. CASSOWARY 2 made virtually no significant comment on the Ukrainian guard companies plan which he believes is a matter to be straightened out with CASSOWARIES 3 and 12.

2. CASSOWARY 2 seemed in a better mood than at any time since CARTHAGE 3's return in October 1950. After the GARRIAGE incident on 19 April 1951 (which capped a previous bitter disappointment regarding a last minute reversal in approval of the proposed English language bulletin in New York), CASSOWARY 2's spirits hit the bottom and remained there throughout the summer months and into the early fall. It should be remembered that after being informed of the achievement of radio contact with the CARTHAGE team of May 1951, his only comment was "well, at long last!" His spirits seemed up at this conference and he obviously appreciated both the opportunity of hearing the story of what happened to project directly from and the chance of participating in the planning for 1952. It was with a review of events from May to the present that opened the meeting.

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3. CASSOWARY 2 was emphatic in his assertion that the bungling BROADWAY teams had been the prime instigators of the terrific enemy pressure reported in almost all messages from GARTHAGE 5. (Case Officer Comment: Actually, the undersigned believes that enemy pressure would have been substantially as extensive in 1951 whether or not the BROADWAY teams had run afoul of Polish and Soviet security forces for the following reasons: (a) by winter 1949-50 the Soviets knew that GARTHAGES 1 and 2 had returned to the Ukraine; (b) in July 1950 GARTHAGE 8 was captured and presumably debriefed; (c) through their publishing activities both CASSOWARY 1 and GAVATINA 6 gave wide publicity to the fact that they had courier contact with CANWFORE headquarters in late 1951). CASSOWARY 2's analysis of the reasons why W/T contact collapsed in Fall 1951 is much the same as ours: since the time that enemy pressure broke off overland courier contacts between CANWFORE and GARTHAGE 5, something has happened to GARTHAGE 5 or his W/T equipment; if any operators are in tact next spring, contact may possibly be resumed before the May moon period.

4. Except under one condition, CASSOWARY 2 cannot quite believe that the subtle Soviets are trying to wipe out the underground completely in preference to gaining sufficient control over it as to use it as a baited mousetrap to attract ZACABAL and BROADWAY operations. It would not be typical of the Soviets not to have a few strategems up their sleeves. If, on the other hand, resurgent nationalism has become a real threat to the Soviets and no successful high-level penetrations of the underground have been possible over the last seven years, then an all-out campaign to eradicate every vestige of the movement would be logical and understandable. Even if the Soviets are attempting to give the coup de grace, CASSOWARY 2 is convinced the movement will survive but whether it will continue to be a centrally-controlled organization remains to be seen.

5. Judging from the reactions of the average Soviet Ukrainian during the last war, CASSOWARY 2 believes that the next war will also appear only in terms of a struggle between two colossal military giants, symbolized by Stalin, his secret police and armies on the one hand and the Americans on the other. The last war was the Stalin-versus-Hitler war. Next time it will be Stalin versus Truman (or Eisenhower). Ukrainians who do not know what the United States represents ideologically know quite well that it is a military power of the first magnitude. If they are impressed with the might of the United States they will obey American instructions, but if they believe the U.S. will lose the war, they will be disobedient and hard to deal with. The century-old sense of "dola" (fate) and subservience in the Eastern Ukraine automatically gives the winning side many obedient allies. Out of several World War II examples given by CASSOWARY 2, the following is particularly apt. A short time after the Germans captured the city of Voroshilovgrad in the Eastern Ukraine, a member of the Ukrainian nationalist movement approached the owner of a printing shop and requested that a Ukrainian nationalist handbill be run off in 100,000 copies. The printer asked whether the Germans wanted this handbill run off. The

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underground man said yes, the Germans had sent him to get the leaflets printed. The printer nodded and said very well, he would print them. As corroboratory evidence the underground man wore a German uniform the second time he appeared at the printer's. At this meeting he told the printer that the Germans now desired that these handbills be distributed and posted throughout the Voroshilovgrad area. The printer said very well, he would do it with the help of friends. He would accept no payment for the printing or the distribution. The handbills were widely disseminated and a few days later the Gestapo came in, arrested and shot the printer. CASSOWARY 2 privately believes that this unquestioning, follow-the-leader tendency of his Sovietized eastern colleagues is important when considering such things as self-determination and plebiscites. The Soviet Ukrainians know only Bolshevik "elections" and it is quite probable that they would vote the way they are told the Americans want them to vote (if they still respected America as a power symbol) or, if they dislike the Americans, they will offer passive resistance and try to boycott the American-sponsored elections. It will take several years of reorientation before Sovietized Ukrainians understand exactly what a free election is and that they do not have to vote according to anybody's orders. (Case Officer Comment: Perhaps here we have a good reason why literally no Ukrainian emigre group likes the idea of a plebiscite on the issue of national independence).

6. According to CASSOWARY 2, the leftwing of the URDP comprises nationally-conscious Eastern Ukrainian Marxists. In the United States their main representative is IAN HOLUBNYCHI in New York City, who currently is doing research on a grant from the Russian Institute of Columbia University. When asked recently by CASSOWARY 2 why the URDP leftwingers favored the retention of the Kolkhoz after the next war, HOLUBNYCHI replied that he, like other young Eastern Ukrainians, knew only the Kolkhoz system during his lifetime and that no one should expect young Eastern Ukrainians in the Ukraine today to favor some other system completely foreign to their experience.

7. CASSOWARY 2 is wryly amused by the mental anguish newly-arrived Ukrainian Marxist DP's go through when teased by others about their dishard loyalty to the anti-capitalist catechism of Marxist Orthodoxy when, after a few months of work within a subway stop or two from Wall Street, these "Marxists" are buying up furniture, television sets, gold watches, refrigerators and other accoutrements of bourgeois capitalism on the instalment plan. When badgered into admitting that capitalist America isn't so bad after all, these Marxists still complain that although they have all the physical comforts their six-day-a-week jobs give them no leisure time in which to broaden their minds or go to the theater. Economically, these people are well off, but still they desire something more: free time to take part in the Ukrainian cultural life of their communities. This gives the lie, in CASSOWARY 2's belief, to the Great Russian emigres' argument that if things were economically better, the Eastern Ukrainians in the homeland would have no qualms about being russified. The exaggeration of the economic factor is an attempt to obscure the more important fact

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that Eastern Ukrainians have tried during both World Wars to free themselves from Russian domination.

8. The subject of QKACTIVE was naturally not discussed by the undersigned although CASSOWARY 2 volunteered the statements summarized in Para 1 h and in i above. Also no mention was made of any political marriages or consolidations within the Ukrainian emigration.

9. In parting, CASSOWARY 2 asked if the undersigned knew about the difficulties the Pentagon or ZACABAL is having with the Slovak Committee and the subsidy that group has. The undersigned replied in all sincerity that he knew absolutely nothing about any such committee or subsidy.

10. Prior to embarking for CSOB, the undersigned plans to have one more talk with CASSOWARY 2 (probably around 11 January) so that we have the advantage of his superior operational acumen.

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