

**PROJECT ACTION**

**QRDYNAMIC**

	TYPE OF ACTION	F I / C	<b>XX</b>	CA	
	NEW PROJECT APPROVAL	DIVISION <b>Covert Action Staff</b>			
	AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION			
	<b>X</b> RENEWAL FY 1974	BRANCH <b>Branch 2</b>	DESK		
	EXTENSION	CASE OFFICER <input type="checkbox"/>	DATE <b>5 Apr 73</b>		
	TERMINATION	ROOM NO. <b>3D0119</b>	BUILDING <b>HQS</b>	TEL. EXT.	RED <b>1073</b>

**CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS**

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
<i>f</i> C/CA/B2	<input type="checkbox"/>				
C/CA/BF	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>4/11</b>	<b>4/11</b>		
C/CA/SG	<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>13 Apr 73</b>		
DC/CA	<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>20 May 73</b>		
C/CA	<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>26</b>		

**DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY  
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B  
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT**

**CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS**

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only When Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)		DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
<i>f</i> C/SA/PEG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>30 APR 73</b>	<b>22 MAY 1973</b>		
C/CCS/PRG	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	30 Apr 73	9 May 73		X
CI/OPS/SB	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	30 Apr 73	21 May 73	X	
F I Staff	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	30 Apr 73	14 May 73	X	
<i>f</i> C/MPS/BG	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>29 MAY 1973</b>	<b>29 MAY 1973</b>		

**APPROVAL**

	PERIOD		AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
	FROM <b>1 July 73</b>	TO <b>30 June 74</b>	\$ <input type="checkbox"/>	19 <b>19 74</b>	\$ <input type="checkbox"/>
APPROVING AUTHORITY <b>ADDO</b>	SIGNATURE <input type="checkbox"/>			DATE <b>30 May 1973</b>	

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QRDYNAMIC - New York, N.Y. and Munich, Germany - Support of ZP/UHVR (Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrain's'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvol'noyi Rady - Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) FY 1974 Cost \$ [ ] (\$ [ ] in the Congressional Budget plus \$ [ ] required to cover effects of devaluation)

	<u>Approved</u>		<u>Obligated</u>	
FY 1968	\$ [ ]	]	\$ [ ]	]
FY 1969	[ ]	]	[ ]	]
FY 1970	[ ]	]	[ ]	]
FY 1971	[ ]	]*	[ ]	]
FY 1972	[ ]	]	[ ]	]
FY 1973	[ ]	]	[ ]	](estimated)

\*Originally approved for \$ [ ] Additional \$ [ ] funded to employee pension fund.

## Purpose

Project QRDYNAMIC is targeted against the Soviet Ukraine, where the spirit of nationalism and a desire for self-determination on the part of a major Slavic people have caused serious concern to Moscow. This is the only current CIA project directed against a non-Russian nationality in the USSR. The ZP/UHVR, supported by Project QRDYNAMIC, provides moral, political and material support to the Ukrainian dissidents, many of whom have been arrested this year, and brings their plight to the attention of other citizens of the Soviet Union and to the outside world. This is basically accomplished through the publication of dissident underground literature received from the Ukraine and political, economic and cultural works which are proscribed in the USSR. This literature is infiltrated clandestinely into the USSR for distribution, and is made available to intellectuals in the West who are concerned about the entire problem of human rights in the USSR.

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Description

Prolog Corporation, with offices in New York City, is the publication and research element of the ZP/UHVR. Procurement of material, research and editing for all Prolog publications is done in New York under the direction of Dr. Myroslav Prokop, Vice-President in charge of publications. Prolog President Mykola Lebed, who is also Secretary-General of ZP/UHVR, is a legendary figure among Ukrainian dissidents because of his revolutionary activity during and after World War II in the Soviet Union. Lebed and his associates have the profound respect of Ukrainian dissidents who have looked to the ZP/UHVR as a group standing above party which is representative of their cause. Three or four times yearly Anatol Kaminsky, Vice President for operations, personally contacts his sources in West Europe. These close collaborators either travel into the Soviet Union themselves or meet regularly with travelers into and from the target area. One of their important tasks is the acquisition of underground "self-published" literature, called "samvydav" in Ukrainian, "Samizdat" in Russian. They also serve as channels for the infiltration of Prolog material, and provide disseminable information on the dissident situation in the Soviet Ukraine.

Prolog periodicals Suchasnist (Contemporary) and Ukrains'kiy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), described in the Media Effective Annex (Annex 5), and all Prolog books are published in Munich through an affiliate, the Ukrainian Society for Studies Abroad.

The Headquarters case officer provides operational guidance and support through frequent personal meetings with Prolog officers. Less sensitive matters are handled by telephone and secure mail contact. Other Prolog principal officers are Bohdan Czajkowskiy, Treasurer, who handles all administrative and fiscal matters, and Roman Kupchinsky, the youngest member of Prolog, who assists in operations and research.

Changes

Roman Kupchinsky, a long-time associate and former part-time employee of Prolog, has joined the organization on a full-time basis, and has been met by the QRDYNAMIC case officer. Since Kupchinsky maintains close connections

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with student groups in the New York area, the case officer has not represented himself as CIA, merely as "U.S. Government." He is known to Kupchinsky in alias. Although it may be assumed that Kupchinsky is aware of CIA support of Prolog, this situation affords him an element of plausible denial if he should be queried about CIA support of Prolog.

### Accomplishments

#### A. Background:

In view of the present situation in the Ukraine, the following background is helpful in evaluating Project accomplishments. The clampdown on the dissident movement in the Ukraine that started with numerous arrests and searches in January 1972 was a harsh blow not only against the movement itself but against Ukrainian cultural and political revival in general. Within a year, from January 1972 to January 1973, 29 persons were arrested in the Ukraine, many of them key members of the dissident movement. (See Annex 3 for a tabulation of arrests.)

The 1972 regime campaign against Ukrainian dissidents was characterized by unusual severity. The regime has succeeded in terrorizing the population to a greater extent than at any time since Stalin's death and prepared the ground for this repression even before the arrests of January 1972.

The KGB failed to convince the population that the dissident movement was - as Shcherbitsky, First Secretary of the Ukrainian CP, himself claimed - a result of "recent attempts of bourgeois nationalists to transfer the center of subversion from abroad to the Ukrainian SSR". According to ZP/UHVR sources in the Ukraine, the KGB's original plan was to stage two or three group trials; they were sure they would succeed in turning them into show trials "destroying dissidents morally and politically". When the KGB met with unexpected resistance from those arrested, they decided to hold smaller inconspicuous trials with one or two defendants in the same court session. Again they discovered that, contrary to their expectation, defense witnesses were not afraid to give evidence in favor of defendants.

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Despite the recent persecutions, "samvydav" is continuing to circulate. The temporary paralysis and fear are balanced to some extent by increased anger and resentment against the present policy of the Kremlin, primarily discernible among the youth. According to project sources in the Ukraine, it will take some time for the populace in general to recover from their present paralysis; nevertheless, in their opinion, a revival of dissident activities is only a matter of time. There are already indications that some people are planning new forms of struggle, including illegal ones.

B. Action Taken

To meet the urgent needs of relatives and friends of the arrested and of other persecutees, ZP/UHVR has increased material help by sending parcels, cash, gifts, and medicine. Art books, artistic objects and records have been delivered for the purpose of obtaining cash from their sale. In the face of great difficulties because of the widespread arrests in the Ukraine, Operations Officer Kaminsky has managed fewer than ten contacts with Ukrainian dissidents during the past fiscal year, all of which have been indirect and conducted with the greatest possible discretion. Many telephone calls have been made to friends and relatives of arrested dissidents to learn of their status. It is clear from these limited contacts that Mykola Lebed has not lost the confidence of the key members of the Ukrainian democratic movement, and that they still count heavily upon his organization for material and moral support. Prolog constantly seeks increased publicity for the arrested dissidents, and CA Staff has made every effort to aid by replaying material through other assets, which will bring to world attention the grave situation in which the Ukrainian movement finds itself. The Ukrainian underground publication Ukrains'kiy Visnyk (Ukrainian Herald), counterpart of the Russian Chronicle of Current Events, has published its sixth and possibly final issue. This fact demands greater efforts on the part of Prolog and ZP/UHVR to publish and circulate samvydav material, including details of the arrests, trials and imprisonment of the dissidents. Prolog continues contacts with visiting cultural groups such as the Ukrainian Virsky Ensemble, and New York collaborators are still active in meeting officials of the Ukrainian delegation to the UNGA, usually in a relaxed social atmosphere. All of the official Ukrainians are not only reluctant to discuss the arrests, but are understandably defensive in their discussions with Prolog contacts. ✓

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Books and magazines are sent into the Soviet Union by mail and in most cases their delivery is confirmed, albeit usually indirectly. As in the past, requests for English, French, German and Spanish books from individuals in the Ukraine are received by ZP/UHVR. Ukrainian translators have told ZP/UHVR that they want to be more independent by being able to receive literature directly from the West. In their view, there is a deliberate policy on the part of some anti-Ukrainian circles in Moscow and Kiev to let them have Western literature only via Moscow, thus keeping Ukrainian translations lagging behind Russian translations.

Between 1 July 1972 and 1 March 1973 six books were produced by Prolog. Three additional books and five pamphlet reprints are expected to be completed by 1 July 1973. (See Annex 4 for details). Despite the intensified persecution, during this same period 15,699 pieces of literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Bloc, principally to the Ukraine, by personal delivery or mail. This total includes 1,598 Prolog books, 2,697 copies of Suchasnist, 2,494 copies of Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk, and 8,623 copies of the Information Bulletin. A total of 287 non-Prolog pamphlets and periodicals were also sent to the Ukraine. All of these totals represent a substantial increase over FY 1972, and a heavier reliance upon personal delivery as opposed to mailings. For example, the total for the Information Bulletin was almost doubled, in response to a Headquarters requirement that this letter-sized bulletin be increased in periodicity and given wider distribution in the Soviet Union.

The press run of Suchasnist is 1,800; Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk is printed in 1,700 copies. Many of these are sold by private subscription, or sent to institutions and libraries on an exchange basis. Prolog books are normally printed in 2,000 copies.

In spite of the repressive atmosphere in the Ukraine, Prolog has obtained to date, during this fiscal year, four "samvydav" manuscripts: essays by Dziuba, Chornovil and Sverstyuk, and a collection of dissident poetry by Chubay. Two documents on arrests and searches during January 1972 were also obtained, plus eight Polish documents describing the situation of Ukrainians living in Poland.

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Project assets Lebed, Prokop and Kaminsky have provided valuable assistance in the conception, production and distribution of a new CA Staff effort, a Russian-language periodic information bulletin Vestnik Narodov (Herald of the Nationalities). This bulletin (QRDOGMA) is printed on lightweight non-American paper by TSD and is mailed from Europe and Canada as a first-class letter to the Soviet Union. The Vestnik Narodov features material on nationalities problems throughout the Soviet Union, and is directed not only to Russian intellectuals, but to persons in non-Russian republics who are concerned with nationalism, a problem which is of genuine concern to the Kremlin leadership. With their extensive experience and deep insight into the nationalities question, the Prolog officers have made a major contribution to the Vestnik, and will continue to do so.

Operations Officer Kaminsky continues to monitor the activities of the Society for the Study of Asian Problems (SSAP), a Chinese-sponsored propaganda effort directed against the Soviets which encourages Ukrainian nationalism and separatism. Due to an unusually cautious attitude on the part of the SSAP leaders, the entire effort is progressing very slowly. Kaminsky has a source inside the SSAP who keeps him generally informed of developments.

Nine intelligence reports from QRDYNAMIC sources have been disseminated to date during FY 1973. This information has proved useful to OCI, and has formed the basis for reports published in the Current Intelligence Bulletin. Most of this information has also been passed to friendly liaison services, as appropriate.

A Media Effectiveness Annex accompanies this renewal request as Annex 5. Since the approval of the FY 1973 renewal we have obtained the services of an Ukrainian reader, who is an FBIS contractor, and who reviews Suchasnist monthly. Copies of the summary reviews of the November and December 1972 issues are attached as Annex 6. CA/PROP has conducted an evaluation of Suchasnist, attached as Annex 7.

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### Problems

The most serious problem for Project QRDYNAMIC during the past year has been the situation created in the Ukraine by the repressive measures taken by the KGB against the nationalist dissenters, as explained in the previous section. This was anticipated a year ago, after the arrests, and is expected to continue for the immediate future. We anticipate that the Ukrainian democratic movement will be reconstituted and operate even more covertly with increased security measures. Otherwise, the greatest single problem continues to be dollar devaluation which causes sharp rises in the cost of printing and distributing project publications in Western Europe.

### Coordination

Project QRDYNAMIC was approved by the 40 Committee on 22 September 1971. A new paper including this Project has been submitted for 40 Committee approval.

### Future Plans

The nationality question in the Soviet Union, claimed by the Soviet leadership to have been resolved over forty years ago, has been reopened by a new generation of educated leaders emerging from among all major Soviet nationalities. In addition to their traditional role of maintaining the closest possible contact with Ukrainian nationalists, QRDYNAMIC principals have been instructed to develop contacts among other non-Russian nationality groups through responsible emigre representatives. This embryonic program will be expanded in the coming months, and increasing efforts will be made to solicit material written by qualified authors on the nationality problem, which can be used not only in QRDYNAMIC publications, but in other CA Staff assets.

The Project will continue to provide moral support for arrested Ukrainian dissidents, and material support for their families wherever securely possible. Prolog will intensify its campaign to publicize the repressive tactics of the Soviet KGB, by bringing them to the attention of the citizens of the Soviet Union, East Europe, and the non-communist world. In the face of regime crack-downs, ZP/UHVR will intensify its efforts to reach targets in the Soviet Ukraine.

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From the publishing standpoint, Prolog plans seven books and five pamphlets during FY 1974, depending upon available financial resources. Prolog principals will also continue their aid to the QRDOGMA publication Vestnik Narodov, and assist in publicizing its contents in Western Europe, thus placing further pressure on the Soviet leadership.

Prolog will be requested to examine, principally in Suchasnist, the entire issue of Soviet-USA detente and its implications and effects on the nationalities problem of the Ukrainians and other non-Russian republics. Dr. Prokop will be furnished selected material from CA Perspectives, as suggested by CA/PROP. We shall also pursue the suggestion that independent evaluations of Suchasnist and other Prolog publications be solicited from academicians who have a background in Ukrainian affairs.

## Costs

### (1) General

It is requested that Project QRDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1974 in the amount of \$ [ ]

### (2) Source of Funds

Funds for QRDYNAMIC were included in the CA Staff Operation Program for FY 1974 in the amount of \$ [ ] An additional sum of \$ [ ] is required to cover the effects of devaluation. The FY 1975 Program will include \$ [ ] for this activity.

### (3) Foreign Funds

Approximately 45% of all QRDYNAMIC funds are expended in German and other West European currencies. Conversion from U. S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation as required.

### (4) Commitments

No special commitments have been made to Prolog Corporation or to any agent of the project.

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(5) Funding

Funds, attributed to notional facilities provided by Central Cover Staff, will be deposited in the New York City bank account of Prolog Corporation and the Munich bank account of the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies, Prolog's affiliate in Munich. Checks drawn on the bank accounts of the notional facilities will be mailed to the Prolog bank account in New York. Funds for the Munich affiliate will be sent by bank transfers which will originate from a U. S. bank and be attributed to a Central Cover Staff notional facility.

(6) Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

(7) Administrative Plan

The QRDYNAMIC Administrative Plan has been reviewed again following the ADDP approval for FY 1973. It has been determined that no further modification is necessary.

(8) Annexes

1. Fixed Expenses and Payroll
2. Breakdown of Affiliated Groups and Research
3. Tabulation of Ukrainian Dissidents Arrested
4. Prolog Publications FY 1973 and 1974
5. Media Effectiveness Annex
6. Summary Review, November and December 1972  
issues of Suchasnist
7. CA/PROP Evaluation of Suchasnist

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## Budget Breakdown

<u>Cash Resources</u>	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>	<u>FY 1974</u>	<u>FY 1975</u>
Beginning Cash Balance	\$ [ ]*	\$ [ ]	\$ [ ]	\$ [ ]
Subsidy	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Income from Sales of Books and Subscriptions	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Total Cash Resources Available	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Less Contingency Fund	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Total Cash Available	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Less Expenditures	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Ending Cash Balance	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
<u>Expenditures</u>				
<u>Fixed Expenses**</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits New York Office	136,700*	118,200	122,050	127,987
Fixed Expenses (office administration)	14,500	18,495	17,275	117,750
Sub-Total Fixed Expenses	151,200	136,695	139,325	145,737
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Operational Travel	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Purchase of Books and Publications	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Entertainment	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Cost of Publishing	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Distribution Costs	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Affiliated Group (Munich)***	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Research & Contact Operations ***	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
Sub-Total Operating Expenses	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
 TOTAL EXPENDITURES	 \$ [ ]	 \$ [ ]	 \$ [ ]	 \$ [ ]

\* Includes \$28,000 Surge Funding for Pension Plan

\*\* See Annex 1

\*\*\* See Annex 2

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## ANNEX 1

	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>	<u>FY 1974</u>	<u>FY 1975</u>
<b><u>Payroll and Fringe Benefits</u></b>				
Salaries	\$ 99,975	\$108,227	\$111,420	\$116,937
Contribution to Employee Pension Plan	33,574	6,644	7,030	7,200
Insurance	3,051	3,229	3,500	3,750
Dues and Registration	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
<b>Total Payroll and Fringe Benefits</b>	<b>136,700</b>	<b>118,200</b>	<b>122,050</b>	<b>127,987</b>
<b><u>Fixed Expenses</u></b>				
Rent	[	[	[	[
Electricity				
Telephone				
Stationery, Postage, Office Equipment				
Taxes and Licenses				
Maintenance and Repair				
Bank Service				
Depreciation and Obsolescence				
Foreign Exchange Losses				
Miscellaneous Small Expenses	<u>]</u>	<u>]</u>	<u>]</u>	<u>]</u>
<b>Total Fixed Expenses</b>	<b>\$ [ ]</b>	<b>\$ [ ]</b>	<b>\$ [ ]</b>	<b>\$ [ ]</b>

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## ANNEX 1 CONTINUED

### PAYROLL

#### New York Office

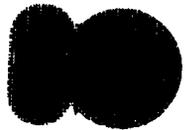
	<u>Per Annum Rates</u>			
	72	73	74	75
QRDYNAMIC/2	\$14,850	\$18,696	\$19,152	\$20,110
/17	13,860	17,452	17,880	18,774
/29	13,860	17,452	17,880	18,774
/27	13,200	16,613	17,016	17,867
/4	10,395	(*1)	(*1)	(*1)
/63	5,670	7,461	7,644	8,026
/64	8,820	10,494	10,752	11,290
/57	7,800	9,840	10,080	10,584
/72	7,800	(*2)	(*2)	(*2)
/73		2,160	(*3)	(*3)
/74		4,141	(*3)	(*3)
	\$ 96,255	\$104,309	\$100,404	\$105,425
 <u>Part-time</u>				
QRDYNAMIC/69	3,720	3,918	4,116	4,312
Students	-0-	-0-	6,900(*5)	7,200(*5)
Total New York Office	99,975	108,227	111,420 ✓	116,937

#### Munich Office

QRDYNAMIC/60	4,333	3,621	1,242(*6)	1,242(*6)
/30	3,334	5,634	(*4)	(*4)
/6	3,333	4,647	6,145	6,452
/62		5,816	5,958	6,256
/40		5,538	6,955	7,300
Total Branch Office	\$ 11,000	\$ 25,256	\$ 20,300	\$ 21,250

- \*1 QRDYNAMIC/4 retired December 1971
- \*2 QRDYNAMIC/72 resigned June 1972
- \*3 QRDYNAMIC/73 and 74 employed from 1 Jan 1972 to 1 March 1973
- \*4 QRDYNAMIC/30 retired January 1973
- \*5 Part-time student employees Z. Salak, A. Karatnycky, A. Motyl and M. Czajkowsky
- \*6 QRDYNAMIC/60 works part-time as of 1 January 1973

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ANNEX 2

Breakdown of Affiliated Group (Munich)

	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>	<u>FY 1974</u>	<u>FY 1975</u>
Payroll & Fringe Benefits	\$11,000	\$25,256	\$20,300	\$21,250
Office Expenses	9,850	7,284	8,000	8,250
Publishing Expenses:				
<u>Suchasnist</u>	20,000	20,420	25,000	26,500
<u>Ukrainskyj Samostijnyk</u>	11,150	6,500	11,500	12,000
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$52,000</b>	<b>\$59,460</b>	<b>\$64,800</b>	<b>\$68,000</b>

Breakdown of Research & Contact Operations (Munich)

	<u>FY 1972</u>	<u>FY 1973</u>	<u>FY 1974</u>	<u>FY 1975</u>
Research	\$ 7,426	\$12,415	\$15,500	\$16,000
Reverend Ivan Hryniokh (Stipend)	6,000	6,000	6,000	6,000
Contact Operations	19,300	24,425	26,000	26,500
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>\$32,726</b>	<b>\$42,840</b>	<b>\$47,500</b>	<b>\$48,500</b>

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## UKRAINIAN DISSIDENTS ARRESTED DURING 1972

**LEGEND:**

Under Status - 7 & 3 indicates a sentence of 7 years in prison plus 3 years in exile.  
Other symbols:

DIP - died in prison	R - released
IP - in prison under investigation	RR - recanted and released
PP - Psychiatric Prison	TPP - temporarily in Psychiatric Prison

Name	Age	Date of Arr.	Date of Sent.	Status	Place of Residence
1. Zinoviy ANTONIUK Candidate of Sciences, Institute of Cybernetics	39	12/13 Jan '72	8-15 Aug '72	7 y & 3 y	Kiev
2. Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL Publicist, literary critic, writer	36	12/13 Jan '72		IP	Lvov
3. Hryhoriy CHUBAY Poet	30	12/13 Jan '72		R	Lvov
4. Ivan DZIUBA Literary critic, publicist, writer	42	18 Apr '72		IP	Kiev
5. Zinoviya FRANKO Candidate of Sciences, Institute of Linguistics (unemployed before arrest)	47	12/13 Jan '72		RR	Kiev
6. Ivan HEL Student, Poet, worker	36	12/13 Jan '72	Aug '72	10 & 5	Sambor - Lvov

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Name	Age	Date of Arr.	Date of Sent.	Status	Place of Residence
7. Ihor KALYNETS'	34	End July '72	Nov '72	9 & 3	Lvov
8. Iryna STASIV-KALYNETS' Poetess, teacher	33	12/13 Jan '72	July '72	6 & 3	Lvov
9. Fnu, KUTALA Engineer	30	28 Apr '72		DIP	Lvov
10. Mykola KHOLODNYI Poet	31	12/13 Jan '72		RR	Kiev
11. Ivan (Fedor) KOVALENKO Teacher of English	54	12/13 Jan '72	10-13 July '72	5 & 0	Boyarka Kiev-Sviato- shynsky r-n
12. Vasyl LISOVYY Research Worker, Institute of Philosophy, NkrSSR Academy of Sciences	30	July '72		IP	Kiev
13. Taras (Bohdan) MELNYCHUK		12/13 Jan '72	July '72	3 & 0	Utoropy, Kosiv r-n Ivano- Frankivsk obl
14. Mykhailo OSADCHY Writer, Journalist, poet, Candidate of Philological Sciences	37	12/13 Jan '72	4-5 Sept '72	7 & 3	Lvov
15. Mykola PLAKHOTNIUK Physician, poet	36	12/13 Jan '72		IP (TPP)	Kiev

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Name	Age	Date of Arr.	Date of Sent.	Status	Place of Residence
16. Leonid PLUSHCH Scientific Worker Institute of Cybernetics	33	20 Jan '72	30 Jan 1973	PP	Kiev
17. Yevhen PRONIUK Scientific Worker Institute of Philosophy	30	6 July '72		IP	Kiev
18. Volodymyr ROKYTSKY (Rakotsky & Rohytsky) Worker (expelled from University)	27	12/13 Jan '72	Early June '72	5 & 0	Kiev
19. Rev. Vasyl ROMANIUK Orthodox priest	50	12/13 Jan '72	End July '72	7 & 3	Kosmach, Kosiv r-n Ivanofranki- vsk obl.
20. Leonid SELEZHENKO Scientific Worker Institute of Petroleum Chemistry	39	12/13 Jan '72		RR (8 July '72)	Kiev
21. Luba SEREDNIAK Jewish, student, typist	20	12/13 Jan '72	Nov '72	1 & 0	Kiev
22. Oleksander SERHIYENKO Engineer, employee of Art Museum, teacher, also former student of medicine	40	12/13 Jan '72	Early June '72	7 & 3	Kiev
23. Stefania SHABATURA Artist, Gobelín Designer & Weaver	32	12/13 Jan '72	End July '72	5 & 3	Lvov

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Name	Age	Date of Arr.	Date of Sent.	Status	Place of Residence
24. Danylo SHUMUK In Polish prison for communism in 1930's, in Soviet prisons and camps for OUN-UPA in 1940's and '50's	58	12/13 Jan '72	5-7 July '72	10 & 5	Lutsk, Kiev, Lvov
25. Yuri SHUKHEVYCH Worked as electrician, Son of UPA Commander Roman Shukhevich-Chuprynka	40	25 Feb '72	July '72	10 & 5	Nalchik
26. Vasyl STUS Poet & literary critic	36	12/13 Jan '72	31 Aug-7 Sep '72	5 & 3	Kiev
27. Evhen SWERSTIUK Literary Critic, writer, Research worker	43	12/13 Jan '72		IP	Kiev
28. Nadiya SWITLYCHNA Librarian	36(?)	April '72		IP	Kiev
29. Ivan SWITLYCHNY	42	12/13 Jan '72		IP	Kiev

As of 1 Feb 1973 there were: sentenced - 16

released - 1

"repented" and released- 3

committed suicide in prison - 1

In prison under investigation - 8

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Together with those arrested in Jan 1972 there were also two non-Soviets:

Yaroslav DOBOSH, arr. 3 Jan 1972 and released 2 June 1972,  
Belgian citizen of Ukrainian descent, student.

Hanna KOTSUR, arr 12/13 Jan. 1972, allegedly transfered to  
Kosice Prison in May/June 1972, CSSR citizen, from Presov;  
according to various sources - agent provocateur; aged 25;  
poetess, student of Kiev State University.

Previously arrested and sentenced but in some affiliation with those imprisoned in 1972:

1. Volodymyr DYAK, of Lvov, arr. Dec. 1971, tried in Apr. 1972, 7 & 0
2. Nina STROKATA-KARAVANSKA, 48, of Odessa, arr. 8 Dec 1971, tried 15-19 May 1972, 4 & 0, wife of Karavansky S.
3. Svyatoslav KARAVANSKY, 53, of Odessa, rearrested 13 Nov 1965, in autumn 1969 indicted under new charges and Jan 1970 sentenced to additional 5 years to his previous sentence of 25 from 1944.
4. Semen KOROLCHAK of Odessa, arr 21 April 1971, sent. 6-7 Sept. 1971 4 & 0.
5. Anatoliy LUPYNIS, 30, of Kiev, arr. 28 May 1971, now in PP.
6. Valentyn MOROZ, 37, of Ivano-Frankivsk, arr. 1 June 1970, tried 15-17 Nov. 1970, 9 & 5.
7. Oleksa PRYTYKA of Odessa, 40, arr. 9 Aug. 1971, was to be tried in May, 1972.
8. Oleksa RIZNYKIV of Odessa, arr. 9 Nov. 1971, tried in Feb. 1972, 5 & 0.
9. Ivan SOKULSKY, of Dnepropetrovsk, 33, arr. 13 June 1969, tried Jan 1970, 4½ & 0.

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ANNEX 4

PROLOG PUBLICATIONS

A. Books published, or scheduled to be published in FY 1973

Posmertna Zbirka (Posthumous Meeting), E. Malaniuk,  
Poetry and Essays

Saksonska Zima (Saxon Winter), O. Izarskyj

Anthology of Ukrainian Short Stories, Volumes I & II, in  
Portuguese, V. Selanski, Brazil

Chekayuchy na Godo (Waiting for Godot), translated by B. Boychuk

Contestation en Ukraine Sovietique, Etudes et Documents,  
prepared by M. Mytrovych

Mizh Istoriyeyu i Politykoyu (Between History and Politics),  
Ivan Rudnycky

Dynamika Vyzvolnoyi Borot'by (Dynamics of the Liberation  
Struggle), Anatol Kaminsky

Dramy (three plays of Frederico Lorca) translated from  
Portuguese by Vira Vovk

Five pamphlets, reprints from Suchasnist

B. Books planned for FY 1974

Collection of Samvydav Poetry, Mykola Vorobyov

Essays of Mykola Skrypnyk, Volume II

Chetvertyy Vymir (Fourth Dimension), Abram Shifrin

Sonety - Poetry Collection, B. Krawciw

Essays, V. Soloviy

Kyyiv (Kiev - a novel), O. Izarskyj

Roman pro Dobry Ludynu (Novel About Good People), E. Andiyevska

Approximately five pamphlets, reprints from Suchasnist



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## ANNEX 5

### MEDIA EFFECTIVENESS ANNEX

Prolog Research Corporation, the publishing and research arm of ZP/UHVR, utilizes the literary talents of Ukrainian emigre intellectuals and internal dissident writers to produce literature encouraging Ukrainian nationalism and self-determination. Nationalism, which is characteristic of all non-Russian peoples of the USSR, is by far strongest in the Ukraine, particularly among the youth. Prolog encourages nationalism and intellectual dissent through its books and periodicals.

#### ZP/UHVR Publications

Suchasnist ("The Present" or "Contemporary"), published monthly in Munich in 1,800 copies, is a political-literary journal. In addition to articles of literary, historical and political significance, it features works of dissident authors which have been exfiltrated by Prolog contacts. Suchasnist is received in the Soviet Union by persons who usually acknowledge its receipt verbally, although letters are on file at Prolog. Some letters and verbal messages contain pleas from dissidents to have articles on specific subjects appear in Suchasnist. Despite postal and customs controls, there is evidence that the magazine reaches its targets, is clandestinely circulated among interested persons, and serves the interests of dissident Ukrainians rather than those of an emigre political group, located in the more comfortable atmosphere of the West, and in many cases out of touch with reality.

Ukrains'kyi Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), is the organ of a small splinter emigre political party, OUNz (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad), which is allied with ZP/UHVR (an advisory council of 25 people). The OUNz provides the infrastructure for ZP/UHVR activities from various countries targeted at the Ukraine, and aids in the distribution of both publications. Project QRDYNAMIC funding of this magazine is an investment in the support structure of the ZP/UHVR.

Informatsiyniy Byulletin (Information Bulletin) is a newsletter published about six times yearly. It contains material not carried in the Soviet press, excerpts and condensations of Suchasnist articles, and news on the dissident

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movement. It is mailed to Ukrainians in the Soviet Union and in Bloc countries, as an ordinary letter.

See Annex four for titles of books published during FY 1973, and those books planned for the coming fiscal year.

People in the Ukraine have stressed that following recent developments in the Ukraine, the role of Suchasnist was coming to be of particular importance for them. They recommended that Suchasnist concentrate more on the elaboration of the future perspective of Ukrainian dissent. They stated their wish that Suchasnist should be regarded as their spokesman. In a letter dated 22 October 1972, sent by a Ukrainian from London, where he temporarily stayed as a tourist, he wrote:

"Your magazine (Suchasnist) appears to be the best in the world that is published at the present time by Ukrainians... Therefore it is very important that its pages should be properly used. It is necessary to give not only descriptions of the present and the past but more directives and perspectives for the future, more questions 'What To Do?' and more answers to these questions of resolution in the Soviet Empire. They showed that hopes for evolution could not materialize. The empire refuses to agree to any solution. Therefore, more answers are to be given against the background of general international situations. Concrete forecasts and perspectives would help the local elite to find its way out of present quandary that followed recent arrests and trials, regain its consciousness, cast away despair, and find new ways of action, different and more effective than those of the Shestydesiatnyky (The writers of the 1960's)."

A noticeable increase in attacks against Suchasnist, Prolog and the ZP/UHVR occurred between February and December 1972. A few examples follow:

Leonid Novychenko's article, "New Horizons of Criticism" in Literaturna Ukraina (July 1972) contained an attack on Suchasnist for "slanderous fabrications to which these professional calumniators resort when 'analyzing' our literary present..."

Claiming that Sovietologists fan distrust towards Russians, L. P. Nahorna wrote "A Critique of Bourgeois

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Falsifications of the Soviet Government's Nationalities Policy" in Komunist Ukrainy (August 1972). Nahorna attacks H. Kostyuk for his study "Theory and Practice - Concerning the Problem of the Study of Theory, Tactics and Strategy of Bolshevism in the Nationalities Question." (Suchasnist 1971). Nahorna attacks Kostyuk for claiming that democratic centralism is "nonsense," and for depicting Russian colonialism as such, and not presenting it as "cooperation of the peoples of the Soviet Union."

In the article "The Ideological Struggle Surrounding the Works of Shevchenko" by Ye. P. Kyrylyuk, in Radyanske Literaturoznavstvo (July 1972) the author attacks Suchasnist and Bohdan Krawciw for allegedly falsifying the works of Taras Shevchenko. The author also writes "We are also angered by the fact that critic Ivan Dzyuba also knowingly agreed to appear in this grubby, criminal company on the pages of the notorious Suchasnist and have his work "Shevchenko and Khomyakov" printed side by side with the drivel spouted by Krawciw and Koshelivets'..."

Rostyslav Bratun', a member of the Writers Union of Ukraine, joined in the attacks on the "Peking Orientation" of Ukrainian nationalists in his article "Modern Peking Rickshaws" in Literaturna Ukraina (13 June 1972). In the article he specifically mentions Suchasnist, M. Lebed, Anatol Kaminsky, R. Rakhmanny and quotes from an article in Suchasnist by Dr. M. Prokop. Bratun's article was reprinted in Visti z Ukrainy, a newspaper sent to Ukrainians abroad, on 22 June 1972.

The Lvov daily paper Vilna Ukraina carried two attacks on Ukrainian nationalists abroad. The first was dated 17 June 1972 entitled "The Remnants Have Not Laid Down Their Arms" written by M. Oleksyuk. In the article he mentions Reverend I. Hryniuch as one of the leaders of the Ukrainian independence struggle which fought on after the end of the war. The second attack came on 8 July 1972 entitled "In Foreign Pay - Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism - The Inveterate Enemy of the Workers." Reviving old charges against 'Ukrainian nationalists,' the article singles out ZP/UHVR for attack. The authors write about ZP/UHVR officials and their alleged reception by General Eisenhower in 1945, quote a statement allegedly made by Vasyl Okhrymovych that "the first contact with American intelligence was established by the General Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the ZP/UHVR, Mykola Lebed, back in 1945 in Italy." Prolog is described in the following manner: "In New York the ZP/UHVR has organized a research and publishing association called 'Prolog,' which specializes in publishing anti-Soviet literature. The leaders

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of the ZP/UHVR send the governments of Western countries and various international organizations anti-Soviet appeals and memoranda, prepare ideological diversions, and recruit Ukrainian emigres for the U.S. intelligence services."

In a series of articles published in the Lvov magazine Zhovten' entitled "Two Interpretations of the Past and Present of Ukraine" written by V. Malanchuk, the author mentions several publications of Suchasnist and Prolog. Malanchuk attacks in particular "On a New Standpoint" by A. Kaminsky (Prolog 1965) whom he calls a "bourgeois nationalist sociologist" and also takes issue with Kaminsky in the following manner. "An especially loud uproar has been raised around the question of the Soviet people which is alleged to replace the nations and nationalities of our country. On the one hand, writes Kaminsky, there is a clear tendency on our part to create a new Soviet nation through the merging of nations to serve as a superstructure for a uniform socio-economic and political system, and on the other, a no less clear attempt to 'impose (our) own values and standards on all other nations.'" Malanchuk rejects charges of russification of non-Russian nationalities and, at the same time warns his readers that: "The nationalist leadership is waging a savage campaign to gain greater influence over the large masses of workers in emigration, at the same time striving to conduct, with the aid of various misinformation, ideological diversionary activities among the workers of the Ukraine."

V. Malanchuk, in the journal Filosofs'ka Dumka (September 1972), states: "Foreign 'Sovietologists', among them 'Ukrainian specialists' in defending their own fabricated thesis on the 'denationalization' of nations and nationalities in the USSR cite the fact of the existence and development of the community of Soviet people." "The term 'Soviet people,' Kaminsky writes 'should not mislead anyone concerning its Russian essence.'"

A "Letter to the Editor" by Yuriy Smolych, Chairman of the Ukrainian Writers' Union, was printed in the journal Vitchyzna (October 1972). In the letter Smolych expresses his "anger that some publishers abroad reprinted excerpts from my novel 'Tales About Unrest Have No Ending' without my permission." In particular he singles out Suchasnist in the following manner: "Thus, in (certain) chapters, the editors of the infamous Munich based journal Suchasnist, with which I am acquainted by virtue of my position as president of the Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad, deleted everything which showed a negative attitude on the part of those comrades towards the very concepts of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism..."

A 44 page pamphlet entitled "For Judas' Pieces of Silver," written by Ivan Petriv, reached the West in late 1972. It

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is an attack on Ukrainian nationalist organizations in the West, which repeats old charges against ZP/UHVR and Prolog, mentioning by name M. Lebed, M. Prokop and Rev. I. Hrynioch.

A 74 page pamphlet "With A False Mandate" - was published by the Publishing House of Political Literature in Kiev 1972. Its author, Les' Topolchuk, "proves" that the decision of the leadership of the OUN in Ukraine of 1953 regarding the OUN and ZP/UHVR was concocted by I. Hrynioch, M. Lebed and L. Rebet in the West, given to V. Okhrymovych and taken by him to the Ukraine, and then delivered back to the West. Topolchuk claims that the ZP/UHVR and the OUN(z) wanted to present themselves as "real representatives of the Ukrainian people" by showing to Western powers and the Ukrainian emigration "their mandate from the Ukrainian people, including the mythical Ukrainian underground." Topolchuk writes: "Leaders of the ZP/UHVR and the OUN(z) try forcefully to retain a certain part of the Ukrainian emigration in anti-Soviet positions, to utilize cultural exchanges between the USA and the USSR - on orders from American intelligence - for espionage activities and dissemination of anti-Soviet, nationalist ideas. The methods applied by the leaders of the ZP/UHVR on instruction from espionage centers of the USA, such as 'Discussions at the Round Table Club,' declarations about recognition of some realities of Soviet Ukraine, and of the statehood of the Soviet Ukraine itself, and attempts to monopolize contact with Soviet citizens who are temporarily abroad for the purpose of subjecting them to an anti-Soviet diatribe - become now understandable."

CA Staff has on file excerpts from 40 separate articles which have appeared in the Soviet press attacking the Ukrainian independence movement, nationalist and religious sentiment, and manifestations of "political apathy," amounting to anti-sovietism.

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Baboval, Roman

" Excerpts for Anne Marie"

Eight short poems

Andiyevs'ka, Emma

"A Novel about a Good Human Being" (5)

Among several new characters introduced in this instalment, we find Kyrylykha, a very old woman with an air of mystery about her. She deals in witchcraft. Her strange powers are both feared and admired by the villagers. Among other new profiles, the most interesting is Father Gudziy, a priest with a "past".

Koverko, Oleg

"New Poems"

Three short poems

Mytrovych, Kyrylo

"The Portrait of Skovoroda"  
On his 250th birthday

Grigoriy Skovoroda, one of the most famous Ukrainian philosophers, occupies a special place in the cultural heritage of the Ukrainian people. His writings had a great impact on Kotlarevskiy, Kvitko, Shevchenko and other giants of the Ukrainian literature. As a philosopher, he has been compared with Leibnitz and Kant. However, his philosophy was unique. It was not imported from Europe ( in the traditions of old imperial Russia), but it emerged and developed from Ukrainian spiritual sources. Skovoroda's aim was to provide answers to many questions of ordinary people. An epitome of the awakening of the Ukrainian community at the end of the 18th century, a son of that generation which in a relatively short time was able to establish schools of all types, including universities, and, finally, produced the

Ukrainian literature. He was a man of great intellect and high erudition, fair but uncompromising in justified criticism. Skovoroda's interpretation of the bible reveals him as an outstanding humanist.

Grabovych, Grogoriy

"New Dimensions in the Poetry of Pavlo Tychyna"

The poetry of Pavlo Tychyna, whom the author considers as the most outstanding Ukrainian poet of the 20th century, is being reviewed against the background of the cultural and political development of his creative activity. The Ukraine and its people represent the single largest element dominating his writings. This -- the author believes -- is more important than many critical comments concerning Tychyna's role and his personal conduct and tragedy of living under the Soviet regime. He is and will remain a great though tragic personality in the history of Ukrainian literature.

"Art on Behalf of Man"

Speech by Alexander Solzhenitsyn on the occasion of his acceptance of the Nobel Prize for literature

This speech is essentially a profound essay on various aspects of human creative, artistic activity. Art has been from the beginning of time an integral part of human existence. To create art is to possess a divine gift. The ability to do artistic work implies a task of immense responsibility to present and future generations. The speaker refers to a phrase coined by Dostoyevsky : "Beauty will save the world." It took Solzhenitsyn a long time to grasp the real meaning of those words. Any creative work of art which expresses a profound feeling or aspiration of man is indestructible. It will live through oppression, persecution, and adversity of any kind.

Solzhenitsyn reflects upon various attributes of human nature.

He touches upon the different ways in which people react to events, the fact that they are more affected by a single accident in their community than by a distant disaster costing thousands of lives. He directs the attention of potential readers to the many social injustices and to the tragic consequences of dual social and moral standards. "When there exist six, four or even two scales, there cannot be one world, one humanity. We shall be destroyed not by the difference of rhythm but by the chasm of oscillation. We will not be able to survive on one planet the same as a human with two hearts cannot live." Neither science, nor propaganda, nor oppression are able to eliminate those various detrimental aspects that divide humanity. The only remedy, fortunately, rests with art, with literature. It is literature which carries human experience from one generation to another. "It is literature that becomes a live memory of a nation, it preserves lost national history -- undistorted and unfalsified. At the same time, together with the language, literature preserves the national soul. When such artists as Akhmatova or Zamyatin are being buried alive and forced to be silent, their fate represents not only their personal tragedy but also a mortal danger to the entire nation. And in certain instances, the entire world is being threatened."

Rudnytsky, Volodymyr

"From the Memoirs of a Notary" (3)  
Eight years in the Horodenka area

In the final instalment, the author reminisces about the years he spent in the town of Horodenka. These were the 1930's -- a period of strong nationalistic trends and movements in towns and villages of the then southeastern part of Poland, an area largely inhabited by Ukrainians. The author recalls his long friendship with with Dr. Okunevskiy, a prominent and

influential Ukrainian leader whose personal tragedies could not destroy his spirit and devotion to the Ukrainian community. Primarily under his influence, the author became very active in Ukrainian social, political and educational affairs. The author concludes his memoirs in the belief that he did the best he could for the cause of the Ukrainian people.

"Yuliush Meroshevskiy on Ukrainian-Polish Relations"

This is a translation of an article : "American Eastern Policy and Conclusions" which appeared in the July-August issue of the Polish magazine "Kultura" published in Paris. A large part of the article is devoted to the subject of Ukrainian-Polish relations.

There have been periods in the past when American and Polish policy has had certain things in common. In fact, a number of emigres believe that the Truman Doctrine continues to have some validity. It should be clear, however, that this Doctrine had been buried on 22 May 1972 in Moscow when it was eulogized by Nixon and Podgorny. Washington's rapprochement to the Soviet Union does not contribute anything to the idea of independence and democracy of Poland. Events of recent years indicate that the improvement of relations between the United States and the Soviet Union is not in the best interest of the concept of a free democratic Poland. Times, policies and ideas have changed radically and a realistic appraisal of the current situation leads to a conclusion that the United States is no longer a natural ally of Poland. The prospects of a free Poland are linked with an alliance of Poles and nationalistically oriented Ukrainians, Lithuanians and anti-Soviet Russians. The balance of power resulting from the fact that Moscow

and Washington have the capacity to destroy one another makes it necessary for these two powers to become partners -- whether they like it or not. In an article in "The Guardian", Victor Zorza wrote that two most powerful conservatives in the world had met in Moscow: Nixon and Brezhnev. What they have in common is not only the desire to save the world, but also the determination to oppose any progressive social movements.

Isayiv, Vsevolod V.

"Educational Trends and the Dual Environment"

The author deals with problems connected with the need of the Ukrainian community to remain as a separate ethnic and cultural group in the United States and Canada. These problems must be reviewed in the light of conditions surrounding the Ukrainian youth, particularly those caused by being subjected to two environments. In addition, the actual possibilities and opportunities open to Ukrainian children must be taken into account. The World Congress of Free Ukrainians has accepted the idea that a Ukrainian emigre must be a good Ukrainian and a good citizen of his adopted country. However, this duality is not a simple matter. It deals with cultural, political, religious, and educational differences. Educationally, the current trend is reflected in programs stressing the history and traditions of the Ukrainian people. The most serious problems in this respect become evident in the second and third generation. There inevitably arise many conflicts generated by the duality of environment, language and culture.

The crucial question is whether the Ukrainian educational institutions -- schools and youth organizations -- will be able to mobilize the required means and resources to achieve a difficult goal of properly respond-

ing to the needs and demands implicit in the dual milieu. The answer to that question must be based on a thorough study and research of a variety of problems connected with this important subject.

Milkovych, Pavlo                    "James Bond Was not in Kiev in July 1972"

Against the background of a convention of gerontologists in Kiev in July 1972, the author describes the behind-the-scene and open activities of the Soviet secret police (KGB) to prevent the noted Russian genetecist Zhores Medvedev from the participation in the convention. The story is based on a 12-page document published in the United States by an American scientist, Dr. Leonard Geyflik, a participant of the Kiev convention and a personal friend of Medvedev.

NOTES AND REVIEWS                    "The Sentencing of Danylo Shumuk"

New York. The Ukrainian Press release reported more details on the sentencing of Danylo Shumuk to 10 years of hard labor. The 50-year old Ukrainian activist has spent 27 years in various Polish and Soviet prisons.

"Third 10-Year Sentence for Yuriy Shukhevych"

Moscow. A Soviet court has sentenced Yuriy Shukhevych to a third 10-year prison term for alleged "nationalist activity".

Victor Krasin, a noted economist, was also arrested and accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

"Yevgen Pronyuk, a Scientist of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Arrested"

Information has been received from Kiev that Yevgen Peonyuk, a scien-

tist at the Institute of Philosophy of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, has been arrested. The reason for the arrest is not known. It was also reported that Alexander Sergiyenko has been sentenced to 7 years of hard labor and 3 years of banishment.

"Trial of Irene Stasiv-Kalinets' and Ivan Hel; Arrest of Igor Kalinets' "

New York. During trials held in Lvov in July and August 1972, Irene Stasiv-Kalinets' and Ivan Hel had been sentenced to long prison terms and banishment. Stephanie Shabatura, an artist, was also sentenced to a prison term. It was reported that Igor Kalinets', one of the best known contemporary young poets, has been arrested.

"The Sixth Issue of the Ukrainian Herald"

Helsinki. The sixth issue of the "Ukrainian Herald" has been published in the Ukraine. The entire issue has been devoted to the recent arrests, repression, trials and the defense action on behalf of the arrested Ukrainian intellectuals. Wide circles of Ukrainian intelligentsia, workers and farmers have been accused of nationalism, a term given to any activity connected with the Ukrainian language, tradition, and culture.

A Letter to the Editor

Kubiyovych, Volodymyr

"We Dare Not to Remain Silent"

In a letter to the editor, the author disputes the allegations made by an article published in the Winnipeg weekly "Novyy Shlakh" on 16 September 1972. He denies any participation in a meeting of Ukrainian leaders allegedly organized for the purpose of setting up a pro-Moscow faction among the Ukrainian

emigres.

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-- What poetry is to a reader is life itself to a poet. Poets do not write poems -- they live them.

-- Poetry is not based on the desire or ability to create rhymed lines, but is an art of expressing one's true feelings. Poetry is never completely personal; it necessarily reflects a part of the entire humanity. The complexity of poetry lies in the fact that it is sometimes takes a life-time -- one's past and even distant future -- to write 24 lines.

-- Critique is an art as well as a science. As an art, it needs inspiration; as a science, it must operate within limits of objectivity and accuracy.

-- When one is young, days are short and years are long. In old age, the reverse is true: days become infinitely long, and years very short. Youth can delay conquest until tomorrow, old age must conquer each day.

-- In a deeper sense, poets are as much a part of their art, as the work of art is a part of the poet's creative power. Poetry shapes the personality of its creator as a sculptor shapes a slab of clay.

-- Man produces changes in the environment more rapidly than he himself changes.

-- There are people who believe that their work for the benefit of humanity absolves them from personal responsibility of being helpful to individuals who need their assistance.

-- Every aspect of reality offers clearly defined contents -- social, ethical, or philosophical. It is this very seed of reality that, for the

most part generates poetry.

-- There is an analogy between an analysis of a literary work in terms of cause and effect , inter-relationships and motivation of personages -- and a complex court trial. In judging life, the writer is guided by laws of conscience and morality. However, the sentence of art does not recognize mitigating circumstances, it is unqualified and eternal.

-- Great artists are frequently characterized as immortal. Practically speaking that means that a life of a great artist continues indefinitely in his work.

-- Self-criticism, one of the most important aspects in the life of an artist, begins at the moment the first idea is born, when the artist struggles with many other ideas and finally chooses that which is closest to him. This idea is continuously being changed during the creative process, and, finally, when that particular piece of art is completed, it becomes a critical base for new ideas and works of art.

-- A translator should not overestimate his role in the literary process. Certain Ukrainian translators believe they were destined to create and refine the modern Ukrainian language. This is a sad mistake on the part of people who suffer from an illusion of grandeur. True, Martin Luther's translation of the bible produced a new German language. However, the Ukrainian language was created by the poet Shevchenko -- not by Kulish, the translator.

Koshelivets', Ivan

"About the Inexhaustible World of the Poet"

This is an essay about the artistic aspects of the poetry of Leonid Pervomayskiy, one of the most eminent Ukrainian poets of the so-called "older generation." The term is based not only on the chronological age of the poet, but also on the high, unique artistic level of his work -- a characteristic aspect which distinguishes him from many other modern, young "producers" of poetry. Moreover, the biography of Pervomayskiy is materially different from that of a typical Ukrainian writer. Although of Jewish origin, he was brought up in a Ukrainian atmosphere, mastered the Ukrainian language and became a brilliant literary exponent of the Ukrainian "soul."

Koziy, D

"Skovoroda's Three Aspects of Self-Knowledge"  
On his 250th birthday (1722-1972)

The problem of self-knowledge occupies a central place in the writings of Skovoroda. This great philosopher deals with the basic aspects of self-knowledge: psychological-ethical, mystical, and metaphysical.

The Psychological-Ethical Aspect of Self-Knowledge

The broadest aspect of self-knowledge requires an ability to appraise one's innate capacities and weaknesses, with a view of selecting the most appropriate sphere of activity. Skovoroda attaches particular importance to the "innateness" of an individual -- his psychological and intellectual structure reflecting his distinct strengths and shortcomings. The philosopher felt a great sense of mission to re-educate the Ukrainian society culturally and spiritually. Long under Russian oppression, and separated from the sources of creative freedom, the Ukrainian community was in the process of social and moral disintegration. Thus, he felt, this was an area where

it was essential for the Ukrainian as an individual as well as for the community to become aware of and apply the concepts of self-knowledge.

#### The Mystical Aspect

This aspect of self-knowledge leads the individual to the discovery of his "spiritual depth" which, in turn, results in his "rebirth." To become so "re-born" means to find in oneself an element that "never began and will never cease -- a spark of godliness." Skovoroda criticizes materialists for their preoccupation with "external" aspects of life while neglecting or ignoring much more important "internal", spiritual and psychic values. A mystic experience generates exaltation, a sense of absolute freedom and spiritual peace, enthusiasm and a "renewal of the soul."

#### The Metaphysical Aspect

Skovoroda believed profoundly that " all that exists in the universe (macrocosm) also exists in the little world (microcosm); what is possible in the small world, is also possible in the universe since there is a conformity and unity of spirit which unites all that exists." The macrocosm and the microcosm possess a common dual essentiality: material and spiritual, external and internal, mortal and eternal. The sky, the sea, the earth and everything that fills the space -- all that converges in the human being.

Kost'uk, Grigoriy O            "A Few Words About My Literary Work"  
On the 70th Birthday of Grigoriy Kost'uk  
An autobiographical account

The noted Ukrainian literary critic, writer and historian, attempts to acquaint the reader with his literary activity. Born and brought up in the Ukrainian town of Kamyanets' Podils'kiy, Kost'uk was somewhat of a "russophile" in his young school years. However, about 1917, during the

revolutionary period, under the influence of Shevchenko as well as several contemporary Ukrainian writers, he became completely immersed in the blooming Ukrainian literature. In a word, the Ukrainian element became his life. Close association with many noted Ukrainian writers and educators has had a great impact on his development as a writer. Among them were Korniychuk, Masenko, Donchenko, Gordiyenko, Leytes, Tychnya, and many others.

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"Grigoriy Kost'uk"  
A bio-bibliographical outline

Born in 1902 in the Ukraine. Educated in his home town Kamyanets' Podils'kiy and at the Kiev Institute of National Education. In 1932-35, employed as teacher of Ukrainian literature at the Khar'kov University and the Lugansk Teachers' Institute. Arrested in November 1935 for "counter-revolutionary activity," he spent 5 years in the notorious Vorkuta prison. The Second World War found Kost'uk in Lvov and Cracov. After the war, and several years in "displaced persons" camps in Germany, Kost'uk and his wife had arrived in New York in 1952. Here, he became member, and since 1954 head of the Association of Ukrainian Writers "Slovo." Among his best known works are: "The Fall of Postyshev", "Stalinist Rule in the Ukraine", and "Theory and Reality." In addition, he wrote a great number of articles, essays, and reviews.

"New Pages in the History of the Ukraine"

Braychevs'kiy, Mykhaylo

"The "Serpent Wall" -- Legend and Hypothesis"

The "Serpent Wall", one of the most interesting and puzzling archeological monuments of the Ukrainian past, stretches over hundreds of kilometers

through the Ukrainian landscape. There are many theories and hypotheses concerning the origin of this unusual phenomenon. Known also as the Trajan Wall, it is being traced to the Roman emperor Trajan. Other scientists trace the origin of the wall to the tenth century A.D. when it is said to have been built as a military defensive structure.

Yamkovyy, Leonid

"The "Serpent Wall" Tells a Story"

The author traces the history of the "Serpent Wall" through the pages of literature, historical chronicles, folklore, and scientific, archeological research.

Lobodovskiy, Yuzef

"About Religion Without Anointment"  
The Liquidators of the Union

The author, a noted Polish writer, literary critic and poet, is well known to the Ukrainian reader as a proven friend of the Ukrainian people and its cause. This essay originally appeared in the Parisian magazine "Kultura" (No. 7-8, 1972).

The author gives a moving literary account of his meeting with Cardinal Slipyy in Rome. Cardinal Joseph Kobernyts'kyi-Slipyy was born in 1892, and ordained in 1917. In 1944, he became the Metropolitan of Lvov. He was arrested in 1945 by the Soviet secret police, and spent 18 years in various Soviet prisons and concentration camps. Freed in 1963, he now lives in the Vatican.

The report about an interview with the Cardinal is followed by a review of historical highlights of the Eastern Church and its relations with Rome.

Bilins'kiy, Ya

"The Third Conference on Baltic Studies"

The Third Conference on Baltic Studies was held at the Toronto University from 11-14 May 1972. The author, invited to participate in the conference, gave a lecture on the topic: " The Current Policy in the Baltic States and in the Ukraine: Similarities and Contrasts." The other Ukrainian speakers were: Yan Zaprudnik, professor of history, Queens College, City University of New York, and Vsevolod V. Isayiv, professor at the University of Toronto. There were a number of other participants, for the most part, professors of several American and Canadian universities. Topics, discussed in plenary sessions and in seminars, included matters dealing with literary, historical, economic, political, social and international problems of the peoples in the Baltic states, as well as various problems of the emigre communities.

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8 May 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR C/SA/B2

SUBJECT: QRDYNAMIC Project Renewal Comment

1. SBOP/PO strongly endorses the QRDYNAMIC Project, but could have wished that the case for Ukrainian nationalism had been stated more forcefully. The following points should be emphasized in any consideration of the QRDYNAMIC project:

A. Historically, nationalism has been a continuing problem in Tsarist Russia as well as throughout the period of Soviet rule. No amount of repression (and the current KGB campaign is of course minor compared to the Stalinist purges) has ever managed to destroy the phenomenon. During World War II and on into the postwar period the Ukrainians maintained a large and effective guerilla force which controlled considerable real estate in its day; the last pitched battle between the guerillas and Soviet forces, where the latter used regimental units supported by tactical air strikes and artillery, occurred in 1953, eight years after the end of World War II. While this in effect broke the back of the armed resistance, the sentiments that supported it have smouldered not very far below the surface ever since.

B. Nationalism in general today is of prime concern to the Soviet leadership. Recent shakeups in Armenia, Azerbaidzhan, Georgia, and (most recently) in the Ukraine itself have been based ostensibly in large part on "corruption", but in fact are aimed at striking down nationalist sentiments. (Corruption is equally wide spread in the RSFSR), but is treated less as a national than as an individual phenomenon.) Soviet propaganda is more and more concerned with nationalism, except where it concerns Russian nationalism, which is now more acceptable. Note the recent demotion of a highly placed critic of the latter, YAKOVLEY. Anything of such concern to the Soviet leadership in the field of internal security should obviously be of SA and operational concern to this agency.

C. As well as being among the most active, the Ukrainians are the largest national minority, with a population of over 40,000,000. As Khrushchev once said of Stalin, he would

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have deported the entire Ukrainian people except that there were too many of them. They occupy high posts in the Party, the government, and the intelligentsia, and while most support the regime at least outwardly, there is a significant minority which does not. Even among those who apparently conform, there may be hidden nationalist sentiments.

D. There has been an upswing in legal emigration from the Ukraine in recent years, most of it going to Canada where there is a large Ukrainian minority. QRDYNAMIC exploitation of this group should be mentioned.

E. Finally, in the past QRDYNAMIC has provided significant operational leads to SR and SB Division. At least one internal Soviet recruitment known to this writer was made by the close cooperation of QRDYNAMIC and a CIA case officer working on a specific human target. In this respect QRDYNAMIC has a much better track record than other emigre groups. Its security and compartmentation also seem to be of a higher caliber than usually encountered in emigre groups.

2. While the above may appear to be too obvious for those immediately engaged in Ukrainian operations, they are factors which may not be known to officers responsible for passing on the project at higher levels. Most of the points have been at least touched on in this renewal, but should have received more emphasis.

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C/SBOP/PO

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20 April 1973

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SA

SUBJECT: Project QRDYNAMIC

1. I have read carefully through the FY 1974 renewal document for QRDYNAMIC. It makes a good case for the project essentially as it is. I recommend that we go ahead with the renewal for the coming year but with the resolution that sometime within the next six months we have the activities of this project examined in depth to determine whether (a) we should have all our Ukrainian eggs in this one basket and (b) whether the project is really accomplishing as much communication with the Ukraine as project principals claim and believe.

2. There is no doubt about the importance of the Ukraine as a target. In area and population the country is as large as France. Ukrainians constitute the largest non-Russian element in the population of the USSR and live in most parts of the country as well as in their own republic. There has been a good deal of dissidence in the Ukraine in the past and more is likely to develop if our basic assumption that nationalism will continue to grow and develop in the USSR is correct. What bothers me about this project, however, is the fact that it seems to lack the kind of spark that QRBERRETTA and QRGLAD have. I would like to be sure that what we are supporting here is not simply a group of aging emigres living increasingly in the past. The summary of the most recent issue of Suchastnist, the project's principal ideological publication, disturbs me. I plan to watch the content of this journal more closely during the next few months.

3. Faced with the complete revamping of QREASIC during the next few months as our highest priority in the Soviet field, I do not think we should compound the problem of using our limited

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resources well by diving into a restructuring of this project too. Nevertheless we should commit ourselves to re-examine it thoroughly though, at this stage, I recommend that we make this commitment simply an internal Staff matter and not a matter of record at the DDO level.

V/S/E

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**Deputy Chief  
Special Activities Staff**

cc: C/SA/B2

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