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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3020
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

16 January 1961

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meetings with Grzegorz Leopold SEIDLER, 28 and 29 December 1960

1. Attached is AECASSOWARY/27's report on two meetings on 28 and 29 December 1960, with Grzegorz Leopold SEIDLER, rector of Marie Curie-Skłodowska University in Lublin, Poland. Included are joint comments on the meetings by AECASSOWARY/27, AECASSOWARY/2, and AECASSOWARY/15, the latter two having participated in the planning and activation of the contact.

2. SEIDLER was first sighted as an AERODYNAMIC target in the SEFORLIK case, SEFORLIK having been a protege of SEIDLER's in Lublin. (SEFORLIK is understood to be considering defection in England, where he is currently studying at Oxford.) SEFORLIK wrote an AECASSOWARY/1 collaborator in Germany about SEIDLER's trip to the United States. This collaborator passed the information on to AECASSOWARY/29 in Frankfurt. FGB suggested that in view of SEIDLER's contacts and knowledge of the Ukraine (he was born there), he should be contacted by AECASSOWARY/1.

3. A check with SE/P revealed that OO/Contacts was in touch with an American college professor, John W. Chapman of the University of Pittsburgh, who had met SEIDLER at Oxford and later, in 1960, made a trip to Poland, where he saw SEIDLER again and negotiated an exchange program with him on behalf of the University of Pittsburgh and Marie Curie-Skłodowska. OO/Contacts' debriefings of Chapman were obtained, and they proved very useful in briefing AECASSOWARY/27 on SEIDLER. Chapman was able to provide information on SEIDLER's itinerary which enabled AECASSOWARY/1 to make contact with him at the University of Toronto via one of its peripheral contacts there, Professor George S. H. LUCKYJ. It was also established that SEIDLER would be at the Great Northern Hotel in New York between 23 and 29 December, when according to I and NS his visa was due to run out.

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4. Armed with a letter of introduction from Professor LUKYJ, ABCASSOWARY/27 contacted SEIDLER by telephone on the morning of 27 December and arranged for a meeting on the 28th at 9:00. In the meantime EE/P had been informed of SR/3 plans to contact SEIDLER and had indicated an interest in the results of the contact.
5. The undersigned briefed ABCASSOWARY/27 in New York on the evening of 27 December with all of the facts and opinions collected on SEIDLER from EE/P, OO/Contacts, and FOR. ABCASSOWARY/27 was instructed to use the first meeting to establish the extent of SEIDLER's knowledge about the Ukraine, the nature of his contacts there, his travel plans and immediate itinerary, and to form some impression as to SEIDLER's character and vulnerabilities. SZPOLNIK, who had been in correspondence with Professor Chapman (they had met at Oxford on SEIDLER's recommendation in early 1960), had alleged that gossip in Lublin had SEIDLER going to Communist China as Poland's next ambassador. ABCASSOWARY/27 was therefore particularly charged with learning whether there was any truth to that rumor.
6. Following the first meeting, a discussion on the results was held with the ABCASSOWARIES concerned. It was decided that SEIDLER should be contacted by ABCASSOWARY/27 again and that ABCASSOWARY/27 should probe more pointedly in the direction of operational collaboration with SEIDLER's Lvov contacts and with SEIDLER himself. ABCASSOWARY/27 called SEIDLER on the morning of 29 December and made another appointment with him for 1400 hours that same day. In the course of the telephone conversation, ABCASSOWARY/27, in explaining the purpose of his call, mentioned his desire to contribute to the support of his countrymen inside the Ukraine in their attempts to maintain their national character. SEIDLER turned the people in Lvov and himself "verbal realists" and said something to the effect that books were fine, but *do* ABCASSOWARY/27 have anything else to offer. On the basis of these remarks, which were interpreted by the ABCASSOWARIES and the undersigned to mean that SEIDLER was really interested in "going business," ABCASSOWARY/27 was encouraged to suggest material collaboration with SEIDLER and if circumstances permitted, to ask SEIDLER obliquely whether he wanted contact with the proper United States authorities. In order to be prepared for such an eventuality, the undersigned contacted EE/P by telephone, asking whether an EE/P staffer should be sent to New York to stand by for such a contact in the event that SEIDLER answered affirmatively. EE/P preferred not to prepare for such a contact given the limited time available but maintained the option of reconsidering its position if circumstances changed after ABCASSOWARY/27's second meeting with SEIDLER.

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7. A high-quality electric razor was bought by AECASSOWARY/27 for SEIDLER, primarily as a keepsake to end their meeting on a pleasant note but also to get SEIDLER's reaction to material benefits.

8. Apparently, we had misinterpreted SEIDLER's remarks. He was not in fact interested in immediate personal gain or in a clear-cut operational arrangement for that or any other reason. It was felt at the conclusion of the operation by all concerned that the contact had been developed to the furthest extent possible for the time being.

9. Although AECASSOWARY/27 was unable to obtain SEIDLER's subsequent itinerary, OO/Contacts through Professor Chapman learned that SEIDLER was returning to Poland via London and Paris. Chapman was unable to state how long SEIDLER would be in these cities.

10. Although the immediate results of the SEIDLER contact were less than we had hoped for, the case does appear to have a future, and on a grander scale than we had believed. The apparent fact that certain circles within Poland are in sympathy with the nationalist aspirations of a long-integrated state of the Soviet Union appears significant, although at this point we can only guess at the extent to which SEIDLER has backing at home. Restrained nationalist tendencies on the part of certain Ukrainian intellectuals in Lvov are known, and SEIDLER's disclosures did not come as a surprise. AECASSOWARY/27 will follow up the contact as agreed with SEIDLER.

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1. AKBASSOWARY/27 contacted Subject via telephone at the Hotel Great Northern in New York City in the morning of 27 December 1960. (Subject's hotel address had been obtained from an OO/Contacts source, an American professor, ~~name~~ Subject had been visiting in the United States.) An appointment was made between Subject and AKBASSOWARY/27 for 0900 hours on 28 December in Subject's hotel room.
2. After identifying himself, AKBASSOWARY/27 produced his United Nations identification card, but Subject asked for the letter of introduction which AKBASSOWARY/27 had promised to bring with him from Professor George S. N. LIKIJ of the University of Toronto. (OO comment: Information obtained from OO/Contacts had indicated that Subject would visit the University of Toronto; consequently, AKBASSOWARY/2 contacted a collaborator there to obtain the necessary letter on behalf of AKBASSOWARY/27 from Professor LIKIJ.) Subject said, "Now I am satisfied. I am not interested in your identification card, but in the letter from LIKIJ. That's what counts." Subject read the letter through.
3. AKBASSOWARY/27 had used his ability to provide Subject with certain scholarly works on the Ukraine otherwise unavailable as a pretext for the meeting, so he produced some books for Subject to look over. (Subject had received some books from Professor LIKIJ also.) Having finished with the books, Subject and AKBASSOWARY/27 launched a general discussion. Subject stated that he had good friends in Ukrainian intellectual circles, particularly among university professors, in Lviv and elsewhere. Knowing that Subject was going abroad, these professors had asked him to get for them Ukrainian publications on the development of Ukrainian political thought in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Professor SKORSHKO, who writes in Revstskaya Prava i Osviata, had been especially insistent, since he was writing a book on Ukrainian political doctrine and needed source material from among emigre works. He was interested in the "nationalist" point of view. Professor LAZARENKO, rector of Lviv University, had asked Subject to bring him scientific Ukrainian books published abroad. Subject promised to bring back the books and had stated to AKBASSOWARY/27 that he was happy not to have to return empty-handed. He explained that this was practically the only way for the professors to obtain such books. Subject said his baggage would not be searched and that what he carried would reach the requestors, but he was not sure that the books which he had sent from Toronto to Lublin would arrive safely.

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4. Subject then began a monologue which ran as follows: "To begin with, I am not a Jew, but an Armenian." (This statement, completely unsolicited, surprised AECASSOWARY/27, although it did correct his mistaken impression. Subject stressed this point at least twice.) "Actually, I am three-quarters Armenian and one-quarter German, but now I am altogether a Pole (laughing)."

5. AECASSOWARY/27 asked whether Dr. SEIDLER, former member of the Polish parliament was Subject's father. Subject answered, "No, he was my close relative. Before the war I worked in the library of the Polish parliament. I met there Senator LUKYJ. I always considered him to be one of the most prominent of the Ukrainian leaders and parliamentarians. He was a real gentleman. I was pleased to see that his son follows in his father's footsteps. While in Lviv before the war I had the chance to learn something about the Ukrainian problem from a distant relative, a Ukrainian surgeon, Dr. DOBOSH. Frankly speaking, he opened my eyes to the importance of this problem. I was also a distant relative of Archbishop THEODOROVICH of Lviv (Archbishop of the Armenian branch of the Catholic Church), but I didn't share his political views. Now, as you know, I am rector of Marie Curie-Skłodowska at Lublin. I am also a member of the Central Committee Sub-Committee on Higher Education, an important post. In Polish-Ukrainian affairs I am primarily a realist. Fifty-two million Ukrainians and thirty million Poles--that's something--that is power! These two nations should live peacefully and should cooperate. As a matter of fact, I was among the first persons to start doing something to improve our relations with the Ukrainians immediately after or even before 1936. I organized the first visit of Polish university professors from Lublin to Lviv. At that time it was something revolutionary. Since then much progress has been made in promoting these relations. Once a year we lecture at Lviv University, and professors from Lviv visit our university (Marie Curie-Skłodowska). Usually we begin our lectures in Ukrainian and after a few sentences continue in Polish. I am a very good friend of Rector LAZARENKO."

6. AECASSOWARY/27 asked whether LAZARENKO was a good Ukrainian. Subject replied, "Excuse me, but that is a silly question. I wish all were such Ukrainian patriots as he. I shall tell you something, but before I do, give me your hand and your word of honor that you will keep it secret." After AECASSOWARY/27 had so pledged, Subject continued, "Look, the Ukraine is giving 40 per cent of her national income to Russia and is receiving in return only 8 per cent. LAZARENKO has done and is doing a lot for the Ukrainian cause. I would even say that sometimes he makes a kind of Ukrainian demonstration. There are many others in Lviv that I have met who have shown themselves to be patriotic Ukrainians."

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For instance, I have often met the chairman of the Lviv Board of Education, NEBORACHUK, a peasant boy from around Lviv. He was very much interested in developing Polish-Ukrainian relations. Lublin and Lviv belong to the border zone, and it is not necessary to ask for visas to cross the border. We handle this problem on the oblast-województwo level. In Lviv I met the son of the writer SIEFANYK. He speaks to us in Polish and is also interested in broadening Polish-Ukrainian relations. Or, for example, take another chap, Editor-in-Chief of Komsomol'skaya Pravda in Lviv--PRIRIV. Often after we had discussed business, he would turn to me and ask, "Professor, have you brought fifty pairs of socks?" You see, one must make his living."

7. "Coming back to Polish-Ukrainian relations, as I told you, fifty-two million Ukrainians and thirty million Poles--that is reality. Please don't forget that the Ukraine today is a highly industrialized country. The Ukrainians are far ahead of us in science. We are buying all kinds of technical equipment in Lviv and Kiev. They do have wonderful things. On the other hand, we in Poland are ahead, so to speak, in humanistic disciplines. So we have a mutual interest. We have a future, and we must forget all the nonsense committed in the past. Just to give you one practical example of technical progress in Lviv, Lviv University built for my university a chemistry laboratory, a wonderful thing indeed."

8. When asked by AECASSOWARY/27 what his opinions were about Ukrainian students at Lviv University and elsewhere in the Ukraine, Subject answered, "The overwhelming majority of Lviv's students are peasant boys from the vicinity of Lviv. By the way, the Polish students are of the same background. They are dynamic, eager to learn about the world, very industrious, and, in my opinion, good Ukrainians, but not the types Zeromski created in Wizna Rzeka. (Zeromski, a famous Polish writer, created in his book the character of the ardent, sentimental, dishard patriot, always ready to suffer for the liberation of Poland from the Tsarist Russian yoke.) No, they are realistic."

9. AECASSOWARY/27 asked about the situation in other Ukrainian universities. Subject replied, "Well, the situation there is a little different, more gray. As a matter of fact, today Lviv radiates on other Ukrainian universities, and Lviv has ties westward. For some reason I found that you here underestimate the influence of the universities. Don't forget, over there they exert a strong influence."

10. During the conversation a telephone call came in. After Subject had finished talking, he explained that he had made an appointment with WIERGIBIANSKI and asked AECASSOWARY/27 what the latter thought of him.

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ARCASSOWARY/27 said that as WIERZBIANSKI was a prominent Polish journalist, they had met from time to time in the United Nations and that WIERZBIANSKI's attitude toward Polish-Ukrainian relations was positive. Subject then asked about Professor HALECKI. When ARCASSOWARY/27 said that HALECKI had contributed a great deal to the normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations in the United States, Subject expressed pleasure that this was so.

11. The conversation turned once more to the problem of sending books to Poland and to the Ukraines. For Dublin (Marie Curie-Skłodowska) Subject gave the address of the Annals (sic), of which he is editor-in-chief, and agreed to "take care of the books." He said, "I am not promising you anything, but leave it to me. As concerns *Iriv*, the situation is more difficult. They can't get what they want. They must be very careful. Therefore, they asked me to bring them books. They wouldn't ask Professor NEBAJLO, for instance, who has been in New York for a long time." (NEBAJLO is a member of the Ukrainian SSR delegation to the United Nations. He is a scholar, speaks English, and has contact with Professor HAZARD of Columbia.) Subject said he had met NEBAJLO in New York and considered him to be one of those professors who are very much interested in promoting Polish-Ukrainian relations. Subject showed ARCASSOWARY/27 a letter from Professor ROSTOW in which ROSTOW informed Subject that NEBAJLO would be invited to lecture in some American universities. Also in this letter ROSTOW informed Subject, "Your friend from Kiev has done well." Subject explained that this meant NEBAJLO had made a good impression. While speaking about NEBAJLO, Subject asked ARCASSOWARY/27 whether the letter spoke to members of the Ukrainian United Nations delegation. On hearing from ARCASSOWARY/27 that the Soviet Ukrainians were afraid, Subject said, "Of course they are. Don't approach them. You will create for them a complicated situation."

12. Then Subject told ARCASSOWARY/27 that his book on Marxism in the ancient world (sic) had been translated into Ukrainian with an excellent foreword about Ukrainian-Polish cultural relations. ARCASSOWARY/27 asked Subject to send him the book and expressed a willingness to write a review of it. Subject accepted the suggestion as a good idea and promised to send the book. He also mentioned that a translation of his book would appear in the United States. Subject indicated that he would like to have ARCASSOWARY/27 write his review in The American Slave and East European Review and suggested that ARCASSOWARY/27 send him ten copies of the review and a letter. Subject said, "First, wait until I send you my book; write the review and only then write to me informing me about the review. You may also ask me for some other books of mine. Later you will see what my reaction is, how I write, and then you should adjust to my 'tone.' Send all Ukrainian books to the address I gave you. You may use my name in the address, but better, write 'Redaktion of Annals.' I will get it."

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13. While making ready to go out for breakfast, AECASSOWARY/27 asked Subject what truth there was in the information that China backed Poland in October 1956. Subject, who up to this point had been talkative and had gone into long monologues, suddenly turned stony-faced and angrily muttered, "I know, we in the Central Committee heard about it, also about some rule in the whole affair of OCHAB, but I don't think it's true. I don't know. As for our present relations with China, they are not good." It was obvious to AECASSOWARY/27 that Subject was unwilling to say a word more on this topic, and discussion on China ended, one might even say, abruptly.

14. Inquiring about the present situation in the Kremlin, about the position of Khrushchev, and so forth, AECASSOWARY/27 found a similar lack of responsiveness. Subject said, "Look, I don't like to talk about something I don't know about. What do you think about Khrushchev?" After AECASSOWARY/27 had expressed some mild generalities on Khrushchev's shoe scene in the United Nations, Subject continued, "As a matter of fact, he is not a fool. He is a typical peasants' dictator."

15. Upon leaving the hotel, AECASSOWARY/27 asked Subject what chance there was for a new Stalinist regime, a new reign of terror. Subject was not willing to elaborate on this topic. He simply said, "Nobody knows." In his words, there was in no way a feeling of sureness that such a possibility was out of the question. Later while on the way to a florist's shop, Subject made the remark, "Any day the whole situation could change, but of course I am against this." Then he remained silent for a while.

16. During breakfast Subject asked, "What is the name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United States? How many bishops are there in the United States and Canada?" Subject was surprised to learn that there were two metropolitans, one in Philadelphia and one in Winnipeg. He said that the church was a serious hindrance to Polish-Ukrainian understanding.

17. The conversation during breakfast touched on many subjects. Subject asked AECASSOWARY/27 whether he was married, how many children he had, and whether his daughter spoke Ukrainian. He asked how many Ukrainians were teaching at American universities. AECASSOWARY/27 replied that about two hundred Ukrainians were employed as lecturers, professors, and instructors in American and Canadian universities. Subject was impressed, repeating "two hundred" several times.

18. Subject then changed the subject, asking whether the Department of State "controlled" visitors like him. AECASSOWARY/27 answered that he had no knowledge of this, since he dealt with American and foreign journalists, not with the Department of State. Subject remarked to himself rather than to AECASSOWARY/27, "I think they must check."

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19. Then the conversation switched to the importance of cultural exchange. Subject informed ABRASSOWAY/27 that Professor IREKTY of Toronto University had accepted an invitation to visit Lublin. Subject said he was glad that IREKTY had accepted. After a short pause Subject inquired, "If you get an invitation from Irly University, would you go yourself?" ABRASSOWAY/27 answered, "Well, I don't think I would go. After all, we are on opposite sides of the barricade. I don't feel that a visit to Irly would be healthy for me." Subject replied, "If this is the way you feel about it, good."

20. Subject inquired about the groups of Ukrainians in the United States which were collaborating or could collaborate with the people in Irly. ABRASSOWAY/27 explained that there was a group consisting of native believers and Moscow agents, but that this group did not represent Ukrainians abroad, not even a serious fraction of them. Other Ukrainians consider this group to be more or less Soviet agents. Subject added that a strong group of such people existed in Canada. Then he said, "I hope that what we are talking about will not reach the Soviets." ABRASSOWAY/27 said, "You know IREKTY, his present position and his background, and he recommended me to you." Subject was satisfied with this reply and went on to inquire about how much interest in Ukrainian affairs the Department of State had. ABRASSOWAY/27 explained that there appeared to be little interest, and Subject said, "They are not as interested in Polish affairs as they should be either." ABRASSOWAY/27 said that, unfortunately, the tendency to consider "Russia first" still existed. Subject said, "But already there are prominent people in this country who have an understanding not only of Polish affairs but also of Ukrainian affairs and the importance of the Ukraine as well. For instance, ROBINSON and others whom I have met have a very healthy attitude toward our problems."

21. Shortly before the end of breakfast Subject said, "Let us now summarize what we have decided: I'm going to send you my book in the Ukrainian translation printed in Irly. You will write a review in The American Herald and Post European Herald and will send me ten copies with an accompanying letter. Then you will write my reply and adjust to my tune. You will send scientific books, not political propaganda about Khrushchev's crimes, to the Annals address, and I will see what I can do. I hope to be here by 1962 and will be glad to meet with you. So that's what we have settled. By the way, I will tell you how I used Ambassador Malik in London to push the translation of my book into Ukrainian. After a year had passed, and I still had not received information as to when it would be published in Irly, I tried to think of a way to put pressure on them. It happened that the Soviet ambassador to the United Kingdom, Malik, was at Oxford at that time. Malik was eager to lecture at Oxford, and I helped him to get the whole affair smoothed

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out. Malko was pleased, asked me to have dinner with him, and during the conversation asked me what he could do for me. I mentioned the story of the book, that I had been waiting for more than a year and that nothing had happened. Shortly after, I received a letter from Irly that my book was already in print. Later on LAZARENKO told me that the university had received an urgent letter from Moscow ordering the book printed."

22. Subject asked ABRASSOWAN/27's opinion of the Polish United Nations delegation and of the Ukrainian delegation. While talking on this theme, ABRASSOWAN/27 mentioned the abnormality of the fact that the Ukrainian SSR does not have diplomatic relations with any country, not even with Poland and other socialist countries. Subject stopped for a moment and said, "Do patient. Don't you know how much blood 'national Communism' cost in the Ukraine during the thirties? You know that. So one will repeat that. Be patient. Things are moving for the better." This meeting was concluded at 1130 hours.

23. On 29 December ABRASSOWAN/27 telephoned Subject at 0845 hours at his hotel and suggested another meeting, explaining that in the meantime he had found a book which Subject would find worthwhile. Subject agreed to the meeting without hesitation. The meeting took place at Subject's hotel. It was scheduled for 1400 hours, but when ABRASSOWAN/27 arrived, Subject was not there, so ABRASSOWAN/27 waited in the lobby. At 1430 hours ABRASSOWAN/27 saw Subject enter the lobby. It happened that another man was also awaiting Subject. Subject greeted ABRASSOWAN/27 and the other man loudly and introduced ABRASSOWAN/27 to the latter. He was Professor Chagman of the University of Pittsburgh (OO comment: OO/Contact's source on Subject). Subject excused himself to ABRASSOWAN/27 and Chagman for his tardiness and explained to Chagman that ABRASSOWAN/27 wanted to have a short chat ~~for~~ that he was interested in Irly. Chagman agreed to wait, and Subject and ABRASSOWAN/27 went upstairs to Subject's room.

24. In the elevator ABRASSOWAN/27 explained to Subject the contents of the book he had brought, and after both had entered the room, Subject asked about the other packages ABRASSOWAN/27 was carrying. ABRASSOWAN/27 presented to Subject a gift, an electric reaser, saying, "I want to give you a small gift to remember our conversation. I am deeply impressed by your positive attitude toward the Ukraine, so please accept this small gift." Responding to this explanation, Subject looked pleased. He accepted the gift and started to look among his belongings. He then presented to ABRASSOWAN/27 a silver snuffbox with the explanation, "There are only three such silver boxes. One box was received by the daughter of Marie Curie-Skłodowska, the second Professor LAZARENKO, rector of Irly University,

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has; and the third you are going to have." Then Subject asked about the use of the razor, how much it cost, and whether it was an "appropriate" gift. "If so," he continued, "I shall give this razor to my minister, ZOLKIEWSKI, and shall tell him that it is the gift of a Ukrainian editor."

25. ABEASSONARI/27 asked Subject whether he knew KORNICHUK, Khrushchev's friend and foremost Ukrainian intellectual (who was recently the top Soviet representative at the Dartmouth Conference). Subject said that he did not. "He is too high for me," he said.

26. ABEASSONARI/27 went on, "Coming back to our yesterday's discussion on the problem of book exchange with Lviv, I wonder, Rector, whether you can't discuss this problem with people in Lviv and ask them what we can do for them, how we can help them." (CO comment: ABEASSONARI/27 was fishing for some kind of operational lead at our orders.) Here Subject interrupted, "What do you have in mind? What kind of help are you talking about?" ABEASSONARI/27 replied, "I have in mind a possible suggestion from the people in Lviv for us which you could submit to me." Subject said with intense feeling, "Listen, you are young, so allow me to address you directly (using the familiar form 'ty'). You don't know shit about what to do. Don't give suggestions on how to proceed, how to help! Isn't it enough for you that I approached LUCKYJ and you, that we have made arrangements about books, that I am taking books? What I'll do with the books that you are going to send me, don't ask me! I have my plans! I know how to handle this business. In this field I am more experienced than you are. I know reality over there. What I have done is nothing against the party. I am interested in promoting good relations between the Ukraine and Poland--of course, Communist Ukraine and Communist Poland. I am working on cultural relations. I know my job. I am glad that I met with you and LUCKYJ. I shall talk about my meetings with LUCKYJ and you very loudly in Poland. I shall mention them in Lviv too, but not so loudly. I am here to talk to you. I am glad to hear that there are people like Professor HALECKI who are supporting Polish-Ukrainian relations. As a matter of fact, today I had lunch with WIERZBIANSKI. I mentioned to him that I had spoken with you. WIERZBIANSKI told me, 'Be careful that Poland doesn't become another Scotland.' I said to him, 'Not only that Poland should not become a Russian Scotland, but neither the Ukraine.' That's my point of view."

27. Subject filled up two glasses with vodka, and the final conversation turned once more to the topic of Ukrainian-Polish relations. "By the way," said Subject, "You were right yesterday in guessing that my father was Dr. SEIDLER. I remember while in Stanislaw the funeral of the prominent Ukrainian leader Lev Baczynskyj. Never in my life had I seen in Stanislaw such great masses as at the funeral of that Ukrainian. So

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I have been acquainted with the Ukrainian problem since childhood. I now have in Lublin many Ukrainian students. They do not make much noise about their Ukrainian nationality. Some of them have even changed their names, but they have remained Ukrainians. Next year I'm going to send you one associate professor (dozent). He now has a Polish name. He doesn't admit his Ukrainian background. He will talk with you. It's up to you what you talk to him about. Also, if in the course of the next year and a half, some Polish professor calls on you; if he has my recommendation (jak sie powola na mnie), he is a good man. Speak with him. Then I hope to see you in 1962. Next February I hope to be in Lviv and will do what I can."

28. Saying farewell, AECASSOWARY/27 thanked Subject for his kindness. Subject replied, "Nie dziekujy sobie, pracujy--No thanks; we shall work."

29. On the basis of the above the following were the comments of AECASSOWARY/2, AECASSOWARY/15, and AECASSOWARY/27: Subject was eager to get into contact with responsible Ukrainians abroad. Knowing LUCKYJ's father and LUCKYJ's position (there is the possibility that Subject heard about LUCKYJ while Subject was at Oxford), Subject trusted him and to some degree AECASSOWARY/27 as a result of LUCKYJ's recommendation. As he himself mentioned, "I approached you and LUCKYJ." Formally Subject was approached by LUCKYJ and AECASSOWARY/27, but his willingness to accept the contacts he himself considered as an approach on his own part.

30. It seemed, from what Subject said about Polish-Ukrainian relations and his role in the realization of his plans, that his interest is not personal or sentimental. Of course, he has some background as far as the Ukraine is concerned, but this fact alone could not explain satisfactorily this kind of activity and risk-taking on his part. It seems that he must be acting at least with the tacit approval of some influential Polish academic and political circles, which within the framework of the present situation, are trying to prepare an atmosphere for future, more tangible development. His frequent mention of "fifty-two million Ukrainians and thirty million Poles" allows a supposition that some Polish intellectual circles, as well as Polish party members, are playing with the idea of organizing a "cultural front" consisting at least in part of Poland and the Ukraine. Subject mentioned that he had tried to get in touch with Belorussian professors, but that all his endeavors had remained unsuccessful. He said, "Minsk keeps quiet; nothing can be done for the meantime." He also mentioned that he had good contact with the University of Debrecyn in Hungary and was going to build up relations with the University of Jassy in Rumania. In this way and on the basis of existing possibilities, Subject and persons thinking like Subject are broadening the basis for eventual co-operation.

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31. Because Subject, as well as his colleagues, has found positive response among professors in Lviv, they are eager to use the present situation, as well as the present "climate", to gain co-operation with Ukrainians in Lviv and elsewhere in the Ukraine. This co-operation, based on the idea of tighter Polish-Ukrainian co-operation, could bring tangible results in the future. At the same time, there exists a strong possibility that the high echelon of the Communist Party in Poland has come to the conclusion that Poland must be interested in strengthening relations with the Ukraine, Poland's closest eastern neighbor.

32. Subject is an ambitious, dynamic personality. Despite his declarations about his Marxist stand, he is not a type of Soviet "apparatchik." This should not be interpreted to mean that he is not loyal to the Polish party or that he would agree to any kind of "underground activity." He will use his position to the very limit, but at the same time, he wants to be prepared for the future. There should be no doubt that he will report to his superiors about his meetings and findings. It was apparent that he was not seeking basic information. He was well acquainted with the subject under discussion. He seemed to be sounding out AECASSOWARY/27 and to be trying to establish an atmosphere of honesty with his Ukrainian emigre acquaintances. His interest in and the fact of his good standing in the United States were also visible.

33. Subject can be characterized as a "political player" of considerable calibre. As he said to AECASSOWARY/27, "I am a man of European background." There was also his mention of Khrushchev as a "peasants' dictator." This indicates that Subject does not have a deep connection with the regime. He may even despise the system, but he is enough of a realist to respect its power.

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