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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT  
DATE 2007

28 September 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: SB/CAO

SUBJECT : Soviet Document to be used for Exploitation  
in the West

1. In accordance with your request, I am returning the attached summary of the CHORNOVIL document to you, along with an English-language translation of the document itself. This is the document about which we talked the other day. The author, as you will note, a journalist, is a former secretary of the Komsomol and a former head of a Ukrainian council of Pioneers. Since the receipt of the document, word has been received that he was sent to prison on 3 August because of his preoccupation with the defense of his imprisoned colleagues. CHORNOVIL, Ivan DZYUBA, Ivan SVITLYCHNYI, and other writers in the Ukraine, like SOLZHENITSYN and VOZNESENSKY in Russia, are among those dissident intellectuals actively striving for greater liberalization and wider freedoms in the Soviet Union. Concerning your question as to what interest there might be in SHELEST, to whom the document is addressed, SHELEST is not only the Party boss in the Ukraine (1st Secretary of the CCCPU), but he also is a member of the Polit Bureau in Moscow. Although he has been referred to as a protege of Khrushchev, because of his Ukrainian background, he was one of the individuals involved in the ouster of KHRUSHCHEV.

2. The CHORNOVIL document contains various grievances and names members of the KGB involved in some of the cases.

3. The AECASSOWARIES have very limited access to Western publications, i.e., non-emigre publications. All approaches for surfacing other material made to date, with the exception of certain Italian publications of limited circulation, have been abortive. My endeavors to get help in surfacing a similar document (the DZYUBA document) through Agency assets have also been unsuccessful. If you know of a specific Agency surfacing asset which might be utilized, I will undertake the approach, if it is not one already considered in the past. If, as you

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suggested, the AECRISPS could be used to give the material some journalistic flair, and if there is an Agency surfacing asset which might be used, the attached document, once surfaced, should provoke some international publicity of the type the Soviets would like to avoid during the time of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Revolution.

4. Another document received later this summer, which was written by a political prisoner, Valentyn MOROZ (who was sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the UkSSR for activities against the regime), contains grievances against Soviet authorities similar to CHORNOVIL's and also gives names of KGB officials. This document presently is being translated into English.

5. We have a report from a Western traveller who visited the Soviet Union in July of this year and talked to Ivan SVITLYCHNYY (who was arrested in 1965 and sent to prison, but released earlier this year as a result of all the furor by his colleagues and because of all the noise made in the West about his arrest). According to SVITLYCHNYY, highest Party and government elements, including the KGB chief in Kiev, were involved in the 1965-1966 arrests of the Ukrainian intellectuals.

SVITLYCHNYY told the source that on 22 May of this year a crowd of several hundred gathered in Kiev at the Shevchenko monument to celebrate the anniversary of the transfer of the poet's remains from Petersburg to Kiev. As has happened in the past during ceremonies commemorating the memory of this much celebrated national poet of the Ukraine, the occasion evoked a nationalist spirit in the recitations and singing which ensued. The local militia tried to break up the demonstration and arrested several of the leaders. As a result, more people joined the crowd and they all marched to the building housing the CC CPU to demand the release of the individuals arrested. The authorities yielded and released the individuals. Another more recent source, who supplied information about this same incident, said there were recent indications that some of the demonstrators involved in the incident now were being fired from their jobs.

SVITLYCHNYY said it was important to publish in the West documents such as the attached and others obtained in the Soviet Union, and that once such documents are circulated in the Soviet Union, there is no longer any need to keep their existence in the West a secret. Authorities are forced to deal with caution in the cases of persecuted intellectuals about whom the West shows any concern. SVITLYCHNYY showed the source a reply received from authorities in response to an appeal on

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behalf of Opanas Ivanovych ZALYVAKHA, a journalist and artist from Ivano-Frankovsk, who having been sentenced under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the UkSSR, is serving a 5 year sentence in a corrective labor camp. Following his imprisonment in 1966, the authorities forbid ZALYVAKHA to paint and ordered him to destroy all the paintings he had completed in the past. The reply, dated 24 June 1967, signed by the Prosecutor in Moscow, stated that he (the Procurator) was disappointed in the fact that the individuals who signed the appeal were intervening on behalf of ZALYVAKHA, who was sentenced for "anti-Soviet, nationalist and deviationist (abstract painting) activity" and who refused to paint Soviet slogans on signs in the prison camp when so ordered. The appeal, naturally, was denied.

The source was told that although an amnesty was expected during the October Revolution anniversary celebrations, it would not include Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals sentenced in the past two years. This feeling is based on the experience with the appeal on ZALYVAKHA's behalf and on the fact that restrictions in the prison camps in which their colleagues were serving sentences have been tightened recently.

6. Another source who spoke with a Soviet Ukrainian philologist at the 10th International Congress of Linguists in Bucharest (28 August to 2 September 1967) said that Moscow considered the arrests in 1965-1966 of Ukrainian intellectuals a tactical blunder on the part of the KGB, which unnecessarily led to exasperation and the strengthening of nationalist sentiments. Reportedly, according to this source, there will be a new wave of intellectual persecution in late 1967, following the Ivan Franko and October Revolution celebrations. SEMICHASTNY's arrival in Kiev gave birth to this speculation and feeling of anxiety in the Ukraine. The philologist said SEMICHASTNY is an exponent of anti-Ukrainian policy and some Ukrainians fear that his "settling down" in Kiev will initiate new anti-Ukrainian measures. Moscow's policy in the Ukraine continues to be directed at the russification of Ukrainians. By sending Russians to work in Ukrainian industrial and administrative establishments (under the pretext of supplying specialists and experts to help in the Ukraine), a surplus of working power is created, thus forcing unemployed Ukrainians to seek employment in non-Ukrainian areas, primarily in ethnic Russia and the Kuban.

This Soviet Ukrainian philologist also told our source that Ukrainians who are in prison with DANIEL and SINYAVSKIY have reported that DANIEL was learning the Ukrainian language and was translating the poetry of Lesya Ukrayinka into Russian. SINYAVSKIY, on the other hand, was experiencing some sort of spiritual awakening and preaching "a la Tolstoy non-violence" toward camp administrators.

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7. If you agree that the AECRISPS should be asked to write an article, based on the original CHORNOVIL and MOROZ documents, which might make the information more interesting to a larger audience, I will ask [ ] to make the material available to them.

[ SB/CA ]

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