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CONVERSATIONS IN THE PAVILLION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR IN
MARSEILLE ON 25, 26, 27, AND 28 SEPTEMBER 1959

Between A. K. and

I. V. KRYVOSHEYEV, Director

Alexander ADAMENKO, Engineer

"Pshenychnyk" (Name unknown), Engineer

Yurko (Last name unknown), Engineer Kiev

Vasyl S. from Lviv

Vynokorov, Ukr. Society for Cultural Contacts

Others

of Ukrainian exhibit

R/T/ Δ p. 22.

(FN)

*all listed had
contacted with member
of Accossowary - 1st
Trade Fair in
France, Sept. 1959
cit 053R*

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CONVERSATION BETWEEN A.K. AND KRIVOSHEYEV ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1959
IN KRIVOSHEYEV'S OFFICE IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR,
MARSEILLE, FRANCE

At the entrance to the pavilion I met "Pshenychnyk" and asked him if it was possible to meet with the Director (of the pavilion) and where his office was. I introduced myself as a reporter of (the newspapers) "Vilne Slovo" and "Ukrainskyi Somastiynyk" from London and said that my name was Kobets. After two or three minutes "Pshenychnyk" came back with KRYVOSHEYEV'S secretary and she (the secretary) showed me to the office. After introduction and a few sentences of generalities the discussion turned to the fair. KRYVOSHEYEV asked how I liked the fair (actually the Ukrainian Exhibit). My impression was generally positive, though I did not have a chance yet to see much. I also made some critical observations pointing out the carelessness in organizing the exhibits of books, of ceramics and of folk costumes. KRYVOSHEYEV's reply was routine: The commercial and not political or cultural aspects have primarily been taken into consideration; this was the first try; in the future there will be improvements. I made an observation that my first impression from the fair made me think that the purpose of the (Ukrainian) exhibit was rather political or at least propagandistic and for this speak the photographs and statistical diagrams about elections, schools, etc. I also mentioned KRYVOSHEYEV's article in the "K.S." 7

KRYVOSHEYEV: "Yes, naturally. We actually wanted to introduce Ukraine in full; even from the point of view of advertisement. We anticipated that not much was known about the Ukraine abroad and before starting to trade one had to introduce himself. You know, it is surprising, how little they know here about us, and what big eyes they made when informed how big and powerful the Ukraine is. However, we were not able to exhibit all we desired, for that we would have needed several such pavilions. Therefore we placed commerce as the first thing and the rest we just added as far as space permitted."

He also said that they have rented the space on fair grounds for a period of five years, that they participated in the fair upon invitation from the French Government and that next year, he hopes, the Ukrainian SSR will exhibit again. In the meantime they have been invited for the next year to Milan (Italy) and to Toulouse (France). There is a very great interest in the Ukraine by France. Also on the part of other foreign countries, so that next year they will certainly exhibit again and if next year the Ukrainian SSR shall not be in Marseille another Soviet Republic will participate.

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I: The government in Kiev or rather Moscow is responsible for the fact that France is inadequately informed about the Ukraine. They did not do much in this respect, and the result is that very often the Ukraine is viewed as part of Russia. I am convinced, however, that the Russians strive unequivocally and purposely to degrade the Ukraine to a pure province in the administration, and its culture to the folklore in the ethnic sense.

KRYVOSHEYEV: (Interrupting) "That is entirely incorrect. We are a state and are limited in our decisions merely by the General Requirements of the Federation. From this we have our duties and more so our privileges. The Ukraine is today a sovereign nation (state) in a Federation with Russia and with other peoples."

"I know (smiling) you will ask immediately about Ukrainian Embassies and consulates, as you mentioned before, which would function for the purpose of informing the foreigners about the Ukraine."

I: (Interrupting) "And you will immediately reply that the Ukraine is very well represented by Soviet Embassies and that it is a waste of money to establish separate Ukrainian (representations). I also explained that consulates and embassies alone are not the sole factors of independence and sovereignty."

KRYVOSHEYEV: "And I will tell you this, that when I arrived here, there was nothing. There was only a site and we had to do all by ourselves, that is through local firms. And at the beginning I was approached by the representative or even the director of a French company who expressed a desire of buying an amount of Chernihiv pickled cucumbers. I could not help him. And you understand, if we would have somebody here I could have brought the goods and could have sold it to him. Even more so that such transaction requires overcoming many formalities and I do not have much time to do all this. I am the director of the permanent agricultural fair in Kiev and I think you know about it. And most of the people who are with me here are my co-workers from Kiev. So you see, in some respects we agree with you. And as far as the textiles in the Ukraine, you know, that consumer (light) industries are less developed in the Ukraine than heavy industries."

He continued explaining to me the significance of heavy industry, and emphasizing great successes in this field. He assured me that the light industry will also improve in the near future.

I: I consider heavy industry as very important but find the high sacrifices leading to building the industry incompatible with the achievements. In addition, a one-sided economy has been developed

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with a great gap between the heavy industry on one hand and the consumer's industry and agriculture on the other. I also mentioned that five million Ukrainian farmers have been destroyed during the so called industrialization."

KRYVOSHEYEV: "I know that there were great sacrifices. He have not been helped by anybody. In 30 years we achieved results for which others would have needed twice as much time. We worked all by ourselves without capital and under constant danger of war. In addition we were building a new society, a new social system, which nobody could even imagine and therefore, no doubt, that mistakes have been made and this (the mistakes) have been admitted."

I: I suggested that he was making the same mistake that Soviet propaganda is making, and he as an economist should (and knows) better how it really was. The industrialization in Russia began at the end of the 19th century with introduction of French and British capital. It is generally known that everywhere the process of industrialization lasted no more than 60 years, a good example is England, France and America. I also made sharp critical remarks concerning the "establishment of a new society" and pointed out that during the collectivization and industrialization the economic and political elements have worked closely together. The collectivization and industrialization was contemplated as a coup against the political, economic and even the popular substance of the Ukrainian people. Examples: Ukrainian Communists, writers, etc.

KRYVOSHEYEV: Kept silent and then: "Yes, there were victims (sacrifices) and mistakes and we admitted them. But there are obvious successes. You yourself admitted that we, though paying a high price, have built heavy industry. We must continue developing heavy industry to provide an adequate basis for light (consumer) industries. Nothing to hide, the situation without light industry is pretty bad. In addition livestock raising is necessary and we pay to it very much attention at the present time."

We switched to discussing corn as a basis for livestock raising, particularly hogs. I expressed some fear that specialization of Soviet economy could have disadvantageous effects on Ukrainian economy, that the Ukraine might abandon growing wheat and will switch completely to corn and sugar beets, and he as an economist should know what this means.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "I know, but our plans are to increase the corn growing area to ten million hectares only, and this particularly in the southern districts of the Ukraine. In the western Ukraine and in the north we shall not do this. The climatic and soil conditions would not permit this. If we achieve that the agriculture of the Ukraine will become 55 to 60 percent livestock raising. This is actually not too much comparing with France or Belgium. I travelled in Belgium and spoke to the farmers. Seventy percent of all the tillable area has been under livestock raising there. We probably shall never achieve this level but we must have nine to ten million hectares under corn cultivation

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if we are to assure the development of light industry, comprising the consumer's industry. We cannot do without it.

"As far as wheat is concerned, the Ukraine ceased to be the granary of the USSR. Kazakstan had taken her place. We have reduced production of wheat on account of spring wheat which did not justify itself any way. We also reduced the production of barley, rye and particularly of oats."

I: I emphasized again the one-sidedness of the Ukrainian economy and suggested that the development of light industry in the Ukraine might be used in the first place for purposes of economic war in Asia and Africa. I quoted the example with Egypt, etc. And, this is happening at the time when the Ukraine herself is in need of capital investment and of goods. I recalled that in the past Ukrainian wheat was buying industrial equipment and Ukrainian farmers (who grew the wheat) were starving. At the present time the same farmer will be deprived of goods which will be sent to Egypt or Indonesia.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "We are not unconcerned of our own needs. The material situation of the population improved considerably. You should come and see yourself, and we must also help other countries. Do not think that this is being done of political considerations alone. We have also economic advantages. And not the Ukraine alone procures and will procure goods for Asia and Africa, for this as you call it economic front. We want a peaceful competition, we want to trade with everybody, in peace and in friendship. Also with the Afro-Asian countries, and even with the greatest capitalists, and this is why Nikita Sergeyevich is in New York at the present time."

I: I suggested that regardless of any agreements between Khrushchev and Eisenhower, the competition between the two blocks will increase and that this competition will effect in the negative the capital investment and the volume of consumption in the Ukraine. I expressed the misgivings in the capability of the overloaded and unbalanced Soviet economy in this respect all the more that the heavy, armament industry (would) will have to be strengthened. I expressed the fear, that, as a result, a new pressure will be displayed in the USSR and particularly in the Ukraine to squeeze the maximum out of the people.

KRYVOSHEYEV: (Was startled by this idea and after a while of unconcealed surprise commented) "Yes, heavy industry is a basis for everything. We will not have to turn back to the 1930's -- but it is necessary to give help to others. We have advantages too. We had to give aid to India when asked for it."

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He began drawing a map of India explaining that as a result of the partition of the Indian subcontinent into India and Pakistan, the latter acquired all the industrial areas.

BORYSOV, with three Frenchmen, entered the room. They wanted to talk to the Director. KRYVOSHEYEV interrupted his lecture about India, excused himself and asked me to see him the next day. "It has been very interesting talking to you, you must come to see me again in my office."

SECOND MEETING WITH KRYVOSHEYEV ON 26 SEPTEMBER 1959 IN HIS OFFICE
IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR.

After exchange of greetings, KRYVOSHEYEV complained about hot weather and much work. He constantly had to meet delegates of workers, farmers, and economists. There was a great interest in the Ukrainian exhibit and it looked like there was a possibility of trading with France.

I asked what were the trade relations with France and what kind of goods the French and others were looking for. KRYVOSHEYEV replied that, up until now, the Ukraine exported predominantly coal, unfinished goods of metal working industry and a few chemicals. The Ukraine imported from France, industrial equipment for some branches of chemical industries and electrical (electro-technical) equipment (tools). There is interest shown in everything on display in the pavilion with the exception of our textiles and televisions. "You know," (he said), "There is interest even in our products. Our metal working benches are mostly appreciated and we have already some customers (buyers)."

I: "What are the chances of development for the future?"

KRYVOSHEYEV: "This does not depend entirely on us. Here we were forbidden to sell our exhibits and wine which we brought in considerable quantities. We have to take it back. We shall see what the French Government will say. I told you that we are ready to trade everything and with everybody."

I: "And who will decide on fulfillment of contracts which are being worked out here?"

KRYVOSHEYEV: "What shall I tell you? Certainly, we ourselves, in the Ukraine. Obviously we have to make it agreeable with Moscow through a respective office" (which office he explained was "VNESHTORG" in Moscow (Kuybishev Street).

In this connection I commented on Russian policy in the Ukraine, particularly on the current Russification (course), and pointed out the dangers as manifested during the last year.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "You know, since yesterday I have been thinking (about our discussion) and I believe that your conclusions based on isolated

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events are wrong. Yes, CHERVONENKO (today Ambassador to China) wrote an article in the "Communist" but is he everything. He is, of course, right in many respects or rather in every respect. I do not mix in politics but personally I do not feel that all you suggest is true. We are free people, we are progressing, we are getting richer and everything is moving toward the better. Ukrainian culture is developing, everyone is permitted to study in his native language. It is different from the times under the Czars.

I interrupted, making a point about the recent school reform.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "Yes, I have heard about it. But I do not agree with your interpretation. (Smiling) All of you emigres submit to one distinct tendency. Everything that is happening in our country you give a derogatory interpretation, and it is not so."

I pointed out that what matters is not interpretation, but sheer facts. I quoted some data about the schools, about discrimination and nonexistence of (Ukrainian) schools in the RSFSR.

KRYVOSHEYEV: (Interrupting) "And you think that the Ukrainians in the RSFSR really want to be instructed in the Ukrainian language. So you don't really know how it is."

I: "I think they want that. And they also want Ukrainian newspapers, but they are deprived of this." I quoted "Literaturna Hazeta".

KRYVOSHEYEV: "So again, from isolated events, you jump to conclusions. But anyway, we are internationalists and do not pay too much attention to the problem of language. Today, when interplanetary communication will soon become a reality"..... etc.

I: "But comrades, CHERVONENKO, GAFUROV and KRAVTSOV think differently. Russian "internationalism" and Russian nationalism is identical."

KRYVOSHEYEV kept silent and then said that it was not entirely so. He mentioned Senin's speech where he distinctly discussed the Ukraine, Ukrainian culture, etc. "You read Senin's article, did you not?"

I asked who met him at the airport in Paris and how he was received and stressed that that was another evidence of "sovereignty".

KRYVOSHEYEV: "We are making our first steps. You cannot have everything at once." Who should have met him if not the comrades from the Embassy in Paris? It was not his fault that the Frenchmen did not greet him.

I explained that it was not the fault of the French but a Soviet fault, and I feared that everything is moving toward the worse rather than toward the better.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "And I think to the contrary. We are moving to the better. History will show. The Ukrainian people never before had such achievements as they have now. We must continue to concentrate our attention on economics. You understand, that is the basis for everything."

I reminded him that he tried to switch the topic of discussion, and asked him whether it was possible to receive the regional (oblast) press which was displayed in the pavilion. I also suggested that I would like to discuss some problems with the people concerned with "Cultural problems".

KRYVOSHEYEV: "We have here comrade VYNOKUROV, representing the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts (Liaison) with foreign countries. He has left for Nice but will be available the next day. He could also settle the newspaper matter. And, I also have some (newspapers)." And he gave me "L.H.", "K.S." and "R.U.". I thanked him for the papers and added that my policy was not to be in debt (to owe anything to anyone) and presented him copies of "Ukrainsky Samostiyny~~K~~" and "Suchasna Ukraina". I also reminded him of an article in "U. SAMOSTIYNYA", which might be of interest to him. He thanked me and promised to read the papers. "Highly interesting what you are writing about." He excused himself, saying that he had a banquet to attend and asked how long I was to stay (In Marseille). I replied that it would probably be two to three days, to which KRYVOSHEYEV remarked that it would be to the closing of the fair, and that he hoped to see me again. I promised to come again and left.

MEETING WITH KRYVOSHEYEV ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1959 IN HIS OFFICE
IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR.

After exchange of greetings I asked him in what branches of light industry they would be overtaking America next.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "It is difficult for me to say because I myself am an economist in agriculture. One is positive, however, that more emphasis is being put on production of textiles and other consumer goods. The problem is not only in building of new industries but in reconstruction and in rearrangement within the industry. We manufacture, for example, a broadcloth of a very high quality, which could be worn for years, and I have not seen such cloth in France. But this is not sufficient. The people demand more diversified assortment of material of poorer quality and do not want the high quality cloth."

He then switched to the food industry and to livestock and gave me a long lecture about livestock raising as a basis for the food industry. There are still shortcomings and we do not conceal them, we do not say that everything we have is the best. Today the American consul with a whole delegation came to see me. I showed him our achievements in agriculture and the consul asked me about the living standard. I told him that obviously our standard of living is still lower than supposed to be. There are shortcomings. He expected me to say that all we have is better than in

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America, but it is no use to say such things. Our achievements outrank our shortcomings by a hundred times and this is known to every economist.

"The consul was surprised by ~~another~~ other things too. He thought that the Ukraine was an unimportant province which produced wheat and nothing more. His eyes became very big indeed, when he saw our industry and became convinced that this is an industrial country in the first place. And, big and powerful also. The Americans could not get it into their heads. He confessed that he imagined the Ukraine quite differently. He knew, of course, about the USSR. But that the Ukraine has a 42 million population and outstripped European countries in coal production and in some other fields he was completely unaware.

"We still have other problems in our economy. For example, the oil fields of Poltava. They are, of course, not as big as the Germans said when occupying the Poltava region, but there is something anyway. The question is of research and of economic exploitation of these fields with oil of not too high quality. You see, one can overestimate sometime as the French did in the Sahara (Desert)."

The conversation switched to the difficulties of oil exploitation in the Sahara Desert. I expressed disbelief that the oil from the Sahara Desert would ever be able to compete with the Near East or with America. I also stressed the political complications in Algeria.

KRYVOSHEYEV agreed with me about the ability to compete and said that France had great hopes in connection with the Sahara Desert. "But we are not their enemies" (he added). "We are for peace in the whole world and we would like to see an agreement in Algeria." And he concluded, "The French will be worse off without Algeria and the Algerians without France. What a pity that not all think in economic terms."

I asked how the situation was in the new Volynian Basin.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "Not too bad. It develops nicely and justifies itself. But, you see, the coal there is of poor quality. It is not that of the Donbas. Therefore it is being used for heating of houses and for industry and for export we have that from the Donbas. Anyway this is a kind of relief and also a supplement for gas."

I asked how the problem of specialists was being solved in the Novo-Volynsk Basin. The last war left ruins behind and western Ukraine did not have specialists in coal industry at all.

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KRYVOSHEYEV: "They brought the majority from the Donbas. Don't think that they all were, as you call them here, "Moscovites". The majority were our people. We have no shortage of specialists, particularly in the coal industry. You know, when Macmillan was in Kiev, I talked to him. He himself was surprised to hear that we have overthrown them in coal production, and he denied it. Then we showed him the indexes and he acknowledged that we were right. Macmillan himself is a nice fellow and understands much of agriculture."

Looking at a package of cigarettes "Zaporoshtsi" I observed that the replica of Repin's picture "Cossacks Write a Letter to the Sultan" has been nicely printed on the package.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "O yes, this is a nice picture. Very nice. This is my last package of cigarettes. Here I usually smoke French cigarettes."

We then discussed various brands of cigarettes. KRYVOSHEYEV praised one brand of French cigarettes. At this moment the secretary entered the room announcing that somebody was waiting for him. KRYVOSHEYEV excused himself, presented the package to me and asked if I could wait for him for a few minutes. After ten minutes he was back again. I inquired how he liked the publications which I handed to him a day before.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "Yes, I have read some of it. The article about our aid to the peoples of Asia and Africa I examined carefully. The authors of this article are economists, no doubt about it, but he made one mistake by stressing the political aspect of our aid and not seeing the economic, the purely economic aspect." (The article by A. K. was published in "Ukrainsky Samostiynyk" in the August, 1959 issue).

I inquired then about articles in "Suchasna Ukraina".

KRYVOSHEYEV: "You people write about us according to one scheme. These are papers published in Munich and about them we know something too. Very often you do not understand what we are doing because you too do not see very much. It is necessary to be on the spot and in such a position you see more. You do not want to understand that without the Russians we never would have it more easy. Who would have helped us in the reconstruction if the Russians would not have come to us with their means after the war?"

I indicated how this aid looks in practice. I reminded him also that Russia was industrialized on the account of the Ukraine.

KRYVOSHEYEV: (Interrupting) "Yes, yes, once the Ukraine gave 70 percent of all the coal but now no more than 50 percent."

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I corrected the statement saying that only 32 to 34 percent. The Secretary handed him a notebook, he looked it up and said that I was right. "I mixed it up somewhat," he said. "I told you that I was from agriculture."

I emphasized that this percentage diminished because of the aid we gave to other economic regions.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "We exchange our products and raw materials with Russia and with other Republics but we do not give them away for nothing. We give them such goods which they lack and receive from them things we do not have."

I inquired whether he saw the trade balance sheet of the Ukrainian SSR with the RSFSR and whether he knew that much more is being exported from the Ukraine to Russia than from Russia to the Ukraine. What then is becoming of the gain which in normal economy would mean an active balance on the part of the Ukraine and would be utilized to raise the standard of living of the population. If the Ukraine were independent, she could very well trade with Russia and have real advantages of that trade and not be in a position of a semicolony of Russia.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "But we are not a semicolony, we have our own state."

Another French delegation arrived and KRYVOSHEYEV asked if I would come again. I promised and left his office.

NOTE by A.K.: During the last conversation a young man, 30 - 35 years of age and an NTS member entered the office. In another corner and apart from us. He argued with the secretary and two other employees about the bad life in the USSR. He argued that wine was much cheaper in France than in the USSR. After the argument became "hot" the man was asked to leave the office.

MEETING WITH KRYVOSHEYEV ON 28 SEPTEMBER 1959 IN HIS OFFICE
IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

I brought with me a "souvenir" for KRYVOSHEYEV, English cigarettes, which I presented to him as compensation for the "Zaporozhtst" cigarettes. KRYVOSHEYEV was pleasantly moved. He said that it was unnecessary and that he felt obliged to give something to me. "I will give you the book "Agriculture of the Ukraine", unless you would like to have something else. Be frank." I admitted that I would like to have something else.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "This is the best way of doing it. You are a straight-forward person, let us go to the bookstand." He pointed to a book entitled "The Ukraine in International Relations" and said: "That is a souvenir just for you". He wrote on the book: In remembrance of the visit to the pavilion of the Ukrainian SSR at the International Fair in Marseille 1959. I. KRYVOSHEYEV, 28 September 1959.

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I thanked him for the souvenir and KRYVOSHEYEV gave me another book "The Exhibition of Foremost Experience in the National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR" and explained that this was his own work. "If you were in Kiev you could see. Here, of course, are all the details and I myself am not acquainted with everything."

We discussed the closing of the fair. KRYVOSHEYEV was satisfied with the results. "We have shown much. With God's help may we meet again next year. I shall see if you will write objectively about us." I replied that I always try to be objective.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "We shall see. But that is not important. I was happy to talk to you. I am sorry that I did not have more time." I replied that I was pleased not less than he and I complimented him as a person.

KRYVOSHEYEV: "You know, we really should meet more often. This would be to your advantage as well as to ours. This is like in that English saying you mentioned, 'We agree that we disagree'. The same is with us."

KRYVOSHEYEV expressed the hope of seeing me again next year and we said good-bye.

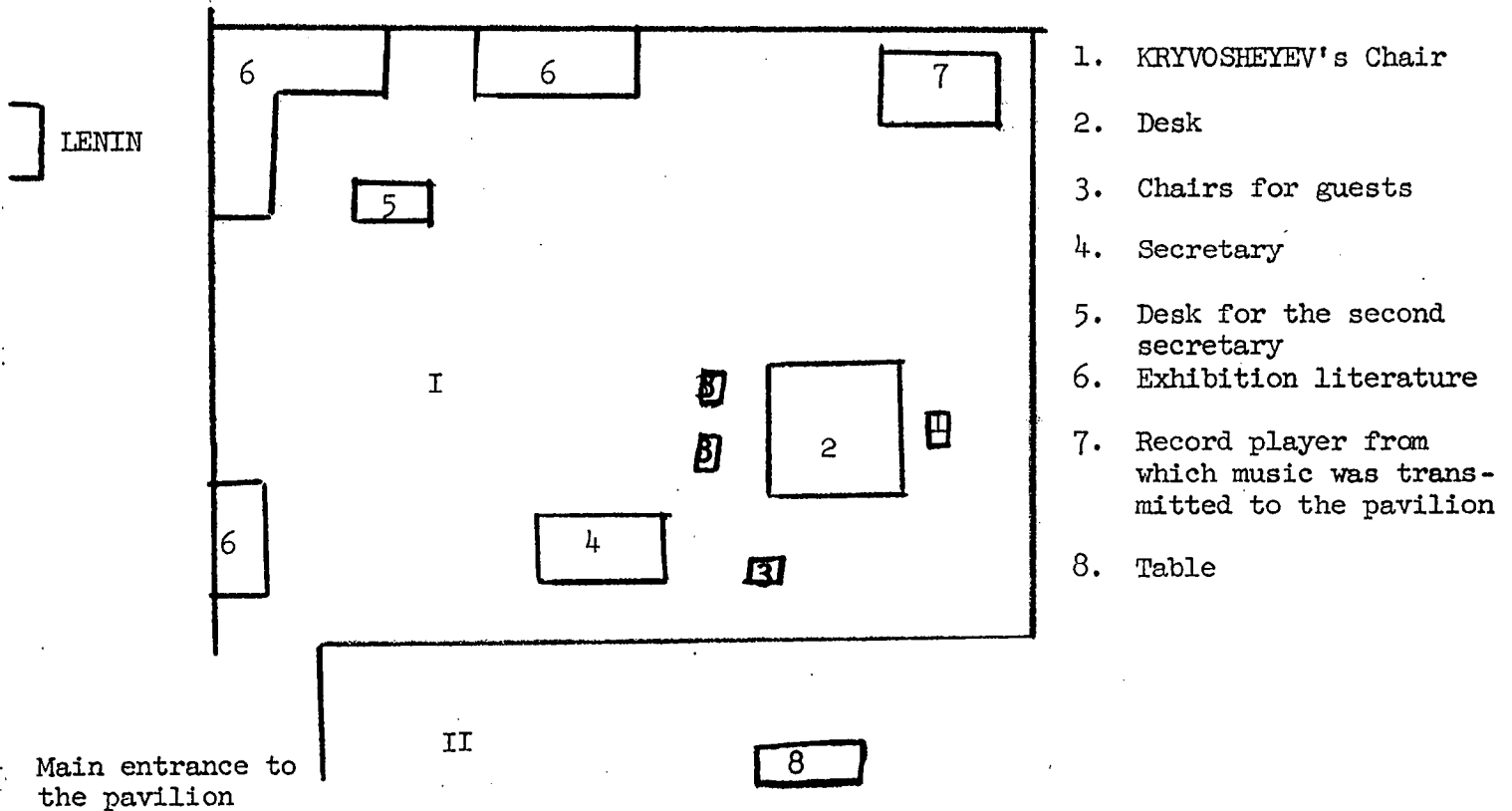
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KRYVOSHEYEV's Office in which the meeting took place.

I. KRYVOSHEYEV's Office

II. Reception Room where KRYVOSHEYEV met official delegations.



I have been meeting KRYVOSHEYEV in Room I. At the time of our meetings usually two to three persons have been present in the room. Sometimes some of these people joined us at KRYVOSHEYEV's desk. If only two of us were sitting at the desk, no one could hear our conversation. Generally in the office there was much noise; two secretaries typed, the record player was on, other people talked in the office sometimes even quarreled (as in the case of the NTS man). On KRYVOSHEYEV's desk there was a telephone.

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CONVERSATION WITH ALEXANDER ADAMENKO IN THE PAVILION OF
THE UKRAINIAN SSR ON 25 SEPTEMBER 1959

ADAMENKO approached me after I left KRYVOSHEYEV's office. He had heard my conversation with "Pshenychnyk" in which I asked to see the director.

After exchange of greetings ADAMENKO asked if I was from London. I said yes and the conversation started. ADAMENKO asked whether there were many Ukrainians in London. I furnished him with some information about our life in Great Britain, about Ukrainian organizations, etc. He listened carefully. I wanted to know more about him, an engineer, statician, working in Kiev where he graduated from a technological institute. He wanted to know about material (economic) conditions in Great Britain. Again I told him about the emigres, how they settled down, bought houses, etc.

ADAMENKO asked about my profession, if I was married, etc. I told him that I graduated in London, that I was an economist and that I worked as a journalist. That I have a son and showed him a picture of the boy. ADAMENKO informed me that he was also married. His wife works in a textile factory in Kiev and they have a daughter who is six year of age.

I inquired about the life in Kiev. ADAMENKO praised the beauty of Kiev and said he had not yet seen a city as beautiful as Kiev. He was in Lviv and in Moscow, but these cities are not to be compared with Kiev. I inquired whether it was true that in the streets of Kiev one could hear exclusively the Russian language and that many Russians live there.

ADAMENKO: "Yes many, but you know it depends where you are. In one place you hear more Ukrainian in another more Russian. In the suburbs more Ukrainian is spoken, in the center of the city Russian, of course." I asked how many Russians there are in Kiev and in other cities. ADAMENKO stated that 50 percent or even more of the Kiev population are Russians. The same in other cities. Others, like Jews and Poles, are very few. "Yes, there are really many Russians in the cities, but the villages and smaller cities are ours - Ukrainian."

I made a few remarks as to why there were so many Russians in the cities and concluded that the British in India also were in cities, that is, in Administrative centers.

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ADAMENKO: "O yes, you are a wise person, you need not to be told, you know it. Very well!" After a while - "But we do not put so much weight in it, this does not disturb us. And I have not even thought about it. I graduated from the institute, I have a good job, I live well, I have everything I need, and in what language they talk to me in the office or in the street-----, I do not care."

I explained to him all the implications of such a situation and expressed a surprise that he, a young and intelligent individual did not even think about this, inspite of the fact that he was a Ukrainian. One should think not only about his personal life, but more so about the future of his family which might depend on the future of the whole nation. I quoted Nikita Khrushchev's speech in which he said that the Ukrainians have not been entirely deported (during the Stalin era) because there was no place to which to take them.

ADAMENKO: Kept still and then: "Yes, but the language is not all. I would like to send my daughter to a foreign language school. In Kiev there are four such schools at the present time. They take little children and teach them in English, French, German, Spanish, etc. It is very difficult to get an admission to such a school but I will still try to get my daughter into such a school because students who graduate from these schools receive good jobs easily, particularly in foreign countries. These are very good schools and it is very useful to know languages."

We switched our conversation to the fair. I made some complimentary and some critical remarks. I pointed out the great sacrifices the Ukraine had to pay for this achievement. Other nations achieved even more than we did without the tremendous sacrifices our people had to make; I also mentioned the famine in the 1930s and how Khrushchev and Serov had liquidated the Central Committees of the Communist Party of the Ukraine.

ADAMENKO listened attentively, asked a few questions, acted surprised, shook his head, said is it so? "No, it is impossible, I do not know anything about it, was it really so, that....." etc. And finally: "So you know more about all this than we know over there. Yes, Yes.... But you know, recently much of it changed. What happened previously is in the past. Today it is not as terrifying as you depict it. You probably do exaggerate". He smiled and said: "We are really a state, believe it."

I asked where the attributes of this independence and sovereignty were. And embassies and consulates would be to the advantage of the government in Kiev.

ADAMENKO was silent, shook his head and then: "Yes, but you yourself, stated that we have accomplished much. We have built heavy industry, developed health, service, etc. And at the present time there are less of

these embraces from the side of the, as you call them, 'Elder Brother'. I will give an example. In the spring I was in the Crimea. I, a little engineer. It was inconceivable during the Stalin era. Since the Crimea was incorporated into the Ukraine all the travel permits are being disposed of by Kiev. And the results are as follows: Previously we applied to Moscow for travel permits to the Crimea, and now they ask us. And how much dissent in this matter! They have been used to traveling and want to travel more, but we issue these permits more for our people and less for them.

"On the other hand we have advantages from the federation." I pointed out the "equality" of the Russians and non-Russians. I was not against the Russians, though, but against the upper echelon. We could very well trade with them, as an independent and sovereign state. It would be better for us and for them.

ADAMENKO: "But you know that often in Kiev you get better food than in Moscow, and actually the life in Kiev is nice. By the way, all try to push their way to Kiev. But we have a shortage of living space. The same in Moscow. Always you exchange an apartment in Kiev for an equivalent in Moscow. It goes 1:1. But with Leningrad the relation is 2:1. For any room in Kiev you get two large rooms and often with a kitchen in Leningrad. We have a big problem with living space. People still live in basements and even in dirt holes. And what is most interesting, you give someone a room out of Kiev and he does not want it. He prefers to live in a hole. We are doing a lot of construction now. In the last two years more houses were built than during the whole post-Stalin period."

We switched again to the question of language. ADAMENKO praised the appearances of Ukrainian writers on television, particularly that of RYLSKY. He said that Tychyna is not very well liked.

I asked whether he had seen Malyshko. "Yes". Does he know that Malyshko with two others proclaimed the "Ukrainian Road to Socialism". His reply was that again we here abroad know more than they at home. I added that Malyshko had to renounce. ADAMENKO smiled and said: "So he probably made a mistake". He then asked about the "Hungarian Counterrevolution". I explained the matter. He was still. After a while there was much talk about it, and different talks. He then said that the work at the fair was exhausting today. It was his turn to sleep in the pavilion. Sometimes as many as five persons sleep in the pavilion.

I asked of whom they are afraid. He said: "All kinds of people, for example those from Munich." He smiled and asked: "What is it actually that we are constantly reminded about in Munich, and there is a certain NTS. They came to us and left their leaflets behind in our dining room. But you know, by God, these are stupid leaflets. Why are they doing this?"

I explained "what" is in Munich.

ADAMENKO: "So, NTS is not with you. They are not Ukrainians."

ADAMENKO was asked to the Director. He said good-bye and asked me to come again.

MEETING WITH ADAMENKO ON 26 SEPTEMBER 1959 IN FRONT OF THE
PAVILION AND IN THE PAVILION

I met ADAMENKO in front of the building on the stairs. I asked him whether the NTS people introduced themselves to them as Ukrainians. ADAMENKO stated that it was so. I explained objectively what the NTS was. ADAMENKO inquired about our life outside Germany, in America and in Canada, what the results are with other emigrations. Again we switched to the Russian emigration. I made a comparison between the difficulties we have from the red imperialism in Moscow and the white - abroad. I mentioned the proclamation of an independence day for the enslaved nations, etc. ADAMENKO asked who were those who distributed leaflets in the French language. I explained and said that some of them I know personally and others are known to me from their political, scientific and journalistic activities. I inquired if he knew Professor KONONENKO. ADAMENKO did not know him, had never heard of him.

ADAMENKO stressed that he never thought that so many intelligent people here abroad and that the emigration made so much "noise". After a while he added: "It is a pity that you are here. We need so many people in the Ukraine. You all could work there."

I added that all of us would be happy to return if conditions would allow. Put pressure on Moscow and Kiev to make changes in all things that we have been talking about. The initiative is in the hands of Kiev.

We discussed then family matters. ADAMENKO wanted to return to Kiev immediately after closing the fair. He longed for his family. I advised him not to hurry. He should take the chance and go to Paris. I told him about the Louvre, about the impressionists and about places he should see.

ADAMENKO said he did not know if the opportunity would arise for him to go to Paris. He agreed with me but on the other hand he was bored in Marseille, the climate, food and no Kiev. Besides he had some family worries. (With his brother-in-law). He was a typical "stylagi". "I call him simply "Zhulik" (thief)." He was the only boy, the others all girls. "They really pampered him. He does not want to study or to work and is good for nothing." He took much pain to enroll him in the institute,

talked to his boss, spoke to professors and to party members whom he knew and finally they admitted him. He did not even stay one year. "When I get back home, I shall give him away to the Army, to the Army, not any of the schools or to the Air Force. That might make him think".

I remarked that the Army might really help him. He might like the soldiering and would stay there. He might start a military career.

ADAMENKO replied, that there was no hope for it. It was very difficult now for a military career. Many young men had joined military schools after the war. But a few years ago, changes were started in the Armed Forces, demobilization began, many people were retired from the services. They got 700 rubles a month in advance for one year and were told to seek peaceful jobs. Those from the technical units had little difficulty in establishing themselves. Many enrolled in the institutes, but many just enjoyed life for 700 rubles a month and did not even think about the future. In a short time they lost everything. The best thing now is to join the Navy and the Air Force. "I do not want him to go there. I have a friend in the Rayon Voenn-Komand and I shall ask him to take him to the army."

ADAMENKO then explained why he inquired about the shortcomings they had. He wanted to know the disadvantages, to be able to tell them to others in order to improve.

He continued that at the present time they are not afraid of critique. Some problems are being discussed openly and are not put under the cloth. "After the war there was an intoxication with the victory. Everything was best what was ours. But it was not so. We did not pay any attention to foreign literature in engineering and worked for many years on questions which long ago were solved in the West. Translations of foreign special literature was centralized. This took very long and they often it was not used at all. Now it is different. This matter is decentralized and we do not neglect the experiences of the foreigners. Not long ago we had a circular in the factories in which it was clearly stressed that the West has many things from which we must learn and that it is unnecessary to work on things which are already ready. Obviously, our press did not carry this."

Then we discussed light industry. ADAMENKO said that much will be changed in the textile industry. There are many kinds of cloth in the West. It is of poor quality, yes, but it looks pretty. We produce high quality cloth which could be worn for years. But I myself prefer to buy something cheaper, but different, that one could change. I talked to our textile engineer. Her husband is in Moscow and she is a good specialist too. She agreed with me and she will also press this point where necessary.

Again we talked about the emigration and its political parties. He asked whether I belonged to a political party. I said that I was with the UHVR and OUNZ. He inquired about our special economic program. What would we do with the land. I explained. He asked if restoration of private property was not a step back. I said no because this decision was in agreement with the will of the peasants and would strengthen the productivity of the farmer's work. The farmer would work with joy because of the material interest he would have in it. This is what Nikita Sergeyevich has been talking about for so long. There are handicraft and other specific branches in small industries and trade which strive more so under cooperative and under private ownership. ADAMENKO admitted that it was possibly so. He said it was interesting that old people told him that under the Czar they harvested more from a hectare than now.

I pointed to a new development of the social-structural thought in the West, "Welfarestate", the German "Mitbestimmungsrecht", program of the Laborites, etc.

ADAMENKO listened attentively and said it is interesting. But, if we had so many parties they only would quarrel and there would be no time for productive work. Who would build up the economy?

I disagreed and explained the mechanism of the democratic system. ADAMENKO was silent for a while and then he said: "It is a pity that we do not meet more often, we and people from the emigration like you."

I said that it was possible that we might meet more often in the future. If embassies and consulates were established we would have more chance for contacts. But they do not exist and probably will not be established.

ADAMENKO said that it is not so certain yet. There is already a representation in the UN. I told him a joke about Sobolev and Palamarchuk. ADAMENKO obviously enjoyed it and laughed. He said that such jokes are not being told at home. I inquired if he knew about Khrushchev's speech and told him another joke about Nikita's glasses.

ADAMENKO asked if I could travel to Kiev. I said no, that I would be deported. ADAMENKO said that no one was being deported. On the contrary many people came back home. Now it is much easier. Those who remember the 1930's say the same thing.

I stated that there is no doubt that political terror continues to reign in the Ukraine. I reminded him of trials in Chervonoarmiysk and in Stanislav, etc. There is no freedom. Why do they jam foreign broadcasts? Do people listen to them?

ADAMENKO said that he does not have time to listen to the radio at all. But sometimes he likes to listen to foreign music. I inquired about "Nova Ukraina". He did not know, but asked about it. I informed him of what was published in a Soviet publication and added that it was a radio station of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement. If he wished I would give him some reading material about the emigration. He refused saying it would not be very convenient for him to take anything from me, and he would not read it anyway. This is not for Soviet people because it certainly smells with Munich, and he smiled.

I Inquired what was his personal opinion about the emigration. He replied: "O, nothing, nice people and intelligent. But there are different people too. Some of them assail us and negate everything. There were "Bandervtsi" here at the beginning of the fair, *PETRENKO and LIVYTSKY. One cannot even talk to them. You know it is much better when people talk more peacefully. With you one can talk, inspite of the fact you tell us all kinds of stories."

I explained that PETRENKO and LIVYTSKY are not "Banderivtsi". ADAMENKO was surprised and we, all of us here, were convinced that they were of those more heated "Banderivtsi".

Two other "engineers" joined us and he started to discuss the bus "Lviv". Nothing of interest occurred. ADAMENKO walked away.

In the afternoon of 26 September 1959 I met with ADAMENKO in the pavilion. We were approached by an electrical engineer, first name of Yuriy, who asked me to send him the encyclopedia of the Ukraine. We talked about the weather, the heat and drinks. Yuriy complained that the lemonade made him feel bad. I asked if he knew "Perier" a mineral water, and invited both of them to the restaurant behind the pavilion. I ordered "Perier". We stood because they did not have time to sit down. Both liked the drink and took the label from the bottle so that they would know what to order in the future. They were sorry that they did not ask me about the drink earlier.

I asked if they drink much "Kvas" in the Ukraine. The engineer said that in the Ukraine they drink Vodka and no Kvas. "And this is a problem. You know, that is the reason why Nikita forbade it." ADAMENKO expressed his opinion that this would not solve the problem. People drink inspite of the order. They look for all kinds of occasions. They celebrate holidays, and even invent all kinds of holidays. Now they cannot buy much Vodka so they turned to moonshine.

Samothon

We left the restaurant. Nothing more of interest happened.

*Cover name for ROMASHKO

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CONVERSATION WITH ADAMENKO ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1959
IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

I approached the table which stood close to the stand with costumes. A woman textile engineer and a young girl were sitting at the table. I asked them if they were from the Ukraine. They said they were from Kiev. The girl spoke poor Ukrainian, and as I learned from ADAMENKO, she was from Paris. She was a student in Paris and merely helped them out at the fair. I told them who I was and that I came from London. They asked how I liked the Ukrainian costumes. I said I liked them. They inquired how I liked the textiles. I expressed the opinion that in this respect in the West they would not have too much success. The woman engineer said that in the USSR everything is more simple but more elegant and here the people do not know themselves what they have to put on, and walk around like scarecrows.

ADAMENKO joined us. We switched our conversation to art. The girl from Paris criticized modern art. I did not defend it saying that I did not understand much about it, but that at the same time, I could not visualize any peril involved. This is an expression of freedom. Nobody gives orders what to and how to write or to paint. I quoted Voltaire in that he would not agree with me but would fight for my having the right to have a different opinion. I also mentioned socialist realism. I produced the Ukrainian literary Gazette with three reproductions of modern paintings. They looked and read the headlines. I showed them also "Suchasna Ukraina". All exclaimed: "O, that is from Munich. We know. Not surprising that you print such pictures. This is the influence of Americans and their culture."

I mentioned Dudintsev and Pasternak to which the girl from Paris said that even better writers in the West expressed the opinion that Pasternak was not suitable for the Nobel Prize. And he himself stated that he erred.

I added that he should have tried not to confess an error. ADAMENKO looked straight into my eyes and smiled cleverly. The woman engineer said that nothing happened to Dudintsev, though. She then left us for a while to show a costume to a customer but came back quickly. After she scanned the newspapers she remarked that we here have nothing better to do than write about rubbish. But we are different, we have work to do, etc, etc.

I said that we too are not idle. We do what they are forbidding^{ed} to do. I produced the book "Rozstril'ane Vidrodhenia" (The Liquidated Rebirth). All looked at it closely then "Those are our people, Tychyna, Ryl'sky". The woman engineer then asked for whom we do the writing and who reads these books? I explained. After a while she was called by someone and in few minutes the Parisian girl left too.

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ADAMENKO remarked that now it was different than it was during the Stalin era. People can write more. I inquired if he read Korniyuchuk's "Wings", and he said he did not. "You here know more about our sores than we ourselves. You know, it is becoming better now and we ourselves do not notice all that is going on. And it is really a pity that you are staying abroad. If you only knew how beautiful Kiev is. What a pity that you cannot come back. Professor MYR, who was here even knows our achievements in agriculture and he knows some of our people. When he was here he was the one who told us about ourselves, and not we who should have been telling him about us."

I inquired if he knew who Professor MYR was. I said that he was one of the UHVR people. He wondered if it was really so, "And such people are 'Banderivtsi' or alike? And is it possible that such people could have killed VATUTIN? And for what?"

I asked for what VATUTIN was fighting. And we, did we shed so much blood in vain. What did the VATUTINS bring to us during and after the war? The nationalists fought for one goal to make the Unrainian people the master of their own country. And those who fought with VATUTIN, what did they fight for? And I enumerated all these "blessings" they brought and I also quoted Khrushchev.

ADAMENKO was silent and then said: "But it is difficult to separate from Russia and even impossible". Then he corrected himself: "And it is unnecessary." I disagreed with him and said that today even those in Africa who do not have trousers on achieve their independence. Silence.

I then talked about deportations to Kazakstan. In the meantime ADAMENKO gathered all the papers and held them under his arm. He agreed that many young people resettled, but not only from the Ukraine, but from the RSFSR as well. SIBERIA, he said, was an important matter. I asked why it was so important. He replied that it was a rich area which lacked people and that this was to be our future. And China next door, I added. ADAMENKO smiled and said: "This is true too in Marseille."

We discussed family matters. He bought a fur coat for his wife and cloth for a suit for his wife and his father-in-law, also many other little things. He said that he still had much money left and would go to Monte Carlo to play roulette. One of their people lost 50,000 fr. there. Everyone was getting 5,000 fr a day and would not know what to do with the money. I advised him to buy a golden watch for his wife and a golden "Parker" pen for himself. He said that he would. He will probably buy cloth for a suit for himself. Everyone was buying since you could not take francs back home. He also bought three pairs of shoes for his wife. He complained that he paid 1,400 fr. a day for the room in a hotel and 500 fr. for the laundring of one shirt.

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He complained that they were all completely exhausted. It was Sunday and many people were visiting the fair. He was also glad that many things would not be taken back to Odessa. They donated the books to a school in Marseille. The electrical engineer then joined us. He was very happy because an institute would be taking big blocks of mineral rocks which were exhibited in the corridors. The engineer was responsible for them and this solved his worries.

A few more words and I left.

CONVERSATION WITH ALEXANDER ADAMENKO ON 28 SEPTEMBER

I brought a doll for ADAMENKO's daughter, a souvenir, for which he was quite appreciative. I should not have done it, he said, he certainly had more money than I. I said that I had no doubts he had much money. He then wanted to give a souvenir to me. He carefully unwrapped my package and went to KRYVOSHEYEV's office. I assured him jokingly that there was no nationalist literature hidden in the doll's skirts. We both laughed. He came back from the office and asked what souvenir I would like to have. He complimented me and again expressed regret that I was not in the Ukraine. I asked him to choose a souvenir for me. He picked a carved box and a figurine of a cossack with a girl from the stand. He asked if I liked it. I thanked him and suggested that we write a few words in remembrance. We walked out of the pavilion and sat down. Inside the book he wrote: "To a Ukrainian from his countryman in remembrance, 28 September 1959." I said that I, too, would write on the box with the doll: "For little Natalochka from uncle in London."

A nice atmosphere developed. Inquired whether he would be interested in English literature of any specialty that I could send to him. He was appreciative but said that he would not know what address he should give and that the situation was "stupid". After a while he said: "I know what I will do. I will give you my post office box" which he wrote inside the box:

Kiev 1, Main Post Office
P. O. Box 20 - 55 R
Alexander Adamenko

I in turn gave him my address:

A. Kobets
8 Westbury Road
London 5

Again I inquired if his wife would not like to have something from abroad. He asked me to send new fashion magazines. She like these very much. But not to enclose anything political as this would cause trouble.

SECRET

had contact
with
Adamenko
at Max
Fair
Sept 5

I asked when I should send the magazines, now or a little later. He said that it would be better to wait until he went home. He would not be in Marseille for long. The others were staying until the middle of October to pack the things they were taking back.

We agreed that he would write to me about the books he wanted and I would write him about the Soviet literature in which I was interested. We could do this on an exchange basis.

We wished each other good luck, and that we would meet again soon and parted.

CONVERSATIONS WITH "PSHENYCHNYK" INSIDE AND IN FRONT
OF THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR, 25, 26, 27,
AND 28 SEPTEMBER 1959

On 25 September after meeting with ADAMENKO I met "Pshenychnyk". He inquired how I did with the director. I was satisfied and said that he was a good economist. He asked if I were an economist also. I said that I was and he asked me to join him in his department. He was an agricultural economist and was employed at the permanent agricultural fair in Kiev. He asked when I would be coming to Kiev. He said that many people are now coming from the West. I explained why I could not come. I also mentioned the KGB. He tried to assure me that it was much better now than before. And the KGB -- is everywhere. "And in the West do they not have similar institutions?" I explained that such do not exist in the West. Silence, and then: "You, of course, should make sure first with our government, whether they will let you in. If they permit you to go, you will certainly come back. You could see our constructions, our industries, our agriculture." I made a few remarks about Soviet economy--unbalanced, onesided, lack of light and medium industries, bad situation in agriculture; this all inspite of successes which have been attained for a high price. And others achieve much greater successes without such sacrifices. Moscow in the 1930's had in mind a political goal to attain.

PSHENYCHNYK: "But now is different. For instance, in agriculture not all is such as you have said. I must go now, but you must come to see me again. My place is at the corn stand. I would like to show you on diagrams what our agriculture looks like now. Don't forget to come." I asked if he could join me for dinner in the evening. He said that he could not, he must go to the hotel, but I should come to his stand in an hour.

PSHENYCHNYK was already waiting for me. He gave me a lecture on how they would develop livestock with corn. The consumers' industry as well. In the meantime, the artist who had decorated the pavilion approached us, but, after hearing the topic of our discussion, left. A little later VASYL, from LVIV, joined us. PSHENYCHNYK introduced us. "This is a comrade from Lviv and this (point to me) a nationalist bigwig (diehard - verbatim: bison). He came by himself (laughed)" I asked VASYL how it was in Lviv. "Very good", he said. "And may I know your name", I asked. "I myself have lived in Lviv and have many friends there". "This would be unnecessary", he replied, "I have not lived there for very long."

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I asked PSHENYCHNYK if this corn policy of Khrushchev's and the sugar was not unhealthy for all of us. I explained why. He thought for a while and then said: "No, you are not right. For these products we will receive wheat and other products from Kazakstan and goods from other republics. I do not see any onesidedness in this, because we will increase our area under corn to nine million hectares only. We shall have things too." VASYL walked away.

He asked me why I blamed the Russians. "We should go together with the Russians. Take the war and the post-war period. We by ourselves could never rebuild. The Russians have helped us and other nationalities of the Soviet Union. Why should we separate from them?" I explained. "This would not be possible and it would not be necessary. You are an intelligent and educated man. I tell you that it would be difficult." He corrected himself: "Not difficult, but unnecessary." He continued in the same vein. I said that his arguments did not convince me. We switched to political prisoners in the USSR now. I gave him an example, the trial in Chervonoarmiysk, etc. "They are a special kind of prisoners, they have committed many crimes." I asked what these crimes were. He smiles and said: "They want to tear us away from Russia."

At this point the artist returned again and we discussed light industry. The artist said they have everything. PSHENYCHNYK turned to him and said: "Don't talk rubbish. You don't have to repeat that stuff over and over again. He knows these things better than you do." Then he agreed that not everything was fine, "And you, an economist, are being wasted here." I said that is not waste. I showed him "S.U.", "U.S.", and "U.L.H." They fingered the publications. The artist said, "This is from Munich, O, we know, we know. We don't have time for such rubbish. We construct factories, plants, etc." I said we were not at a political meeting. I mentioned how much textiles, medicine, etc., people from England send to their relatives and friends in the Ukraine. PSHENYCHNYK would not believe. "Why then, we have our own now. You know I really donot want to believe you." I showed him advertisements in "Ukrainska Dumka". PSHENYCHNYK asked me to come to see him again the next day. "I have an urge to prove to you that you are not right, that we should stay together with the Russians."

26 September 1959

Standard talk. He had his point and I had mine. He inquired about the emigration, what they were doing. I showed him the book "Rozstrilane Vid-Rodhennia". I said that Koshelivets' friend was the editor. He said that he knew this. "I gave him Ukrainian sausage." "A nice guy this Koshelivets and a fellow countryman."

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I tried to switch our conversation to our family lives and showed him a picture of my son. He said that he also has children and switched back to corn.

I switched to Russification. He said that we make conclusions from isolated cases. I quoted as example Chervonenko's article. He was astonished that he had not read the article, but would certainly do so after his return home. He thought it was impossible that he had written such things.

I said that he will be convinced. I then walked away. I returned a while later and met ZELENKO. We knew each other from the University of London. PSHENCHNYK was lecturing him on corn. I planned to meet ZELENKO for dinner.

27 September

After the meeting with VYNOKUROV, we were sitting in front of the pavilion and talked about the same old things: the consulates, Russification, achievements, the Ukrainian Army, "which is not necessary since it would impair the fighting efficiency of the Army". I gave an example of NATO. He said that they had it better, etc. He reproached me that I was steadily talking about disasters. We suffered from the Russians and did not tell anything against the Germans. I said that he was mistaken, because we did not talk yet about the Germans. I said that the Germans were our enemies and we treated them accordingly. They were not our "Elder Brothers", etc. And actually they came to the Ukraine using the Soviet fuel Stalin had given to Hitler. PSHENCHNYK, interrupting, stated that the nationalists had destroyed many Ukrainians and for what reason. They died, whom Moscow sent against their brothers. Whose blood then was shed in vain? PSHENCHNYK: "I was in the Western Ukraine not too long ago. Everything there is quiet. The people live peacefully and recall those years with horror."

A "tourist" from Dnipropetrovsk added: "You killed VATUTIN, he was my commanding general. I knew him very well. A thousand of your people would not be worth what he was. I said that this was not a political meeting and that silenced him. PSHENCHNYK: (Smiling) "But you are stubborn, are many of your kind here?" I said quite a number and added jokingly that we are all Ukrainians, that we could talk but disagree. I told them also a British saying, "We agree that we disagree". PSHENCHNYK answered laughing that the British are wise people. "This I must write down". The "tourist" asked what this meant. I told him in Russian. I inquired if PSHENCHNYK talked to Macmillan and what his impression was. He said that Macmillan was a nice man, and that he talked to him about corn.

I repeated my opinion about corn. PSHENCHNYK: "But we trade with them." I asked whether he saw the balance sheet of trade between the Ukraine and Russia. "So what", he asked. I explained that the Ukraine exports more than is imported. And that means that she is in semi-colonial dependence from Russia.

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BONDAR, another "tourist" from Dnipropetrovsk who arrived that day with another "tourist", interjected: "Come to Dnipropetrovsk and you shall see what colony of Russia we are! I shall show you through my plant. You here are preoccupied with rubbish. And, by the way, what are you doing here?" I explained and showed them our publications and newspapers, "Rozstrilane Vidrodennia". They examined it and stood still. The "tourist" went through "Suchansa" and said "But here I see nothing positive about us, and you yourself admitted that we had some achievements." He turned to the others and continued: "They admitted that we have built heavy industry at the time we launched our sputniks. In other words, if not for sputnik they would say that we had no heavy industry." He turned to me and said: "The same will happen with light industry. You will see. Can you show me in your paper anything which would be objective, as you say, to us." I replied that he should try himself. He came across Zel's article. "This is positive", I said. To this the artist replied, "In all the papers just one sentence, and that is how objective you are!" I pointed to the current events in the "US" as another example of objective informing and added that such objective informing about the emigration was impossible in the USSR.

To this BONDAR said: "And what is your name? Are you from the Ukraine?" I said that we might introduce ourselves and others know my name.

BONDAR: "You say that there is no Ukrainian state, that there are no consulates. I was in Moscow and received a permit from our representation." I asked, "What is this 'representation', who is its chief and what is the address?" BONDAR backed out saying: "They are people from our government in Kiev". The artist interrupted saying that BONDAR had it mixed up and asked how I got the information that the Russians destroyed five million Ukrainians in the 1930's. How would I know this? I said that it is not so difficult to figure it out. The "tourist" replied: "I was there, though I myself am from Moscow. This is not true. We stride forward. History will judge on us." I remarked that I did not like propaganda speeches and would be leaving. To this VYNOKUROV said: "But you started this meeting, and you are telling us your propaganda". I said that the facts speak to the contrary, but one can talk, and particularly with such clowns as this "tourist". We laughed and I walked away.

(NOTE: During our discussion about ten people, all engineers, gathered around.)

I went to the French pavilion and bought a sandwich and a beer. At another stand I noticed BONDAR and the "tourist" who had beer also. I approached them and asked if they liked the beer. BONDAR asked: "Are you Livytsky?" I laughed and said no. "Let us introduce ourselves, my name is Kobets, and yours?" He said: "There is a well known name, (which means Cooper) BONDAR, do you know?" I said that he did not look like a Cooper and we laughed.

SECRET

(NOTE: BONDAR, from his appearance, eyes, face and manners, looked like a typical Soviet Security Officer.)

He said to me: "Make a trip to the USSR. You will get a permit." I asked if the permit would also be valid for return. "And why not". he said, and they walked away.

Again I met BONDAR at the entrance to the director's office. I called to him and asked him to sit down. He said he was waiting for a comrade, who went to make plane reservations to Paris. We then talked about Paris. He seemed to know Paris rather well. Two women approached us and one asked, "Where is Misha?" (in Russian). BONDAR, replying in Ukrainian, told them he had gone to the telephone. The woman said, in Russian, "You know, one can buy nice things here. I looked around in the city and saw a very pretty fur coat." BONDAR, interrupting, again in Ukrainian: "Misha will be back soon, wait for him. You see, here I have a fellow countryman from the emigration". They looked at each other. I said that I did not want to stand in their way, and turning to the women, said they should not let their husbands go to Paris alone, and smiled.

29 September 1959

I approached PSHENYCHNYK. After greetings he said: "So we have talked too much with you yesterday. This was a real meeting, and you are so stubborn. I am sorry for you. Here abroad you cannot do much anyway, and in the Ukraine we need educated people. Try to come as a tourist, and you will see. You should first get an agreement from our government, get the British citizenship and make the trip. You will see. You make incorrect conclusions from isolated cases." I did not agree. PSHENYCHNYK said that he did not believe in the recurrence of Russification, but when he goes home he would read the "Komunist" and the "Komunist of Ukraine". I mentioned Gafurov and Kravoev. He was astonished and said that he would read these also.

We talked about the fair. That was the last day of it. He wanted to go back quickly. He was tired, it was too much. Next time they would have to organize it differently. I gave him the packages of English cigarettes as a souvenir. He thanked me and gave me in turn a package of "Yuvileyni" cigarettes and a token with Bohdan Khmelnytsky.

PSHENYCHNYK: "It is good that you visited us here. You are stubborn, yes, but you are "kulturny" and an educated man, it was interesting to talk to you." I said that it was not so important that we disagreed in some matters. We are, after all, Ukrainians, and we always have a common basis for everything. They should do more at home that the older brother would loosen his embraces, and we would do what we could here. Maybe then there would be a change. He nodded and said: "This is correct, We have no reason to stay away from one another even if we only agree that we disagree". We laughed, wished each other much luck and parted.

CONVERSATION WITH VASYL S. FROM LVIV ON 25, 27, AND
28 SEPTEMBER IN THE UKRAINIAN PAVILION

I talked with VASYL only accidentally and for short periods in order not to arouse suspicion by paying too much attention to this Galician. He was, in fact, more watched than the others, that is, he was not allowed to stay alone for long. This was "recommended" as a precaution in connection with the accident with Mrs. SIYAK.

In our talks he said the following:

"The emigration is biased in the analysis of the situation in the Ukraine. Not all is negative. There are economic achievements, particularly in industry. More of you should come to the Ukraine and study the situation." To my remark that not all of us could travel to the Ukraine he replied that there are such who could go and there are various ways to the Ukraine. I wanted him to be more specific about these various ways to which he replied smiling: "Don't you know?"

He did not know O~~K~~RYMOVICH. He knew about the trial in connection with the murder of HALAN. At the present time there are no deportations. There is no need for it. To a question on how he estimated the development of the situation in the Ukraine he said it gets worse. When I asked whether in historic perspective we could talk about the increase of national substance and by it of national consciousness he replied: "Don't be too optimistic. I think to the contrary. Many are being Russified."

He specializes in television. He listens only to music from abroad and on TV and gets sports news from Great Britain. In addition, his job in this profession is to watch the British TV from 12 to 1 p.m. It is difficult to listen to foreign broadcasts because of the jamming. He did not know about "Nova Ukraina".

He gave his name to TYMKEVYCH, and talked to him prior to me (before he told me that he asked if I was from the same newspaper as TYMKEVYCH. I said yes). The address he gave was not his own. "Please, be careful when you write", he asked. "It is futile to write to the "Society of Cultural Contacts" for Soviet oblast papers. VYNOKOROV is a small fry, a policeman. They will never send anything to me."

"It is a pity that Beria was liquidated. We would be better off. But who knows what he would do now?"

SECRET

"Materially it is a little better, particularly in the cities. In the villages there are many different situations."

He asked "who is where" in the emigration and what they were doing. I furnished him with some information about our situation. His question was general without mentioning any names.

SECRET

SECRET

CONVERSATION WITH YURKO, THE ELECTRICAL ENGINEER
ON 25, 26, 27, AND 28 SEPTEMBER 1959 IN THE UKE.
PAVILION

YURKO is at the present time a resident of LVIV. During the war he was a communications officer in the army. He complained about his apartment which was too small. He also had to buy new furniture. He said furniture was not so good in the Ukraine. Here he saw very nice furniture exhibited by the French. Such does not exist in the Ukraine. In addition furniture is very expensive. An iron bed of poor quality costs 300 to 400 rubles, and one made of wood would be even more. He was not interested in politics. As soon as politics came up he walked away. In the Ukraine they build power plants. He gave me a lecture about Kakhovka and about a new small power plant on the Boh River. He doesn't like Jews. Not many of them remained, they are predominantly in the offices in Lviv and in cooperatives.

He described the emigration as follows:

- a. Those who emigrated in the 1920's and 1930's, and settled down in France. They have families and do not intend to go back. They estimate the achievements correctly without prejudice. The majority of them are Russians.
- b. Those who admit our achievements but say that we took everything from the West.
- c. Those who say that we do not have anything, that there are no achievements and all is merely propaganda.
- d. Those who admit our achievements in some areas but say that without the Soviet system we would have achieved the same or even more. They consider coming back but with the Americans and the British. They would like to restore the capitalist system or at least part of it.

To my question where he would place me, he said in the last group. When I told him my opinion about capitalism, the Americans and the British, he said: "You have no power to come back by yourselves, somebody has to help you."

When we exchanged souvenirs (he gave me a token picture of Bohdan Kamelnytsky and a booklet with pictures from Kiev), he pointed to Vatutin's memorial in Kiev, and said: "This you probably would not like, but this is your work."

SECRET

SECRET

He then asked if an "encyclopedia" was published here. He would like to have it. I agreed to send it to him. He would not give his address as he wanted to avoid any trouble. However he had a friend in the Public Library in Kiev and I could send the books to this address:

Kiev,
Public Library of the Academy of Sciences
Shcherbyna Maria Martynovna (for YURKO)

I gave him some English cigarettes. He immediately opened them to see if there was anything "else" inside. He met a woman from Kiev who was married to a Frenchman. He was with his friend, "Engineer VALERIAN", at her home and had borsht. She had a daughter who spoke only French. Her husband was a laborer but they lived well.

He examined "Rozstrilane Vidrodzenia" and said: "I would like to read it, but the title is such that I am afraid to touch it."

SECRET

CONVERSATION WITH VYNOKUROV ON 27 SEPTEMBER 1959
IN THE PAVILION OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR

KRYVOSHEYEV introduced VYNOKUROV to me as a comrade from the "Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries." He was a young man, about thirty years of age, small, thin, hair combed to the side.

He said he worked in Kiev and knew LYTVYN (the head of the Society) personally, but seldom met him. Cultural exchange and particularly student exchange is the business of the Society, as well as the ministry of Higher Education.

"We in Kiev desire very much to increase the exchange but it does not depend entirely on us. We wanted to bring a choir and dancing group here and have them perform, but the French did not agree. They also did not agree to our films, which we brought with us. We will show here "The Lily" and "We go to the Crimea". About the choir, the French actually did not disapprove but their conditions were such that we could not agree. Actually the French show little desire for cultural exchange."

He would not know whether anything was being planned in England. He knows, however, that there is an agreement between the Voks and the British.

VIRYOVKA's choir to Germany was not going through VOKS. The Ukrainian society is doing something in the "Peoples' Democracies" and in China, but with the West those things go through VOKS.

About LYTVYN's reply to Sudan in connection with the proposal of establishing diplomatic relations with the Ukraine he did not know. Embassies and consulates are not necessary at the present time because cultural and other relations with Kiev are so small that it would be a waste of money. When necessity arises the party and government will make a proper decision.

The newspapers "Vilna Ukraina", "Chornomorska Komuna" etc., he could not provide because this was the matter of "~~Mezhovna Rodnaya~~ Kniga" and he had nothing to do with it. If I wanted to subscribe to these papers, I should write to "~~Mezhovna Rodnaya~~ Kniga". If I had already tried and accomplished nothing I could then write to Comrade LYTVYN. He should not be mentioned because he is only a small fry.

SECRET

"It would be good, if Ukrainian writers could go abroad and meet not only with foreigners, but with emigres as well. How would the emigres receive them?" I said, that they must not talk politics, and so we would not touch it, and would discuss purely literature, etc. He said that this was a matter for Comrade LYTVYN to decide, since he was an unimportant administrative employee. He said that Russification does not exist. Ukrainian culture is prospering as never before.....etc.

Conversations with others did not bring in anything of interest. They were repetitions of what had been reported; declarations, phraseology, "better life", etc.

The director of the Institute of Chemistry in Kiev particularly had one argument: "You have not been there and therefore you do not know. You here in the emigration are being wasted; Marxism-Leninism will solve all the problems and we should not worry. Russification does not exist, there is friendship of peoples, nothing can separate us, etc."

According to his words the kolkhoz never had it so good. He has as much bacon as he wishes. Weddings among the farmers last now for three days. "It is impossible that packages are being sent to the Ukraine from abroad because we have everything in abundance."

Closing of the pavilion of the Ukrainian SSR took place on 28 September 1959. From the start of the fair an old Russian emigre was always around, and he praised everything. He came to France presumably in the 1930's. Prior to his arrival in France he was in the Far East and in Yugoslavia. He spoke about Ukrainians as "Khakhly".

On Monday, 29 September, KRYVOSHEYEV asked him to his office and gave him a prepared "speech", ordered a movie cameraman and an "interview" took place not far from Lenin's statue in the Pavilion with KRYVOSHEYEV and the Russian emigre participating. Prior to that they had "pepper vodka". To the question of KRYVOSHEYEV as to who he was and how he liked the fair, the emigre said, or rather read from the "speech", "I am an old emigre, (in Ukrainian) I was born in Odessa in 1898. The exhibition I liked very much because this was a proof that everything that what was said here against the Soviet government is not true. The Ukrainian people achieved great successes and my heart is full of joy".....etc.

He did not, however, finish his "speech". He got very excited and interrupted in the middle of the speech. Then he added in Russian: "So what, this old blockhead; I got excited and it refuses to work." It was difficult for him to read the text and his accent was that of a true Russian, but his role was played well. Everything was filmed.

NOTE: This is a copy of the letter I sent to Alexander ADAMENKO. I sent a "Harper's" magazine and "Vogue" pattern book of October 1959 and of October-November 1959 respectively separately.

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London, 20 October 1959

Dear Alexander Adamenko

Today I sent two fashion magazines for your wife. I did not send them before as I was waiting until you arrived home. I hope that your wife will like at least some of these.

I was told at the post office that you should receive the magazines not later than two weeks.

The box from you¹ "ceded" to my wife and the act of apparently a "voluntary" one she liked very much and asked me to express her gratitude to you. There is not much news here. My son is growing fast and is playing more and more tricks. In that age all the boys do like that.

I do not want to take much of your time so I will finish my letter. Give my regards to your wife, say hello to Natalya and, please, write. Tell me how you like the magazines.

Awaiting your reply

A. KOBETS

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