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RUSSIAN EMIGRATION TO GERMANY.

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Russian emigration to Germany may be divided into two main groups, namely the old and the new group. To the old group belong all those emigrants who left Russia prior to the outbreak of World War II, i. e. before 1 September 1939. Nearly all those emigrants were political refugees, who emigrated in mass during the Bolshevik revolution and the subsequent civil war in Russia. The majority left Russia in 1922.

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This emigration had more than

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one political aspect; ~~it~~ ~~included~~ ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
adherents to absolute monarchy,
constitutional democrats, revolutionary
socialists, and Mensheviks. The mass
emigration of 1922 ceased at the
end of the civil war and thence-
forth only individual persons were
able to flee from the heavily guarded
Soviet Union. The political complexion
of the old emigration thus became
even more diversified, as it acquired
new elements, such as the Trotsky-
ites. Repeated efforts have been
made to unite the old emigrants
within a single political bloc, but

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thus far they have met with failure. Their only common point - their hatred for Bolshevism - acts almost negatively and is unable to become a basis for collaboration.

Unable to adopt a positive idea around which they might rally, except for a few separate active groups which often are opposed to each other, the majority of the old Russian refugees suffers from political indifference, perhaps owing to ^{the} exhaustion of its financial resources as well as to its inability to adapt itself successfully to foreign countries. Even

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the outbreak of another war was unable to alter this situation to any appreciable extent; it is now clear that the old emigrant group lacks well-organized, active, and fighting groups, although ^{it} has many very capable persons who are unable to engage in decisive political action.

Quite a different picture is offered by the new Russian emigration, which occurred during and after the last war. It is composed of completely different elements, such as prisoners of war, political refugees,

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workers from the eastern regions of the Soviet Union, ^{and} members of various organizations engaged in the struggle against Communism, who succeeded in avoiding the forced repatriation requested by the Soviet Government and pursued ^{by them} with great determination during the two years immediately following World War II.

Desertions from the Soviet army of occupation, which occurred in mass at the beginning of the war and continued to a great extent after the cessation of hostilities,

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have almost completely ended because the Western Allies have been returning the deserters to the Soviet military authorities.

The new Russian emigrants belong to the new type of Soviet man brought about by the new Soviet regime of life in Russia. His most important characteristics include an incredible ability for adaptation, absolute lack of scruples in his struggle for survival, and a stoic indifference toward the adversities of life.

This brief examination of the

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characteristics of the new Russian
amply show how difficult it is
to understand the difference
between the new and the old
emigration. The new emigrants
reproach the old ones for their
political lethargy of the past 30
years, for dreaming of outlived
ideals, and for wanting to revive
outdated ideas. Their severest charge
is that the old emigrants are not
familiar with the Soviets and,
therefore, may easily fall into
Soviet traps. In short, they have
no confidence in the old emigrants.

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Undoubtedly some of these charges are true, but those launched by the old to the new emigrants are equally true. Above all, the new emigrants are accused of knowing ^{no} regime other than the Soviet, of being unable to properly appraise the non-Soviet world because they have known the west after its widespread destruction had been caused by the last war, and of refusing to combat Bolshevism as a doctrine, but only as a form of government, i.e. of upholding sovietism without Bolshevism.

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Much good will and political tact are required on both sides if the old and new Russian emigrants are to be politically united. It is not surprising that under the difficult conditions of the postwar period a comparatively long time had to transpire before a basis could be found for the first political contacts between the two groups. To the difficulties already existing must be added that the best and ablest elements of the old and new emigration had participated in the Vlasov movement.

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and, therefore, after the war they were compelled to refrain from all political activities, lest they be handed over to the Soviet Union by the Western Allies. Only after the failure of the Moscow and London conferences of foreign ministers did the situation change. The adherents to the Vlasov movement once again were able to meet and lay the foundations for a new coalition of anti-Bolshevik elements. In the spring of 1948 the revival of political activity among the Russian emigrants was noted.

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This activity began with an article of the Russian language newspaper Chasovoi titled "Interview with an official of the Soviet Church" and continued with articles written by journalist Naikalov which brought about animated discussions in the circles of the old and new emigration. A series of meetings took place, including the following:

- 1) Meeting of 13 March 1948 organized by Colonel Kroniadi's group.
- 2) Meeting of 21 March 1948 organized by members of the KONR.
- 3) Meeting of 24 April 1948 which

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lead to the organization of the
AZONDR.

In addition, the following
meetings were held within the
KONR:

1) Meeting of 25 May 1948 held by
the SAF.

2) Meeting of 25 June 1948 held
by the VASO.

The meeting of 13 March was
held in Munich; all the others in
Schleissheim, near Munich, large
center of Russian refugees in the
American Zone of Germany.

Meanwhile, the first signs of

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a similar awakening on the part of the refugees in the cultural, social, and economic fields were noted. On 4 March 1948 a "Temporary Organizing Committee" was formed in Stanberg, which ~~is~~ ^{was} to ~~prepare~~ ^{arrange} the election of the "Central Representation of Russian Emigration". The elections were scheduled for 16 through 18 June in Munich. The preparations, however, ceased almost completely during that month, one of the reasons being a new reform enacted in Germany which deprived the refugees of

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the necessary financial means. During this pause in the committee's work of organization, the organizations already in existence have consolidated, ^{and redefined} their respective positions. Organizations of old emigrants have already been in existence for some time.

The VMS (^{MONARCHICHESKI} Verkhovni Monarkicheski Soviet - Monarchical Supreme Council) has its headquarters in the American Zone and is the most influential monarchical organization. It is headed by Peter Skarshinsky who resides in Munich. His

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closest collaborators are: Sergei Yurief who resides at 65 Werneckerstrasse, Schwabing (Munich); general Ivan Svishiov who is located at the Schleissheim refugee camp; and Nikolai Chukhnov. Skarshinski represents the extreme right and is the most reactionary element in the monarchical movement. This movement, however, also includes constitutionalist, federalists, and other elements, who form their own separate groups. The new emigrants, and particularly the young ones, have no representation

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in the monarchical movement, to which belong the oldest members of the old emigration, who are opposed to all new political thoughts. In recent months this movement has succeeded in extending its influence over the group led by Yuriev and Mikhail Shokalski (Christian Workers Union) as well as over the Central Representation of Russian Emigration in the US Zone of Germany. In order to do this, however, the monarchical movement, has been compelled to make certain concessions which the

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older members of the movement consider as moral setbacks.

A well organized and ideologically well-founded group is the NTS (^{NATSIONALNO} Narodni Trudovoi Soyuz - ^{national} Popular ^{Trade} Workers Union) whose members now are generally referred to as "solidarists". The chief of this organization is Victor Baydalakov who lives in the U.S. and is assisted by Dimitri Pomboski, Okolovikh, Saitzev, who reside at Limburg Sahn and Frankfurt am Main.

The NTS is supported by the youngest elements ^{among} of the old

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emigrants who realize that, in the event of a Russian national rebirth, the achievements of the past 30 years cannot be eliminated.

2 The^y oppose the collective Socialism of the Soviets with their own "Solidarism". Their ideologist is Professor Levitski whose sociological and political opinions are influenced by ~~Herbert~~ Professor Dr. Oswald von Nell-Preving, a Jesuit professor.

After the capitulation of Germany the NTS had the opportunity to assume leadership of the Russian refugees, but failed to capitalize

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on this opportunity because of its numerous tactical errors, including its opposition to the Vlassov movement. The NTS has been unable to ~~get~~ obtain widespread support among the refugees also because of its strict adherence to the political and religious principles of its solidarity.

The NTS claims to have followers even behind the iron curtain, but this ~~etc etc~~ claim undoubtedly is exaggerated. It is certain, however, that following the retreat of the Germans from Russia there

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remained several adherents to the movement, but at present ^{any} all contact with them is almost impossible.

The oldest Russian organization is the ROVS (Ruski Obshchevoinski Soyuz) which is set up along military lines and follows the traditions of the Russian white armies which fought against Communism between 1918 and 1921. The leaders of the ROVS ^{were} are: Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolaievich; Baron von Wrangel; General Kutiepo; and General Miller. At present its chief is

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General Arkhangelski who lives in Belgium at 366 Rue Vanderkindere, Meele, Brussels, while the organizational work is directed by his deputy, General von Lampe who lives in Paris.

The ROVS carries on a constant struggle against Communism ~~and~~ and directs secret operations in the USSR. Often Soviet espionage has dealt severe blows to this organization ~~and~~ and has even succeeded in kidnaping Generals Kutiepor and Miller, ~~both~~ both of who disappeared in France without leaving any trace.

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During the last war a large ROVS unit fought in Serbia in the Protective Corps, which included also followers of the VMS and NTS as well as the unit headed by General Turkul. At present the activity of the ROVS is hampered by the fact that its members are old. In Germany the ROVS controls another organization called Union of the Officers of the Guard.

In 1946 plans were made for the establishment of a common center for the protection of the cultural, social, and economic interests

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of the Russian emigrants and for the facilitation of their transfer to new areas of emigration. Regional committees were formed at Hamburg, Frankfurt am Mein, Stuttgart, Munich, Konstan^z, Saulgau, and Regensburg. At first it was not possible to unite and coordinate the activity of these committees due to the distances between them, communication difficulties, difference between the laws of the various zones of occupation, and particularly because of the lack of statistical data on the emigrants.

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The struggle among the various movements for attainment of political influence consisted mainly of debates on the number of delegates to be elected to the Central Representation of Russian Emigration. On 4 March 1948 the VOK (Temporary Organizing Committee) was organized ~~at~~ at the Sternberg refugee camp. Representatives ~~from~~ of all refugee camps, however, collaborated in its organization. The Committee worked out the following system of ~~duplicate~~ dual representation:

1) Delegates are sent by religious

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communities and professional and social organizations.

2) Every 200 emigrants send one delegate; this applies to emigrants in refugee camps as well as to those who reside in private homes.

The Solidarists protested against the adoption of this system. They charged the Committee of underhand maneuvering and refused to participate in its meeting. Despite the obstructionism of the Solidarists, the meeting was held from 16 through 18 May 1948 and the Central Representation of the Russian Emigration is the

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US zone of occupation was elected.

The organization is composed of the following officials:

President: Sergei Yuriev.

Vice Presidents: General Ivan Svishiov and Nikolai Melnikov.

Executive Board of 16 members:

Eugene Artziuk

Alexander Berwik

Vsevolod Boiov

Prof. Alexander Dolin

Michael Golubov

Prof. Kopulov

Joseph Kusnezov

Arserius Matkovski

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Anatole Mikhailovski

Prof Novikov

Isevolod Rumianzev

Boris Sergeievski

Peter Skarshinski

Nikolai Chukhnov

Michael Shiokalki

Presidium of 6 members:

Berwik

Dolin

Kuznezov

Mikhailovski

Chukhnov

Shiokalski

Treasurer: Golubev

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Secretary: Anatole Krivoshein

The new emigrants during the war rallied around General Vlasov, or to be more exact, under the leadership of the KONR (Committee of Liberation of the Peoples of Russia) and of the ROA (Russian Army of Liberation).

The old immigrants hailed the famous "Prague Manifesto" issued by the Vlasov movement and, ~~on~~ on the whole, adhered to it, but because their own attitude toward the movement had been ~~one~~ a negative one, their

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participation in the liberation movement has remained comparatively insignificant.

Vlasov thought that after the collapse of Germany there would be a war between the East and the West, but he was wrong. He and many of his collaborators paid with their lives for this error, while the remaining members of the movement had to hide throughout Europe in order to avoid forced repatriation. The political activity of the new emigrants

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began ^{only} after the failure of negotiations between Bolshevism and the western democracies.

The group led by Kromiadi, former secretary of Vlasov, has been especially active. On 13 March 1948 he called a meeting of the adherents to the Russian liberation movement. Invitations to attend this meeting were sent also to the old emigrants, to the WMS, ROVS, NTS, and to some Ukrainian and ^{Byelorussian} Belorussian groups of lesser importance. The motives of the discord are purely personal. The representatives of the groups which

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are opposed to ^{the} Kromiadi group ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ have declared themselves in favor of the idea of coalition, but want nothing to do with the organizers. On 21 March 1948 they held a meeting of their own. At that meeting the events of 13 March repeated themselves because General Glasenap, the central figure of this movement, was not acceptable ~~to~~ ^{to} a large number of ~~the~~ emigrants. The majority, however, elected a committee which succeeded through ~~skillful~~ negotiations in skillfully conducted organizing a

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new meeting on 24 April and in bringing about ^{an} agreement between the two main divergent groups. The AZOR (Anti-Communist Center of the Liberation Movement of the Russian Peoples).

The elected central Plenum has 56 members, namely:

Aldanov

Gudim-Levkovich

Antonov

Bikovski

Arkipov

Vassiliev

Buman

Dikov

Bogatirchev

Drazenko

Gegela-Schivili

Dimitriev

Galai

Dolin

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Lubakin

Kromiadi

Konovlov

Kurbai

Kontbay

Kononov

Kioselev

Levitzki

Legostaiev

Melnikov

Meyer

Moskovikh

Nikolaiev

Nauvenko

Gretzko

Gorgienko ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Golubev

Ganskiuk

Galdanov

Glasezap

Golubinger

Veselaki

Odingov

Pismenni

Posniakov

Popov

Portlesnik

Priamitschikov

Rumianzev

Spiridonov

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33 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SECRETSakharovTurkull~~Prishin~~ Svishiov

Khomenko

Serdakovski

Tskhevati

Selliak

Yuriev

Semionov

Yakovlev

The underlined names are those of old emigrants. Thus the Plenum comprises 36 new and only 13 old emigrants; two posts are still vacant.

The Presidium comprises the following members:

Kroniadi

Spiridinov

Meyer

Pismenni

Yakovlev

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The Control and Coordination Council
is composed of the following members:

Vassiliev	Logostaiev
Ganskiuk	Naumenko
Gegela-Schvili	Adingov
Galsenap	Popov
Solubingev	Svitshiov
Kononov	Turkull
Levitzki	Kuviev

The Council of Representatives of Nationalities comprises the following members:

Balinov	Gordienko
Bogatitski	Andim-Levkovits
Vessel'ski	Konotai

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Portlesnikov

Tshevati

The AZONR is under the influence of the new emigrants. Even the Presidium comprises 5 new emigrants and only two old ones. Kroniadi himself in the Presidium is considered as the leader of a group of new emigrants. The struggle between the two organizations for the control of the AZONR is not over as yet. It should be noted that Glazenap belongs to the Presidium, but actually,

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takes no part in its activities.

Despite the majority of new emigrants in the AZODNR, there are many of the most prominent among the old emigrants, who are not very active in the work of this organization, but merely surveil the work of the new emigrants, with whom they are not as yet familiar and in whom they feel that they cannot rely completely. The new emigrants, on the other hand, feel that they are the only heirs to the Liberation Movement and, consequently, the only

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persons worthy of leading the ^{CONFIDENTIAL} anti-Bolshevik struggle. They are not entirely content with sharing the leadership with the old emigrants and make no effort to conceal their intolerance.

✓ Both old and new emigrants, however, agree that the fight against Bolshevism must be conducted with the utmost vigor and determination and that only united action can lead to success. It is not improbable, therefore, that in time the AZODNR will become the true center of anti-Bolshevik

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struggle in Germany, combining
the dynamism and vigor of the
new emigrants with the knowledge
and prudence of the old ones.

It must ^{be} remembered, moreover,
that in addition to these men
there are other forces, belonging
to the old as well as to the new
emigration, which at present are
not active because they consider
the situation to be still uncertain
and the attitude of the US and
Britain toward the Russian question
still ~~is~~ unclear. They think
that the present tension between

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the two western democracies and Bolshevism has not as yet reached the critical stage and that no one can guarantee that a formula may not be yet found for agreement between the two sides. It is felt that, in ~~case~~^{the event} of such an agreement, the western powers would ~~not~~ ~~refrain~~ feel no con-
juction in ~~turning~~^{handing} the Russian emigrants over to the Soviets, if the USSR could reciprocate with ~~some~~ a political renunciation of some importance.

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Even before the AZODNR was

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constituted, a group of ROA adherents residing in Bavaria (most of them top officials of the ROA on friendly terms) organized a meeting.

On 5 April 1948 the SAF (Association of the Flag of St. Andrew) was constituted. This flag (blue cross on white field) was the flag of the Garist army during World War I and the revolutionary period; it was also the symbol of the ROA. At present the SAF represents the military^{like} section of the AZODNR.

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The VAZO (United Anti-Communist Groups Abroad) is likewise a military-like organization. The initiative in its organization was taken by General Kononov, who on 12 June 1948 assembled at Schleissheim representatives of the Cossacks of the Don, Kuban, Terek, Orenburg, Astrakhan, Urals, and Transbaikal. The Presidium comprised Generals Getmanov, Danilov, ^{and} Golubinger, and Col. Dukhopelnikov. The VAZO considers itself as having the same rights as the SFA, with which it maintains relations, and

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recognizes the AZOONR.

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Some Russian emigrants criticize Kononov and assert that he cannot consider himself a Cossack simply because he lived for a ~~com~~ comparatively short time in the Cossack village of Novonikolaievsk where he was an official of a Soviet factory. Following his capture by the Germans, he organized for them a Cossack unit with police duties. Later he was in command of the 5th Cossack Regiment in the Cossack Division led by German General von Pannowitz. Before the

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fall of Germany he deserted leaving his men to their ^{own} fate. Despite the fact that his regiment ~~was~~ ^{has} been charged with acts of cruelty, his name has never been included by the Soviets on their lists of ^{war} criminals, nor has his repatriation been ever requested. It is not known who promoted him to the rank of general. Kononov keeps contact with Vassili Glaskov, who has organized the "Cossack Popular Movement", which endeavors to ~~convince~~ ^{instill in} the Cossacks the desire to become an independent nation, to consider the Russians as

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as their worse enemies, ~~to~~ separate themselves from Russia, and to found a new state to be known ~~as~~ as "Kosakiya". This absurd idea which is likely to bring disagreement among the Russian emigrants, has led many to think that it is a creation of the Bolshevists. Kononov and Glaskov work together in a very shady game; one leads the nationalist Cossacks, and the other the separatist Cossacks.

Kononov's bitterest enemy is General Naumenko who is regularly elected ataman of the Kuban.

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Cossacks and, therefore, ~~is~~ recognized by everyone as their legitimate representative. Naumenko, however, is not supported by all the Russian emigrants because he insists on transferring all the Cossacks to Paraguay in order to have at his disposal a large number of ~~good~~ able fighters in the event of a future war.

Also dependent on the ROA is the BSM, which at the end of April 1948 changed its name to BSMNR (Military Union of Russian Youth). The BSMNR has recognized

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the AZODNR's authority,

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The group led by Sikov (who resides on Altseestrasse in Friesen) includes elements of the new emigration who are ready to fight. Their political opinions are clear and definite. Even before the war the organizers of this group began to plan for their anti-Communist struggle with headquarters at Dabendorf and later in Berlin where was established the propaganda school of the ROA at a later date. Their newspaper Borbo (^{struggle} ~~enemy~~) at present is printed secretely

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in many copies and each copy is read by numerous persons.

This well managed newspaper expresses better than any other the attitudes and ideas of the anti-Bolshevik emigrants.

In addition to the aforementioned newspapers published by ^{the} Russian emigrants the following are worthy of note:

Echo (Echo) published by the NTS at Regensburg

Poser (Sowing) also published by the NTS at Regensburg

Svobodnoye Slovo (Free Word) which

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after the first 4 issues changed its title to Svoboda (Freedom); published at Landshut by the AZODNR.

Nashe Vremya (Our Time) published by the SAF at the Schleissheim refugee camp.

Antikomunist (Anti-Communist) published by the VAZO at Schleissheim.

Obozreniye (Review) published by Kalmikov at the Pfaffenhofen refugee camp.

Na Perelome (The Rupture) published by Kalikin at the Schleissheim refugee camp.

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At present all anti-Communist Russian refugees recognize Khasov's Prague Manifesto, except a members of the old emigration. In addition, all of them agree that it is necessary to explain to foreigners that the Bolshevik Party and the Russian people are not one and the same and that the anti-Bolshevik world will win an eventual war against Communism only if it is able to make an ally of the Russian people. It is felt that since the Russian emigrants have the best available knowledge

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of Russia, the Russian people, and
Bolshevik strategy and tactics, they
should play a very important
role in the event of a future war.

All the emigrants believe that
they must ally themselves with the
western democracies, but few of
them ~~believe~~ rely on their honesty.
The majority feels certain that
the next war will succeed only
in annihilating Russia's industries
and economy, in dividing the
country into small independent
states, and in reducing the
status of the population.

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the level of colonial people. The task of the emigrants consists not only of fighting Communism, but also of protecting as much as possible the Russian people from destruction and of uniting the nation at the end of the war in order to prevent foreign occupation. For these reasons the emigrants seek as much as possible to align themselves with the German nationalists, in whom they see a natural ally of Russia, taking into consideration that present-day Germany does not constitute,

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at least for some time to come,
a menace to Russia.

Besides aligning themselves
with the western democracies at all
costs, the Russian emigrants realize
that they must create a strong
organization. This they began to
do in the ~~of~~ spring of 1948, but thus
far the results have not been
very satisfactory, ^{because} ~~even~~ the AZODNR,
even ^{now} ~~which at present~~ has only ^{meager} possibilities
of becoming a central organization
capable of uniting all the
Russian emigrants. The greatest
danger of failure comes from

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the various ~~at~~ movements within the AZODNR struggle with each other in their endeavor to take over the best positions and gain the greatest possible amount of influence for material advantage.

The Baranovski and Glasenap groups are not strong because of their ~~the~~ personal influence of their leaders, but because these, as agents of the US intelligence service, have huge financial resources.

It must not be forgotten that under these conditions the

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Soviets are able to place agents everywhere. We have failed, to mention ~~that~~ a comparatively strong group which calls itself "Operative Group", which is composed of former ROVS and ROA members. They do not participate in the discords which beset the emigrants; on the contrary, they seek to pacify the divergent groups. Their activity, which now is mostly theoretical, will have great importance in the future conflict with the USSR. This group prefers to work secretly.

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especially in its relations ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ with other emigrant groups.

The Russian emigrants in Germany are linked with the Union of Russian Organizations in New York, ^{and Russian emigrants throughout the world} through their Central Representation of the Russian Emigration in the US Zone of Occupation. The new organizations, however, since their position is still comparatively unstable, have not even attempted to establish contact with other groups, but prefer to restrict their activity to their immediate areas.

END

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