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## ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

SR/CA/E

x7168

NO.

XAAZ 13376

DATE

30 August 1962

TO: (Officer designation, room number, and building)

DATE

RECEIVED

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OFFICER'S  
INITIALS

COMMENTS (Number each comment to show from whom to whom. Draw a line across column after each comment.)

1.

CSR/CA/E

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY  
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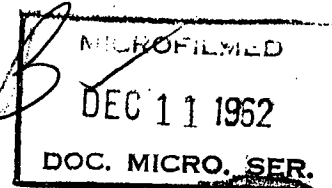
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There will be additional  
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CS Classification: 74-124-29/3  
JOB # 69-425/83  
Box: 21 Fold: 19

to 14: For indexing into file  
74-124-29/3, except where  
201's are otherwise noted.  
All Soviets listed in the attach  
were with the Soviet Ukrainian  
Dance Ensemble (Pavel Virsky's  
National group) in the U.S. Spring

FORM  
1 DEC 56610 USE PREVIOUS  
EDITIONS☐ SECRET☐ CONFIDENTIAL☐ INTERNAL  
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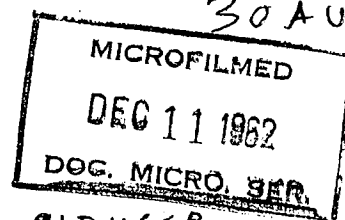
GPO 1961 : O-593644

Translation

(Original Ukrainian text in [ ])

Mykhailo Ivanovych PAVLENKO

Δ Kiev, vul. Heroyiv Revolyutsiyi 3A, kv. 27 USSR



REPORT OF CONTACT WITH  
ROMAN MAC

<sup>DOB</sup> Born <sup>89</sup> 1934 in Zaporozh, <sup>USSR</sup> Married. His wife teaches mathematics in a Kiev university. PAVLENKO is employed by the Soviet Ukrainian Ministry of Culture. Considers himself a historian... studied history at University of Kiev. Communist party member. Ukrainian by birth. Rather temperamental, although he tries to control himself. Speaks Ukrainian, Russian and German. Claims that he does not speak English.

Physical description: 5'6" to 5'7". Slender. Round face, blond, blue eyes, blond eyelashes. Has a military stance.

PAVLENKO said he smokes only at home. He likes whiskey and soda. In walking with others, whether male or female, he has a habit of holding them by the arm.

22 April 1962

Roman MAC (201 - 40284) became acquainted with PAVLENKO in the Governor Clinton Hotel. There was another dancer from the Ukrainian dance ensemble present, in addition to Halyna Ivanovna MEL'NYCHENKO. They talked in the hotel lobby, enroute to Times Square and in a restaurant on Times Square.

PAVLENKO wanted to know where he could buy Soviet Ukrainian publications, stating that he was not inclined to read the bourgeois nationalist newspapers. He said he liked some of the modern art, but most of it didn't appeal to him. He said modern art is seen in the Ukraine but only in private homes. However, when the public begins to understand it, it will begin to appear publicly. In general, his attitude toward modern art is negative.

There are, accordint to PAVLENKO, approximately 300 African students in each of the following three universities, Lvov, Kiev and Kharkov. He refused to specify the African countries from which they came. It was his opinion that in the near future students from western countries would be accepted for study in the Ukraine.

PAVLENKO said there were not enough historical publications in the UkSSR and that the history of the UkSSR also was not satisfactory. The same was true about the history of the Ukrainian Communist Party. He said he heard that there was published in the West a history of the Ukrainian Communist Party and that he would eventually like to "become acquainted with the publication". He was of the impression the history was published in the Ukrainian language.

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74-124-29/3

25 April 1962

PAVLENKO said he had to write a report for the Soviet Ukrainian Ministry of Culture and asked Roman MAC to tell him what the American critics were saying.

He said the stature of the Ministry of Education and Culture in the UkSSR has grown considerably. The Ministry is making every effort to establish the high quality of Ukrainian classical ballet and in this regard is competing with Moscow. He corrected himself immediately by stating, "Of course, this competition with Moscow is a friendly competition". It is natural that the Soviet (vse soyuzne) Ministry of Education and Culture is in charge of cultural exchanges with countries abroad, and it merely informs the ministries of the republics when and which collective will visit abroad. At any rate, the Ukrainian Ministry (of Culture) will be sending the Veriovka chorus to Canada this summer. This is another example that the Ukrainian Ministry is growing more important.

In connection with this, in order for each republic ministry to freely administer their own affairs, it would be necessary to change the constitution of the USSR, and this change, at the moment, does not exist. In any event, the role of the republics has become more important since the death of Stalin, although the nationality situation was not bad even during his rule. It is another matter that the republics were deprived of many rights, but Stalin was personally to blame for this.

PAVLENKO admitted that there was hunger in the Ukraine during the collectivization, but he called attention to the fact that there was hunger throughout the entire USSR. He agreed that Molotov and Kaganovich played criminal parts in their treatment of the Ukraine during the collectivization but they were sentenced for this by the Party and by the people as enemies of the USSR. When asked about a similar position taken by Khrushchev, PAVLENKO first remained silent and then replied, "But, Khrushchev loves the people."

PAVLENKO admitted that he neither read nor knew anything about the purges of the Ukrainian Communist Party conducted by Khrushchev in 1937-38. He willingly listened to MAC's account of the events in Kiev at that time, particularly about how KHRUSHCHEV and Serov liquidated the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. Later, PAVLENKO asked MAC where he had learned all this. PAVLENKO said he knew that DIEFENBAKER was again going to appear at the UN and that he again would "try to liberate the Ukraine".

In parting, PAVLENKO said he was going to visit the Soviet Ukrainian mission at the United Nations. He agreed to visit MAC in his home and said that he would come some day to visit MAC with ~~Halyna~~ MEL'NYCHENKO and several other dancers. Nothing came of this promise.

28 April 1962

Conversation with ~~PAVLENKO~~ and IVASHCHENKO.

PAVLENKO said that he was at the fourth congress of Ukrainian composers

where, among other things, the lack of musical compositions from countries of the national republic was discussed. He admitted that there were large gaps in the development of music in the Ukraine, particularly that there is a lack of music schools, that not enough musical works are being published and that "musical cadres" are poorly developed. He said that efforts are being presently made to improve the situation and that gains have been made. He did not cite any examples. He mentioned that a "ballet on ice" was established in Kiev about 1½ years ago to which only the very young are being accepted.

PAVLENKO frequently answered for IVASHCHENKO and, in general, maintained the initiative.

3 May 1962

Conversation by the Metropolitan Opera House.

PAVLENKO stated that Veriovka's choral group may not come to Canada this year because they are having financial problems. However, HNATYUK, who has a sister in Canada, will probably visit Canada. The Ukrainian Ministry of Culture is planning to organize a Ukrainian symphony orchestra in the near future and will send it abroad.

PAVLENKO said there is disorder in the kolhosps, however he did not agree with Solovey's brochure which states that there is bondage in the Ukraine. He feels the situation will improve. Much depends on the kolhospiiks themselves. There are kolhosps where life is not too bad. This also depends very much on the kolhosp chairman.

PAVLENKO said that from about 1½ years ago, BRUSHEVS'KY's, History of the Ukraine is available to history students at Kiev University. He said he saw it and would like to own his own copy. He said he thought he could take it with him to the UkSSR.

PAVLENKO said he had read about the death of Stefan BANDERA in the Soviet press but he had not heard about STASHINSKY. When MAC told him about STASHINSKY, he said, "If that's the way it was, then it is real brutality". He did not recall the name of Rebet (Lev). He said BANDERA was a bandit and is considered as such by all the Ukrainian people.

About KYRYCHENKO, he said the following. He was not enlightened politically, he is common and brutal. He said KYRYCHENKO read everything from notes because he didn't have the nerve or didn't know how to speak spontaneously. KYRYCHENKO had a museum built in his village in his honor. He did not know why he was thrown out but he wanted MAC to know that he was not thrown out because he may have done something for the Ukraine which displeased the party.

PAVLENKO said the dance group had with them a Spanish interpreter from



Moscow who would accompany the group to Mexico.

PAVLENKO wanted to know the Ukrainian emigres' reaction to the dance group. MAC gave him copies of SVOBODA (which had articles about the dance group). PAVLENKO also asked about the opinion of KIZYA and MAC said he was a good agitator who would be a suitable person to use for urging Komsomol members to go to the virgin lands. He wanted to know whether MAC belonged to any organizations, where he worked, what his outlook is, his opinion of Lenin, whether he was married or whether he had a girlfriend. He invited him to visit the Ukraine and promised to introduce MAC to some girl in the dance ensemble.

5 May 1962

PAVLENKO again asked whether MAC could get him a (Ukrainian language) history of the Ukrainian Communist Party (Western publication). MAC gave him National Politics, by Markus and Pelensky; books by Kravchiv, Solovey, Khrushchev's Secret speech and some other Prolog publications. PAVLENKO didn't seem too pleased but took the books and said he would read them. He first took Khrushchev's speech and asked what kind of propaganda it was and when it was written. When MAC explained what it was, he remained silent and later said, "Oh, interesting". He put some of the pamphlets in his pockets and held the rest in his hands. He later said, "This is all anti-Soviet literature. I shall not be able to take it back with me, but I will read some of it while I am here." PAVLENKO gave MAC some "gifts" in return: The Kievan National Museum, Souvenir of Kiev and Ukrainian National Songs. He said he would like Hrushevsky's History of the Ukraine. (MAC will give him one volume and will promise to mail him one or two volumes more)

PAVLENKO quietly listened to MAC's criticism of the Kolkhoz system and did not say anything to disagree. He also remained quiet and listened to MAC's criticism of the suppression of Ukrainian nationalism in the UkSSR. In the end he said, "I can tell you one thing. I was interested in more than merely what is in our official program, and I am acquainted with life." He refused to elaborate.

In discussing freedom, PAVLENKO admitted that freedom in the USSR is "uncommon". He admitted that Western historians are more objective because they have more freedom of research and expression. He said that Soviet historians were too prejudiced and there was much they didn't know.

PAVLENKO said he had to rush off to see his boss. When MAC asked whether it was SEMYONOV, PAVLENKO looked surprised and protested that his boss was VIRSKY. 1

10 May 1962

Conversation with MAC in lobby of Governor Clinton: PAVLENKO asked MAC whether he could obtain for him some literature regarding the 17th Century.

whether he could obtain for him some literature regarding the 17th Century Cossack settlements in the Azov Sea area which he said he needs for a dissertation. He said he failed in his first dissertation which he did on the MTS when the MTS was liquidated. MAC said there was a Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in New York and that he would gladly try to obtain the material for PAVLENKO. In addition, MAC recommended Hrushevsky's, History of the Ukraine and "Ancient Kiev". PAVLENKO said he would very much like to have Hrushevsky's History and that if it wasn't too expensive, he would appreciate MAC obtaining it for him. MAC promised to get the History for him. They agreed to meet the following day at 11:15 by the Governor Clinton.

PAVLENKO said that he was very busy and that he also wanted to help the boys in the ensemble do some shopping. He said the boys had a lot of money but little time and that it was necessary to help them. MAC offered to go along and PAVLENKO accepted the offer. PAVLENKO also complained that the ensemble had many invitations and that it was difficult for them to decide which to accept.

MAC reminded PAVLENKO that they should not forget about their countrymen in the West. He said that when MOISEYEV was in the States, he visited the Russian circle at Columbia but Virsky refused an invitation from the Ukrainian students. MAC said that, in general, he could not understand why only certain individuals, as for instance PAVLENKO and MELNYCHENKO talked with Ukrainians (emigres) and that all others shied away. He wondered what role PAVLENKO played with regard to other members of the ensemble and the emigres. He said the role appeared rather strange and not clear and that he wasn't sure whether the part was worthy of such a respectable individual as PAVLENKO, especially in view of the present situation when the Ukraine is being threatened with new Russification pressures. PAVLENKO said he personally didn't understand what MAC had on his mind. MAC went on to say he didn't understand how PAVLENKO could engage in what he is doing when his people are under a threat of further enslavement, intensification of Russification, further loss of their rights, etc. PAVLENKO's face turned red but he kept silent. MAC reminded PAVLENKO that he had not answered his question and suggested that he was making believe that he does not understand. MAC asked him whether he thought that the new constitution would change anything for the better. PAVLENKO: "Well, you read KHRUSHCHEV's speech." MAC: "I merely scanned it." PAVLENKO: "It states that things will become more democratic." MAC: "And what will become of the republic governments? What about the nationality question?" PAVLENKO: "The devil knows." (translator: PAVLENKO uses phrase "kholyera yeho znaye".)

MAC further questioned PAVLENKO about whether the new constitution would increase the role of the republics whether it would also for instance, improve on foreign policy - foreign representations. PAVLENKO said that it appeared MAC wasn't familiar with the constitution of the USSR since it clearly states that only the government of the USSR engages in foreign policy. MAC said that it was not exactly so, because where diplomatic representatives are concerned

the constitution states that the republics have such rights and can permit foreign nations to have their diplomatic representatives in the republics. PAVLENKO: "Roman, it will be as the people decide."

MAC expressed his doubts whether the decision would be made by the people. He said he would be interested in knowing whether the republic governments expected to be given more rights under the new constitution. PAVLENKO: "And what the devil do we need those state institutions for anyway? We are concerned that public institutions have more rights. You see Roman, the present constitution was established at a time of socialist changes, during the revolution, and it is necessary to revise it in order to build communism." MAC: "Khrushchev will fix it so that it will make it convenient to do away with all the rights of the republic governments and simultaneously increase the influence of and the position of Great Russian chauvinists in all decisive matters and in the affairs of the nationalities." PAVLENKO: "The constitution will be decided by the people. They will discuss it and decide what it shall be."

When MAC stated that he doesn't believe that things of this nature are decided by the people in the USSR and cited an example of practices to date, and in particular mentioned the educational reform, PAVLENKO asked whether MAC was thinking of the language of instruction used in the schools, the 19th thesis of the CC CPSU. When MAC said that it was, PAVLENKO wanted to know specifically what it was in this new ruling which didn't appeal to him. MAC stated that in writing a paper on this subject at his university he found reference to the fact that Khrushchev personally admitted, for instance, that in Moscow's higher schools, only 30% of the students are the children of workers and villagers. Therefore, on the one hand, you have the suppression of the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian, and displacement by Russian, and on the other hand, keeping away from the higher schools the workers element. PAVLENKO denied this, stating that in the medical and agricultural courses, 90 percent of the students are made up of village youth. Further, that this youth, upon completion of their studies, does not desire to leave their home areas and, in the majority of cases, remains in place. Letters of recommendation presently are not requested for entrance to higher schools, because no one wants to say anything bad about their people. However, there is competition for entrance to institutions of higher learning, for example students of mathematics. There are objections to this also, and successful competitors are often facetiously called "wunderkind". PAVLENKO personally is in favor of letters of recommendation for entrance to the higher schools, although his sister, for instance, failed in her application to the philology faculty in Kiev because she had one grade 3.

MAC mentioned that students' competition leads to competition by the parents of which Khrushchev personally spoke, and that only in that way is the decision made as to who is ~~is~~ accepted. PAVLENKO denied that this is the case. ~~He said,~~ "This has not been the case since 1958-59. Occasionally it will happen that the ~~son~~ of some official will ~~be~~ accepted into a school of higher learning but these are ~~xx~~ rare occurrences".

MAC cited an example from "Vesnyk Vyshchey Shkoly", in which there recently was criticism about competition for entrance into evening schools in the republics. Since the applicants are mostly village youth, MAC said he considered this as an effort to limit the possibilities of village youths entrance to institutions of higher education. PAVLENKO denied this. He said, "I don't know where you read this, but I can tell you how it is in actual practice because I came from there."

The conversation ended at 3:40 p.m.

11 May 1962 - 11:30 p.m.

After greeting each other in the lobby of the Governor Clinton, MAC told PAVLENKO that he brought him a copy of Polonsky's book about the Cossacks from the years 1750 to 1775, published by the UVAN (Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences). He said he was sorry that it was in English and that PAVLENKO would probably have to turn to Halva Ivanovna (MEL'NYCHENKO) for help in translation. (PAVLENKO seems to turn to MEL'NYCHENKO in an official manner and always uses the polite term of "vy" in speaking to her.) PAVLENKO assured MAC that he would have no problem finding a translator. He said he wasn't really sure as yet whether he was going to write a paper on this subject. He wanted to know whether there was mention of the Zaporozhian Holovaty in the book. MAC suggested that he check the index and acquaint himself with the bibliography. PAVLENKO took the book and said he was going to try to collect a few dollars and that when he returns and finds he needs certain books, he will send MAC the money and ask him to send him the books. Volodymyr KHARYTONOV, who was present during this conversation, mentioned that there may be some difficulties in trying to send money through the mails, they could trade with each other....MAC would send PAVLENKO any books he requests and PAVLENKO in return, would send MAC things he may ask for. PAVLENKO agreed to this arrangement.

At 11:45 the following came to the lobby of the hotel: DOROZHYNsky, Yu. VYNYAR, B. STUSYK with his wife, NAHIRNY, MYLAKHOVS'KY and many others whose names MAC does not know. MAC introduced PAVLENKO to NAHIRNY who used the name of KRAVETS'. NAHIRNY said to PAVLENKO, "Oh, you are the so-called Khakhol". MAC called NAHIRNY's attention to the fact that PAVLENKO was a true Ukrainian and no Khakhol. NAHIRNY said he was jesting - that he was in a very good mood today because he had read Nina KOSTENKO's poem Estafettes, and he began to recite from memory. PAVLENKO listened and then said that KOSTENKO is a very popular poetess and that she is literally <sup>rolled up</sup> at women's clubs of every nature. NAHIRNY told PAVLENKO that he is very pleased with the appearance of young Ukrainian poets because he sees in this the future of the Ukraine. Later in

Vladimir Savoylovich  
Interviewer  
Ukr. Press Service

During the name KRAVETS' Had contact with

Mykhailo Ivanovich PAVLENKO of Ukr. F.  
Ukrainian National Research Committee  
New York, N.Y. 10011

the conversation, he asked PAVLENKO what is meant by "cult of the individual". He said that all past mistakes in the Soviet Union are presently being blamed on the "cult of the individual". When Ivan the Terrible was killing his Boyars, he had his opritchniki. Stalin, in liquidating those who opposed him, used his opritchniki. Khrushchev belonged to one of the first opritchniki of Stalin. In reply to this, PAVLENKO said that perhaps not so much Khrushchev as Molotov, Kaganovich, Beria and Voroshylov. "Then how will you explain Khrushchev's embracing of Voroshylov?" asked NAHIRNY. PAVLENKO: "But he is an innocent person. He is even, I believe, a Ukrainian." NAHIRNY: "Then maybe you can explain for me how Khrushchev's "cult of the individual" differs from that of Stalin's. Khrushchev, like Stalin, is an expert in all matters of education, economics and the arts. Have you ever heard any of the Soviet educators criticize Khrushchev? On the contrary, they quote him and make references to his speeches. I, as an educator, would not want anyone to dictate to me about how I should do my work. Since Khrushchev is a party man, let him engage in his party activities and not mix into everything. I, as you see my dear countryman", NAHIRNY continued, "am interested in life in the Soviet Union." PAVLENKO who until now said nothing but merely blushed, asked NAHIRNY whether his interest in the Soviet Union was his special occupation. "This is not my special preoccupation, if you are thinking of it as a special assigning from someone," answered NAHIRNY, "but as a socialologist, I am particularly interested in the pre-revolutionary Russian intelligencia. Tell me, my dear countryman, why is it that Ukrainians are always given some such name as bourgeois nationalists, cosmopolitans or servants of American imperialism or the Vatican. For instance, a book by Mazurkevych, Zarubizhni Fal'syfikatory Ukrainskoyi Literatury (Foreign Falsifiers of Ukrainian Literature), was recently ~~xxx~~ published in the Ukraine. Why zarubizhni (c/o comment: the Russianized Ukrainian for the word foreign), and not zakordoni (c/o: The Ukrainian version), I don't know. In this work, Mazurkevych mixed up with mud all the educated Ukrainians in the West, he attached something to each one of them. And don't forget, my dear countryman, that in the West there are many Ukrainian educators who are devoting themselves to Ukrainian education and not dying on thrash heaps as stated in the Soviet press. Let us take Professor CHYZHEVSKY, one of the biggest experts of Ukrainian literature; Professor SHEVELOV of Columbia University, who is writing a fundamental work about the origin of the Ukrainian language, and a whole line of sound scholarly works being published by Ukrainian scientific societies. There are over 150 Ukrainians teaching in American universities". PAVLENKO: "One-hundred and fifty?" NAHIRNY: "Yes, and they are almost all in their middle age, so don't think that they will soon die off and that none will be left. Also, don't forget that our youth isn't becoming so rapidly completely Americanized. There are Ukrainian schools here where subjects are taught about the Ukraine. Do you, my dear countryman, see the cultural inequality between the Ukraine and Russia? Have you heard how many of our educators were liquidated?" PAVLENKO: "But they liquidated Russians also." NAHIRNY: "That is true, but you see that in Russia they are publishing works not only of rehabilitated individuals but also works written by emigres. You will not find this in the Ukraine. On the contrary, you can see a whole line of articles and works attacking brother Ukrainians in the West, as for instance Mazurkevych's book.

"Tell me", asked PAVLENKO, "what is the reaction of the Ukrainians in New York to the Ukrainian dance ensemble?" NAHIRNY: "We consider that the ensemble is giving Ukrainian culture a big boost, but we understand that there is rabble among us, on your side and on ours. Your rabble is the beaurocratic servant of Russian chauvinism." In reply to PAVLENKO's query as to what NAHIRNY thinks of Svoboda's position with regard to the Ukrainian ensemble, NAHIRNY told him that he isn't an avid reader of Svoboda but that we have a free society and therefore PAVLENKO shouldn't be surprised that there are various reactions to the ensemble. He said that PAVLENKO would undoubtedly even meet with such Ukrainians who will treat him in an unfriendly manner and distribute pamphlets of a derogatory nature and, "if this happens, you have only to thank the training you gave them."

18 May 1962

MAC met PAVLENKO at 1150 hours in the lobby of the Governor Clinton. In greeting MAC, PAVLENKO said he had been waiting since 11 o'clock. MAC reminded him that PAVLENKO had promised to telephone MAC first and PAVLENKO said he remembered but that he had been very busy. MAC suggested that they meet the following day and that he had for PAVLENKO, Hrushevsky's History of the Ukraine which he would bring with him at that time. PAVLENKO suggested they meet the following evening at 9. MAC mentioned the picketing which had taken place on Saturday by the Metropolitan Opera. PAVLENKO said, "Yes, they were distributing some sort of leaflets put out by the SVU". MAC explained what the SVU was. He said that the emigration considers them "Bolshevik agitators", that they also are against KHVYL'OVYY and SKRYPNYK.

19 May 1962

MAC met PAVLENKO by the Metropolitan Opera at 2110 hours. PAVLENKO apologized for being late. MAC gave him a copy of HRUSHEVS'KY's History of the UKRAINE and a photocopy of letters from KOSHYTS to MATSENKO. He asked PAVLENKO to give the photocopies to IVASHCHENKO (Ihor). MAC said he had another favor to ask of PAVLENKO. He said he brought along with him a copy of OKEAN (Ocean), a collection of poems by Vasyl BARKA and asked PAVLENKO to deliver it to BAZHAN or RYL'SKY. He said the poems were apolitical. PAVLENKO asked, "Why BAZHAN", and MAC told him he could give the book to any Ukrainian poet he wished. PAVLENKO said he could give it to HONCHAR or some other young poet. MAC said, "I think that if you give the book to one of the young poets then TYCHYNA will undoubtedly have opportunity to see it because he is the idealogical educator of the young poets". PAVLENKO thanked MAC for everything and wanted to know how he could repay him. MAC replied that the best way he could repay him was to study the History of the Ukraine (HRUSHEVS'KY's) and make some scholarly objective conclusions for himself. PAVLENKO assured MAC that he would do so without fail. He took the books and went backstage. He returned in about five minutes and said that he didn't have much time just then and that they would continue their talk some other time. He said the

group was returning to New York in early July for eight days. He said that in the event they did not meet then, he would like MAC to mail him "certain materials" and that he would mail MAC anything he wanted in return. PAVLENKO said he became better acquainted with Halya MELNYCHENKO who works for the Committee for Cultural Exchanges with Western Countries and that she would help him send to MAC whatever he might want.

MAC asked PAVLENKO about how they were received in Washington and Philadelphia. PAVLENKO said they were treated very nicely and that he had opportunity to talk with intelligent Ukrainians. He said he didn't know there were so many intelligent Ukrainians (PAVLENKO used the word "svidomykh" meaning well-informed about the Ukrainian situation) because he was under the impression they were being assimilated. MAC informed him that there were those who were assimilating but there also were more of those Ukrainians who maintained their Ukrainian (background) and who could be of much help to the people in the Ukraine. He said this was not contrary to American Constitutional rights. PAVLENKO admitted that he also was of the opinion they (Americans of Ukrainian ancestry) could be of help to the Ukraine and then corrected himself by saying, "Yes, they could help Soviet Ukrainian policy". MAC told PAVLENKO not to consider him and others as ignorant because it is known that (Ukrainian) politics, as well as other aspects, are controlled by Moscow and that Moscow makes all decisions. PAVLENKO denied this, saying that the UkSSR conducted its own politics. MAC asked PAVLENKO for some examples as proof. PAVLENKO changed the subject. MAC again started about the willingness of Ukrainians in the U.S.A. to help their fellow Ukrainians and quoted Turgenyev, "Chelovek bez narodnosti - nul'". PAVLENKO assured MAC that he also was against cosmopolitanism and said, "Although there is an effort to amalgamate nations, nations are going to keep existing for a long time". MAC said that, in view of PAVLENKO's opinion, they can continue to carry on their conversation. MAC stated that he also was of the opinion that nations would not exist forever but the process of their ceasing to exist would have to proceed naturally and not under the pressure of another nation which hides its own hegemony in the "dying off of other nations". In the meantime, a nation is the best form of preservation and protection of interests of a given group. MAC again asked PAVLENKO what he felt was the best way Americans of Ukrainian ancestry could help their people in the Ukraine. PAVLENKO replied, "Become members of the 'VOL'". MAC said, "What is the VOL, I don't understand you." PAVLENKO replied, "become members of the progressives." MAC: "Mykhailo Ivanovych, perhaps I am not talking with you. Do you really believe that this group of oldsters with no political perspective can give the Ukraine anything? What happened to you Mykhailo Ivanovych? PAVLENKO said he meant it only as an offense....." "I was only teasing. Roman, I read articles about Bandera's death in the Svoboda. If it was really accomplished by the KGB, then it is a crime. Our press, I think it was Pravda and Komsomolska Pravda, mentioned that Bandera was killed as a result of internal misunderstandings between the Melnikites and Banderaites." MAC informed PAVLENKO that there were various hypothesis in the Soviet press about the murder of Bandera and Rebet, some of them even contradictory. He said that in the last issue of

Svoboda there were names of STASHINSKY's superiors who planned the murder of Bandera. PAVLENKO said, "I didn't read about that. If what STASHINSKY says is true then it is really".....(and he didn't finish).

MAC stated that he personally was not a Bandera man and never belonged to the group but that he respects Bandera. PAVLENKO: "I don't have any regard for him at all" MAC: ~~He~~ Ukrainians we seem to part here again. SKRYPNYK and KHVYL'OVEY were Communists but I also respected them as outstanding, political Ukrainian leaders" PAVLENKO, "I know very little about SKRYPNYK besides what our press recently said. I never read anything by him, I don't know whether he ever wrote anything, and I have never heard about KHVYL'OVEY." MAC: "SKRYPNYK didn't write anything. In the thirties there appeared a collection of his articles and speeches." PAVLENKO said this was not available (in the UkSSR) as yet. Perhaps they will be able to find it someplace in time. He said all he knew about Bandera was that he quarrelled with the Melnykites and that there is not much difference between them. "That is what our press says". MAC told PAVLENKO that he was at least 20 years behind in his understanding of this problem but that they would talk about this some other time.

PAVLENKO asked MAC whether he would come visit the Ukraine. MAC said that he would naturally. PAVLENKO said he would gladly show MAC all the museums, conservatories in Kiev but that he probably wouldn't be interested in seeing the ~~kolhosp~~s. "Why not" said MAC, "I will also look at the kolhosp. Perhaps I may even work in them for a couple of days making hay. Except, you see, none of the so-called nationalists have yet been to the Ukraine so that it is not known what fate awaits me there because you also undoubtedly count me as one of them" PAVLENKO said that since MAC ~~x~~ has American citizenship, it would be upsetting diplomatic ties between the U.S.A. and the USSR if anything ~~happened~~ happened to him.

MAC explained that he wasn't important enough for diplomatic ties to be discontinued because of him. He said that at any rate, he has a very good idea about the situation in the Ukraine today. He said he talked with many people who had visited the Ukraine and who with tears in their eyes told him about how bad off people there are, and that they were not permitted to visit their native villages. PAVLENKO said that this was not completely true. He said he also read about the impressions of these people who had visited the Ukraine and that they only told the negative aspects, that the positive aspects were not printed, but that undoubtedly these positive impressions remained in their archives. "You have no reason to fear coming to the Ukraine."

MAC: "You know Mykhailo Ivanovych, when you become First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party, then I shall believe that nothing would happen to me." PAVLENKO: "You know Roman, I have thought much about you and have come to the conclusion that you ~~x~~ are not a fanatic." MAC: "And this is bad, or good?" PAVLENKO: "No, this is good. You can look at things objectively."



It has really been a pleasure to become acquainted with you."

MAC: "And likewise for me. When you return we shall talk again."

PAVLENKO asked MAC whether it would be all right for people from Kiev interested in music or others interested in the arts to visit him when they are in New York in the future. MAC said he would welcome such visits gladly.

Later in the discussion when MAC complained about Russification and the fact that many Ukrainians in Ukrainian cities do not speak in Ukrainian, PAVLENKO replied, "The Ukrainian language will not die. I was also told this by one of our prominent educators. And the fact that Ukrainians can speak in another language merely witnesses the fact that they are adaptable."

Translation

(Original text in Roman MAC [ ] file)

MUSYKA, Mykola Pavlovych

AKA NIKOLAY

Born ca. 1921-1925 in Tovmach, Stanivslav Oblast. He is a Ukrainian.

A photographer - but it is not known whether this is his profession (see note at bottom). He is 5'8" tall, slender, dark blond, wears a small mustache. Speaks a Galician dialect.

REACT  
CONTACT WITH Roman MAC (201-40284) met MUSYKA in the lobby of the Governor Clinton on 19 April 1962, MAC saw a group of dancers from the Ukrainian dance ensemble (Virsky's group) in the lobby and approached them, asking whether they were with the dance ensemble. MUSYKA replied that they were. MAC asked MUSYKA to whom he had the pleasure of speaking and MUSYKA introduced himself. MAC told MUSYKA he was a student of music and MUSYKA suggested that MAC talk to IVASHCHENKO (Thor). MUSYKA seemed to be in a hurry to go someplace and they parted.

MAC saw and tried talking with MUSYKA in the Governor Clinton lobby again on 22-25-28 April and 2 May but MUSYKA always ignored MAC.

At the reception the Ukrainian Progressives had for the dance ensemble in the Polish Veteran Home on 6 May, MUSYKA and KHARYTONOV (Volodymyr) were taking photographs of all those in attendance.

Note: (HANOV'S'KY of New York, an active member of the SUM, stated that he met MUSYKA in Brussels at the Worlds Fair in 1958 at which time he stated he was from the Western Ukraine from Horodenko and that he was a dancer.)

Translation

Soviet Ukrainian National Dance Ensemble in Montreal, Canada

21 May 1962

On the evening of 21 May there was a reception for members of the dance ensemble given by the Ukrainian Progressives. A group of Canadian students of Ukrainian extraction appeared at the reception. They claimed they were members of TOUK (pro-Communist organization). They sat ~~at~~ at the tables and talked with the dancers. After a while, one of the students sat down by the piano and played several songs. He then played, "Shehe Ne Vmerla Ukraina" (The Ukraine Has Not Yet Died) (translator's comment: This is the original Ukrainian National Anthem forbidden by the Soviets). The other students began to sing and other guests joined them. When the guests began to rise, the Soviet Ambassador, ARUTYUNYAN, of Ottawa did the same and, in confusion, the Progressives began to join in the singing. When the singing was ended, these students were politely asked to leave the hall. *etc USSR*

22 May 1962

*aka: Valentin L. G. T. Yevich*

*With Soviet Ukrainian National Dance Ensemble  
Suspected KGB*

Two Canadian women of Ukrainian extraction, and two male students, drove out to the farm of ~~fnu~~ KUDRIATSEV (HOL HURON's representative in Canada) to meet with the dancers of the Ukrainian dance ~~ensemble~~ ensemble who were reportedly having lunch there. KUDRIATSEV's wife greeted the party of four politely and told them they ~~could~~ could talk with the dancers if the director (Virsyk) agrees. Yosif ~~W. ZABRODNY~~ approached them and said it was all right for them to talk with the dancers providing they discussed the weather, fishing, etc., but no politics. They promised to avoid politics and began to visit with some ~~fn~~ of the dancers. VIRSKY soon joined them. He mentioned having once belonged to a "Pontifical choir".

23 May 62

The two women mentioned above again talked with the dancers in the hotel lobby and took six members of the dance group to lunch in a restaurant and then to their homes. The dancers left the hotel in pairs as if they were merely going out along and then ~~gathered~~ gathered by the women's car and drove off in the car and a taxi. They visited three homes. One of the dancers asked to be given a religious picture for her mother and, noting the Canadian women's ~~x~~ surprise, stated, "Why are you surprised? I am a Christian". One of the male dancers asked for a crucifix for his mother stating, "She is a very devout individual." They were all given gifts. The men asked for cigarette lighters. The conversation was very friendly. The Canadian women explained to the dancers that they were not Communists but individuals whom the "Soviet Regime calls bandit-nationalists." We

*Mr. M. L. ...  
Born 13 Dec 1931 in 6. Sigorovka*

aren't bandit-nationalists but we are against the Communist and Russian rulers in the Ukraine", to which one of the dancers replied, "Well, neither you nor we need them (the Communists and the Russians)".

*Yefimovich*

Pavel VIRSKY and ~~Mr.~~ <sup>Yefimovich</sup> IVASHCHENKO were interviewed at the Ukrainian Section of the CBC. They would not accept an invitation to dine in a restaurant but agreed to join in a chicken barbecue in the office of the Ukrainian Section. VIRSKY asked why ~~they~~ they were being picketed and was told that the picketing was against the Moscow-Communists and not against the dance group. Fnu BACHYNSKY conducted the interview. Roman OLIYNYK gave VIRSKY copies of Canadian press notices about the dance ensemble, including an article he wrote.

Translation

The Soviet Ukrainian National Dance Ensemble in Winnipeg, Canada

The ensemble had only one performance in Winnipeg, the evening of 9 June. They left for Calgary on 10 June, Sunday. After the performance on the evening of 9 June, the local Ukrainian Progressives gave a reception for the group. The following contacts were made during this reception.

Pavel VIRSKY. Was given a copy of Suchasnist, issue No. 6 (Translator's comment: this is the ABCASSOWARY/1 publication) in which there was an article by Boychuk regarding the dance ensemble. VIRSKY politely expressed his thanks for the publication and indicated that he had expected it. (Translator's comment: The publication was airmailed to Canada from New York with a request that it be given to VIRSKY to whom it was promised during a contact with him in New York.)

*Volodymyr* KHARTONOV. Introduced himself as a reporter and was very free with his autographs. He made note of all the talks made at the reception. He was polite during contacts made with him.

*Photo given ASR16/B10* Frau ZATYAHAN. He is rude, unfriendly and very formal. He watched members of the dance ensemble very closely and observed all that was taking place.

*Pavlovich* Nikolay P. MUZYKA. BORN 7 Jan 1920 Kiev USSR. Said he was a Galician. He has been living in Kiev since 1939. He drank a lot during the reception and was late for the program at the Shevchenko memorial. He was alone with M. MARUNCHAK in the latter's car and there was ample opportunity to talk but he was trying to convince MARUNCHAK of the necessity to speak Russian. He is not very nice. VIRSKY was heard to scold him for neglect in doing certain things. Margarita TANKINA asked MARUNCHAK during a talk with him what his impression was of MUZYKA and seemed to be conveying a message that one should be careful in dealing with him.

*Pavlovich* Margarita ALEKSANDROVNA (TANKINA). BORN 14 JAN 1928 KAZAN USSR. She was very careful in what she said when she noticed others nearby. She seemed interested in life of the emigres and was given information about KUK (Canadian - Ukrainian Committee) and about Ukrainian emigre activities in Canada.

*Handwritten:* All members of Soviet Ukrainian National Dance Ensemble appearing in Winnipeg, Canada 9 June 62  
REPORT OF CONTACT

74-124-2713

Translation

OLESHKO, Ivan (phot. alias)

CIT USSR

Born ca. 1926. Blond, combs his hair straight back. Slender. He speaks with a Galician accent.

USSR

REPORT CONTACT: Roman MAC was introduced to OLESHKO by IVASHCHENKO, Thor, on 2 May 1962, after a performance at the Metropolitan Opera. OLESHKO appeared annoyed about the introduction, mumbled something to the effect he was a common Vanya, and walked away. On 5 May, MAC saw OLESHKO by the Governor Clinton and started to approach him to greet him but OLESHKO walked away.

On 6 May 1962, at the reception given the dance ensemble by the Ukrainian Progressives in the Polish Veterans Home in New York, MAC approached OLESHKO and asked him how he liked the reception. OLESHKO said it was all right. MAC began to explain to OLESHKO who the Progressive Ukrainians and said that there were other, true Ukrainians, at the reception. He told OLESHKO that there was a maximum of about 3 percent Ukrainians in the Progressive Party in the United States. He told OLESHKO about Ukrainian emigre activities in the United States, about the "DUMKA" choral group and about the Shevchenko Memorial in Winnipeg, etc. OLESHKO seemed very interested in the Shevchenko Memorial and began to ask questions about it. MAC told him that a site for it had already been purchased. MAC asked OLESHKO to write something as a memento for him and OLESHKO took the pen MAC handed him and did so. (photocopy in MAC's file) The ballpoint MAC handed him had a picture of Shevchenko on it. OLESHKO was pleased when MAC told him he could keep it. After several words more, however, OLESHKO excused himself saying he had someplace to go.

74-124-471

Translation

ZABRODNY, Valentin Leontiyevych

Lives in Kiev <sup>DOB</sup> 7/12/30 Uspenskiy petrovsk, USSR  
<sup>CIT USSR</sup>  
Born ca 1923, 5'8" tall, weight ca. 190 lbs. Curly brown hair combed straight back, small brown eyes, has a mole on left cheek about 1 inch away from the nose. Speaks Ukrainian mixed with Polish words. Talkative. ZABRODNY is a Ukrainian. He said that during German occupation of the UkSSR, he was a messenger for the Red partisans in Kiev. He studied journalism and considers himself also journalist by profession. As a journalist, he travelled throughout the entire Ukraine. He frequently visited western oblasts and is well acquainted with Lvov. He stated that he studied in Lvov for a while.

11 May 1962

Report of contact with Roman MAC introduced himself to ZABRODNY in the lobby of the Hotel Governor Clinton. ZABRODNY was conversing with another Ukrainian emigre whom MAC did not know. PAVLENKO, Mykhailo Ivanovych came along and he and MAC left ZABRODNY and the Ukrainian emigre.

13 May 1962

ZABRODNY was met in the lobby of the Hotel Governor Clinton by MAC, Andriy PRADYSHCHAK and V. NAHIRNY and they left at 2 a.m. to find a place to eat and didn't bring ZABRODNY back to the hotel until 5 a.m. They talked about Ukrainian literature, music, Russification in the Ukraine, etc. (Actual conversation reported in Ukrainian in Roman MAC 201-40284 file). ZABRODNY recommended the following two ways the emigration can help their fellow Ukrainians in the UkSSR:

(1) "Teach your children the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture so that they will know who they are."

(2) Keep abreast of current political events in the UkSSR and inform the world about them.

ZABRODNY mentioned the fact that he had talked with Ortynsky (Lubomyr) and MAISTRENKO in Vienna in 1959.

74-124-29/3

74-124-29/3

Handwriting of SHTIKANOVA, Zoya



На память  
от Советского  
друзя.

г Воронеж 14  
ул Физкультурная  
дом 8а кв 3  
Шшикановой Зое.

Ленинград. Канал Грибоедова у Невского про-  
спекта  
Leningrad. The Griboyedov Canal by the Nevsky  
Prospect

М-43246. 1960 г. 1038. 1 280 000. Зак. 1014  
Л. 20 к. (с 1/1 1961 г цена 2 к.)  
Тип. № 1 «Печ Двор» УПП Лен.СНХ



74-124-29/1



Handwriting of HNATOVSKA, Valentina

г. Киев

Украинский  
народный  
хор  
Гнатюк

Київ  
Володимирський  
вул. 1  
Державний  
Український  
Народний дор  
Ірина Вербова  
Микола

Handwriting of BELCKONEVA, N.P.

2. Киев

| госконсерватория

Белоконеву Н. П.

Handwriting of ASHANTIN, Lev



*and end! What  
was in the  
light*

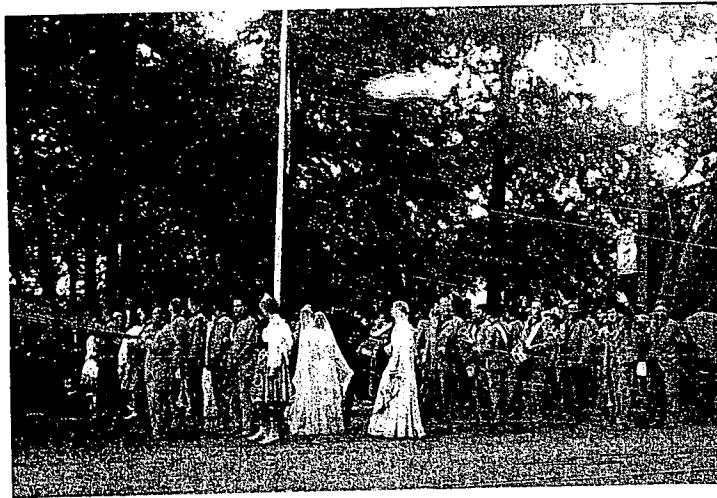
## TWO AND THE SUN

LET THE CAMERA TELL YOU HOW SOVIET YOUTHS  
AND GIRLS LIVE AND REST

SHOSTAKOVICH, Pyotr I. LVCV  
(Slavko)

C - SHOSTAKOVICH marching in the Soviet Delegation during the parade on 25 July 1962.

Pictures taken by Demi.

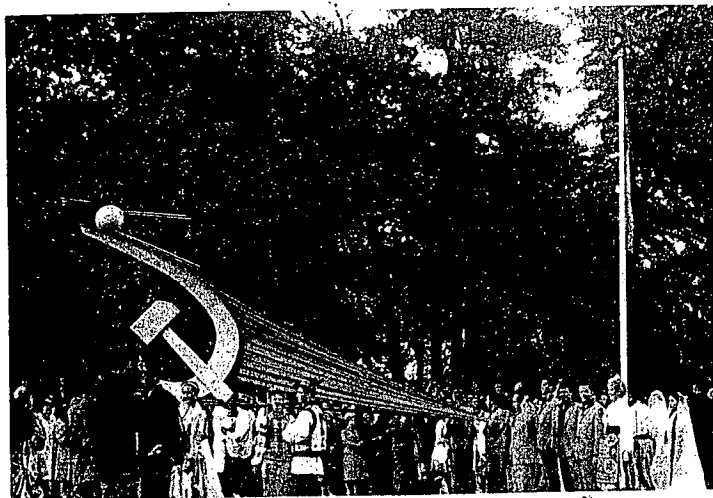
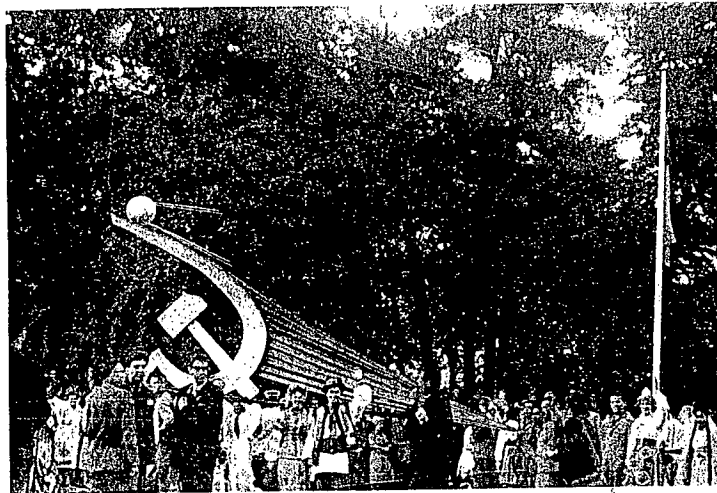


74-124-29/3

SHOSTAKOVSKY, Vyacheslav of Lvov

("Slavko")

C - SHOSTAKOVSKY marching in the parade on 29 July 1952 in the Soviet Delegation. Pictures taken by Deml.



VOLODYMYRSKYI, photo of Kiev



XX - VOLODYMYRSKYI . Picture taken by Leo on 30 July 1962.

SHTYFANOVA, Zoya of /VORONEZH

X - SHTYFANOVA in company of her colleagues from "Voronezh-Ensemble".

Pictures taken by Sonia on 2 Aug 1962





Soviet Finnish Interpreter

X - Soviet interpreter

1 - GROSS, fnu - American poet.

Pictures taken by Zed on 31 Aug 1962  
at "Druzhba" during the Evening  
of Young Poets.





X

X - ZAKHARCHENKO - marching with the Soviet delegation during the parade on 29 July 1962.



X - ZAKHARCHENKO - presiding at the Evening of Young Poets at "Druzhba" on 31 July 1962.

- 1 - EVTUSHENKO, Evgeni
- 2 - GROSS, fnu
- 3 - Soviet Finnish interpreter

ZA KHARCHENKO - Chairman of "Druzhba"



X - ZAKHARCHENKO presiding at the Evening  
of Young Poets at "Druzhba"  
on 31 July 1962.

1 - A Rumanian poet

2 - EVTUSHENKO, Ivgeni



Pictures taken by Zed.

POPRECHNYI, Anatoli - Russian poet

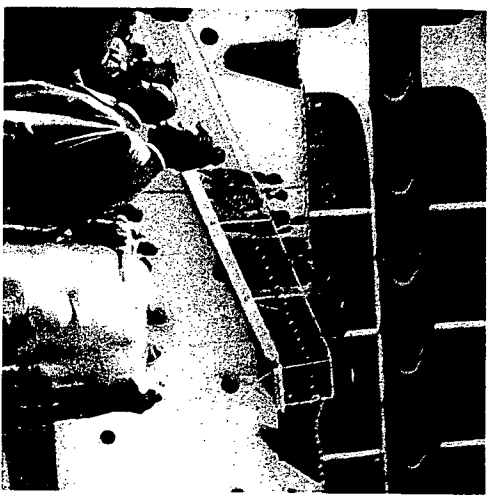
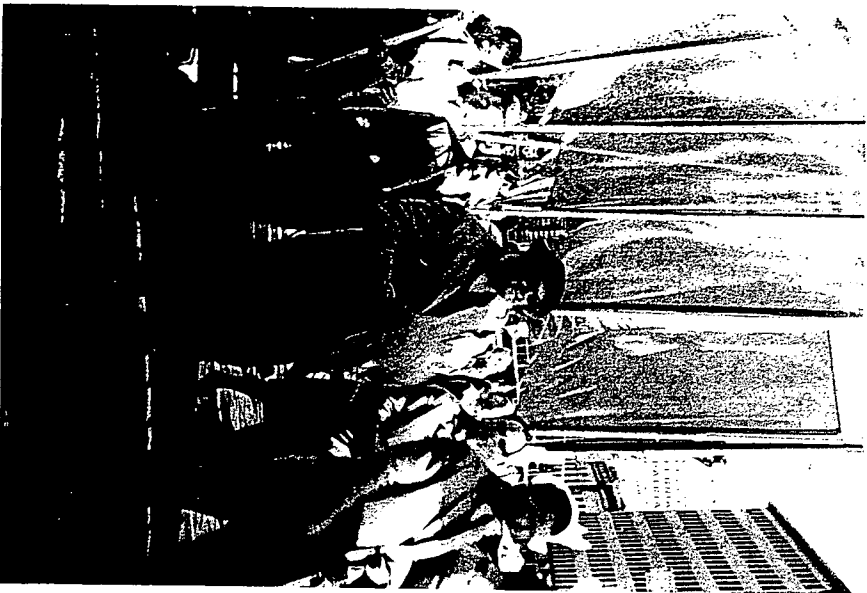
X - POPRECHNYI, Anatoli

1 - EVTUSHENKO, Evgeni

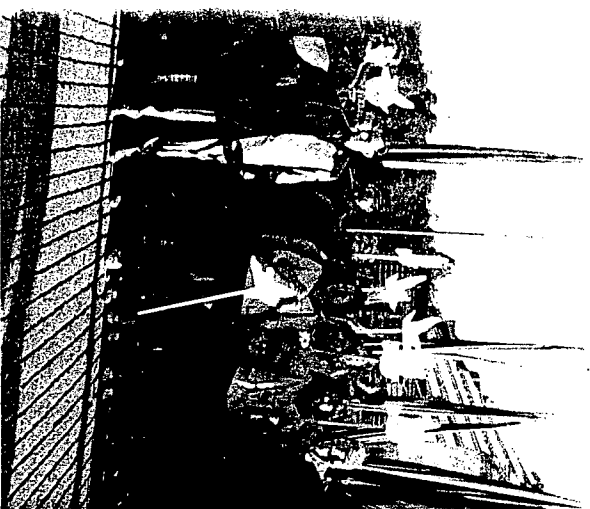
Picture taken by Zed at "Druzhba"  
during the Evening of Young Poets  
on 31 July 1962.



Unidentified, very active "rectifications" associates  
and administrators.



Unpleasant, very active supporters of administrators.



A Finnish communist girl who  
attacked our people on direction from  
Soviet administrators. She spoke Russian  
and English.

Picture taken by Steve on 27 July 1962.



The Delegate who attacked  
very strongly Steve on 29 July 1962  
during the "collective treatment".

Picture taken on 27 July 1962  
by Steve after arrival of Gruzia.





HORSYA, Svitlana

KOLOSOK, Petro

YERMAKOVA, Irina ?

Picture taken by John on 27 July 1962 near RR Station.



XX - HORSYA, Svitlana

K - KOLOSOK, Petro

XXX - a very active "identifier", one of higher bosses

1 - YERMAKOVA ?

KOLOBOV, Petro

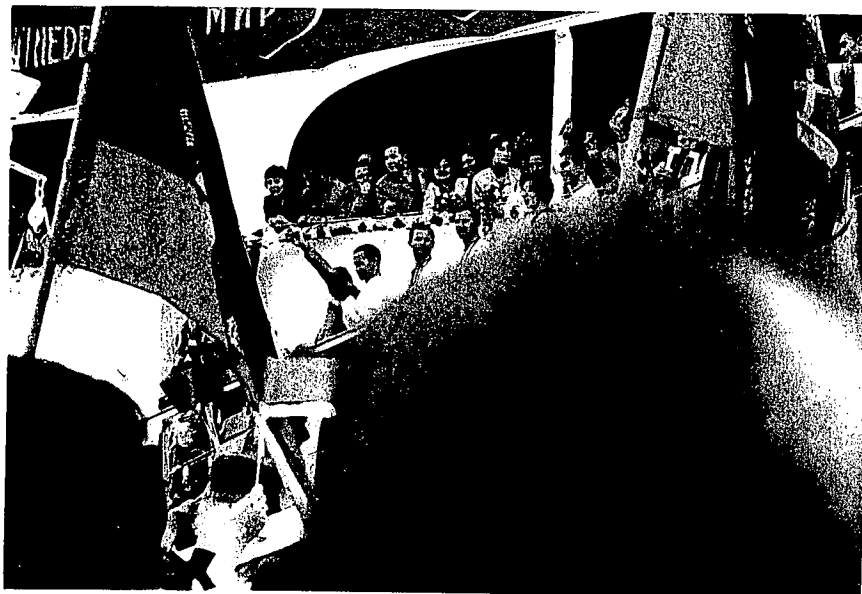
KOLOBOV, Aleksander



X - KOLOBOV, Petro

xx - KOLOBOV, Aleksander

Pictures taken by Leo on 27 July  
1962 when both were descending  
from Gruzia after her arrival.



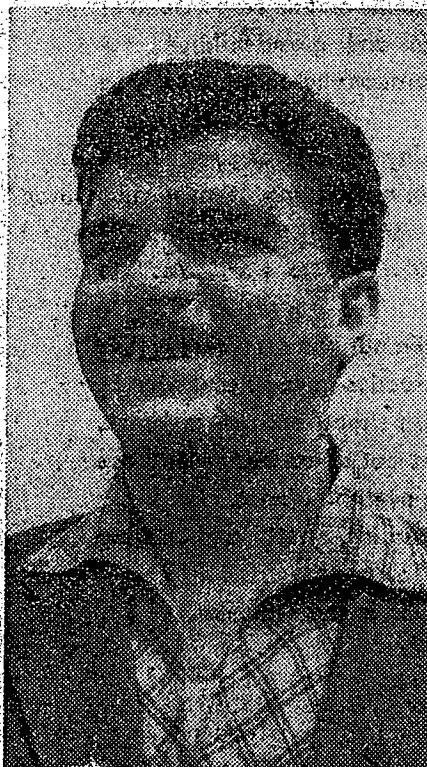
**VIACHESLAV  
SHOSTAKOVSKY**

A pharmacist of Lvov will take part in a seminar for amateur cameramen. Vyacheslav Shostakovsky works on the chair of pharmaceutical chemistry and simultaneously takes up filming as a hobby. He has been a member of the student film studios for the last three years.

The young Soviet cameramen will make a report, tentatively called: "Youth on the Screen and in Life."

Shostakovsky has not forgotten his profession: the festival programme envisages a scientific conference on biological problems, and Vyacheslav is figuring on taking part in it.

"In conformity with an agreement on an exchange of student groups," he said, "I spent 21 days in April of this year in Britain. Naturally, I want to see all my new British friends again in the Finnish capital."



**VLADIMIR YELIZARASHVILI**

Five years ago Vladimir Yelizarashvili first passed through the gates of the Tbilisi Electric Locomotive Plant.

Today he heads a team of press-forging operators. All its members have a secondary education, and all of them want to continue their studies.

"This is my first trip to a World Youth Festival," Vladimir says. I am looking forward to meeting young metal workers from different countries, and I hope that I shall be lucky enough to find electric locomotive builders.

"What do I expect from the festival? I want it to be as useful as possible to the cause of peace.

"There is one more, small personal wish.

"The dance ensemble of Tbilisi transport workers will take part in festival contests. I hope very much that the ensemble will return with the medal of the winner."

#### ALLA PICHUGINA

Immediately after graduating a civil engineering school in Gorky Alla Pichugina arrived in Bratsk to work as a hydraulic technician. Alla will be bringing warm greetings to the Festival from the rugged banks of the Angara, a Siberian river. She will tell the Festival delegates about the vast construction going on in Siberia, about the taiga and frosts, and about the persevering efforts and courage of the power station builders.

"I want very much to meet the Cuban and Algerian youth delegations at the Festival," Pichugina said.

"I may be a hydraulic technician, but I'm keenly interested in housing," Alla went on. "And one more thing: athletes in our community asked me to bring back... Finnish ski wax. I suppose that when I return from Helsinki, our skiers in Bratsk will beat all competition," Alla said jokingly.



#### ANATOLY SENNIKOV

I was a guest at the Seventh Festival in Moscow. In the four years that have elapsed since then, some changes have occurred in my life. I am now State Farm Director. At a meeting of young agrarians I shall, evidently, make a report on the development of techniques in agriculture and on the influence of this process on young man's mind. I shall tell the Festival participants how our young people are solving the problem of acquiring a trade or profession without giving up one's job, the problem of all-round education. There are some five hundred young men and women on our state farm and many of them may serve as a wonderful example of how successfully this is being done.

The Festival will help us, Soviet people, to know more about our friends and to tell them the truth about our great country.



To be young—this is what is wanted now.

# YOU WILL SEE AT THE



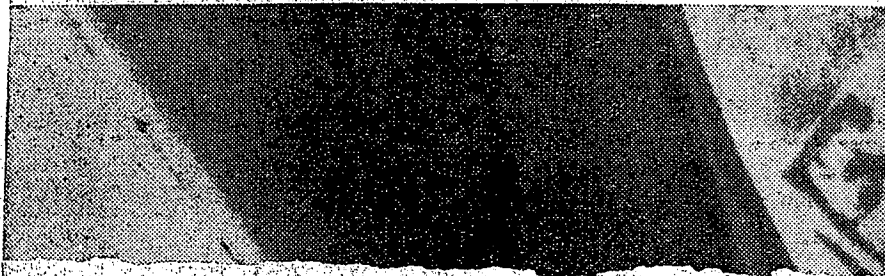
## NINA DROBYSHEVA

I think of the Festival as of a stirring holiday of youth, peace and friendship. Seven days in Helsinki will help us learn more of each other, unite the young people's efforts in the great struggle for peace.

I hope that the Soviet films we are bringing to the Festival, including "The Clear Sky" in which I play the role of Sasha, will also help towards this.

I was very glad that we went to Helsinki on the same ship with Cubans. I shall never forget the warm welcome offered to Soviet artists on Cuba. That meeting was doubly pleasant for me because I am rehearsing the role of Anna-Lucia, a Cuban revolutionary, in Puerto-Sorredo's play to be produced at the Leningrad Young Spectator Theatre.

We are young, healthy and strong. We must take peace in our hands and uphold it at all cost for ourselves, for our children, for the future of the planet.



# SEE THEM THE FESTIVAL



## LYUBA MOLDAVAN

Lyuba Moldavan is a leader of a maize-growing team on the Krašny Partizan Collective Farm, the Ukraine. She goes abroad for the first time.

"Maize probably does not grow in Finland," Lyuba says with a laugh, "but this will not prevent me from meeting young farmers and participating in trips to villages to be arranged by the hospitable hosts of the Festival. I want to know and see more of the 'country of lakes,' if, of course, I have enough time left. The programme of the Festival is so crammed that there is little hope of getting free time. I expect much from the meetings with the French delegation, the biggest at the Festival, and with our neighbours, Rumanians. In either case my knowledge of the languages will help me to get answers to my questions.

At the fete of girls I will represent my country, the Ukraine, and will be in national costume.

SHOSTALOVSKY, Vladimir of LIO

"Slavko"

X - SHOSTALOVSKY on Grizia after its arrival on 27 July 1962.  
Picture taken by Leo.



X - SHOSTALOVSKY descending from Grizia on 27 July 1962. Picture  
taken by John.

74-124-2913



**SECRET**

**SUBJECT: DORICHENKO, Oleksandr (Oles)**  
**KIEV, Yerevanskaya 26/35**

Stephen OLYNYK knew DORICHENKO from the Vienna Youth Festival of 1959 and from his trip to the Ukraine in 1959, when he visited D at his home in Kiev. (See also reports on D's stay in Germany in 1958 as a member of the Veryovka Ensemble.) D continues to work with the Veryovka group as a solo dancer.

D was born in 1936, he is married with one daughter. D's wife is Valentina TRETYAK, a member of the Kiev female bandura trio. In the summer of 1962 she went on tour to Australia. After his return from Helsinki D was scheduled to go in the near future with his group to Yugoslavia and in winter 1962 to Canada.

On 28 July D asked Roman MAC whether he knew O and if so, was he in Helsinki. This he did after MAC had introduced himself under his true name and explained that he was a Ukrainian from the States. D also told MAC that he would like to see O as he had known him in Kiev in 1959, when O visited him at his home. MAC answered that he did not know whether O was in Helsinki, but he said he would check with other Ukrainian Americans.

O was immediately informed of D's inquiries, but deliberately avoided any early contact with him in order to observe D's further behavior. Apparently D was watched no more nor less by the red shirts than other dancers. In talking with other people from our group he did not conceal his patriotic feelings and in this respect differed from some of his colleagues. The general impression of our group was that D was a good Ukrainian.

O's first contact with D took place on 3 August during a performance of the Veryovka group in the park. O sat close to the scene but pretended not to have noticed D. When the latter was returning from the makeshift dressing room he noticed O and hesitatingly, not

*Origin in Moscow from 74-124-35/3  
Helsinki Youth Festival  
D in Dorchenko's 201*

**SECRET**

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being sure what to do under the circumstances, approached him. Their meeting was very simple and controlled, though, as O put it, they were good friends and had not seen each other for two years. They both understood that it was better to restrain their emotions and not to show how well they knew each other. O felt that under other circumstances they would have embraced each other, but they could not do so here. The meeting itself was rather short and fragmentary. D greeted O and said, "Where do we not meet in Vienna, Kiev, Finland?"

O: As you see, we travel around the world. My wife just returned from Australia.

D: But I wonder if we should meet, O. What shall we talk about? I am of the same convictions and opinions as you are, and I hope we understand each other.

O: Then we have much to talk about.

D: Yes, you are right, but it is very dangerous. They all know you and complain about you.

O: (Jokingly) I didn't know I was that dangerous to them.

D: They asked me about you. I told them that I knew you from Vienna but we had not met here. Well, I don't know you very well.

O: What is the news in the Ukraine? What is the situation?

D: The situation is worse in comparison with previous years. They oppress and criticize our young poets and writers. As you know, we have a great many young talented poets and writers, people like DRACH, VINKHRANOVSKIY, DZYUBA and others. You must know about them abroad?

O: Yes, they are known to us. We read their works. We receive your press and magazines. Much of it has already been reprinted in our journals. We are very interested in it, and we are glad that such young pen talents are growing up in the Ukraine.

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D: That's very good, very fine, I shall tell them about it. They will be very proud and satisfied. There are a great many of them now.

O: When will you come to us?

D: Probably in December we shall be in Canada.

O: And when in the States?

D: I don't know, perhaps we shall drop in.

At this moment one of the administrators in red shirt approached and sat down on the bench close to O and D. He looked once or twice at O and then just sat there listening. D changed the topic immediately and began to tell O about the Shevchenko Centennial in Kiev in 1961. How grand it was! Even Khrushchev himself came to Shevchenko's grave and read a very nice speech. And in 1964 there will be an even greater Shevchenko celebration.

When O mentioned that there would also be a great Shevchenko celebration in Washington at that time, D indicated by his eyewink that they were being overheard. At that moment they were joined by Fnu SHAPOVAL, artistic director of the dance group. D introduced O to him. O complimented the group and its work. SHAPOVAL thanked him, gave some advice on dancing to D and left.

In the meantime O discovered that they were being watched by at least three red shirts. O mentioned that they should meet again. D agreed but pointed out, "You see yourself how difficult it is." Then they exchanged a few general remarks and parted.

O remained on the bench and looked at the performance. The first watchdog was still sitting near him. When the Hutsul dance ended the performing girls came down from the stage and sat close to O. The watchdog stood up and approached one of the girls. (See photograph # .) O knew her from Vienna but had not met her in Helsinki. The watchdog and the girl whispered, and it looked as though he was asking her something about O. The girl looked several

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times at O and replied something to the effect that she did not recognize O. The watchdog then approached another girl, a blonde who knew O also from Vienna and who was present at O's talk with KOLOSOK on 29 July near the Gruziya, shortly before the parade. She looked carefully around as though having been well trained and while looking at the public stopped her glance on O. Then she whispered something to the watchdog, as though she recognized O. Then she got up, looked again at O and whispered again to the watchdog. After that, the watchdog sat near another like himself and started whispering while pointing carefully with his head from time to time towards O. Then he did the same to another colleague and finally O saw that at least four people were keeping their eyes on him.

After the performance had ended, D did not come back to O. He must have been aware that O was being watched. To get to the buses one had to go through the park and cross a bridge, all in all about 500 metres. The first watchdog kept accompanying O, walking at times almost beside him. D rushed to the front and paid no attention to O. He did not wait for O. The latter accelerated his pace and joined three Indians in order to distract the KGB ists from himself. Thus they came to the buses. D was in the meantime inside his bus, but didn't even look through the window.

O met D for the second time on Saturday, 4 August, at 1300 hours during the distribution of prizes to artists. On entering the hall O immediately noticed where D was sitting and when taking the seat behind him delicately touched him. D noticed O, but they paid no attention to each other. After a short while D left the hall and headed towards the washroom. O waited for a few minutes and then left, too. They met in the main corridor and went outdoors. D looked tired, old for his years and depressed.

D: Do you see, O, how we Ukrainians have to meet? What kind of a lot ours is--dispersed all over the world and can't even talk to each other like normal human beings. Poor Ukrainian nation, she has had to suffer so already for ages.

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O: Yes, our lot is not to be envied. But this is also our own fault to a very great extent.

D: Yes, this is our guilt, also. We don't know how to help ourselves and properly manage our own affairs.

O: I would like to talk to you, but it is difficult because they watch me, too. And I don't want to do anything that would hurt you.

D: Yes, I understand. It is very bad now.

O: I have a small note for you. Read it and burn it. There is an address to which you can write in alias.

D: They may find all that, if not today then tomorrow. They increased their vigilance. It is rather dangerous, but I'll see.

O: What is the situation in the Ukraine? What about the young writers?

D: Bad. They oppress and criticize them. Nobody knows what tomorrow will bring to them. We have many writers and poets from the young generation. They are courageous boys, ready to stand up to everything and everybody. They won't give up. Many write what is not printed. Have you heard, you must have heard about people like DRACH, VINKHRANOVSKIY, DZYUBA and others. I know those three very well. We are friends. We discuss many things. I also write something. Some of it has already been published, for instance, "The Song of the Shepherd". Perhaps some other things will be published as well. And here I have written a poem about the Ukraine."

D took out of his small notebook and began to read in a low voice his poem. He read it with emotion and fright at the same time, afraid that somebody might overhear him. The poem was very patriotic. It grieved over the Ukraine's destiny.

O: Did you try to publish this poem?

D: Yes, but I was told in the SPU (Union of Writers of the Ukraine) that I sound like a Ukrainian who does not live in the Ukraine, but rather like a Ukrainian emigre who grieves about the Ukraine from abroad. The editorial board rejected it as too filled with pessimism.

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And here is another one.

D looked at his notebook, then closed it and began to recite by heart.

D: I dedicated this poem to Ukrainians abroad.

The poem was about Ukrainians dispersed all over the world and those in the Ukraine meeting each other while traveling about. The Ukrainians meet their emigree compatriots, and they are everywhere, in Europe and in America, in Brussels, Paris, Vienna and Munich, in Toronto and New York. And they all suffer for the Ukraine. D read it in a very dramatic manner with deep emotion. His voice trembled and he was very excited. O thanked him and praised the poem. They stood at the entrance of the hall in which the results of competition and prizes were given out.

O: They will probably never publish your poem.

D: No, they won't publish it, I know it, and I don't even try. I read the poem only to SOSYURA. We are good friends. When I finished he embraced me and kissed me, and there were tears in his eyes. SOSYURA is ours. He is a good man.

O: Why don't you give it to me? We shall publish it in alias. It is quite possible.

D: No, I cannot. They will find out. It is dangerous. Better not.

O: But it is possible. Many Russian poets and writers and also Georgian have done it, and their works have been published abroad.

D: Somehow I am afraid

O: Have you talked about it with RILSKIY?

D: No, RILSKIY is not like SOSYURA. Only with SOSYURA can one talk sincerely. RILSKIY, TICHINA--they adjust themselves. Well RILSKIY is not like TICHINA. He has done much good, but he is too old now. Perhaps I shall talk to him about it.

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O: And what about young poets? What has happened to DZYUBA?

D: They are under strong pressure and criticism. They are young people and the elderly poets do not understand them. The elderly ones are more frightened. They have gone through much more in their time, and the young ones are courageous, daring and impatient. They don't want to listen to their elders. They change form and content. DMITERKO attacked DZYUBA very strongly.

O: Was it a personal feud, as PAVLICHKO explained it, or a portent of new party line?

D: Both, DMITERKO was probably offended. He is a Communist and cannot stand the young ones.

O: And what does the recent change on the editorial board of "Vichyzna" mean?

D: They removed the editor who published various materials and did not care much about it. It's difficult for me now to tell exactly what "Vichyzna" will be like in the future, because I haven't seen yet the new number under DMITERKO's editorship, but I am sure there will be great changes. One has also to expect big changes in "Literary Ukraine". They auger little good for us.

O: Listen, Oles, when you go home, talk to your friends--poets and writers, and explain to them that there are possibilities to publish their works under alias abroad. Talk about it with the younger as well as the older. Think together about it. It is possible to be published abroad. Other have done so.

D: O. K. I will tell them about it. We shall discuss it.

O: Last night there was an Evening of Ukrainian Literature. There was PAVLICHKO, KOROTICH, and also the editor of "Molod Ukrainy". We discussed widely various topics.

D: Oh, really? I didn't know about it. I didn't know KOROTICH was also here. Nobody mentioned him. I don't know him personally but he is a good poet. I really didn't know that he also had come.

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O: He came as a tourist. At the Evening we presented on behalf of our Ukrainians two books: History of Ukrainian Literature, by Chizhevskiy to PAVLICHKO and Obirvani Struny to KOROTICH.

D: That's very nice. And what kind of book is it that you gave KOROTICH.

O: It's a collection of poetry and biographic notes about Ukrainian poets and writers who were liquidated in the 1920s and 1930s.

D: I would like to have that book. Please, get me one.

O: Unfortunately, I think it was the only copy we had. But if I find another one, I'll give it to you.

D: Yes, please, get me one and pass it to me Monday in the big shop on Aleksandrakatu, or perhaps even today when we perform at 3 o'clock.

O: I'll do my best. If I fail in spite of my efforts, please talk about it with DRACH. He is a good friend of KOROTICH and he might lend you the book. I think that KOROTICH will show it to DRACH.

D: Yes, but I would like to have one of my own. I would show it to SOSYURA and to my younger friends. Try to get it for me.

O promised to do his best. Our group had only one copy and O was unable to fulfill D's wish. They continued to talk about young poets and mentioned PAVLICHKO.

D: Previously PAVLICHKO was better. He was one of us, but he changed a lot. I don't like him.

O mentioned again that he did not know personally any young friends of D, meaning in particular DRACH, DZYUBA, KOSTENKO. He said they were being read abroad and some of their materials were reprinted. He asked D to give regards to them, to wish them all success and tell them "that we are happy they write".

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D: That's very nice. I will tell them all and they will be very glad and satisfied.

At this moment an elderly "administrator" appeared from inside and parked himself about two meters from O, turning his back toward them. It was obvious that he was listening. D said it was time for him to go inside. O was not able to give D the address. He waited for a few minutes and then also went inside, placing himself so that D could easily notice him.

At the end of the prize procedure D, together with other artists, started to leave. At that time there was commotion in the hall. O used it and approached D to congratulate him. In his hand he had a letter with the address for D, which he passed over to him while shaking hands. D put it unnoticeably away, pressed O's hand again, thanked him and left.

Translated copy of the letter passed by Olynkto to Dorichenko

Dear Friend!

After having read this letter, destroy it at once. I would very much like to meet you personally and discuss with you different important problems, but if you think it would be harmful to you, then it is better not to meet.

I have a few favors to ask you. Remember them and think about them:

1. If possible write to the given address in alias about the situation in the Ukraine, in particular about cultural developments, literature and Russification. Use a fictitious return address.
2. Talk with some writers and ask them if they would like to send their works abroad to be published there in alias. Send this material to the given address.
3. Whenever you come out of the USSR, notify us by telegram again at the same address.

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Be careful what you say to others and what you do. I end.  
I wish you luck and success. I greet you and your family.

Your friend,

This is the address: D. HIRNYJ, 4092 Hill Ave., Bronx 66, New York

On 3 August, during the meeting of the British and USSR delegations Dorichenko was met by John MYHUL. The meeting began at 0900 hours and finished at 1130, after Yevtushenko's recital of a poem and dances of the Veryovkoa group. M approached D, who was standing with a girl, and asked about Ukrainian dances. Soon D parted from the girl and M could talk to him directly. D asked M who he was and told M about himself. He also gave his address later on.

D told M that Ivan DRACH was a friend of his. DRACH is a young writer who seeks new ways in poetry. So do many others in various fields, but unfortunately the critics do not understand them, or don't want to understand them.

D said he also wrote poems. He wrote words for "The Song of Shepherd" and hoped that in the near future some of his poems would be published in "Dnipro".

When M asked D whether he could send some poems to him abroad, D thought not because of "circumstances".

M mentioned a critique of DRACH by SHERMETEV. D commented that because of it many of DRACH's works would probably be published only in two or five years. The same applied to what he wrote himself. So far they are helpless against censors. Should M come across some of D's poems, he should not be surprised at some "very simple passages". They would be modifications or corrections of the censors.

Ivan DZYUBA is a good acquaintance of D. He actually heads the campaign against Stalinism. Stalin murdered millions of Ukrainians and he was a common villain.

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The "thaw" exists officially, but in practice it has stopped. Anyway it never was deep.

D read to M his poem about Shevchenko. In it he mentioned that he had visited the grave of Oles in Vienna. He also read another very sentimental poem about "black eyes".

Asked about Russification, D confirmed that it had recently been increased. But the regime in general is somewhat weakened. D did not think the return of Stalinist terror was possible.

D wanted to get a Finnish knife for DRACH, who had asked him for it. M promised to get him one for DRACH and the other for D.

D was happy that young poets were known abroad and he said he would tell this to his colleagues. It means very much to them if they know that people abroad appreciate what they are doing. "Your support is very important to us, and it would be very difficult to work without an appreciation from anywhere", he said.

D warned M of Slavko Vyacheslav SHOSTAKOVSKIY of Lvov and to be careful in talking with other people. "There is no point in talking to people like Slavko." At that moment they were approached by a Finn who started to boast about knowing a factory in Moscow. Subject commented, "Son of a bitch. He does not even let us talk."

When M mentioned that some Russians and many Poles had succeeded in smuggling their works abroad, where they had been published, D replied that he heard about it and knew that this was not the case with Ukrainians. "It is sad but true." But on the other hand, "you must all understand that our position is much worse than that of Russian poets and writers. They have their state."

In the afternoon M succeeded in passing to D two small parcels in the park, where the Veryovka group was performing. He gave D the following: two Finnish knives, the works of Kulish, Misto by Pidmohylnyi and four volumes of modern Ukrainian poetry from the States.

D gave M a Shevchenko medal and asked him if there was anything sensitive in his parcels. M replied not but had better have a look at them himself. D thanked M and said that in case of trouble he would

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assert that it was put under (sic).

After the performance M saw D again and asked whether all was O. K. and whether he had had any trouble. D replied that all was well. D asked whether he could get any Ukrainian records. Unfortunately we had none.

Roman MAC met D on 28 July at 1345 hours in the street, while returning from the Gruziya. D was in the company of several other Soviet Ukrainians. He was the first one who introduced himself to M after the latter mentioned his own name. While walking M succeeded in separating D from the rest and told him that he was a Ukrainian from the States. D asked M whether he knew Stephen OLYNYK and said that the latter had visited him at his home in 1959. M replied that he was not aware of O's presence in Helsinki but he would check.

D explained that he was a solo dancer from the Veryovka group. There were fourteen, the rest having remained in the Ukraine. In the autumn the whole group was going to Canada and perhaps they would also visit the United States. D guessed that there were 50-60 Ukrainians in the Soviet delegation, including the Veryovka group. How many Ukrainian tourists there were he could not say, but surely not more than one hundred.

D knew about Kytastj's bandura ensemble in the States and praised it very much. He had heard some of its concerts on records. He was very interested in Ukrainian musical life in the States and M told him about it.

D mentioned that he had met Ukrainians all over the world and jokingly added that they could build the Ukraine everywhere. M commented, "Yes, even in Siberia." D continued that he knew what M was thinking of. "We know the problem of our people in Siberia. We try to help them and send much Ukrainian literature there, mostly through private channels. There is still the old intelligentsia, which cares very much about the Ukrainians there. Yes, we work in this direction, but there are obstacles."

D confirmed that Russification has not stopped. Asked about school reform of 1958, he replied that, Unfortunately some Ukrainians in the cities do not care very much about their native language and speak Russian. They simply don't realize how important it is for a nation

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to retain its own language."

D told M that he was something of a poet himself and read one of his poems. It was about longing for the Ukrainian soil and sounded very patriotic. M remarked that it was a nationalistic poem. He asked D whether he was not afraid to write it. D replied that it was dedicated to the Ukrainian emigration. He mentioned that he had some friends among poets and also was on friendly terms with SOSYURA. D had seen the latter shortly before his departure for Helsinki, but had only had a brief talk with the poet. SOSYURA had read to him his poem "Mazepa". When M asked how SOSYURA had presented Hetman Mazepa, D replied, "as a traitor to Russia". M wanted to know whether the poem would soon be published. D answered not soon but surely someday. "You see, we are in a rather peculiar situation now. Nothing is certain, but everything is possible. There is much in the offing. On one hand there are rather bad portents for us, but on the other much is being done that may turn the wheel in the opposite direction." At this moment they were approached by SHAPOVAL and D introduced M to him.

After SHAPOVAL had left D told M that they now had a very famous expert on bandura building by the name of SKLAR. The latter had modernized the bandura and now his make was being produced in the Chernigov musical instrument factory.

Asked who had come for the festival from "the cream" of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, D could mention only PAVLICHKO. M asked again whether any of the younger poets like KOSTENKO and KOROTICH had come. According to D KORTICH and VINKHRANOVSKIY were supposed to come but probably had not been allowed to go. M jokingly wondered whether they were considered "unreliable". D replied that there was no use to talk about it. They simply were not allowed to go.

D was glad that Virskiy had had success in the States. M compared him with Koshyts, who had done so much for Ukrainian music in his time. D agreed with him and was in particular happy about the fact that Virskiy had overtaken the Bolshoy.

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D could not name any Ukrainian musicians in Helsinki. He praised the History of Ukrainian Music by Khrinchenko and was glad that it had been reprinted recently in New York. He complained about the fact that all records in the Soviet Union were produced only in Moscow. In Kiev there is a record artel but it produces very bad records.

D was interested in the Shevchenko monument in Canada and asked whether it was true that the sculptor was a foreigner. He gave M a postcard with Shevchenko's portrait and another one with notes for Shevchenko's words.

D mentioned that in early summer 1962 there had been a group of about fifteen girls and boys from New York and similar one from Canada visiting Kiev who were supposed to learn Ukrainian dances. The American group was called Dniipro. D understood that they all were progressive. They stayed a few days in Kiev and then were brought to Moscow, Kharkov and other places. D taught them some dancing when they were in Kiev. (NOTE: Both groups were in Helsinki. Some American girls were very disappointed with what they saw in the Soviet Union.)

Leo RUDNITSKY met D near the Gruziya on 28 July in the late afternoon, while talking to a group of Ukrainians. For a few minutes he had the opportunity to talk to D without witnesses. R told D that he was a Ukrainian from the States and a student planning eventually to visit the Soviet Union. Later on he asked D for his address in case he might happen to be in Kiev. D gave him his private address willingly and invited him to his house. He remarked that in recent years he had been host to two Ukrainian Canadians whose names he stated as BILYI and MOSKALYK.

When R was walking back from the Gruziya after talking to KOLOSOK, SHAPOVAL and others, at 2315 he was overtaken by D who seemed to be sorry because some of his friends had had an argument with R about Russification in the Ukraine. D said, "wait a minute; I have something for you". He gave R a postcard with Shevchenko's portrait and continued, "You are a Ukrainian. We both are Ukrainians, so take it for me. It is our Shevchenko." He signed the postcard and left.

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**SUBJECT: VARDOSANIDZE, Kuram**

V is a medical student in Tbilisi, Georgia. He belongs to the Komsomol, but does not care for politics. He is more interested in Jazz and modern music in general. He told RUDNYTSKY that he listened to an emigre radio station and liked it. Of course, he did not care for political broadcasts, but was interested in jazz music. He knew practically all the contemporary American singers and musicians.

R met V for the first time near the Gruziya on 28 July. When introducing himself, V said, "How do you do," in English and told R that he knew a few words more. V had traveled much in the Soviet Union and knew the Ukraine. He liked Ukrainians and preferred them to Russians. Unfortunately, in Tiflis there were very few Ukrainians but quite a lot of Russians. In Helsinki V was staying on the Gruziya.

R met V on 3 and 4 August but only in the company of administrators and some friends of V from Tiflis. They spoke among themselves demonstratively in Georgian in the presence of Russians.

On 4 August in the evening R gave V six jazz records. V was very grateful and wanted to stay with R, but was called back to the ship by the administrators. He made a gesture as though, "You see, what can I do with these watchdogs?" Later on, when R was walking around again, V saw him from the ship and came down to the lower shipdeck and called R. V showed R that he could not come to him, but threw him his Georgian cap and thanked him again for the records.

R's impression was that Georgians were perhaps even more closely watched and restricted in moving around than the Ukrainians.

V was age 25-30; 5'7 - 5'8; black ruffled hair; dark eyes; big, Grecian nose; gay.

THE LITERARY EVENING OF YOUNG POETS AT  
CLUB DRUZHBA  
31 August 1962

There were nineteen poet-participants and the room was practically full. The main attraction was YEVTUSHENKO. The chairman was, as in similar gatherings at Druzhba, its director -- ZAKHARCHENKO. He tried to give the evening a spontaneous, rather than formal character. At the chairman's table, beside ZAKHARCHENKO, sat Lev ASHANIN, Dmytro PAVLICHKO, YEVTUSHENKO, fnu POTEZ (Rumanian), an old Finnish poet V. BASHEV (Bulgarian), Y. PANKRATOV, a poet from Haiti, and a Hungarian poet.

Vitaliy KOROTICH was asked to take a seat at the table, but he refused and stood aside or sat with BOHACHEVSKY.

Each poet had five minutes for both a short speech and reading his poetry. Most made a short introductory speech and then read their poetry. Speeches were translated into four languages: Russian, English, French and Spanish.

At the very beginning PAVLICHKO showed to ASHANIN the collection of Ukrainian poetry from New York (in Ukrainian) which he had gotten from BOHACHEVSKY and SLUZAR. ASHANIN looked through it hurriedly and then gave it back to PAVLICHKO.

Speeches were dull, repeating the same subject: the festival and its meaning. Only some of the poets made more interesting remarks which are noted below:

YEVTUSHENKO touched briefly on the idea that although we have different social systems which divide us, we are all united by human relations. We have much in common as human beings, as writers, as poets and as individuals despite our political convictions. He asked he be excused for his hoarse voice, but he had gotten it when he had tried to shout down during the parade the anti-festival people. Then he read his poem about a son and his dying mother.

PAVLICHKO was introduced by ZAKHARCHENKO as a Ukrainian poet. PAVLICHKO seemed to be going to speak in Ukrainian but then looked at ZAKHARCHENKO and gave in Russian his somewhat longer speech. PAVLICHKO stressed that we all are for peace and against

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war. We must get to know each other and to understand each other. National culture cannot flourish without contacts with other national cultures and their mutual influence and interaction. It is about time to think about a world gathering of all poets at which one could discuss all problems of poetry, to exchange views, to get to know each other, thus following the example of scientists, engineers, and other professionals who already do so in their conferences and congresses. "I think that only the poet has readers who read him, who speak to their hearts and feelings and know their wishes and aspirations. Therefore, today we should talk of how popular our poems are and how we can get communication with the people. This is a very important problem." Then he read his poem in Ukrainian about earth-granite that should give us more men as wise as Lenin and as courageous as Castro.

PANKRATOV said young poetry is undergoing a great resurgence. He mentioned a few names of known Soviet poets, and PAVLICHKO added that among them they had KOROTICH, a young poet from the Ukraine.

KOROTICH at the beginning was very reluctant to take part and had to be dragged to the table. He remarked that he would make his comments in Russian but his poem he would read in Ukrainian, his native language. He was happy about the meeting and thought it would be a good idea indeed to organize such gatherings more often. Then he read his poem "About My Heart" from the collection "My Soil".

Fnu GROSS from the U. S. said he had come to the festival as an individual delegate and didn't represent anybody but himself. Many had come with different views and opinions. All believe in the ideals of friendship and peace but have different views as to how to implement these ideals. He asked, "Should a poet tell and express the truth and nothing else but the truth, even if he knows it will get him in trouble?"

YEVTUSHENKO jumped up at once and shouted, "I want to give the answer! Yes, I agree with you completely that a poet must always speak the truth as he knows it. And I will give as an answer an excerpt from the poem of your poet, actually not yours, but English, of Coleridge." He cited in somewhat loose translation, "The truth is to be spoken even if it hurts. Yes, so I say, the truth is to be spoken always."



GROSS thanked him and was very satisfied. He read a short poem on the same subject: truth should be spoken even in danger and threat.

Some other poets read their works, among them a few young Russian poets: A. POPERECHEN; Oleg DMITREYEV; and others; some poets from satellite countries; another American, L. SHULMAN; a Jordanian poet; a Swedish poetress; and then YEVTUSHENKO was asked to read another of his poems, whereupon he recited "Kharkov-Grad."

The evening was then closed. PAVLICHKO still talked in general with BOHACEVSKY, and one of our "Belgians" and KOROTICH were dragged out by Russian poets for a bottle of vodka.

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## EVENING OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE AT

CLUB DRUZHBA 3 AUGUST 1962

From the very beginning of the festival our people clearly indicated to Ukrainian tourists and delegates that they would like to meet them, to talk as friends and exchange views. This was "impressed" in particular on Ukrainian poets Dmytro PAVLICHKO, and Vitaliy KOROTIUK. After the Evening of Young Poets that took place on 2 Aug 1962 at the Druzhba Club in which both Ukrainian poets participated (see separate reports) together with seventeen others, our group stressed the desirability of similar Ukrainian meetings. Our plan was to turn it sooner or later into an open discussion with the Soviet Ukrainians.

It is difficult to say what considerations were taken into account from the Soviet side when it was proposed to hold the Evening of Ukrainian Literature and exactly what factors were decisive in this respect. One could assume, however, that there were quite a few of them.

The idea of the Evening might have been proposed by PAVLICHKO and KOROTIUK for genuine reasons and explained to the bosses as a good opportunity to neutralize our attacks on Russification, predominance of the "elder brother," etc. The proposal might have come from the bosses themselves after it was reported to them that there was a great number of Ukrainians from the States and Canada. From the operational side the Evening gave them the opportunity to identify our and other groups operating in Helsinki and help to restrict the exchange of views to a controlled discussion.

"Progressive" Ukrainians from the States and Canada were also supposed to take part in the Evening, but somehow they did not come. PAVLICHKO and some other Sovs were evidently rather unhappy about this. It was, however, favorable to our plans, as it freed the way for a direct exchange of views without "progressive" interference. Anyway, our group deliberately did not inform the progressives about the Evening. From the very beginning the progressives from the States had avoided our group. The Canadians were far away in the suburbs, and we had practically no contact with them.

The Evening began at about 2030 hours. From our group there were five persons: Stephen OLINIK, Martha RYBACHEVSKY, Sonia ELIZAR, Roman MAC and Leo RYBINSKY. From the Soviet side there were in the beginning nine persons, later joined by six others, some Russians. Some people came and went. In general there were about eight to twelve people all the time on their side among them a Russian critic from "Literary

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Gazette" who listened with his mouth wide open to the discussion and then said to one of our boys, "This was a debate. Boy, I have never heard anything like this in my life."

The "permanent" representation of Soviet Ukrainians consisted of:

Dmitro PAVLICHKO - poet from Lvov  
Vitaliy KOROTICH - poet from Kiev  
Genadiy BOEROV - engineer from Kiev  
Fnu SEMENETS - editor of "Moloda Ukraina" from Kiev  
Fnu ISHKEVICH - KGBist from Stanislaw  
Roman MATSEKIVSKIY - born in Sambor, engineer from Lvov  
A KGBist from Lvov  
A KGBist from Kiev  
Another KGBist  
An unknown girl (probably KGB)

All participants sat at a round table. PAVLICHKO appointed himself master of ceremonies and proposed that to start with there would be a general introduction of everybody. All gave their names and PAVLICHKO made short comments as to what he or she was doing or what position was occupied. He didn't fail to mention pretty eyes of one or the other girl and in general tried to create a friendly and cordial atmosphere. When introducing a Russian girl PAVLICHKO stressed that she spoke perfect Ukrainian.

After the introductions PAVLICHKO made a short speech welcoming all present and opened the Evening.

PAVLICHKO continued: We have come here to meet each other, to talk like friends and exchange our views. We also would like to read some of our poems, and we regret that many other Ukrainians did not come. I am thinking of other members of the American and Canadian delegations. As I am going to hold this Evening in an informal way, I propose that we start with a discussion, with an exchange of views by question and answer and then we shall read our works.

KOROTICH and others agreed with PAVLICHKO, although some of the Sovs proposed to start with poems. As the majority, including all of our group, was for discussion, PAVLICHKO's proposal was accepted.

PAVLICHKO: Well, then let us begin with questions. I would like to ask our guests from across the ocean, what is the present situation of the Ukrainian emigration in the States and Canada? What are its prospects and perspectives for the future as the old ones are dying off and the youth is becoming assimilated? What is your understanding of the problem and are you aware of it?

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BOHACHEVSKY: The existence of the emigration, its "to be or not to be" concerns not only Ukrainians but all immigrants. It is obvious that some part will become assimilated and absorbed into the American and Canadian milieu, but at the same time some part certainly will remain nationally conscious, conscious of its origin and its traditions and will maintain its spiritual contacts with the Ukraine. There are many proofs of this: social and political organizations, newspapers, magazines, cultural and scientific institutions, Ukrainian schools, etc. The Irish, who lost their native language many centuries ago have retained their sense of nationality, yet have become one of the most influential ethnic groups in American politics and maintain their spiritual contact with Ireland.

MAC had a formal question and, referring to the two representatives of the Soviet press, "Literary Gazette" of Moscow and "Melod' Ukrainy" of Kiev, asked if they would print anything in their papers about the Evening. This was followed by a discussion in which OLYNYK defended the view that there should be at least a communique on the meeting. PAVLICHKO agreed with him but then in the course of the discussion it was decided not to make any notes during the debate itself. (One of the KGBists took notes from the very beginning.) PAVLICHKO also thought that in the report on the meeting only topics should be mentioned, without stating names. Then he referred again to BOHACHEVSKY's assertions and wanted to know more about Ukrainian schools in the States, how they were organized and how many children they had. He was also interested in Ukrainian scientific organizations, writers and poets.

OLYNYK stressed the very important role of the post-war influx of Ukrainians to the States, which added to the old emigration an educated and politically articulate element. This was a vigorous "injection" into the old emigres.

PAVLICHKO: But what happens if there isn't another war and no new influx is forthcoming? Who will give these "injections" then?

OLYNYK explained that the Ukrainian emigration grows new cadres, new elements which will continue its work. Helpful in this respect is also the fact that the Ukraine has finally appeared in the international arena. He mentioned Ukrainian representation in the United Nations and participation of the Ukraine in various international organizations. All this strengthens the national consciousness of Ukrainians everywhere. Now even third generation Ukrainians in the States and Canada are proud of their Ukrainian origin.

RUDNITSKY agreed with what OLYNYK said, but in his opinion Ukrainian representation in the international arena, even in such fields as sport, was very limited and deliberately overlapped with that of the USSR. The Ukraine did not even have a separate sport representation

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in the Olympic Games.

PAVLICHKO: It is true, but not completely as you say. Ukrainian sportsmen are getting very much attention in the Ukrainian Soviet press. Our teams like Spartak and Dynamo are getting first place as the teams of the Ukraine.

RUDNITSKY: We have a Ukrainian team called Trident. Why not arrange a match between your and our teams?

PAVLICHKO murmured something to the effect really, why not and then asked SEMENETS as editor of "Youth of the Ukraine" to tell the guests how the Soviet Ukrainian press follows Ukrainian sport.

SEMENETS: We have a great many friends of sport. We have to devote much room to Ukrainian sport matches. Though Ukrainians do not participate in international matches as a separate team, individual Ukrainian sportsmen and their successes are widely published on the pages of the foreign and Ukrainian press.

BOBROV: I can tell you also that if the Ukrainian press start writing about Byelorussian or Armenian sport and neglected our own, it would be flooded with protests. Readers simply demand that the Ukrainian press write about Ukrainian sport.

PAVLICHKO: I know what you are getting at (referring to RUDNITSKY). You want the Ukraine to have its own embassies. It is a rather complicated problem. Ask Steve for instance. He studies international politics and international law. The Ukraine is a federal part of the Soviet Union. Her interests are inseparable from those of the Union, and therefore she is represented by one embassy, the all-Union one. A separate Ukrainian embassy is simply unnecessary. There is no need for it. Maybe in Canada it would be useful, as there is a large Ukrainian minority. But it is not needed anywhere else. Just imagine we have fifteen republics. It could mean that if the Ukraine is granted separate diplomatic representation, all other republics should get it too. But what is the purpose of it? It would only cost a great amount of money. Just now we are developing agriculture and we can't afford such expenditures. This question is closely connected with finances.

OLYNYK: Diplomatic representation is a very important problem for a nation, but I would like to return to the main theme mentioned at the beginning, i.e., the survival of the Ukrainian emigration. I would like to ask, what are the prospects of Ukrainians in the Ukraine itself? Is there a possibility that they will be assimilated and finally forget their national "ego"? Even the existence of the emigration depends on the survival and strength of the Ukrainian nation on its own soil.

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OLYNYK's question raised quite a commotion among the Sovs and several of them wanted to answer it. PAVLICHKO reserved the reply for himself, taking advantage of his position as master of ceremonies.

PAVLICHKO: Your question sounds thoroughly unreal because you don't know what is going on now in the Ukraine. There can be no talking about assimilation. On the contrary, just now we are in the process of a vigorous resurgence and development. The nation is producing new talents, new poets and writers--young. Here you have our KOROTICH, and there are many like him: DRACH, DZYUBA and KOSTENKO. Much has changed in the Ukraine. Our literature in this respect is first in the Soviet Union. A nation that produces such a strong young literary elite cannot be in decline. You know as well as we that in the era of the cult of personality (and it is to be mentioned, because, as I told you before, we should put all cards on the table and speak sincerely and openly) much damage was done to Ukrainian culture. Many innocent people were persecuted and liquidated, communists and non-communists. But to-day it is different. Our cultural development is progressing, judging for instance from the new Ukrainian poetry of the young generation. They create, search for new forms, for new content. It is the dynamics of life. There is a great interest in Ukrainian literary work on the part of our people. The whole Ukrainian nation follows its development. Take for instance our young poets. How many we are, but all overworked. From all parts of the Ukraine we are invited to read our poems. Poetry is now very popular in the Ukraine. I personally get such invitations almost every day and I can hardly work and write anything really good and new for lack of time. In this field radio and television play a very important role. You can't imagine what changes in the popularization of Ukrainian literature have taken place in our favor since we put our works on radio and television. To every house, to every peasant, to every simple man, as never before. Ukrainian word and Ukrainian song reach out.

OLYNYK: Excuse me, but you mentioned a few names of Ukrainian young poets. I wonder whether they are representative of a general development or phenomenon, or maybe they are just exceptions.

PAVLICHKO: Steve, I can assure you these are not exceptions but proof that there is a new, strong generation growing up in the Ukrainian nation, of the same nation you think is being assimilated. Let the editor of "Moloda Ukraina" tell you what wide and deep interest there is in Ukrainian literature, language and history!

SERHETS: As an editor I give you as an example the letters we are flooded with. Our editorial board is small but we get thousands of letters every year. Some send their works. Others criticize our paper and articles. Still others have dozens of questions about Ukrainian literature, culture and history. We are only one paper and you must know how many Ukrainian papers there are in Kiev and other

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cities. And they all get such letters. As Dmitro has already said, poetry is very popular. Poets and writers read their works in public meeting of young and old.

PAVLICHKO: You are lagging behind in the Ukraine. We have had great development in the industrial field since the war, which ruined our economy and brought great human losses. I was in Canada, and I want to tell you something, I saw with reference to our Evening. I visited in Canada the family of an old emigre. And what did I see there? On the wall was hanging a portrait of Petlura and next to him his son put a portrait of Gagarin. I think it was symbolic. The old emigre lives still in the past he brought with him from the Ukraine decades ago. And he does not know the present Ukraine. When we began to talk he kept remembering straw roofs, gardens and "khutory." He cannot even imagine that the Ukraine has changed and, that radical transformation has taken place in all spheres of peoples' lives. Just imagine, for instance, what changes have come to Ukrainian peasants. Today he has a television set. He can see and listen to a concert in Kiev or an opera in Moscow. He can listen to Ukrainian writers and poets. And we poets and writers have to follow up because we must find access and means of communicating with our viewers and readers, common laborers or peasants to get acquainted with their way of thinking, consciousness and feelings.

OLYNYK remarked that he was glad to hear this but he had some reservations, e.g., was it not true that the same industrialization building up the economy simultaneously was conducive to the denationalization of the Ukrainian population? The village change their appearance, lost their Ukrainian traditions. Youth is moving to the cities, in which the Russian element is predominant and where Ukrainians are subjected to Russification.

PAVLICHKO interrupted him: Steve, I know what you are going to say: That Ukrainian cities are becoming Russified, that the Donbass is Russified. I have heard it many times. But I can assure you that nothing like that happens. It is true that from old times, before the revolution, Ukrainian cities were crowded with Russians, Jews and other nationalities.

OLYNYK: And the Donbass was completely Russian?

PAVLICHKO: Yes, but today it is different. The growth of Ukrainian culture spreads also to the cities. Thus, for example, we have a Russian, a poet who writes in Ukrainian, Robert TRETIAKOV. He lives in Kharkov and comes from Russia. And you know well that Kharkov never has been very Ukrainian. There have been many Russians. Why did TRETIAKOV start to write Ukrainian, and why does he love Ukrainian

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literature and language? But he is not the only one. There are many Russians, members of the SPU (Union of writers of the Ukraine) who write in Ukrainian. I'll give you another example. Odessa was a completely Russian city before and after the revolution. But today it has given us several Ukrainian poets. On what were they brought up? What attracted them to Ukrainian literature? I can give you many such examples. The Ukrainian nation lives and makes progress.

BOBROV: I would like to stress that what Steve is asserting about denationalization of Ukrainians and their Russification is simply not true. Just on the contrary. Now there are other nationalities which are becoming Ukrainianized. There are Russians who live in villages and cities with a predominantly Ukrainian population. They attend Ukrainian schools, learn the Ukrainian language, and willy-nilly become Ukrainianized. I told Steve two days ago and explained to him that this was no problem for us at all.

PAVLICHKO and SEMENETS: Yes, we quite agree with you. We look at the problem the same way.

OLYNYK stressed that he did not want to monopolize the discussion for himself and PAVLICHKO, but he would like still to raise one other question: It is obvious that development of literature is dependent on general development of language. This problem was actually raised in the Soviet Ukrainian press in the 1930's, when the necessity was stressed not only to fight for the Ukrainian language in the cities, but also for its purity.

BOBROV: Yes, yes, but you must understand that we have to know Russian as a means of communication in the Soviet Union.

OLYNYK pointed out that he was not against learning Russian as well as any other foreign language, but Russian must not be taught at the cost of Ukrainian. He mentioned an article by ISHCHENKO in "Literary Gazette" in 1958 about the purity of the Ukrainian language which ended with a solemn statement that from now on "we shall fight a sacred war against the pollution of our language," citing for that purpose Lenin himself and announcing a whole series of articles on the subject in the future. But nothing happened.

OLYNYK also told about the existence of Russian groups for maintaining the purity of Russian. This was quite a surprise for the hosts and either they were not aware of it or felt somewhat uneasy about it.

PAVLICHKO: Yes, it is true that ISHCHENKO wrote about it. But it is not true that there have been no other articles on the subject. (He mentioned a few names and magazines noting also approximate dates of their appearance.) So, you see, we think about it and remind our collaborators, our young writers and poets and our readers of it.

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This problem is being discussed by our people. We also raise the problem in our "internal paper" (probably some sort of internal bulletin of the GPU), though not all is published.

MAC mentioned articles by KRAVTSHEV directed against the Ukrainian language.

PAVLICHKO seemed not to have noticed his remark and continued: If you are talking about the purity of the Ukrainian language, then I must say that this problem exists for you, but not for us. Your Ukrainian language, as I know it from your papers and magazines, is antiquated and mixed up with foreign words. Nobody talks or writes like that now in the Ukraine. You just simply are lagging behind the progress our language has made.

He mentioned a few emigre papers such as "Shlach Peremohy," "Ukrainske Slovo," "Suchasna Ukraina." PAVLICHKO said he had had an opportunity to meet some of the editors of these papers during the Vienna Festival in 1958.

SLUZAR remarked that it did not matter that our language in the emigration was not completely pure, because what mattered was its status in the Ukraine itself. Besides, many people abroad came from the Western Ukraine, and furthermore, it was rather difficult to keep one's language pure when in a foreign environment.

PAVLICHKO: Yes, but you say our Ukrainians are becoming denationalized and look here, here with us is a Russian girl who speaks excellent Ukrainian. (The girl grinned but kept silent.)

KUDNITSKY asked PAVLICHKO what he knew about the emigration.

PAVLICHKO said he did not know very much but had heard about some emigre writers and poets. He mentioned a few names from the States, Mykhailo Mykhailenko, the sculptor. He had some difficulty in developing the topic, and our group started to help. This developed into a briefing about our achievements abroad and the Soviets seemed to be quite impressed.

SEMENTSEV wanted to know how many newspapers Ukrainians had in the States.

BOHACHEVSKY enumerated at least twenty papers are published in the U.S. and Canada.

SEMENTSEV asked whether they reprinted any Soviet works.

PAVLICHKO: They print very little poetry, and if they do, then only

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what is useful for them. I saw "Shlakh peremohy", but there was no poetry at all.

OLYNYK explained that most of the papers PAVLICHKO mentioned were organs of political parties and organizations and they obviously were little concerned with poetry, Lenin., when an emigre and publishing "Iskra", did not care for poetry either. On the other hand, the emigration has many literary journals and publications. He mentioned "Suchasnist'" in Munich and "Novi Dai" in Canada. RUDNITSKY added "Kiev" in Philadelphia.

PAVLICHKO: Yes, but when you reprint our works, then do it in toto, without picking up only parts which serve your purpose. Thus when you reprint the works of KOROTICH, do it in their entirety, not only excerpts. He is to be known in full, and one should read both his good and weaker works. I know only one good literary magazine. This is "Za Synim Okeanom." It is well edited and very popular now in the Ukraine. It is read by many people. All your poets and writers, in particular the younger ones, should write for "Za Synim Okeanom." Support it in this way, and at the same time let us in the Ukraine know what you are creating. You should write to "Za Synim Okeanom" regardless of your political convictions. "Za Synim Okeanom" is a magazine that maintains contact with the today's Ukraine, solidarizes itself with the Soviet system in the Ukraine, and it reflects the progress the Ukraine has made hitherto. (NOTE: The magazine is notoriously pro-Soviet.)

OLYNYK explained that this was impossible and PAVLICHKO knew it very well himself. Our writers and poets have completely different political views from those of "Za Synim Okeanom," and the latter in his turn would never publish any of our material.

PAVLICHKO: And why should they not allow it?

OLYNYK explained again that it was because of basic difference in the appraisal of the political and socio-economic system in the Ukraine. He mentioned that should HANKA or GEMACHKA be willing to publish their works, they would never be accepted by the editor of "Za Synim Okeanom," precisely for the above-mentioned reasons.

SEMERETS asked PAVLICHKO who GEMACHKA was. PAVLICHKO answered that he was an old poet who left the Soviet Union during WW II and now he was "an abnormal person."

SEMERETS wanted to know why OLYNYK had made a distinction between the political and apolitical press. He could not understand it.

OLYNYK explained the problem to SEMERETS and pointed to the fact

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that even in the Soviet Union there were purely political papers and more literary ones like "Literaturna Gazeta" in Moscow and "Literary Ukraine" in Kiev. He mentioned again "Suchasnist'" and "Kiev" and gave an example of the other aspect with Lenin's "Iskra."

SEMENTIS said something to the effect that all should be political in general purpose as it was in the Soviet Union. He mentioned that recently all Soviet papers had celebrated the first edition of "Pravda" and many readers wanted to see it in original publication. There, on the first page was a poem.

OLYNYK said that he had seen this number of "Pravda" but he did not think that because of that "Pravda" was a literary paper. He mentioned also the fact that while Lenin was publishing "Iskra" as a purely political organ of his party, there were many literary emigre papers at that time concerned only with literature.

PAVLICHKO: I still insist that you should associate yourself with "Za Synim Okeanom" and publish your works in it. It is very bad that Ukrainians differ among themselves. Some recognize the Ukraine as it is and the others dream of an imagined Ukraine which never existed and probably never will. Look, today we prepared this Evening of Ukrainian Literature and invited all Ukrainians from the States and Canada who came to the festival. And what happened? Some came and others didn't. For some reason they keep aside.

OLYNYK explained that there were so called "progressives" who favor the present system in the Soviet Ukraine, and the majority of Ukrainians abroad, who are called by the Soviet press "non-progressives" and who are against the Soviet system in the Ukraine.

ISHKEVICH asked OLYNYK whether he considered himself to be progressive.

OLYNYK answered that in the true sense of the word he was progressive but not in its Soviet meaning.

A balding young KGBist: Steve has remarked about progressive Ukrainians, "as we call them, and the others--non-progressives." What was behind his thought? I tell you what. He wants to tell us that there are in America Ukrainian nationalists who fought against the Soviet regime and whom the Ukrainian people have rejected forever.

ISHKEVICH: They are the same people, the same bandits who killed innocent Soviet people. They collaborated with Hitlerites and for pay organized robbery attacks on Ukrainian villages. They are the same ones who killed nine members of my family and threw them into a well. Why does Steve defend those people?

OLYNYK remarked that the discussion was taking a political turn

but since it was so, he wanted to stress that because Ukrainian nationalists did not agree politically with the communists, it gave the latter no right to call their political opponents bandits. There was a war between the nationalists and the communists and there was nothing strange about the fact itself. The same thing happened in many other nations. We Ukrainians are no exception to that. We are also divided ideologically. But we, on our part at least, admit that our ideologically differing compatriots are also Ukrainians.

PAVLICHKO: Steve, wait, we are not talking about political opponents but about ruthless bandits. You weren't there and you don't know it. But we lived through it. There were terrible times in the Western Ukraine, and innocent people were sacrificed. I was present myself in a village when sixteen children and young boys, together with men and women, were dragged out of a wall. The nationalist bandits had thrown them in there with their hands tied together. This was an atrocity unknown in history!

OLYNYK: I don't know about the event you described, but if we start talking about atrocities, then we should also mention those of the NKVD, and KGB, about torture, shootings, prisons, deportations to Siberia and concentration camps. I wonder where we shall land. The Soviet regime is the last that should raise its voice about atrocities. I think its conscience is filthy enough in this respect.

PAVLICHKO: We are talking about Hitlerite collaborators, and we should not pass over the problem in silence. You must have heard about "Nachtigal." What a nice title and what atrocities were committed by that unit. For Hitlerites's money the Ukrainian nationalists came to the Ukraine and helped the enemy to torment the people. And then, after the war, they fled abroad, presenting themselves as heroes of the UPA and told you fairytales about the liberation war. They only confuse and blind you. And today they serve imperialistic intelligence services again for dollars. This is banditism without comparison.

OLYNYK: Why is it that you call bandits the people who fought for a different system and independence in the Ukraine while at the same time your press depicts, for instance, partisans in Algeria fighting for their independence with very cruel means, as freedom-fighters? Where is the difference between the fight of the UPA and that of the Algerian liberation movement?

PAVLICHKO: You cannot compare it.

OLYNYK: Let me finish and don't interrupt. I am against any kind of atrocity but as one says, "war is war." This is not a play, and people get killed.

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PAVLICHKO: But was it war? It was already after the war, when the Hitlerites had left the Ukraine. These gangs attacked Ukrainian villages and killed innocent people. I shall give you an example. A village soviet was being elected and nobody wanted to become its chairman, some for fear of the UPA people. Finally an elderly, simple peasant was elected, one who knew nothing about politics. And what happened? The next day after elections he together with his family and other members of the village soviet hung on limetrees in the street. They were hanged by the bandits of the UPA. Do you call this war? This is simply cruel banditry.

OLYNYK: It was a war and it was a revolutionary war. I don't think there is any need to remind you of the October Revolution--how with utter cruelty the Communist regime settled accounts with its enemies. How many innocent people were sacrificed? But you call it a struggle of the people against oppression and seek excuses and justification for cruelties committed. And there are Laos and Vietnam today. How do the communist partisans treat the innocent population there? What about burned villages and killings of women and children? And you call that all "liberation war." Why then do you use a double standard--one for foreigners and a completely different one for your own people?

PAVLICHKO: Steve, listen, what kind of partisan war was it? The Hitlerite armies were already beaten and these bandits still continued their attacks on villages. Why did Kalyak's partisans not mistreat the civilian population? They could have.

OLYNYK: remarked that the debate was getting rather heated and he was afraid it might explode. Furthermore, it had been practically monopolized by himself and PAVLICHKO and it was time for somebody else to say something. For instance, KOROTICH had so far kept silent.

KOROTICH: I think it is very good that we have gathered here to exchange our views. We should have such meetings more often. We have just seen how little we know about each other and how much is unknown to us. We should maintain mutual contact, publish our literary works and exchange our literature also. Our contact should be based on a person - to - person basis and we should omit politics.

He continued to develop this theme, and it looked as though he was just repeating the gist of BOHACHEVSKY's pamphlet "Marko Proklatyi," which we were distributing in Helsinki.

PAVLICHKO: Yes, I quite agree with KOROTICH. I mentioned yesterday that we should organize a common international congress of young poets, like what is being done by scientists, technologists, historians and others. And why shouldn't we arrange such a meeting with the Ukrainian poets of the States and Canada? It would be very useful.

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MAC remarked that it was true we did not know very much about each other. But the reason for this was that we were getting so little contact and literature from the Ukraine. He mentioned as an example that he was going to write a thesis about Ukrainian musical instruments, but his professor at Columbia University refused to approve it, pointing out to him the fact that there was no available literature on the subject.

BOBROV advised MAC to settle his problem through the universities. Columbia should write to Kiev University or even to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and they will certainly send any materials requested. MAC mentioned that he had tried to get some books from the Association for cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries, but all in vain. BOBROV tried to excuse the Association, pointing to the fact that they could not answer every private person, and one should make requests through libraries and universities. He also mentioned cultural exchange between the USSR and the USA and stressed that Ukrainian Americans should follow it up to assure that Ukrainian materials were included. OLYNYK remarked that sometimes it was rather difficult to do so in practice. He mentioned that in 1959 the Shevchenko Scientific Association, an old and well known scientific institution, wrote to Franko University in Lvov, suggesting a common conference for celebration of the Shevchenko Centennial. Much time passed without any answer. How then can we develop and maintain contact when one side does not wish to do so?

BOBROV tried to explain that the emigration should not take too formal a position, i.e., as though such suggestions from the emigration were from an equal partner, a state in exile, and had to be answered positively and implemented under any circumstances. "We are the state, a Ukrainian state," he continued, "and you are only an emigration." Furthermore he thought that much more important were contacts between Ukrainians as individuals, in such a manner as they were doing just then. "We should get familiar with each other and seek for common interests that would not divide us, but on the contrary unite. We have problems and interests as Ukrainians everywhere. When we return to Kiev we shall raise this question and you should do the same with your people, with your writers and poets. Perhaps something will come of it."

PAVLECHKO: Yes, yes, just like is written in the Holy Script are: "Knock and the door will be opened."

SEMENETS asked what is being printed abroad.

OLYNYK: We publish mostly new materials that give us insight into today's Ukrainian literature. We cannot print very much as we lack money. Some works we also read in the original. On the other hand, we do much reprinting, in particular of those writers and poets who

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cannot be published in the Ukraine. For instance, recently we printed the works of Mykola Kulish, which never had been published before.

PAVLICHKO: Of course they don't print my works, because from time to time I run over nationalists.

OLYNYK asked whether he, PAVLICHKO, thought what he was doing was right. Was he not wasting his talents and doing more harm than good? Such things would lead nowhere, and moreover they compromise the people who use them as a means of fighting their opponents. This is the reason that it is often so difficult to have any reasonable discussion with Soviet Ukrainian in Kiev. "Instead of an academic or intelligent debate, we get only abuse and insults on the pages of the Soviet press. For instance, recently a History of Ukrainian Literature by Professor Chizhevskiy was published. The critique in the Soviet press was so full of personal abuse, slander and filth that one could simply not read it without becoming ashamed for people in Kiev. And what for? Wouldn't it be better to write a genuine scientific critique and oppose Chizhevskiy in a reasonable manner as is being done everywhere in the world? There are many similar instances. It is about time to end such practices."

PAVLICHKO: If they attack and abuse me, then I return in kind, and I shan't give up.

OLYNYK: In other words, you are going to stick to the principle "a tooth for a tooth."

PAVLICHKO: Yes, a tooth for a tooth. We shall abuse as long as they abuse us.

OLYNYK referred again to contacts from abroad with Ukrainian writers in the Ukraine and asked what in this field was being done by the Association for Cultural Contacts With Foreign Countries.

PAVLICHKO and SEMENETS both tried to answer this question but neither of them knew what the Association was actually doing. PAVLICHKO mentioned something about contacts between the Ukraine and progressive groups in Canada and in the States and that progressive visited the Ukraine. All he could say besides was that the Association was publishing "Visti z Ukrainy." Finally, he promised that after his return to Kiev he would talk to the Association because he himself was not a member of this organization and really did not know much about its activities.

OLYNYK, supported by RUDNITSKY and BOHACHEVSKY, mentioned that Ukrainian publications very often were printed in small quantities.

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PAVLICHKO admitted that this was true, but it was done according to orders received from readers. But it did not matter, because television and radio, plus public readings, compensate for it. As an example he mentioned his works, which had been published in small amounts, as he was not yet much known in all parts of the Ukraine. He pointed also to the fact that in the States some works are published in small quantities, too.

Then there was a talk about Shevchenko's monument in Canada. PAVLICHKO did not like it because Shevchenko was presented there as a peasant sitting. OLYNIK answered that there had been much competition among sculptors and it was their business. He also added that the monument which will be erected in Washington will be much better.

Somebody mentioned Russification again. PAVLICHKO denied it and pointing to the fact that the Ukrainian potential was increasing, said that even Stalin had not been able to do much harm. Thus, while Tartars who collaborated with Germans were completely displaced, this was not the case with Ukrainians.

SEMERETS started to wind up the discussion, although formally that was to be done by PAVLICHKO. He gave a positive appraisal of the evening, stressing that it had been useful for both sides. Such meetings should be arranged more often between young people of the Ukraine and the emigration, between poets and writers, journalists, etc. "We all should work towards developing, proper contacts between the Ukraine and the emigration." Neither he himself nor his colleagues would dare to persuade emigrants to repatriate, but emigrants should visit the Ukraine because it would give them a better understanding of today's Ukraine.

OLYNIK and others from the ZPICHVR group said in their turn that they agreed in principle with what he said and were also glad about the meeting. "It brought us somewhat closer to each other as human beings and Ukrainians and gave us an opportunity to develop friendly relations." Then it was proposed that PAVLICHKO and KOROTICH read their poems, although there was very little time left.

KOROTICH was the first to read his four poems, one about Shevchenko. Then PAVLICHKO read his three short poems. All present were quite impressed and there was a dramatic and emotional atmosphere. PAVLICHKO read one poem which he had written during the festival. It hadn't been published yet. SEMERETS and OSADSKIY, the correspondent from Moscow "Literaturna Gazeta," made a copy of it and were going to send it directly to Moscow and Kiev.

Then PAVLICHKO and KOROTICH said a few words on their own as poets. They stressed again the success of the meeting, the necessity to organize such meetings in the future and the need to work for contact

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between the emigration and the Ukraine.

The bland, balding KIBIST still wanted OLINIK to tell about his impressions of the Ukraine. The majority, including PAVLICHENKO and KOROTIEN, pointed out that all were tired and it would take too long. The KIBIST insisted that OLINIK at least tell what he liked and what he disliked.

OLINIK explained that he liked above all the fact itself that he could go, which was impossible several years ago. He also liked progress made since the war, in particular the rebuilding of Kiev and other cities. But he did not like the fact that he could not go to the countryside and to other cities he wanted to see. Thus he was even prevented from going to his native village and could not see IEREMIVIN's native town, Stanislav. Further, he did not like the fact that many people particular in Kiev, used predominantly the Russian language. The KIBIST wanted to know more about this, but PAVLICHENKO told him again that everybody was tired and they had better do some singing.

All sang "Pushchyok," then a song about a shepherd. PAVLICHENKO himself sang a joking song about a servant and all the others seconded him. HENRIKTS commented that singing was one of the proofs that they all had much in common and there were many things that united all as Ukrainians.

Afterwards BOHACHENYUK and GUTAR presented PAVLICHENKO and KEMCHEN with The History of Ukrainian Literature by Cheshevsky and "Golymai Strum". PAVLICHENKO was surprised and said he would read the book when he had a chance. KOROTIEN was also quite surprised, started to glance through the book recognizing some of the poets and their works. PAVLICHENKO asked whether there was "Rusovshchyna Vidrodzhennia." He was told there wasn't, but the book was very interesting. It looked as though he wanted to have the book himself.

HAS asked if there would be anything published about the evening in the Soviet press. HENRIKTS replied of course; it would be their pleasure.

Then all left. The ZYTOVIR people saw the hosts to the school where they were staying. Only PAVLICHENKO parted, because he had to go to the Gruslyns. On the way there was no talking about politics, just general conversation.

The debate was actually a dialogue between OLINIK and PAVLICHENKO. The others, on both sides, inserted only short comments or remarks. In the beginning BOHACHENYUK was rather active, as were HENRIKTS and HAS, but after a while they left the initiative to OLINIK, BOHACHENYUK

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had some private conversation with KOROTICH.

Despite the heated incidents on the UPA and Soviet terror, the atmosphere of the evening was rather pleasant, amiable and friendly.

When PAVLICHKO was proving that the Ukrainian element was increasing and strengthened, somebody asked KOROTICH what he thought about it. KOROTICH answered that he agreed with PAVLICHKO, and as an example mentioned his stay in a village near Kiev one summer, where he had to act as interpreter between Ukrainians and Russians.

During mention of the Ukrainian press abroad KOROTICH remarked that he had had no access to "Suchasnist," although some people in Kiev had.

PAVLICHKO, when stressing the need for holding a meeting of Ukrainian poets and writers from the Ukraine and the emigration, mentioned as alternative places Kiev and New York. This report gives a rather complete picture of the debate based primarily on the reports of OLYNYK, RUDNITSKY and SLIZAR. The other participants from ZPICHVR made additional comments which were included.

The Evening, as well as other statements made by Soviet Ukrainians, indicates that the Soviets plan further development of cultural and other relations with the young generation of the Ukrainian emigration, in particular with young writers and poets in the States and in Canada. Our response should be positive (actually it was our idea) and well prepared. We have a good chance to benefit from it in many respects, including the operational. At the same time, one has to take into account that besides genuine motivation and the efforts of people in Kiev and Lvov, it is arranged with the approval of the KGB. We have to be prepared in advance against its negative aspects. Not only eventual penetration and subversion but, for example, a compromise of our young intellectuals abroad in the eyes of their own community might be one of the KGB's many calculations. This would have to compromise them also in the American and Canadian environment and in this manner aim at barring them from active participation in it. It can be assumed that Moscow is getting quite concerned about the future contribution of young Ukrainian intellectuals in various fields of American and Canadian life and will try to neutralize it more and more.

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SUBJECT: LULCHENKO, Anatoliy

L is a naval engineer who graduated from the Naval Institute of Odessa and works in some city on the Caspian Sea. He is a typical communist apparatchik of relatively low intelligence, a member of the party. L is married. He refused to give his address and was not interested in correspondence with SLUZAR or anybody abroad. He claimed to be able to read an English paper with a dictionary. His Ukrainian mixes with Russian. In Helsinki L stayed on the Gruziya. He was mostly seen with SIDORENKO.

L is aged 30-35; 5'6"; broad shoulders; stocky; dark eyes; full, square face.

On 1 August L told SLUZAR during a three hour conversation that he had read the literature of the emigration, a leaflet sent to Soviet citizens by mail from the West. The leaflet advocated ideas of national communism but L after having read it, threw it away and forgot about it, because national communism had no appeal for him.

L denied that there was anything bad in the Soviet Union. If there were any shortcomings and defects they were in Stalin's time, but since Nikita Khrushchev has arrived all is in the best order. Even citations from the Soviet press he dismissed as Western propaganda or misunderstanding on the part of Western readers. There is no Russification of the Ukraine either. Nobody wanted to be separated from Russia (perhaps 1-2 % of the Ukrainians at the most.) All nations are very happy in union with Russia. He attacked the emigration for supporting American colonialism and said there is nothing like the Soviet system. Somehow he figured out that prices of feed in the Soviet Union are about the same as in the United States. There is no Soviet colonialism. As proof of American imperialism and colonialism, he cited Latin America and Berlin. Americans have turned Berlin, together with German imperialists, into a hotbed of subversion against the socialist countries, but soon they will have to get out of there. The United States is not interested in genuine disarmament, but in espionage against the Soviet Union. That's why President Kennedy has refused to accept Soviet proposals on disarmament. The Soviet Union does not want war, but America does. As proof he cited a statement by President Kennedy that under some circumstances the United States was prepared to start a preventive war. (N.B. This statement of President Kennedy was the topic which was used by all Sovs in their attacks against the United States.)

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**THE INTER-DELEGATION MEETING OF THE USA AND  
USSR AT THE U. S. CAMP, 1 AUGUST 1962**

**SLUZAR and BOHACHEVSKY attended the meeting at the U. S. camp. The only attraction among Soviet guests was YEVTUSHENKO. He looked bored and in a bad mood and could not be talked to seriously.**

**From the talks SLUZAR and BOHACHEVSKY had with several Russians and two Ukrainians, it was obvious that they all had the same briefing and stuck to the prescribed line. They all stressed great improvement of living standards in the Soviet Union in comparison with 1920, the building up of heavy industry and economic development in general and damages inflicted during the last war.**

**SLUZAR talked to a Belorussian from Mogilev. During the conversation he mentioned that "recently" there were trials of Belorussian nationalists and other traitors in Mogilev who collaborated with Germans during the war. When S expressed her surprise that these people could have successfully disguised themselves for almost twenty years after the war, the Belorussian was non-plussed, but another man from Moscow explained to her that the country was large and in the confusion after the war, the traitors assumed different names and could live under them.**

**The Belorussian denied there was any Russification in Belorussia. Then he said that in Mogilev, out of eighteen secondary schools, seven were Belorussian. When S asked him if this number did not prove her point, he replied that if more Belorussian schools were needed, they would be arranged for.**

**Also two Ukrainians, LULCHENKO and SIDORENKO (see separate reports) stuck to the prescribed line, and talk with them was simply useless.**

74-124-2913

**SUBJECT: DUBROVA, Viktor, alias BOYAROV, GREGORYEV**

DUBROVA belonged to the "administrators" in Vienna in 1958 and again in Helsinki. A KGB man of average intelligence, with rather rough manners, he must be of a rather low rank. D was very active in identification and surveillance. (He surveilled MAC on 30 and 31 July, on 3 and 4 August and later again.)

D claimed to MAC to have been in the US. in 1960 with a delegation at Illinois University. He complained that Ukrainian nationalists in the U. S. tried to "obstruct them".

D arrived on and stayed in Helsinki on the Gruzija.

OLYNYK met D near the Gruzija shortly after the Soviets descended from it. Walking around, O noticed D as someone he had known from the Vienna festival as one of the administrators, by the name of Viktor BOYAROV. D recognized O, too. They greeted each other as old acquaintances, D exclaiming, "You are Stepan, from New York, but actually not from New York. We know you are not from New York, but if you wish, let it be Stepan from New York." (Later he presented O in the same manner to other administrators and delegates.)

Their talk was fragmentary and general. They talked about their respective delegations and old friends from Vienna. D wanted to know who besides O had come from the U. S. They touched the problem of literature after O asked whether any Ukrainian writers had come from Kiev or Lvov. D replied that only PAVLICHKO was there, nobody else. He did not seem to be interested in talking on the topic and soon they were again snapping at each other as "veterans" from Vienna.

Later D introduced O to PAVLICHKO.

On 1 August O took part in the meeting between the U. S. and USSR delegations on the Gruzija. After he had left the Gruzija and had taken a deep breath of relief, he was at once approached by a fat KGBist whom he had met on 27 July through D.

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The KGBist started to talk to O about nothing in particular and it was obvious that his intention was to isolate O from D and other administrators. A general conversation initiated by D soon became heated after D asked O why he and others like him did not return home to the Ukraine. O replied that first of all the young people in the Ukraine should make real efforts to finish Stalinism forever. Then perhaps he would return home. D was angered by O's answer and began to attack him for intervening into internal affairs of the Soviet peoples. He called O a bastard (bezbatchenko) representing nobody and nothing. "Americans represent American youth," he continued, "but whom do you represent? You are without motherland, serving for foreign money. Why did you come to the festival? Why do you put your nose in other peoples' business? We shall solve our problems without your damned advice."

In the meantime the KGBist called Yura TORSUYEV from the Gruzija, who began to listen to the conversation, getting more and more heated.

O replied that since D was talking about unemployment in the U. S. , the Negro problem, military bases, etc. , he had the right to talk about Soviet affairs, because was not all that D had attacked him on intervention into internal affairs of the U. S. ? And why was it called intervention only when one began to criticize the Soviet Union? It was clear to him that they were afraid of truth and they were running away from criticism. As for the money, he would like to ask D for whose money he had come there? As for representation, D should know that most American delegates came as individuals, representing no groups, but only certain principles and views.

Somebody from the group asked O what these principles were.

O replied that they were principles of freedom, freedom of speech, thought, religion and respect of the individual. At this point, he was interrupted by somebody exclaiming, "We know what freedom it was." O continued that nobody can be condemned without court procedure; nobody was sent to the wall to be shot for political convictions. Here he was interrupted again. One from the group, that had gotten quite large (about 20 people), attacked O for offending him, a common worker who had worked all his young life and believed in the Soviet system. It was too

much for O and he simply told the man that he had not been asked to the debate and had not even introduced himself. O continued that he was able to talk to TORSUYEV (the latter flushed) without quarreling, though they were of different opinions.

At that moment D started a new attack on O. He called him a fascist, nationalist and traitor who had come for paid money to undermine and foil the festival. D finished his oratory with, "If you would come to us, to the Ukraine, I would show you how to work against us!"

On 30 July Roman MAC met DORICHENKO in front of Kultuuritalo and tried with the latter's help to get inside the concert without a ticket. It was, however, very difficult, because the administrators were very strict on that. Finally, with DORICHENKO's help he succeeded. Inside, after all had gone to the main hall, MAC met DUBROVA, who introduced himself as GRIGORYEV.

DUBROVA was in an embroidered Ukrainian shirt and MAC asked him whether he was a Ukrainian. He answered affirmatively and asked MAC how many Ukrainians had come from the U. S.

M: How should I know?

D: I have met quite a few of you and nobody knows one another. Do you know Stefko?

M: What Stefko?

D: OLYNYK.

M: I don't know him very well, but I know that there is such in our delegation.

D: You know him pretty well. You all belong to the same organization. If I want, I will know everything. I have friends who will tell me all.

M: Well, it is good that you are so clever.

D: And you did not come from America. You are from Europe. I know.

M: Foolish talk. Here is my visit card.

D: I don't want to see any card. You are also a correspondent, just like OLYNYK. We are chasing him away from us. He was crawling to get introduced to PAVLICHKO. How many karbovantsi did you get for coming here?

M: Could you tell me who pays me karbovantsi?

D: I know everything. Everything. The camera you have you were given.

M: And I thought you were really clever. Look here, this is a Finnish camera for \$10.

D: Don't tell me anything. I know everything. Here you have your Stephen OLYNYK. He came to us as a correspondent and introduced himself differently in different places. You are the same kind.

M replied that he did not like a talk like that. He had met a blind "khakhol" in an embroidered shirt who looked like a devil. He had met many people in New York recently. He had spoken with IVASHCHENKO, because he himself was also a musician, but he had never seen anybody as odd as D.

D: I talk sincerely with you. I am honest.

M: Then let us talk honestly and sincerely.

D: How did you like our parade yesterday?

M: It was very nice. Your delegation was nicely dressed, with nice buttons, nice flags.

D: And this son of a bitch Stephen OLYNYK said it was very bad. I saw him in the stadium. He took pictures of us all the time. I asked him what he thought about our delegation, and he laughed and turned his thumb down. If he had been at home, I would have crushed him.

M: I admire your energy.



D: I can't do it here. We are guests, and so are you. He is a correspondent. But you won't be admitted to the Ukraine either, because you are also such a correspondent.

M: I don't know who is supposed not to admit me to the Ukraine. Perhaps the American government. But if this were done by the Soviet government, it would only lose by it. I am all for peace and 'druzhba'. You must have seen me marching in the parade.

D: That's nice; that's nice. But you know, Roman, I don't believe you. You know, this is my last festival. But you will probably go to the next one.

M: I don't think so. It was my first and probably last festival. I thought I would have a vacation here, but I was disappointed. The trip exhausted me. One cannot properly sleep.

D: No, you know, Roman, I was born in a village. I have learned many things in my life. I know how to see through people, and I don't believe you.

M: To hell with you. Who wants you to believe me.

They shook hands and parted.

DUBROVA - GRIGORIEV



Attach 3

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#### COMMENTS ON CONTACTS

Shortly before 1700 hours on 27 July the Gruzija arrived in Helsinki. It was met by about 1000 people, mostly Finns. Among them were those with flowers and gifts, but the majority were onlookers. From other delegations there were only a few people, mostly group leaders. There were quite a few Americans and, of course, the leaders of American delegation. The welcome was rather restrained, but it did not prevent the Soviets from claiming later that it was very warm.

Before disembarking the Soviet delegates and artists sang, threw leaflets, took pictures and from time to time shouted "mir i druzhba". Around 1720 they began to descend from the ship. Among them were artistic groups--Georgians, Azerba Ukrainians, and Russians in their national costumes. The delegates themselves, mixed with these groups were all dressed alike (beige suits, brown shoes and red shirts with no ties) and with festival medals. The Komsomol members had little red flags in their lapels.

On the pier the Soviets were met by another group of their compatriots--members of the Preparatory Committee and tourists who had arrived in Helsinki earlier.

Beside the artistic groups, relatively few civilians disembarked. They were mostly men aged 40-60, who by their behaviour clearly were "administrators" and managers.

National artistic groups gave individual short performances which were a preview of things to come. Georgians, Ukrainians and other danced. Azerbaizhanians played jazz and some modern tunes.

The administrators and other delegates were in the meantime very busy. Walking along or in two's or three's, they mixed at once with the public, gladly making conversation and asking questions for identification, exchanging pins and medals and obviously trying to get a preview of things to come.

The artists themselves were less communicative, very often restrained, but contact was possible in the presence of the administrators. The latter, wherever they had noticed that someone "strange" had approached one of their artists, hurried at once to the spot, and the usual procedure of "questioning" and photographing took its course.

As for technique of control, identification and photography, the Soviets seemed to be well drilled. According to some of our people, their proficiency was even better in Helsinki than in Vienna in 1959.

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They seemed to be well prepared for the occasion in all respects, including knowledge of biographic and other data on the individuals they were expecting to meet.

It was noticed that the welcome between Soviet and Cubans was demonstratively cordial, full of embracing and kissing, probably deliberately arranged so. Several Soviets shouted, "Castro si, Yankes no," and were joined in it by Cubans and some Poles.

From the beginning two methods of isolation of "less reliable" elements were apparent. Decoy's concentrated contact on themselves and kept our people far from the others. "Preper" people were sent to other contacts, where they tried at once to take the initiative and make private conversation impossible.

After the public began to disperse, some of the artistic groups went by bus to the city to give a preview of their future performances. The Ukrainian artistic group consisting of fourteen members of the Verjovka Ensemble did so.

Some of our people got on the bus with the Ukrainian group and made further acquaintances. However, with the exception of people who were known to our group from Vienna, the others gave only their first names. The artistic group was, of course, accompanied by administrators and delegates. The latter continued their work of identification and were supported in this by some artists. Thus Martin SAVITSKI noticed that when dancing near the bus station with Peter KILGROK he deliberately led her in such a manner as to enable the administrators to take a good picture of her. On the whole the atmosphere was cordial and the first approaches were made.

Contrary to the first day the situation later became more difficult, in particular with people who seemed to be less "reliable" than the others. The only ones who remained willing and ready to develop contact were administrators and some delegates who obviously had the order to do so. They were allowed to walk alone (mostly in Ukrainian embroiled shirts) wherever they wished and behaved very freely. The others however, had to move in groups with an administrator or delegate as their leader.

When asked why they always walked in groups, the Soviets replied that they were used to working in collectives. It was part of their socialist mentality, and they simply did not feel well if they had to be without company. Despite this and other "psychologic" tactics, it was possible to arrange unwitnessed individual meetings by dividing roles among our people and "blockading." In this respect other groups were quite helpful by their simple presence, which compelled the administrators to disperse their apparatus and facilitated our blockade.

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Most of the Soviets valued "Young America Presents" and jazz concerts. Their opinions were divided according to individual tastes and intelligence. Most of the Soviets expected more from the Americans. On the other hand, interest in things American and Western was very deep. The same could be said of Soviet Ukrainian interest in the life of the emigration. Their knowledge about the emigration, with the exception of people who had been abroad before, was very one-sided and vague. Description of events and delays of the emigration were revelations to many.

Contacts became very difficult after dissemination of literature on 4 August. It was obvious that all Soviets were given instructions to demonstrate their indignation by changing their attitude toward our people. They became more aggressive and insulting in the presence of administrators and were formal, switching, for instance, from first names and patronymic to surnames and mister.

As for literature, we succeeded in handing out quite a bit. Most suitable were non-political "neutral" literary works. Almost any book with an explicitly political outlook was practically useless. Beside passing and placing literature, we also mailed some to the Soviet Union. For spreading our leaflets we used a group of Canadian Ukrainians who allegedly brought the leaflets with them. In general, with the exception of certain poets, the Soviets were reluctant to take literature, although their interest in it was obviously great. According to one of our contacts, all literature is to be declared on the spot or at customs and usually is confiscated. Some of the Soviets took our literature just to prove that they were allowed to read "anything" and in one case our man was told that his interlocutor was permitted to read anything since he had become a party member.

For the last two or three days before departure, the Soviets were busy in buying textiles, shoes and souvenirs. Most of them had very little money. Sometimes they could not even afford to have a decent meal in a restaurant. On one occasion two friends of one of our men had only a thousand FR (\$3.00) for two of them. On another occasion two Soviets had to leave company in a restaurant because they did not have sufficient money. It was a rather embarrassing situation for them and their friends. They refused to accept money from or to be treated by our people. Most tried to save from what they were given to buy something "for home." The administrative bosses and tourist elite like YEVUSHENKO, PAVLICHKO, BONDARENK, ARIKHIN and their like had more money than necessary. The bought suits, troupes and many souvenirs.

The Ukrainians whom our people met would not accept money but gladly received souvenirs (in particular, Finnish knives, for which they asked themselves), records and textiles. Our people who covered Stecman, Sales and other stores on 6 and 7 August had many opportunities

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to buy gifts and observe how delighted the Soviets were with what they saw. Very often one could hear in Russian, "see how nice it is and only 3,000 or so in FM, and in addition they give you 15% reduction." They were amazed at the prices of overcoats and shirts. One of our men was actually provoked by a Georgian girl into buying her a souvenir. In Stockmans, when seeing that our man was buying a shirt and a doll for one of his Ukrainian friends, she deliberately stepped on his foot to start a conversation.

From the very beginning the administrators made it obvious that they knew who OLYNIK, BOHACHEVSKI and MAC were. They told OLYNIK this openly during his first "collective treatment" on 29 July and indicated it clearly by their efforts to connect other people with the above three dates. They seemed disappointed that no "big shots" of ours were present in Helsinki. They expected something similar to what we did in Vienna, and they tried in advance to induce some people from Munich to come to Helsinki. They used the absence of "big shots" for attacking them in front of our people by pointing out that they were being used by politicians to do their dirty work.

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THE INTER-DELEGATION MEETING OF THE USA AND USSR  
ON THE GRUZIYA, 1 AUGUST 1962

The inter-delegation meeting took place on the Gruziya, where a part of the American delegation was guest of its Soviet counterpart, and at the quarter of the U.S. delegation, where the latter was host to its Soviet counterpart.

A day before the meeting, the participants had to put their names on a list. As it turned out, almost everybody wanted to go to the Gruziya, and the leaders of the delegation had to divide the volunteers into two groups.

BOHACHEVSKIY and SLUZAR happened to be on the list of hosts and Stephen OLXNYK with Roman MAC on that of guests on the Gruziya. They could easily have avoided the assignment, but as the split of our group was acceptable, they decided to stick to it.

OLXNYK and MAC went with some trepidation. But finally, after taking into account that they would be with 150 people, they decided that they had nothing to fear. They were determined to play the role of normal American delegates, but to be on the safe side, asked B and SLUZAR to call care immediately if they did not return with the others from the Gruziya.

Departure of the Gruziya was delayed because first they waited at the U.S. camp for the arrival of the Soviet delegation. This gave our people the opportunity to check on who was coming among the Soviet guests and if it was necessary to stay at home. It turned out that besides KEVUSHENKO, there was no one of specific interest. Consequently O and M went to the Gruziya.

The buses with the American delegates--there were three of them--should have reached the Gruziya in 20 minutes. But it happened somewhat differently. The Finnish bus drivers coming to the main road did not turn to the right, as they were supposed to, but continued straight ahead. They did not go very far. Suddenly there was a hill, then a cliff and then the end of the road. One should return, but how? The road was so narrow that it was impossible to make a turn. One had to move backwards. The last bus was trying to do it, but again it stopped. "Something has gone wrong with the engine," was the explanation. This meant that all buses were blocked. The Finnish drivers were "trying to fix it," but it was taking time. American temper could not endure any longer, and cries of "sabotage" were heard.

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The Finnish drivers continued to "work", then stoically announced that they couldn't do anything with the engine because it was so bad. They thought for awhile and finally proposed to pack all the delegated into two buses. They were packed like sardines. Many had to stand. Finally they moved. What way they took it was difficult to discern. One thing was sure: they made another detour.

The buses were supposed to reach the Gruziya at 0930. They arrived at about 1100 hours. The American delegates were met by an orchestra playing march music. O put his feet on the gang plank of the Gruziya with the pounding heart and asking himself what the devil sort of hero he was trying to make of himself, but he was pushed from behind and step by step climbed to the top. And here one had to play the role of a genuine guest. They exchanged pins and medals with everybody: delegates, administrators, service people, crew and officers, whenever they met.

They entered a large room with tables covered white cloths and 3-4 bottles on each. "Our" delegates were disappointed, because they thought it was vodka to get them drunk, but it turned out to be fruit juice" as fitting for youth that was building communism."

Delegates and host took places at the tables. O sat at a table near the elite of the Komsomol. At each table there sat 4-6 persons, one Soviet and the rest Americans. The Soviet usually spoke some English. At O's table was a Kazakh who spoke very poor English but enough for polite friendly conversation. O looked around for anything suspicious but everything seemed to be in perfect order. The hosts were fussing around the guests typing up please them. In one corner O saw three administrators, two of whom he recognized. They noticed him, too. One of them pointed in O's direction. Two others had a good look at him, and in a few minutes the table at which O sat was approached by a young Komsomol member who began looking for a chair. O eager to show that he was very pleased, found him a chair, and they introduced themselves. The Soviet's name was Yuriy TORSHUEV, a Russian from Kiev working in the central committee of the Komsomol of the Ukraine, and a member of the committee of Soviet Youth Organizations.

TORSHUEV started at once to talk to O in Russian, taking it for granted that O spoke the language. Nobody else in the American group at the table spoke Russian and the talk O had with T was private. Only from time to time did O do some translating for others.

T later admitted that he knew Ukrainian and when they started a serious talk they spoke Ukrainian. T spoke fair Ukrainian, though from time to time he mixed in Russian sentences.



They were talking while "artistic groups" of both delegations performed on the stage. From the American delegation there were three girls, "progressives" who sang two Ukrainian songs. The Soviet were delighted for the Americans sang without accent. Then there were welcome speeches. From the Soviet delegation P. HESHNEV, chairman of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations, spoke of the American guests, the deputy chairman of the delegation spoke. HESHNEV proposed a common festival of American and Soviet Youth, which was received with applause by the Americans. Otherwise, the speeches were very general and boring.

All the time there were photographers circling around the table and taking pictures from different angles. O was approached by a professional photographer, who took with a long lens two pictures.

After two hours the inter-delegation meeting was finished. O and T parted. T gave O a pencil and O reciprocated with a ball-point pen. They parted as friends. On the way out everybody shook hands with everybody, even with the captain. When O put his foot on soil he heaved a sigh of relief. He was, however, at once approached by a short fat KGBist who began to talk to him about nothing, obviously just to isolate him from the other people. Soon they were joined by DUBROVA and other administrators, who attacked O for interference into their internal affairs. O was given a "collective treatment" after he told DUBROVA and others that Soviet youth in the Ukraine should make real efforts to finish stalinism. If they succeeded, then O might also come back to the Ukraine. (On the "collective treatment" see report on DUBROVA.) Present was T, who had come down in the meantime and who flushed when O pointed out that whereas he could discuss problems with him without their attacking each other, this was not the case with DUBROVA and the others.

After DUBROVA finished his oratory with, "If you would come to us, to the Ukraine, I would show you how to work against us." O replied that he could use quite a few nice epithets on DUBROVA's address, but he did not want to waste his time and energy. It was better to leave, because with people like DUBROVA, one should not converse. O left indeed and boarded his bus.

On the way to the U.S. camp there were three Americans sitting behind O who said, "Some people who have come to the festival are against its ideals; so why did they come: Why do they spend money on something they don't like? Or perhaps somebody paid them."

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In the beginning they talked about generalities, their studies, occupations and the festival. Soon they touched political topics. T was interested in many problems and did not agitate. He asked O why Americans were against the festival. O explained that there was a difference between the policy of the Soviet Union and its declarations of peace and friendship, and although the Soviet peoples genuinely wanted peace, the festival itself, as an arrangement of the Soviet governmental organization, was Trojan horse for the West. T seriously asked O whether he thought the festival was really a Trojan horse, whereupon O replied that this was so and with a similar purpose, to take us from within. T did not answer, but that set him thinking.

T asked O several questions like why was there in the U.S. such great economic inequality. Did O acknowledge at least some Marxist theories? What was the McCarran bill? (He had in mind persecution of communists.) O explained that to him, pointing out that the McCarran Act was conceived as a safeguard against espionage and subversion and only because the CPUSA was in liason with the CPSU was the former subjected to the McCarran Act. T thought that the CPUSA had nothing to do with the CPSU, but asserted it rather halfheartedly.

T asked O why the Soviet rate of economic growth was much higher than the American one. O explained that the American economy was saturated and one had to look for new fields and branches of industry in which the rate of growth could be increased. Such transfer from one field into another was taking time. O gave an example with steel. The American steel industry uses only 75% of its capacity and has to look for new demand for steel because there is too much of it even now. At the same time, in the Soviet Union they have shortages in everything and demand is always big. Added to that, their statisticians measure everything by comparing it by low index. Once the Soviet Union has enough steel, the rate of growth will also decline.

O was interrupted by an American who, although he did not speak Russian, understood that they were talking about economic problems. He asked O what was up, and after O explained, he attacked him, claiming that the USA could have as high a rate of growth as the Soviet Union if it would have a planned economy. O continued to defend private economy, asserting that life itself proved the superiority of private initiative.

Turning to T, O said, "You see, we are both Americans. We don't see eye to eye on our economic system, and we discuss it openly and freely, without being afraid of being overheard or of denunciation. We shall go home and discuss it again, exchanging our different views without any fear. This is freedom of thought, freedom of speech." T was impressed, nodded with his head and thought.

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SUBJECT: KOLOSOK, Petro  
Kiev,  
Volodimirskiy Spusk 2

K is a member of the Veryovka Group and performs with his brother Alexander KOLOSOK. He is married to a Tatar-Russian, whose first name is Valentina. They have a son 3. K told SAWICKI that his wife speaks only Russian but she understands Ukrainian. He is going to teach his son to speak Ukrainian. K was in Vienna in 1958 with the Ukrainian group. At that time he met OLYNYK and some others of our people.

K is above all a dancer and does not care much for politics. When involved in political discussion he tried to stick to the official line and defended the Soviet regime. He denied Russification in the Ukraine, took for granted Russo-Ukrainian friendship and in the presence of others tried to be very active in manifesting his loyalty to the party.

K helped the administrators in identification and asked SAWICKI and others about OLYNYK to ascertain their connection with him. When dancing with SAWICKI on 27 July, he led her deliberately in such a way as to give one of the photographers a good opportunity to take her picture.

On 29 July K did not recognize OLYNYK at once, but then remembered him from Vienna and they talked "as old acquaintances." The Soviet group was gathering for the parade near the Gruzziya. K told that Veryovka would be in January 1963 or in the spring in Canada and perhaps also would visit the United States.

O told K about Virskiy's performance in Washington and New York, and K commented that there could be no comparison of their own group (Veryovka) with that of Virskiy. Virskiy was high class artistry and Veryovka's ensemble was just a chorus. But anyway, they tried to do their best, too.

They touched on the problem of Ukrainians living in the Russia. O asked why, whereas Russians have their schools in the Ukraine, the Ukrainians in the Russian republic must send their children to Russian schools. K confirmed that there were many Ukrainians in Russia but he thought that their concentration were not large enough to justify the establishment of separate Ukrainian schools. "One should not demand that the government spend extra money for building Ukrainian schools in locations where there are only 100 or even fewer Ukrainians in one location."

O pointed out that in 1926, according to Skripnik, who had recently been rehabilitated there were about 6,000,000 Ukrainians in Russia. According to the last Soviet census of 1959, there were 3,000,000 Ukrainians in Russia. It is known that there are completely Ukrainian villages, in particular in Kazakhstan, but they have to send their children to Russian schools.

K: Yes, but you know Russian is an all-union language and it is being used as such by all nationalities, so all inhabitants of Russia should know it--I mean of the Soviet Union.

O: Yes, they should know Russian, but primary and secondary schools should have Ukrainian as the instruction language to enable children and students to learn their own language, history and culture. I would like to stress only that Ukrainians should have the same rights as the Russians have in the Ukraine.

K: Russians and Ukrainians have the same rights, and when Ukrainians in the Russian Republic want their children to know Ukrainian, they can teach them at home, in the family.

O pointed out that in this case the school cannot be fully substituted for by home teaching. Besides, this has its political aspect and implications. Why do Russians have their schools in the Ukraine when the Ukrainians in Russia have to teach their children their native language at home?

K: If a father decides to educate his child in Ukrainian schools, he can send him or her to the Ukraine.

O pointed out the difficult position of such a father, with heavy expenditures and separation from the family. Even from the economic point of view it would be better for those families to build their own school on the spot rather than send their children to the Ukraine.

K: And why do you call other regions of the Soviet Union "foreign lands." We all live in the same Motherland. We all live in Russia. The Ukraine is a part of Russia, and we feel everywhere at home. For instance, my wife is Russian.

O: You call it all Russia. And I thought it was the Soviet Union and that the Ukraine was only a member of the Soviet Union, but not a part of Russia.

K: (Very emphatically) Yes, yes, of course, I meant the Soviet Union, not Russia. Excuse me. But really, it comes out that such schools are unnecessary. Nobody wants them and nobody asks for them.

O: It seems strange that among 3,000,000 Ukrainians, not a single person wants Ukrainian schools for their children. Does this mean that as soon as Ukrainians go to Russia they simply forget about their nationality and their duty to educate their children as Ukrainians?

K: No, no, it is not that. They remain Ukrainians but this is no problem for us. You are exaggerating. And actually, why do you bother so much with all that. You don't live in the Soviet Union. You haven't been there. You don't know what the situation is like.

O pointed out that he was not the only one abroad who was deeply concerned with what was going on in the Ukraine and in the Soviet Union. The whole emigration was interested in the fate of its people. "We all try to maintain contacts with our nation and consider ourselves its members. Lenin was also abroad, but was concerned mainly with the fate of his people at home. And besides, I have been in the Ukraine and know what it looks like." He stressed the fact that emigres also love their motherland, but they don't approve of the regime oppressing their people.

K: And what regime do you want? All your efforts are in vain. The people have chosen their present system and nobody is going to change it.

At this moment O was surrounded by another 15 or 20 Soviets and "the collective treatment" began. O did not give in and continued to maintain that every national organism strives to preserve itself. Language and school are very important instruments. Ukrainians even in Canada and in the States send their children to Ukrainian schools, although they live on foreign soil.

In the meantime PAVLICHKO appeared and tried to modify the charged atmosphere.

PAVLICHKO: But Stepan, why are you talking about schools? You know these are private schools, and only wealthy people can send their children to Ukrainian schools. All the others send their children to American schools. Didn't you study in English and didn't you ask in English for your job?

O: America is not the Ukraine and not the Soviet Union. I am surprised that you could make such a stupid comparison. Besides, in America not only rich people, but a worker can send his children to private Ukrainians schools, whereas in the Russian Republic he couldn't send them to a private one because it seems to me that in the Ukraine too many people speak Russian. Even in Kiev Ukrainians speak Russian.

K and others began to attack O again and say that this was not true. He had not been there. He did not know.

O mentioned that he had been twice in Kiev and had heard with his own ears that about 90% in the streets spoke Russian.

K: Well, to some extent this is true because in Kiev there are always many tourists. Kiev is a capital. There are many foreigners living in Kiev, many Russians and other nationalities, and not all of them understand Ukrainian.

O replied that there is also a high percentage of Ukrainians, that some people who spoke to him in shops in Ukrainian, preferred to switch over to Russian in the street. On the other hand, some Russians deliberately pretended not to understand Ukrainian. O continued that in 1939 many Ukrainians spoke Polish in Lvov in the streets because they were afraid. But why today do Ukrainians not speak Ukrainian? Are they also afraid and of what?

PAVLICHKO: Wait a minute. You are an educated man. You must take into consideration historical developments and all the other elements pertinent to the problem. You know well that before the war there were very few Ukrainians in Lvov. There were only Poles, and Lvov was a Polish city. I know it well myself because I was born in Lvov. Again, in the Eastern Ukraine under the tsars there were very many Russians and other non-Ukrainians in the cities and many of them live there to date. That's why you hear Russian so often. But this is nothing serious and there is no need to quarrel. All is clear.

Some other Soviets tried to support PAVLICHKO, but in the meantime they were called to form ranks for the parade and O leaving them, pointed out that they should think more about those problems and draw the proper conclusions. This is first of all their own problem.

On 1 August SAWICKI met K. He asked her whether she knew O and said that the latter was a silly boy because he had asked him why Ukrainians did not march separately in the parade.

S asked K in her turn, really why didn't they? K was confused and began to explain that they had all come together on the Grusya and decided to stay together and do everything together. Poles and others marched separately because they had arrived separately. When S laughed at his arguments, he began to tell her that there was no Russification in the Ukraine, that Ukrainians had the same rights as Russians, that the Ukrainian nation had never been as strong as under Khrushchev, together with

the Russian people, etc. DORICHENKO, who had joined them in the meantime when he heard about O, asked S whether O was in the American delegation. K interrupted him with "Most certainly not, not he."

K continued to describe in rosy, colorful life in the Ukraine, the great achievements in industry and the economy and the beauty of Kiev. At the end he gave a series of postcards with views of Kiev.

On 3 August S met K again. K avoided political discussion and stuck to generalities. S went with K and other Soviets on their bus back to the Gruziya but on the way they did not talk about anything important. S took out the postcards K had given her. It was at once noticed by an administrator, who came to S and asked what she had. She explained and he, somewhat embarrassed, went to his seat.

K told S that his daughter would learn Ukrainian, that his wife would also do it, but she was too busy. S gave K some small souvenirs and a doll for his daughter.

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SUBJECT: PAVLICHKO, Dmitro

P belongs to the young generation of Ukrainian poets and writers, but is known for his loyalty to the party line and opportunism in general. He is a poet, a member of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine and a party member.

In 1961 P visited Canada with a group of Ukrainian poets and writers and Cuba in late 1961 or early 1962.

In Helsinki P stayed on the Gruziya, sharing a room with YEVTUSHENKO.

P was one of the initiators of the evening of Ukrainian literature at Druzhba on 3 August, together with Vitaliy KOROTICH. At the evening he was its chairman and the main speaker from the Soviet side.

Officially and in particular in the presence of higher administrators and people like ZAKHARCHENKO, P stuck very much to the party line. In some cases, however, when talking without witnesses to some of our people, he defended his official line rather halfheartedly. Nevertheless, he showed himself without doubt to be an adversary of the nationalists, though claiming to be a Ukrainian patriot.

The leaflet of Z/ch in which he was called a KGBist and a fierce enemy of Ukrainians (a Ukrainian-eater) depressed him and he felt very disappointed and angry about it. It probably strengthened his negative attitude toward "banderivtsi." The dissemination of leaflets and literature by our group, done on 4 August, P considered to be a deliberate attempt on the part of the emigrants to foil the friendly relations that were begun between the former and the Soviet Ukrainians at the literary evening. He was inclined to put the fault above all on OLYNYK, whom he called "a bad man."

KOROTICH characterized P as "a man who always knew how to get to the right place at the right moment" an opportunist, able to make compromises and to write against his convictions to please the party. On the other hand, P had no special sympathy for KOROTICH and called him "one of the weaker younger poets who rationalizes too much, and a poet should write from his heart." P liked DRACH and considered him to be one of the best poets. He described VIDHRANOVSKIY as much too sentimental.

At official meetings and in private P advocated establishment of "human and cultural" contacts between the young generations of the emigration and the Soviet Ukraine. In particular he stressed the

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desirability of meetings of young poets and writers from both sides-- from the States and the Ukraine. He also recommended contribution to "Za Synim Okeanom" to make views of young Ukrainians in America known to their compatriots and "to support this excellent journal, which is widely read in the Ukraine."

On 27 July, after arrival of the Gruziya and partial disembarkation of the Soviets, O was talking with DUBROVA-BOYAROV, when he noticed YEVTUSHENKO. He mentioned it to DUBROVA, and the latter pointed out that YEVTUSHENKO was standing with P. O asked DUBROVA to introduce him to P. Before O reached P YEVTUSHENKO disappeared and O had the opportunity to talk to P alone. P was very much interested in who O was and asked him if there were any other Ukrainians from the States. P did not know about KOROTICH and claimed to be the only Ukrainian poet in Helsinki.

O touched on the problem of contemporary Ukrainian literature and mentioned that P and his friends were often published abroad. P was aware of it, thinking probably of his publication in the "progressive" press in Canada and in the States. P mentioned also the fact that in his opinion the best poets in the Ukraine were DRACH and KOSTENKO.

O asked P what had happened to DZYUBA, a young critic who recently was so severely upbraided by DMITERKO. P replied that DZYUBA was a very capable critic but he talked too much at one of the meetings. P was present at this meeting in Lvov and heard it himself. DZYUBA was asked who in his opinion was the best poet now days. Instead of answering that question DZYUBA started by saying who were the worst poets. And among them he mentioned DMITERKO. The latter was, of course, very angry and began to pay back in kind. P thought this was nothing serious, just a personal feud between the two, between the critic and the poet. When O delicately indicated that he doubted whether this was just a personal feud, P added that DZYUBA made a wrong ideological statement or interpretation. P changed the topic at once, asking O about "Za Synim Okeanom."

P was interested in the editor of "Za Synim Okeanom" KOSACH. O told him the story of KOSACH, his collaboration with the Nazis during WW II, then his switching over to the Ukrainian nationalists, afterwards to Russian "belogvarditsy" and finally, these days, to "you". Where KOSACH will go tomorrow was, of course, unknown but O would not be surprised to hear again that KOSACH had switched sides again. Somebody from the group commented that at least in his old years KOSACH had taken the right course. O replied that he wondered if it was so and most probably this was not the last course KOSACH would take. P said he did not know from what position O was describing KOSACH to him, but he could only assert that KOSACH was an above average and very capable writer and that his journal "Za Synim Okeanom" was

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well edited.

At this point the conversation was interrupted by two administrators, to whom O was at once introduced by DUBROVA. Of course, they gave only their first names and with a cry of most friendly joy, proposed to take pictures. In no time O was taken by the arm and found himself posing as a new star for the KGB-files. O pretended to be somewhat surprised by the great honor he was paid by his new friends and proposed to take their pictures as well. They were not delighted with the idea but finally agreed to it. O took picture of P, DUBROVA, and three others. One of them looked and acted as a big boss on Sunday during the parade.

On 2 August, according to arrangements from the previous night SLUZAR and BOHACHEVSKY met P, who told them that he would come with KOROTICH. He came, however, alone and told S that they would meet KOROTICH in front of Young America Presents, which actually happened. While B was more preoccupied with KOROTICH S took care of P.

After exchange of some superficial generalities, P touched on the question of religion as the first coherent type of conversation. He said that at present there was extremely violent anti-religious propaganda in the Ukraine and the rest of the Soviet Union. He was stressing, however, the fact that people could be educated out of religion. Youth in the Ukraine no longer believes either, because "the gods did not help." He too used to believe, but then "all that disappeared, torn to pieces."

P introduced S and B to some administrators and they went to the American jazz concert. There, when the orchestra was playing rather loudly, S asked P what he thought of the collection "New Poems" published in New York and which he had taken the evening before. P replied that he had no time to read them now, but he wanted to read them after his return.

S mentioned relations between the emigration and the Motherland. P agreed with her that for the emigration proper contacts with the people at home are indispensable. Otherwise all emigre efforts were futile. On this occasion, P mentioned that the young Ukrainian poets in the States should publish in the journal of KOSACH, because it was being read in the Ukraine. "The poets need not agree with KOSACH'S political views," he continued, "but should use his journal for their purposes. If they publish there, they will be known in the entire Ukraine." P also said that a meeting of their poets and those of the emigration would be profitable. He realized that it would be difficult, but, "when someone wants something very much, it is possible to get it,"

P mentioned he was aware of the conditions of the immigration, its

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factious, etc. S commented that the influence of extremist groups among the emigres was rather decreasing and, for example, many of the emigres would support national communism on the order of Yugoslavia. P said that it was exactly the same as the communism of the Soviet Union. Thereupon S answered that the differences in the degree of sovereignty which Yugoslavia and even Poland enjoyed were incomparable with the position of the Ukrainian SSR to which he just shrugged.

Then P gave S a lecture on the dependence of Western Europe on the U.S., the division of the world into two blocks, Soviet progress in all fields and its chances to surpass the West. All that P said in a clear voice so that all administrators could hear him quite well.

At one moment, when S had to speak to P without administrators, he said that he had his goals and he was going to achieve them. S asked him what his goals were and he replied, to write the plays and novels which he was planning.

On 6 August S and B met P at the closing ceremony in the park. P was very sad and looked depressed. P complained that the discussion at the literary evening had not brought much mutual understanding in the light of what happened afterwards. He referred to "attacks on us" in leaflets and asked whether S had seen the leaflet, in which he was called a Ukrainian-ster and a KGBist. S assured him that only a small part of the emigration thought in such a way and the influence of those was declining. P only shrugged. Then he said that he loved the Ukraine and wanted to serve her, whatever the Ukraine would be. In his opinion the tragedy of Ukrainians lies in the fact that they do not think with their heads. As an example he pointed to the UPA movement. In his opinion the latter only destroyed the intelligentsia or forced it to go abroad and left the Ukraine deserted. P implied that S and her friends did not know about the war years. The UPA should have adjusted itself to the circumstances as was the case with Polish A.K. He understood the UPA and did not condemn it, but he thought it had been wrong to continue the fight to the very end. The Polish A.K. dissolved itself soon and joined the Soviet Army. This is why Poles are much better off today than the Ukrainians. The UPA should have done exactly the same.

S wondered whether the UPA could have done the same as the Polish A.K., pointing to the fact that from very beginning the attitude of the Russians hinted at their plan of complete liquidation of the UPA leadership and its political body. P agreed that this was a very complex problem.

On 31 July Martha SAWICKI met P near the Graniya at 1230. He asked her whether she had been born in the States and when she knew from the American delegation. In particular P wanted to know whether she knew OLYNYK. S replied that she did not know OLYNYK. It seemed that

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P like other members of the Ukrainian group, had been told by the administrators to help them in the identification of our and other groups. In this case they wanted to know who belonged to OLYNYK and whether S was one of his.

30 July P promised to see Damian FEDORYKA at Druzhba next evening to give him some advice on writing and to talk in general. P pretended that he was writing and would appreciate very much any advice he could get.

F met P at Druzhba at 2100 hours. He asked P about contemporary literature in the Ukraine and the latter gladly told him about it.

In P's opinion Ukrainian literature is now in full bloom. The Union of Ukrainian Writers has about 700 members and there are at least another 1000 people who write, but whose works have not been published. One should really talk about a general resurgence of Ukrainian literature, and moreover one should stress the fact that the young generation is very strong and talented. The population, and particularly young people, are becoming more and more interested in Ukrainian literature as readers and supporters. Remarkably, even some Russian writers and poets in the Ukraine have begun recently to write in Ukrainian.

From the elder generation of Ukrainian writers and poets P mentioned Mykhailo STELMAKH (Bread and Salt, Human Blood Is Hot Water), Oles HONCHAR, (Individual and Weapon), Maksim RYLSKYI, RUDENKO, Irena VILDE, KOZACHENKO E. and V. KOZACHENKO and others.

From the young generation P mentioned DRACH and KOSTENKO in Kiev, KOCHERSKIY in Kharkov, KOROTICH in Kiev, V. LURIK and R. IVANCHUK in Dnovo, MINIYAYLO in Kiev, ZERLAK and many others. Of the periodicals P recommended "Vitchyzna" of Kiev and "Paper" of Kharkov.

The tendency of the young generation P described as a synthesis of innovation and tradition. As to style, prevailing is the short form, similar to that of SHEFANIK.

P thought literature should not be abstract but concrete and understandable to the people. He pointed to the fact that radio and television play a great role in making the populace familiar with Ukrainian literature. Authors should take this into account. On the one hand they should produce highly qualitative material to compete with others and on the other, their works have to be understandable to the wide masses. He cited YEVTUSHENKO, who said that a poet had to write in such a manner that he could be understood by everybody: the worker, the peasant and the student. P condemned experiments which took place in France in the 1920's.

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P asked F to come to the Ukraine because it was only there that he could learn proper Ukrainian. F mentioned Russification and referred to a Russian who just had told him that in all schools children were taught only in Russian.

P: This is a lie. There are Russian schools in the Ukraine because many Russians living in the cities. Therefore we have both Ukrainian and Russian schools. But in the countryside, in the villages, we have only Ukrainian schools. We have a law according to which parents decide to what school their children should go. Of course, in the higher grades it depends also on the students. They can choose. I assure you this is no problem for us.

F: And what about the virgin lands? Do Ukrainians have their schools there?

P: At present we don't have them, but there are talks going on to establish them. I can't tell you the details, but I know they are talking about it.

Further, P mentioned that many people do not care about their native language, but he personally could not live without the Ukraine, and its people and language. He could not write without the Ukraine. He knew many languages, but could write only in Ukrainian. Of course, Russian is important because it is the language of the Union and as such makes communication with other nationalities of the USSR possible. In the Ukraine Ukrainian is an official language. Prudent Russians send their children to Ukrainian schools because they know that if the children are going to live in the Ukraine, they must know Ukrainian.

P tried to prove that there is no economic exploitation of the Ukraine by Russia and dependence on the Russian economy he called cooperation of the two republics. He pointed out that there was a much greater economic dependence in the West on the American economy, and some people were trying to get rid of it. P had been in Canada and in Cuba, and in both countries he had noticed a tendency to sever ties with the American economy. In the Ukraine only nationalists talk about economic dependence of the Ukraine.

P did not like them. He was a communist and he could not like his enemies. Then he asked F whether he belonged to any party. F said no. P also asked whether F read the Soviet Ukrainian press. F confirmed this and mentioned that from the Soviet press he got a dim picture of today's Ukraine. P said F should read more but that he seemed to him to be on the right path.

On 3 August P told Roman MAC at Druzhba that he had read the book by MAZURKEVICH and thought it was a good scientific work full of factual materials.

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P praised Canadian Ukrainians and mentioned that he had even met some "banderivtsi" in a friendly fashion during his visit to Canada.

After the meeting SEMENETS told MAC that P would write about the evening of Ukrainian literature for the press. It had been agreed so between SEMENETS and P.

P had a very negative opinion of the American exhibition in Helsinki (Young America Presents). In particular he did not like paintings with "sexual motif." It was very cheap stuff according to P.

On 31 July, the meeting of Poets, P defended in a delicate manner socialist realism in literature and art and spoke in Russian after having first looked at ZAKHARCHENKO. His poems he read in Ukrainian and stressed the fact that he was a Ukrainian poet and was introduced as such. Whereas other poets got only five minutes to speak or read, P was granted fifteen minutes by ZAKHARCHENKO.

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SUBJECT: OSADSKIY, Valentin, aka ISKHOTSKIY

Russian literary critic in Moscow  
Editorial Board of "Literaturnaya Gazeta"

O aged 40; 5'7; blond; grey eyes; slim; looks like a Pole and speaks Polish, is a literary critic, very much interested in Ukrainian literature. KOROTICH introduced him to BOHACHEVSKY as a man who had done much for dissemination of Ukrainian literary works among Russians.

O was seen often in the company of KOROTICH and seemed to be a genuine older friend of KOROTICH, for whom he cared very much. According to KOROTICH O helped him to get out by pretending that KOROTICH was indispensable at Druzhba. On one or two occasions it was noticed by our people that O shielded KOROTICH from the administrators and seemed quite worried when one day KOROTICH had to go in a car somewhere in the company of ISHKEVICH.

O was present at the evening of Ukrainian literature at Druzhba on 3 August but did not participate in the discussions. He was very much impressed, however, by the evening itself and seemed to be very pleased.

O avoided political discussions, was very much interested in Western literature, also in Ukrainian emigre writers and modern art. He made the impression of an intelligent, modest man, very careful about what he said and did. In situations where he had to show his political line he did it rather halfheartedly, but on the other hand said nothing that would compromise him in the eyes of administrators.

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INTERPLAY OF DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE ELEMENTS OF SOVIET  
PROPAGANDA

The official line was an interplay of the defensive and the aggressive, with predominance of the former. The Soviets were mainly concerned with repudiation and refutation of all our arguments, mainly regarding the nationality question (Russification), economic and other shortages within the Soviet Union, Soviet aggressive foreign policy, lack of political and individual freedoms and neo-stalinism. Even their "purely" aggressive arguments against the United States and the emigration were actually defensive in their purpose. They must have felt that their direct attacks against the "traitorous Ukrainian emigration" were handicapped by their own awareness of the present situation at home, evidently marked by a new drive of Russification.

The Soviets main attack against the emigration went along the following lines:

- a) The West is not interested in the Ukrainian cause and any hope to get political support from it, and in particular from the United States, is baseless and ridiculous;
- b) The emigre politicians are fully aware of this but continue to serve the American imperialists as paid agents who know there is no return for them to their own people;
- c) The future of the emigration is in its ties with the people at home and the young generation should take the initiative in "enlightening" the "misled majority" of the emigration and in getting contact with progressives and directly with Kiev;
- d) Time will do its job and assimilation of the emigration will be accelerated in the future. There won't be a new war and no new "injections" for the emigration;
- e) History has proven and continues to prove that the only real ally of the Ukrainian nation is the Russian people, and the sooner the emigration realizes it, the better.

One has to admit that about that part of the line directed against Western policy toward the Ukrainians, they felt quite strongly and there were few arguments with which to countervail them.

Apart from that, taking into account the lively resurgence and opposition of the Ukrainian element at home, that of young generation in particular, and the new drive of official policy toward the "amalgamation of nations" (Russification), it is mandatory to strengthen and develop support of Ukrainian elements at home. This should be forthcoming from the emigration and the West in general.



SUBJECT: GUSAROV, Valentin  
Moscow 125  
Lyublinskiy Proyezd  
Dom 3, Kvartira 159  
Tel. ZH 7-76-55

On 30 July SLUZAR met G while talking to an African who had studied at Lumsaba University and his friend from Sierra Leone. Both complained that they could get only a partial scholarship from Lincoln University and therefore had to go to Moscow, though they would have preferred to study in the U.S.

G aged 25-30, told S that he was a postgraduate student of economics at the Economic Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in Moscow. He had an excellent command of German and explained that he had stayed for some time in Heidelberg.

G was very much interested in the American way of life and had a very great admiration for the States and the West in general. In particular he was interested in American popular music and was a great fan of jazz.

G told S that he had heard Benny Goodman and liked him very much. G and his friends in Moscow have tape recorders and record jazz and rock and roll whenever anyone of them gets a record. G said that he had seen the twist on a Prague television show, but in Russia they still prefer to dance rock and roll, because after work they can forget everything with this kind of music. S asked him whether rock and roll is played in Moscow in public places. G said that it is played only privately, in the apartments of friends. When asked whether the government had any objection to this, G said that as far as he knew there were no government restrictions.

G gave S his address in Moscow and also of the school in Helsinki where he was staying as tourist. He wanted very much to see S again.

G offered halfheartedly the standard arguments of Soviet propaganda on disarmament and Berlin but preferred to talk about music and life in the State. He said that he could only dream of coming to the United States.

G admitted that there were great shortages now in agriculture in the Soviet Union and when S commented that perhaps de-collectivization would help, he only laughed and replied that it would be difficult to go back.

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On 31 July S and BOHACHEVSKY were going to meet KOROTICH, when they met some Soviet tourists, among them G. He wanted to stay and talk to S, but was prevented bodily from doing so. He was taken by the arm by someone and made to walk away. He shouted to S that he hoped to see her again. The scene caused embarrassment to the Soviets with whom S and B had been talking.

On 7 August S met G again. He told her that he was leaving that day for Moscow. S promised to get him records and bring them to the station. S met G at the station and gave him the records as promised.

THE MEETING OF FILM ARTISTS AND PRODUCERS

CLUB "DRUZHBA" 3 AUGUST

The chairman was as usual ZAKHARCHENKO, the other main Soviet participants Sergey BONDARCHUK, Nina DROBYSHEVA and fru ILYUTIN. Private talks with artists were uninteresting. BONDARCHUK made the impression of an average intelligent artist, but rather vain and self-confident. ZUBENKO noticed that he was attractive to women. BONDARCHUK stressed that he would play the main role in "War and Peace" on which he would start working immediately after his return from the festival. The film will be produced by Mosfilm.

Nina DROBYSHEVA told of her role as Sasha in "The Clear Sky" Now she is rehearsing the role of Anna Lucia, a Cuban revolutionary, in a play by Puerto-Sorredo which will be produced at the Leningrad Young Spectator Theater. She told ZUBENKO about her stay in Cuba, which she liked very much. To Z she seemed a loudmouth, snapping back often at ZAKHARCHENKO, who liked to talk about her "large beautiful eyes." Politically she stuck to the official party line.

ILYUTIN was primitive, arrogant and embarrassing even to people like ZAKHARCHENKO and ARKHIPENKO. He started his public talk with the assertion that, "Everyone knows how much money is needed for the production of a film. And everyone knows how difficult it is for a young producer to get a job. But this is so only in the West. In the Soviet Union it is completely different. Thus for instance, as soon as I finished school, I was given a job as producer and began making films. You all know well a famous Italian producer Pajeci (?) who makes very good films. When he visited us he told us that he had ready three wonderful scripts on which he had worked for several years, in to which he had put his soul and heart, but he could not make any of them, because nobody was going to give him the money. All the producers were dissatisfied with one thing or the other, and finally he gave up. In the Soviet Union, in our country, that's impossible. For instance, just now I finished writing one script, and I know that the state will give me all the money I need".

ZAKHARCHENKO was embarrassed by ILYUTIN'S talk and trying to discharge the atmosphere, remarked jokingly that ILYUTIN should tell the audience what happens if the state asks him what he needs so much money for. ILYUTIN continued, however, without paying attention to ZAKHARCHENKO'S interruption.

"I can give one example. I directed the film "The Girls," I shot at 45 degrees (c). One artist caught cold and we had to wait until she recovered.

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As a result of that, it lasted longer than originally planned, but I made an application for more money and I got it."

Here ILYUTIN was interrupted by a young American, who asked him what he does with parts which fail or create much controversy among directors and producers.

ILYUTIN seemed not to have understood the question and began to attack the American, "You, as I see, are very young and don't know anything."

This created some commotion in the room, but ILYUTIN continued, "You are still living with old ideals, with antiquated ones."

The American tried to explain himself, pointing out that ILYUTIN had misunderstood his question. ILYUTIN again paid no attention and switched to another topic. "Yes, in the Soviet Union, after the 22nd Congress things changed completely. Prior to that... for instance, take the film "The Clear Sky." The script was written in 1943, but one could not produce it. Only now could we make this film."

The American, "But what would you do now with a film as revolutionary at the present as "The Clear Sky" was in 1943?"

ILYUTIN, "Such scripts as "The Clear Sky"—give me as many as you can. I shall make them all."

In the meantime a young French female artist rose and said she could supply such a script. "Take the book of your great writer Pasternak who had received the Nobel Prize. I mean his Doctor Zhivago."

There was great commotion in the room. Some Soviets were smiling ironically. Others were angry at ILYUTIN and whispered, "Where the hell is he leading. There is a simple answer. Just say that bad films are not being produced, and that's it." The situation was finally saved by ZAKHARCHENKO, who said "Yes, yes, since the talk has turned to literature, let me also say a few words. Various films in the West idealize low human feelings. Some idealize even war. We produce films which idealize only high human aspirations and feelings. Therefore, leave it to us what films we should make. I can assure you, however, of one thing: The film "Doctor Zhivago" could never be shown in our country."

All applauded.

SUBJECT: NIKOLAYEV, P. aka Yevgeniy

N claimed to be Ukrainian, for three years working for the Central Coordinating (Preparatory) Committee of Youth in Moscow. He was concerned in his work with "everything," including young Trade unions. In 1959 N finished the philological institute and spoke fine French. He also knew some English, though he tried to conceal it from some of our people. For one year he was in the States as a student. N seemed to be a big shot among the delegates.

N is 5'7; aged 30; blond, rather thin hair; green eyes; somewhat upturned nose.

N was very much interested in life in the States but from the way he put questions it was obvious that he was mainly concerned with the manner and content of argumentation of our people. He wanted to know about negro problems and the exploitation of workers by capitalists, American leisure, etc. By attacking everything American he wanted to find out the way our people defended themselves. When our people tried to reverse questions and criticized the Soviet Union, he did not mind very much but at once tried to switch again to American reality. He was more interested in internal problems of the States than in foreign policy, though once or twice he mentioned such questions as disarmament, Cuba and Berlin.

N to some of our people introduced himself as Yevgeniy.

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SUBJECT: MOLDAVAN, Luba

Krasnyy Partizan Collective Farm  
Bukovina, Ukraine

M is leader of a maize-growing team in her kolhosp. She is aged 20; brown hair; round face; brown eyes. She claimed to come from CHERNOVITS. She speaks beside Ukrainian and Russian also Rumanian and some French.

M avoided any political topics and seemed genuinely not to be interested in politics. She sang nicely and was primarily interested in singing, asking many questions about choruses abroad and folklore of the Finnish people. When she was talking with our man the latter noticed that they were observed by an administrator, who called M away as soon as he noticed that she had taken a piece of paper to write her address on.

Our man met M on 27 July near the Gruxiya, where she stayed and then on 31 July at Sputnik. His impression was that M was an average, simple girl with no special interests in anything, and moreover with no interest in politics. She knew that there were many emigrants in the West, that many people in Bukovina correspond with their relatives and friends in the West and receive parcels from time to time. She was, however, quite surprised to hear about Ukrainian activities abroad.

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SUBJECT: CHUYKO, Svetlana

C, aged 22, was born in Kiev. She graduated from the 118th Desyatiletka in Kiev. Since 1958 she has studied music, preparing herself as a soloist. In Helsinki she stayed together with Valentina REKA on the Oruziya.

On 3 August 1962 C sang The Nightingale by KROPIVNIITSKIY (contemporary young composer). According to MAC she was not as good as REKA. She was also less talkative than REKA. Together with REKA, M stressed that there were many young singers and composers in the Ukraine and that Ukrainian contemporary music was flourishing.

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SUBJECT: SHTIKANOVA, Zoya

VORONEZH, Ul. Fizkulturnaya, Dom No. 8a, Kv.3

S is a dancer with the Voronezh Ensemble. She is 19 and joined the ensemble immediately after her graduation from desyatiletka a year ago. She wants to continue as dancer.

S was not interested in politics. The only thing she cared for was her career. She was, however, very much interested in life in the States and in the West in general. In talks with BOHACHEVSKY she showed a great admiration for America and one of her main wishes was to visit the United States. She hopes that eventually as dancer she might come there. B's impression about S: an intelligent young girl with an open mind but no interest in politics.

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SUBJECT: VOLODIMIRSKIY, fmu

V is a Komsomol functionary in Kiev, a typical apparatchik of somewhat higher standard. In talks with RUDNITSKY, V repeated known arguments of foreign policy of the States, on Cuba and Berlin. He also denied Russification and predominance of the "elder brother." When pressed to the wall, he kept silent or defended his "line" rather halfheartedly. He was not seen alone but usually in a group of other delegates. In the first days he helped in the identification process. 29 July V was with a group of Russians near the station. When his Russian colleagues could not understand Ukrainian he talked with R as interpreter as proof that for him and his Soviet colleagues, Ukrainian and Russian were not identical.

On 30 July V gave a long lecture to R as to why there were still some economic deficiencies and rise of prices in the Soviet Union. He used old arguments from "Pravda."

V's physical description: aged 24; 5'6; blue eyes; blond; straight nose; slim.

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SUBJECT: DNISTRENKO, Mykola

D is an engineer and chief of shift at a forge shop of a Moscow plant. Born in 1930, his parents died in the 1932-33 famine. Married, his wife is a physician. They have two children: a boy aged 5 and girl Viktoria aged 3. D earns R 150 and his wife R 80 per month. He claimed to be well off and seemed to be quite satisfied with his position.

For "some time" D worked in Leningrad. After D had graduated from his institute, he worked for a short period in Dnepropetrovsk. He was going to move from Moscow to Dnepropetrovsk after his return from the festival. His brother-in-law studies medicine at Dnepropetrovsk Medical Institute, and his sister-in-law works as a teacher in the virgin lands.

In Helsinki D told Fedoryka that he was "in charge" of Soviet sportsmen and helped them as an English interpreter. When asked what he meant by being "in charge," D explained that he was at the disposition of the sportsmen and had to care for their welfare.

D is a party member, a typical Soviet Ukrainian of his category, who tries to reconcile his Ukrainian consciousness with loyalty to the party. He stressed that he liked very much his nation and his native language but at the same time he was devoted to the party, although he knew that his parents had died in the famine and Stalin had done much damage to the Ukrainian people. "But now everything is different, and Stalinism will never come back. Ukrainians have to stick together with the Russians because the latter are natural allies of the Ukrainians and history has proven this many times," he said.

As soon as he moves from Moscow to Dnepropetrovsk, D promised to send his address to F.

On 31 July, after exchange of generalities, D asked F about university studies in the States and in the West. In the beginning he tried to criticize the fact that in the West one had to pay tuition, but after the explanation given by F, in particular about scholarships, he became a good listener. He seemed to be quite surprised when told by F that a worker in the States was able to send his son to the university. He thought that only wealthy people could afford to give university education to their children.

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D was fully aware of the vast economic potential of American society and frankly admitted that there was no point at all to compare the Soviet Union with the United States. All the boasting of Krushchev was "just for simple people," to stimulate their efforts and give them "proper perspective." The Soviet Union will have much to achieve to be equal with the States. D stressed that there was a shortage of labor in the Soviet Union caused above all by great human losses during the war.

D did not think it was necessary for the Ukrainian Republic to have its own diplomatic representation. Moscow takes care of Ukrainian interests and there is no need to spend extra money on that. Moreover, if the Ukraine were granted diplomatic representation, one would have to give the same to all republics. This would be a real mess and cost tremendous expenditures. If the West does not know much about the Ukraine, this was worse for Western countries, but not for the Ukrainian people. "All in the Soviet Union know us and I don't care what they think about us abroad. Anyway, we have nothing to expect from the West. They don't want to have anything to do with us, so why should we impose ourselves?"

D denied that the Ukraine was exploited economically by Russia. He stressed that each republic has its national fund and disposes fully independently of its budget. When shown by F that this was different, he kept silent and then added; "Yes, but do you know that the rate of industrial growth of the Ukraine is the highest in the Soviet Union? Why don't you come to us and see it all with your own eyes?"

Then D stressed that even since 1955 much has changed. "The Ukraine has more rights, is actually an independent state, second only to the Russian Republic. In Moscow and Leningrad there are many Ukrainians, some of them in very high and responsible positions. Ukrainians are very much respected in the Soviet Union." F's impression was that D really believed what he said.

D denied Russification of the Ukraine and claimed that only a portion of city populace speaks Russian. This was particularly the case in Kiev and in some Donbass cities, where there were always many Russians.

D thought that instead of Russification one should talk about the Ukrainization, which started immediately after Stalin's death. As an example he mentioned the case of his brother-in-law. After the latter's return from the Army, where he spoke only Russian, he went to Dnepropetrovsk

Medical Institute to study medicine and was forced to learn Ukrainian there. Russian students in the Ukraine should know Ukrainian. In the universities they must know it, because they get their questions at exams in Ukrainian and the only "privilege" they can avail themselves of is answering in Russian.

D told F that there were many Ukrainian students in Moscow and of course, they don't learn Ukrainian, because there is no need for it in the capital.

D told F much about kolkhozes and sovkhoses. He was convinced that collectivization was absolutely necessary even if there were some excesses and shortcomings. All people are in favor of collective farms. After the war some people in the Western Ukraine did not like them, and many protested. In 1947 many Ukrainians came from Poland and some of them were also against the collective system. In consequence, about 20,000 Ukrainian families returned in 1948 to Poland.

Mechanization of collective farms has made great progress. D stayed in a village near Dnepropetrovsk till 1947 and recently he visited the Ukraine again. He discovered that agriculture is practically completely mechanized now and in this respect there can be no comparison with the 1940's.

Virgin lands was a successful project. The Soviet Union has not only acquired new corn area but also new settled "country" with fast growing towns and villages. Many people went to the virgin lands and many will still go. The people like to work there and don't want to come back. D knows this from his sister-in-law, who works as a teacher in the virgin lands.

F. had a long discussion with D about freedom of thought. D claimed that the Soviet concept of freedom of thought was right and in many cases the people must be told by the leadership what they had to do. Just as in many other branches of human life, there is also a specialization in ideological and political fields and only leadership has the capability to give the final word on these questions. When Pasternak was condemned by the party, the leadership knew what they were doing and this was not for simple people to judge.

F pointed to the fact that very often leadership made mistakes, that these mistakes are very grave. He mentioned Stalin and the cult of personality. F mentioned liquidation of the Ukrainian writers in the 1930's as an example of monopoly on thinking by the leadership. D replied that he did not know what had happened at that time to the Ukrainian intellectuals, but as he understood it, they were against the Soviet regime. They were ready

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to sell the Ukraine to the Germans or Poles, but they refused to collaborate with the Russians, and Russians are our natural allies and have done so much for the Ukraine.

When F pointed out that among the liquidated people were communists who wanted to collaborate with Russians and have been since rehabilitated, D could only say that he knew it, but these were just examples of excesses.

F mentioned the hungry years of the 1930's during which D's parents had died. D did not want to talk about it and replied only that famine was also rampant in 1946, but that it would never come again. No Stalin, no famine. He stressed again that this was now over. Times have changed and there is no point in talking about it again. Better to forget and think of the future, which promises so much.

The same applies to the present situation of the Ukrainian people and to contemporary Ukrainian literature and science. D cited PAVLICHKO from the previous day, who had given F the presence of D a lecture on the present situation of Ukrainian literature and culture. He mentioned again the 700 members of the Union of Ukrainian Writers and a general resurgence of Ukrainian literature, music, and science.

D seemed proud of GAGARIN and Soviet achievements in space. He thought that improvement of living standards, light industry and the increase of agricultural production would also come. "One cannot do all at once," D concluded. F replied that all was possible, but what should be first - butter or rockets? D repeated old arguments about Western warmongers, Kennedy's "threat" to start preventive war, the Birch Society, etc.

F gave D The Ukraine Present and Future, and other publications of Prolog to make him familiar with 1930's.

D invited F to Sputnik to see the film "The Clear Sky," which was supposed to show to him what great changes have taken place since Stalin's death.

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SUBJECT: FILATOV, fmu

F is aged 30; 5'8"; dark hair; dark eyes; broad, almost square face; stocky. He came as a tourist from Sverdlovsk. F said he was a party member.

In conversations with RUDNITSKY, F refused to give his address or any other data about himself. The first time they met at Sputnik on 2 August F stuck to the official line and attacked R for President Kennedy's statement on the launching of preventive war by the U.S. as proof of American preparation for war. He attacked America's attitude on disarmament and denied that the USSR had ever been an aggressor. He asked R to come to the Soviet Union to see what progress they had made and how friendly and peaceful they were. R also repeated the standard assertions on anti-festival sabotage by the State Department (\$250,000 spent on anti-festival activities, etc.)

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SUBJECT: BROTSKIY, Vitaliy

ZUBENKO met B, a painter from Moscow, at Druzhba on 3 August. They had a private talk for about twenty minutes. B is about 5'7"; 47; bearded and bold. B told Z that he had been to many countries but would like to visit Poland and meet contemporary Polish painters. They have interesting works and are leading in this respect.

B told Z that YEVFUSHENKO had some trouble with the party for "Babin Yar" but now everything has settled down.

According to B there is a deep conflict between the younger and elderly generations of Moscow painters. During Stalin's period all painters did what they were told and performed like photographers. After Stalin's death things changed. In particular, since 1956 there has grown up a new school of young painters who search for new ways of expression and new styles. The elderly ones have continued to follow the old line and attack their younger colleagues. They are simply afraid of competition. The conflict was serious but finally the elderly ones gave in and youth was admitted to the Profsoyuz. There is still some feuding. However, the intelligentsia supports the youth and this helps. On the other hand, the common people, the masses, are against modern painting and the old guard very often finds a prop in them for their arguments.

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SUBJECT: ISHKEVICH, fnu

I is a typical KGB officer of medium rank. He is aged 40; 5'6"; slim; brown hair; dark eyes; oval, rather longish face, low forehead; rather emotional, impudent and aggressive. He pretended to be from Stanislaw and deliberately used Galician expressions. They sounded, however, very artificial. I did not want to give his name and only during the evening of Ukrainian literature was he introduced as ISHKEVICH. I is of average intelligence and probably went no further than desyatyletka in school.

I was very active in identification and debate. In two cases he conducted "collective treatment" of our people. He belonged to the higher echelon of administrators and enjoyed being a boss. I was seen giving orders to others. Very often he was seen on his own in the street.

I met practically everybody from our group. At the evening of Ukrainian literature on 3 August he was very aggressive and attacked very strongly the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and OUNYK personally. As one of his arguments he mentioned that the "banderivtsi" killed nine members of his family. On an other occasion he increased the number to fourteen.

I seemed to be a specialist in attacks on the emigration his favorite theme: There are two kinds of emigres, the political elite and the masses. The former calls itself political but actually has nothing to do with politics. The West is not interested in Ukrainian problems not even to the extent that the politicians would like to compromise themselves. Therefore, being complete failures in their professional life, they have to serve the imperialists for money. They pretend that they have contacts in high circles in the West. These contacts are simply their unconditional services paid for with money. They deceive the innocent emigre masses and continue to play their roles as heroes and liberators. The great majority of emigres are those innocent people who are misled and exploited by professional so-called politicians. The young generation should be aware of this and not let itself be led by the elite. It should help the majority to see the truth and help to get rid of those who collaborated with Hitler, helped the Nazis to kill their own people and now serve new imperialists and colonialists.

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SUBJECT: MATSIKIVSKIY, Roman

M is a postgraduate student of engineering at Lvov Polytechnical Institute. He is aged 30;5'6"; brown hair; oval, rather round face; small eyes; has a high voice, speaks with a very heavy Galician accent; very polite and shy. M was in Helsinki as a tourist, mostly in the company of administrators. He avoided any contact with our people.

Participating in the "collective treatment" of BOHACHEVSKY on 6 August, M was halfhearted and had to be "replaced" by SEMENETS, who attacked much more strongly.

At the evening of Ukrainian literature on 3 August, M only listened and in the conversation afterwards did not go beyond exchanging a few generalities with our people.

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SUBJECT: SEYMENETS, Fnu

S is editor of "Melod Ukrainy" in Kiev. During the Vienna Festival he stayed with the Soviet journalists within the delegation and met several of our "big shots" from Munich. He seemed to be "surprised" that some of them had come to Helsinki. In Helsinki S stayed with the Soviet tourists and was seen mostly in the company of high-echelon administrators.

During the evening of Ukrainian literature on 3 August S was only second to PAVLICHKO in active participation in the debate. On the whole he took a rather conciliatory, objective and balanced attitude toward the emigration. He played an important role in producing arguments against assertions of our people on Russification in the Ukraine. After KOROTICH stressed the fact that Ukrainian youth was more and more interested in contemporary Ukrainian literature and history, S seconded him, pointing at the number of letters received from young people by their paper on problems of Ukrainian literature, emphasizing that even some young Russian poets in the Ukraine have begun to write in Ukrainian and that in many cities there were circles and clubs of young Ukrainian poets and writers.

S made a very emotional appeal to our people to inform their colleagues and emigre youth about life in the Ukraine, the achievements of its people and to try to keep lively contacts with "developments at home."

In a more subdued and intelligent way than IMHURVICH S propounded the official line to emigration, stressing the necessity for the young people to separate themselves from "old bankrupt politicians," to find liaison with progressive groups and people like KOSACH and directly with Kiev" on a purely cultural and human basis, putting aside their political convictions." He argued that youth abroad and at home must get to know each other, and publishing in papers or journals like "Za Synim Chozmem" would serve as media of communication between them. He stressed also that the Ukrainian problem had no chance in the West, as the latter is not interested in the future of the Ukrainian people, inseparably connected with the Russian nation. Only in the Russian people do the Ukrainians find their true and proven ally, and the sooner this is realized by the emigration, the better it will be for all concerned.

During the "collective treatment" given to BOHACHEVSKY on 6 August, S used very abusive language and insulted B personally, calling her a paid agent and fascist.

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SUBJECT: KARISHEV, Leonid

KARISHEV is aged 28; 6'7"; straight blond hair with a tinge of grey on the sides; dark blue, shifty eyes. He was born in a village near Kharkovi. He studies biology and history at Kiev University, from which graduated after five years in 1960. For some time he worked in various places as a teacher, including Odessa. In 1961 he was appointed as a pedagogue to the editorial staff of "Yuni Naturalist." Now he is one of the editors. K belongs to the Komsomol and is a convinced communist. His place of birth was burned by the Germans during the WW II. He is single.

K likes SHEVCHENKO, REMARQUE, RAVLICHKO and above all KOROTICH. He does not like TICHINA. He has not read DRACH. In his opinion DRACH and some other young poets in Kiev are "too sensual" and they look towards the West in their search for "novelties" in style and content. This is an unhealthy phenomenon. He admitted, however, that these "sensual" poets are very popular among young people "just like YEVTUSHENKO is in Russia." In general his knowledge of literature is rather poor, his intelligence, too.

K denied that there was any Russification in the Ukraine. When "pressed to the wall", he kept silent. He admitted that there were many Russians in Ukrainian cities, where they came as specialists. Most school books are Ukrainian, though some are in Russian. Ukrainians living outside of their ethnic territory, in Russia and other parts of the Soviet Union have no Ukrainian schools or press, "Because they understand Russian."

30 July 1962 at Club Drushba K attacked very strongly, together with two Russian journalists, the Ukrainian emigration and Banderivtsi. "Bandera was a German agent and had the Poles been stronger at that time, he would have been their agent, too. Banderivtsi defended the interests of the kurkuls and bourgeois intelligentsia and were against the alliance of the Ukrainian and Russian peoples." K promised to send John MCHUL two books by BURSUK about Bandera's crimes.

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SUBJECT: SYDORENKO, Nikolay

S was born in 1933; apparent age 30; 5'5" to 5'6"; slim; blue eyes,, brown, slightly curly hair; mixes Ukrainian with Russian.

S is a student at the Lugansk Pedagogical Institute. He is in his last year of studies. He plans to get a teacher's job in the countryside, because there the living conditions for a teacher are better than in the city. He can get cheaper food and accommodations. He is a member of the Komsomol; married; has a 4 year old boy.

In Helsinki S stayed on the Gruzuya. S was seen mostly in the company of Anatoliy LULCHENKO.

BOHACHEVSKY met S on 27 July near the station in the evening. On 28 July she saw him together with LULCHENKO. Band SLUZAR met both of them on 1 and 2 and then SLUZAR alone on 5 August.

S is a communist, but conscious of his Ukrainian nationality and interested in Ukrainian literature. He gave B his address and asked her to send him some Ukrainian publications but only after he wrote to her first. He will do so about a month after his return to the Ukraine. S was quite surprised with what he heard from B and SLUZAR about activities of Ukrainians in the States. He was particularly interested in the Shevchenko celebration. He mentioned that PAWLICHKO was there. He liked to talk about literature. S changed the subject and his attitude in the presence of LULCHENKO. In the latter's presence, he became a typical Soviet apparatchik, denying that there was any Russification in the Ukraine and asserting that it was contrived by the emigration. He tried together with LULCHENKO to prove that in Kiev Ukrainian was spoken more than Russian, that there were no economic shortages or defects in the Soviet Union, that everything was fine. S did not know about the political murders in Munich and was quite interested in Stashinskiy's case. In the presence of LULCHENKO. S assured B that not more than 1% of the Ukrainians would like to be a separated from Russia and that all who wanted an independent Ukraine went abroad during and after WW II. Both claimed that 90% of Ukrainian youth belong to the Komsomol. Neither S nor LULCHENKO saw any point in developing contacts with Ukrainians in the States because the Ukraine was a state and the emigration meant nothing. They would be interested in American methods of corn growing and this could not be acquired from emigres. According to S and LULCHENKO, only about 1% of the youth believes in God. "Stilyugi" are no problem anymore. The authorities have managed to curb them. There are still some hoodlums,

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but they are becoming fewer and fewer.

S likes symphonic music. He does not care for jazz or any other modern music.

S's address is Lugansk, Stepnaya 289.

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SUBJECT: SHAPOVALOV, Mykhailo Fedorovich

Kiev,  
Velodimirskiy Spusk 9

S has been ballet master of the Vervovka Chorus since autumn 1961. He is age 47; black hair; oval, rather long face; small moustache. He has a son aged 22. After his graduation from Kiev Choreographical Institute, worked for many years in the Kiev State Theatre of Opera and Ballet and also in the Ukrainian State People's Chorus. In recent years he has worked as ballet master of the Ensemble of Railwaymen in Moscow. In autumn 1961 he joined the Vervovka group.

RUDNITSKY met S on 28 July near the Gruziya when he was introduced to him by DORICHENKO. To R, S seemed to be interested in Ukrainian dances and songs and in Ukrainian art in general, without any political articulation.

S asked R many questions about life in the States, wages, salaries, prices and the American way of life. He was less interested in politics or even American spiritual life.

S stuck to the official line as to Russification. According to him the Ukrainians are politically now much better off than ever before. Khrushchev respects Ukrainians and would never allow any discrimination against them. There are many Ukrainians in Moscow in very responsible posts. It does not matter what language is spoken in Ukrainian cities because at one time the Ukraine and Russia were together in a common state called Rus. The party is going to implement amalgamation of all Soviet nations as soon as possible and create one huge Soviet nation. This will be done probably within the next 40 or 50 years.

When R pointed to some historical facts refuting S's assertions, changed the theme and tried to convince R that he should come to the Ukraine to see what a nice life they had there and how strong Ukrainians were. R mentioned some contradictions in his statement and wanted to know how the future amalgamation of nations was to be reconciled with the present strength of the Ukrainian potential, whereupon S replied that the amalgamation was a song of the future, but now Ukrainians were very strong. Besides, amalgamation does not mean Russification, but a synthesis of all nations.

When R continued to press on the topic S changed the theme and began to tell him about Dnipro in New York. He praised Canadian and American progressives, mentioned a Canadian poet who recently went to Kiev on a visit and was delighted with what he saw in Kiev.

S talked much about Lytvynenko, Shevchenko's celebrations in Kiev and knew also about plans to erect a Shevchenko monument in Washington. R told him about Ukrainian life in the emigration, and they exchanged a few words about emigre writers.

S seemed to be very careful in the presence of a Ukrainian delegate on the Gruziya who had many conversations with R and who gave R Ukraine in Questions and Answers. R reciprocated with Documents of the Ukrainian Communists, Prolog edition.

During meetings with R on 3 and 4 August S continued to stick to his previous line but did more listening than talking. R also noticed that he treated him with greater respect and avoided such expressions as "you, young man," what he used in the beginning. At one or two points he even agreed with R as to economic and other shortcomings in the Soviet Union, but in general tried to avoid political topics.

LIST OF ADDITIONAL IDENTIFIED CONTACTS

1. KOLOSOK, Alexander, Ukrainian, Kiev, dancer of the Veryovka group
2. BELOKONEVA, N.T., Ukrainian, student of music in Kiev, gave address as Kiev, Goskonservatoriya
3. GNATOVSKA, Valentina, Ukrainian, wife of GNATOVSKIY, Evhen, dancer, Kiev, Volodimirskiy Spusk 9, Veryovka Group
4. YEGOROVA, Gala, Kiev, Ukrainian, dancer of the Veryovka Group
5. CHAPLENKO, fmu, Ukrainian, Kiev, engineer who helped to build the Baltika
6. DROZHIN, Mykola, Ukrainian, Kiev, dancer of the Veryovka Group
7. POTAPENKO, Galina, Ukrainian, delegate from Kiev
8. GORSKA, Svetlana, Ukrainian, Kiev, dancer of the Veryovka Group
9. BIKOVA, Natalya, Ukrainian, Kiev, Veryovka Group
10. GURIOV, Gennrikh, Russian, Moscow, "Ogoniok" Ul. Pravdy 24, Tel. D3 26 20, correspondent
11. KOMAROV, Yuriy, Russian, Moscow, correspondent of "Sovetskaya Kultura"
12. YAKOVLEV, Igor, Russian, correspondent of "Sovetskaya Rossiya," Moscow
13. SENNIKOV, Anatoliy, Russian, Moscow
14. SEMENOV, Yuliy, Russian of Jewish origin, poet, Moscow
15. POPRECHNIY, Anatoliy, Russian, Moscow poet
16. PANKRATOV, fmu, Russian, Moscow, poet
17. IERAGIMOV, fmu, Georgian, Georgian delegate
18. RESHETOV, fmu, Chairman of the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations, Russian, Moscow
19. TOMASHCHUK, fmu, Ukrainian, tourist
20. LITVIN, fmu, Ukrainian, Kiev, CC of the Komsomol of the Ukraine
21. REKA, Valentina, Soloist with the Theatre of Opera and Ballet, Kiev



SECRET

SUBJECT: Vyacheslav SHOSTAKOVSKIY, "Slavko," Ukrainian  
from Lvov

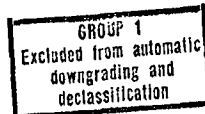
S's apparent age is 25. He is 5'8", greenish-blue eyes, dark blond curly hair, oval face with pockmarks, broad shoulders, thick lips. He speaks with a Galician accent. He speaks Ukrainian, Russian and some English.

S arrived and stayed on the Gruziya. According to his statement he was born in a village near Lvov. His mother was a peasant and is still living. He is a postgraduate student of pharmaceuticals at Lvov University. His hobby is cinematography and since 1958 has been a member of the student film studio in Lvov. In April 1962 he spent three weeks in Great Britain, where he met some Ukrainian emigres. S belongs to the Komsomol and plans to join the Party.

In Helsinki S usually wore an embroidered Ukrainian shirt and walked around on his own. He was seen by our group in Sputnik, Club Druzhba, Young American Presents and also in the street.

Oles Dorichenko warned some of our people about S to the effect that there was no point in talking to people like him. From the very beginning S tried to concentrate much attention on himself by conspicuously parading in a Ukrainian shirt, apart from other Soviets, willing to talk and to make arrangements for a rendezvous and at the same time stressing that he was from Lvov. He introduced himself as "Slavko" and was unwilling to tell his full name. He also refused to give his address. After he had been "discovered" by our people at Sputnik he began to avoid the group. When talking to our people he tried to collect basic biographic data on them without pressing for details.

In talking with other people S stuck to the official line by attacking the West, in particular the U. S., President Kennedy's statement that under certain circumstances the U. S. might launch a preventive war and American policy on disarmament.



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S denied that there was any Russification in the Ukraine. On the contrary, Ukrainian culture is flourishing now as never before. Lecturers who know Ukrainian read in Ukrainian. Lvov has become the fourth university city in the Soviet Union. It has 34,000 students. Russian books are not translated into Ukrainian, because everybody knows Russian. Besides, this would be an extravagant waste of money and work. Graduates are given jobs and positions by the government and this is right. The government and the Party take care of everything. There are many Russians in the cities, because after the war the Ukraine need specialists, and they came from Russia.

In S's opinion art can be free and progressive only when it complies with socialist realism. It must be political, because all of human life is so.

S considered DRACH to be the best Ukrainian poet of today. He also held high opinion of VIKHGRANOUSKIY, ZEMLYAK and ZBANATSKIY.

S made a distinction between the old and new Ukrainian emigration in Great Britain. He claimed to have had chances to talk to some individuals from both. In his opinion the elderly people are more positive, as they are less chauvinistic and there are fewer nationalists among them.

According to S, until 1948 the Ukrainian nationalists were very strong in the Western Ukraine. They did very much harm to the people. They committed atrocities and killed many innocent individuals. Today they complain abroad about the fact that there are many Russians in the administration, but they themselves have contributed to that. By compelling people to abstain from Soviet institutions they have created a situation under which the Western Ukraine had to import some Russians. Many Ukrainian nationalists who were sentenced and deported to concentration camps in recent years have been released and given full rehabilitation by the government and the Party. In some cases they have been given financial reimbursement. There is no discrimination against them. If they are not allowed to settle down in big cities, this is only because Ukrainian cities are overcrowded. They are given jobs, pensions and medical care. They sincerely regret what they have done and are on the way to becoming fully loyal Soviet citizens.

In the "Festival Sputnik" the following was printed about S:

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"A pharmacist of Lvov will take part in a seminar for amateur cameramen. Vyacheslav works in pharmacy and chemistry and takes up filming as a hobby. He has been a member of the student film studios for the last three years. The young Soviet cameraman will make a report, tentatively called Youth on the Screen and in Life."

"SHOSTAKOVSKIY has not forgotten his profession. The festival program envisages a scientific conference on biological problems, and is planning to take part in it.

"In conformity with an agreement on an exchange of student groups," he said, "I spent 21 days in April of this year in Britain. Naturally, I want to see all my new British friends again in the Finnish capital."

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**SUBJECT: BOBROV, Gennadiy M.**

B is age 40-45; 5'6; broad shoulders; square face; dark blond hair combed back, but falling often over the forehead; high forehead jutting backwards; blue, lively eyes; normal nose and mouth; quick smile; Slavic, Ukrainian type; speaks Ukrainian, Russian and some English.

B exchanged addresses with OLYNYK. He hopes to visit the United States in 1962 or 1963 as a participant at some scientific conference. When in the States, he promised to inform O about his arrival and to meet him. After the evening of Ukrainian literature on 3 August, B deliberately tried to avoid O in the presence of the "administrators". Otherwise, he was willing to talk and was quite friendly.

B is an engineer of metallurgy, employed with the Academy of Sciences in Kiev; married; has a little son. Just now he is working on his thesis on the development of technology and its influence on social life. Besides his profession, he has some interest in literature. He is a Soviet type, but conscious of his Ukrainian nationality. B is a Party member.

B was approached by OLYNYK, MAC, BOHACHEVSKY, and some other people of our group, but most of the time he spent with O.

On 2 August O met B at the Druzhba at the evening of young poets. B was in an embroidered Ukrainian shirt and was talking with a Russian and an American. O approached him and asked whether he was Ukrainian. This B confirmed and, after exchanging some small talk, they started to get interested in each other. Soon they switched to the present situation in the Ukraine and to the status of Ukrainian literature in particular. B seemed to be very well acquainted with the topic.

O mentioned that he heard there were many young poets and writers in the Ukraine nowadays. B confirmed it and enumerated quite a few of them, putting emphasis on the great talent of DRACH, VINGRANOVSHIY, and Lina KOSTENKO. "It is very good we have them, this is a real power for us," he finished.

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B did not know, however, about DZYUBA. When O mentioned that there were quite a few Ukrainian young poets in the States, B was very much interested in them. According to him the young Ukrainian poets in the Ukraine were also modernists. "They are young; they experiment," he continued. "They work out their own style. They rebel and don't listen to their elder colleagues, but this is normal. They are young, and when they get older they grow up and mature. Then they will also better understand their elders."

O mentioned that recently they were criticized by some people as "poets of the cosmos". They were reproached for putting in their poetry too many "cosmic terms" and too many "cosmic ideas". B thought the poets were right. "They cannot write again about straw roofs, 'khutory' and oxen. We live in a cosmic age, and they should write about it. I understand them very well, because I have myself to do with technology."

When asked about YEVTUSHENKO, B described him as a good poet, but somewhat presumptuous and arrogant. "He had great success in the Soviet Union, and it went to his head. But he is still young, and when he grows up, he will become normal. By origin he is a Ukrainian and was born in Kharkov. Anyway, he is the greatest poet of the young generation."

O asked B who in his opinion in the Ukraine could be compared with YEVTUSHENKO. "I think DRACH," he replied. "He is a great poet, very talented, young; and he has many friends."

Their talk was interrupted by KOROTICH and then by OSADSKIY, the correspondent of "Literaturna Gazetta" who mistook O for a Soviet by the same name and wanted to give him an article which he was going to send at once to Moscow.

When poets were reading their works, B tried to write them down, in particular those that had not yet been published. He asked O to translate to him a poem by an American, Sal GROSS, in which, among other things, he said that the truth should be told under any circumstances, even if one had to suffer for it. B liked very much and praised GROSS to O for a proper formulation of his thoughts.

B also praised PAVLICHKO for his proposal to organize an international congress of young poets just like has been done by scientists, historians and others.

On the way to the school in which B was staying, they touched upon other topics. According to B there are no Ukrainian schools for Ukrainians in Russian and other Soviet republics, because there are not sufficiently large concentrations of Ukrainians in individual locations. Russians have their schools in big cities in the Ukraine, where they are numerous, but in smaller cities they have to send their children to Ukrainian schools. Even in Kiev many Russian children go to Ukrainian schools. If somebody talks about Russification in the Ukrainian cities, he should also talk about Ukrainianization of Russians in smaller towns and in the countryside.

In the Ukrainian cities there are many Russians and other non-Ukrainians who use Russian. But in B's opinion, Ukrainian is much more spoken in Kiev than some people claim it is. He does not think language as such is a problem. What they are mainly concerned with is an enrichment of Ukrainian culture in general, a new revival of really good literature, etc. Besides, even if Ukrainians accept more and more Russian as a means of communication, it will not mean that they will cease to be Ukrainians. He mentioned that America separated itself from England and, while retaining the English language, became American, but not English.

B admitted that contact between Russian, Georgian, and other emigres and their compatriots at home is more frequent and more substantial than Ukrainian. He thought that Ukrainians should do the same. "Instead of attacking each other and practicing isolation, we should search for common interests as human beings and Ukrainians." He mentioned, however, that there were some difficulties. B thought of hard Ukrainian nationalists abroad who continue to attack their compatriots at home, who were unable to realize that the majority of the Ukrainian nation supported the Soviet regime. They are reactionaries and separatists.

When O mentioned that the Ukraine could be communist but would have to handle its own affairs in a sovereign way, B tried to convince

him that the Ukraine was handling her own affairs and her union with Russia was in the interest of Ukrainians. Not only Russian, but also other republics are helping the Ukraine, and the Ukraine is benefiting from the whole socialist block. At the end he stressed again that there was need for common conferences of emigres and Sovs, of scientists, literary people and, in particular, of young poets and writers.

B asked O what he was studying. O told him he had written a thesis on "The Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations". B was very interested in the topic and wanted O to tell him about it. He explained that he would like Ukraine to become a member of The International Union of Technologists and was continuing to do his best to implement it. The USSR was a member of the Union but he wanted to have the Ukraine there separately. B had in it some personal interest. When he needed some literature for his thesis, he wrote to the union and was told that they could not supply him with any as they had no Ukrainian literature, due to the fact that the Ukraine was not a member of their organization.

O advised B to mention this problem also to the Academy of Sciences in Kiev and at the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. B replied that he would do so, but he thought that above all he would have to talk it over in Moscow, where he was about to go now.

O mentioned participation of the Ukraine in the Olympic Games. B admitted that he was right that the Ukraine should have a separate team, and he was going to talk about it in Kiev.

O gave B his telephone number, which B promised to use after his arrival in the States.

**SUBJECT: ARKHIPENKO, Anatoliy**

A is a journalist working on a Komsomol editorial board together with Irena YERMAKOVA in Moscow, Kropotkina 10. He is age 27; 5'8; dark blond; wears horn rimmed glasses. He has a front tooth missing on the upper jaw. He is energetic, outspoken, cheerful and cynical. He speaks fair English, French and German. He liked to read English detective stories. He plays cards, preferably poker and preference. He likes beer. He leads a loose life. He is self-confident and thinks he is God's gift to women. He has many girl friends all over the Soviet Union and often overlaps his official duties with private affairs, using for that "komandirovka's". He knows many jokes, in particular political ones. He earns 250 rubles per month, but is always broke. He has been abroad previously. In the 1950's A went to Scotland.

A is married but has already applied for a divorce. It will cost him 40 rubles, and the divorce will be announced in the press. As a reason he gave "alienation and incompatibility of temperament".

According to A he and his friends on the editorial board at Kropotkina 10, lead a rather loose life. He told ZUBENKO and YERMAKOVA a story about meeting one of his girl friends. He came home drunk late one night and realized that he had forgotten his key. He rang at the neighbor's and a strange girl opened the door. He explained his predicament, went to her room and slept in her bed. "Thus started one of my real loves," he ended. A also told how he and his friends went often to a restaurant where they drank and ate for a long time and then asked their girls to go with them to bed. A and YERMAKOVA considered it to be quite conventional. From what he was told by A, Z got the impression that the whole board led a completely loose life.

A claimed to be of Ukrainian origin. Actually, he doesn't care very much about his nationality. He is a communist and convinced that sooner or later a cohesive Soviet type will be created. This type won't be either Russian or non-Russian, but a completely new creation. He was glad that Russian is getting more and more "contaminated"

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with Ukrainianisms and other non-Russian words because it is a normal development of a new Russian that will finally become Soviet. The creation of a Soviet man is a prerequisite for a new communist world which this Soviet man will be able to establish. Some economic shortcomings and defects of the Soviet system are self-explanatory to him. The class that rules (and he belongs to it) has to have a better socio-economic position than the whole population. Full equality will be established in 20 - 50 years. He is proud of the achievements the Soviet state has made in industry, education, and military power. He is against war, but hopes that communist revolution will be accomplished without it.

On 5 August A told Z that there had been on 3 August in Helsinki a meeting of Armenians "from all parts of the world". They embraced each other, kissed; and many of them decided to return to the Soviet Union.

On 4 August A told the whole group of his friends at the Club Druzhba, in Z's presence, how easy it was to recognize an American spy. As an example he gave an American of Armenian origin from the States. "He comes to you and he always says that he is an American, but never a Russian, Ukrainian, or Armenian. Then he pretends that his ancestors were of Eastern origin. And then suddenly he speaks perfect Russian, Ukrainian or even Georgian. And he can cite you by heart what, where, how and on which page "Pravda" wrote something three years ago. He will even tell you whether it was Monday, Sunday or Friday. And when you ask him why he bothers with all that, he will adjust his glasses and simply tell you that it was for scientific reasons. Then he mentions at least two universities at which he has studied all that."

A's telephone number is B-98411.

**SUBJECT: ASHANIN, Lev**

**A is a poet from Moscow. He writes in Russian. He belongs to the Komsomol, and was very active in group harrassment of our people. He seemed to be one of those in charge. A is age 30-35; dark blond; slim; well dressed; plays a man of the world. He claimed to have visited the United States "a few years ago" and Vienna in 1958.**

**On 31 July A introduced RUDNITSKY to (fnu) CHAPLENKO, an engineer who helped to build the Baltika. A attacked R strongly in the course of a discussion, claiming that he had seen R with his "bearded chief", who had come from the U. S. to ogganize sabotage against the festival, that the State Department had admitted itself that it had spent \$250,000 on anti-festival activities, etc. He also ridiculed American freedom as a freedom to hit somebody on the head and take his wife away. On other occasions he stuck to the party line and was very intolerant and rancorous.**

74-124-113

### "COLLECTIVE TREATMENT" OF OUR PEOPLE

Some of our people were subjected to a "collective treatment" by the Soviets which went like this:

The object (one of our people) was surrounded in discussion by at least 20 Soviets. In the case of HUDNITSKY on 31 July at Sputnik, he counted 47, including 7 women. The initiative in talking was taken at once by "the leader," either an administrative boss or his touristic counterpart, who began attacking the object with statements obviously prepared well in advance and questions immediately answered by the attacker himself. Whenever the latter was in need of moral support or could not cope with object's questions or answers, the group interrupted our man by shouting nonsensical statements and slogans and laughing. Very often they did not let the object speak at all.

The attack itself started as a rule with a personal insult like, "We know who you are and what you are doing, who sent you and for whose money you work." The object was called agent, traitor, man without conscience, ignoramus, enemy of progress, nationalist on the object's political line and his previously made assertions. This was emigration, and in particular on the politics of the United States. Depending upon the object's emphasis in his talk the attacker made variations to adjust his own attack. Thus, in the case of OLYNYK it was a question of giving him a lesson on the absence of Russification in the Ukraine and on the evils of the emigration, because this was the line along which OLYNYK had attacked them previously. Similarly, as RUDNITSKY touched primarily foreign politics and in particular such problems as Berlin, Russian imperialism, disarmament, Laos, etc., he was given a "proper" lecture on American foreign policy, President Kennedy and even the Birch Society.

The first "victim" from our group was OLYNYK on 29 July. In the presence of DUBROVA and others he was told by a young blond KGBist that "we have already split you wide open and we know who you are and who your brother is. You are wasting your money and you had better go home." This personal introduction included also such statements as "You are the so-called Steve from New York, and we know you from Vienna. Do you know Martha and the other one with black hair? So you are a so-called Ukrainian from the States." This was followed by a series of personal insults. At the end of the attack, OLYNYK was even shown an Azerbaizsian who was handy on the spot and who "proved" that he also understood Ukrainian and therefore there was no discrimination against the Ukrainian language whatsoever. The next treatment OLYNYK received was on 3 August after the reception of the American delegation on the Gruzija. This time Dubrova himself was in charge.

RUDNITSKY underwent collective treatment on 31 July and 6 August BOHACHEVSKY was subjected to a similar procedure directed by SEMENETS on 6 August. The same arguments and assertions were used in general talks by the Soviets wherever they propounded the official line.

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INTERPLAY OF DEFENSIVE AND OFFENSIVE ELEMENTS OF SOVIET  
PROPAGANDA

The official line was an interplay of the defensive and the aggressive, with predominance of the former. The Soviets were mainly concerned with repudiation and refutation of all our arguments, mainly regarding the nationality question (Russification), economic and other shortages within the Soviet Union, Soviet aggressive foreign policy, lack of political and individual freedoms and neo-stalinism. Even their "purely" aggressive arguments against the United States and the emigration were actually defensive in their purpose. They must have felt that their direct attacks against the "traitorous Ukrainian emigration" were handicapped by their own awareness of the present situation at home, evidently marked by a new drive of Russification.

The Soviets main attack against the emigration went along the following lines:

- a) The West is not interested in the Ukrainian cause and any hope to get political support from it, and in particular from the United States, is baseless and ridiculous;
- b) The emigre politicians are fully aware of this but continue to serve the American imperialists as paid agents who know there is no return for them to their own people;
- c) The future of the emigration is in its ties with the people at home and the young generation should take the initiative in "enlightening" the "mild majority" of the emigration and in getting contact with progressives and directly with Kiev;
- d) Time will do its job and assimilation of the emigration will be accelerated in the future. There won't be a new war and no new "injections" for the emigration;
- e) History has proven and continues to prove that the only real ally of the Ukrainian nation is the Russian people, and the sooner the emigration realizes it, the better.

One has to admit that about that part of the line directed against Western policy toward the Ukraine, they felt quite strongly and there were few arguments with which to countervail them.

Apart from that, taking into account the lively resurgence and opposition of the Ukrainian element at home, that of young generation in particular, and the new drive of official policy toward the "amalgamation of nations" (Russification), it is mandatory to strengthen and develop support of Ukrainian elements at home. This should be forthcoming from the emigration and the West in general.

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#### MAIN TOPICS OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA

BERLIN: The U.S. government, together with German fascists and revisionists, has turned the city into a hotbed of espionage, subversion. The Wall was necessary to limit and neutralize those activities and was a simple defensive measure. Sooner or later Berlin must become a free city and the subversive activities must stop. This will happen soon. The people of Berlin want it themselves. They want peace and freedom. The best proof: Even in Helsinki there is a separate delegation from West Berlin. American claims to the city based on occupation rights are ridiculous. How can you claim something in peace from a war that ended 15 years ago? It is time to stop talking about occupation privileges based on war and to introduce a peaceful settlement. This could only be the demilitarization of Berlin, granting to the city full status as peaceful German capital and recognition of East Germany.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY: At one time, in the beginning, the Soviet peoples cherished great hopes for Kennedy. The Soviet government hoped that it would be able to deal on a friendly, bases with the young president. But soon after taking the helm, he changed completely. He became the most aggressive president the United States has ever had. He is a presumptuous, silly man who will soon burn his fingers, as he did in Cuba. He listens to warmongers and wants war. The only thing that restrains him is the military power of the Soviet Union and the might of the socialist block in general. President Kennedy said clearly that under certain circumstances he would start a nuclear war against the Soviet Union. This is the best proof that he plannephew and compels all peace-loving nations to be prepared for any eventuality. But the Soviet peoples are not afraid of Kennedy. If he starts a war he will end up even worse than Hitler. Kennedy's popularity is declining. That of Khrushchev is rising all over the world, even in the United States. He was very warmly welcomed during his visit to the States and many Americans proved that they liked him.

DISARMAMENT: The U.S. government is against any real disarmament. American wants only inspection. This is a euphemism for espionage. They simply want to know what is going on in the Soviet Union and use it as blackmail on the Soviet people. The Soviet Union wants full disarmament based on proper treaties. This is sufficient, because the Soviet government has never broken any international agreements. Being willing to implement full disarmament, the Soviet Union is actually making a sacrifice. It is no secret that the military potential of the Soviet Union is superior to the American in both quality and quantity. But the Soviet people have to keep their military potential intact as long as American warmongers are planning a war against them and do not want to agree to genuine disarmament. The Soviet government is ready to dismantle all its military arsenal for the sake of peace, provided the capitalists will do the same.

THE UNITED STATES WANTS WAR: The U.S. government and capitalist warmongers want war, because they cannot solve their problems in a peaceful manner, either in the internal or international field. They know time is running against them, and they see the only solution is a new war. But at the same time they are afraid that the Soviet Union is too strong for them, and they wait for an opportune moment in the future. In the meantime they continue the cold war, which enables them to earn big money.

Many American senators and congressmen talk openly about war and advocate it to the Government. Yet nothing happens to them. The Birch Society is vehemently agitating for war, and the government doesn't do anything about that for the simple reason that the head of the government himself plays with the idea of a preventive war against the Soviet Union.

In preparation for war the American government continually sends its spies to the Soviet Union like Powers, spy-satellites, special tourists and "people like you who work against your own people." The Soviet Union has no spies. "This is propaganda."

NUCLEAR TESTS: The United States started first. To date the Soviet Union has made only 93 tests, whereas the United States had made 250. America dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese population. The Soviet government would never have done it.

Some people advocate dropping a bomb on Moscow. Among them is the Birch Society. And again nothing happens to them. (To a reply by one of our people that nobody in the States takes seriously the Birch Society, and most people laugh at it, the response was, "At one time they laughed at Hitler, but what did he do afterwards?")

The American press praises nuclear tests and excites the public. It is full of strategic prophecies with detailed description of which Soviet cities will be bombed in case of war. But it will never come to that. American cities would be the first to be destroyed if the U.S. starts a war with the Soviet Union.

The U.S. press and government mislead the public by claiming that for banning tests international, on-the-spot inspection is necessary, because any tests could be detected today by scientific instruments.

ECONOMIC SITUATION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND IN THE STATES: The Soviet economy is potentially the strongest in the world and soon will overtake America. Of course, there are shortcomings caused by economic growth and

by wars that were imposed on the Soviet people. The Americans always point to Soviet shortcomings but don't see their own, which are much worse. The U.S. economy is in a continuous state of crisis. The United States has five million unemployed, whereas the Soviet Union has none.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM: Latin America, in particular Cuba, neo-colonialism in Africa and Asia, the dependence of Western Europe on the United States and Berlin—all are plain proofs of vehement American imperialism. Even such countries as Canada and England are dependent on American imperialism.

Why don't you leave the poor Cubans in peace? Why did you attack them? Why are you preparing a war against them? Anyway, if the Americans start something new, the Cuban people will be helped by the Soviet Union and the whole socialist block, and Kennedy will burn his fingers again.

There is no Soviet or Russian imperialism. The Soviet Union supports liberation movements because they are progressive, freedom- and peace-loving. Yes, we the Soviet people are ready to sacrifice a portion of our own food and facilities to help those poor people, because we know from our own past what misery means and we want to relieve them of it. But there is still enough left for the Soviet people themselves and nobody starves.

The Soviet Union does not oppress anybody. All nations of the Soviet Union are equal and sovereign. There is no discrimination against Ukrainians or Georgians. But Americans do oppress their own people like Negroes and Puerto Ricans. The Soviet Union could cope with the negro problem within seconds. If President Kennedy is supposed to be such a progressive man (as you say), why doesn't he do so.

The Hungarian and Polish revolutions and the Berlin uprising were all capitalist propaganda and the work of hired fascists and bandits.

FREEDOM: Americans claim to have a monopoly on freedom. This is freedom for capitalists to exploit the working class, to let a worker starve without a job, to let children play with guns, to let teenagers read pornography openly, to persecute the negroes, to idolize crime, to take somebody else's wife and hit him on the head, to die from lack of medical care because of lack of money, etc. The Soviet peoples do not want such freedom. There is freedom of press, religion and speech in the Soviet Union. Nobody is restricted in exercising them.

AMERICAN MILITARY BASES: This is an additional proof that the United States prepares for war against the Soviet Union. The U.S. has surrounded the Soviet Union and endangered innocent people of neighboring countries on whose soil these bases have been placed. In case of war the Soviet Army

will wipe them out with one single stroke.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD THE UKRAINE: Americans do not recognize Ukrainians as a nation. They don't even know the difference between Ukrainians and other nationalities of the Soviet Union. They are planning to reintroduce capitalism in to the Ukraine and divide it again among Russian, Polish and other capitalists who will be subservive servants of big American monopolies.

(Referring to emigres): How can you support Americans, who suppress other people and prepare a new yoke for your own people? Don't you realize that only in union with Russia can the Ukraine survive? In case of war would you shoot at your own people and drop atomic bombs on them? Don't you see who and what the nationalists are who serve the American imperialists? They can't even justify it with "politics," because the United States does not do any good for Ukrainians anyway. On the contrary, it does not even admit their existence as a separate nation. It is obvious that they serve only for money and use you young people for their dirty jobs. But you are like all of them if you follow your present leaders.

The only source of strength for the young Ukrainian generation abroad is the Ukraine itself. It has to find ways and means to make contact with the people at home. One wella would be cultural and human contact with youth in the Ukraine through "progressives" or directly with Kiev. Youth abroad must discard old ideas and leaders and orient itself on the people, helping the majority of innocent and misled emigres to make contact with the Ukraine.

THE SOVIET UNION WANTS PEACE: Nobody in the Soviet Union wants war. We are building communism and need peace. The Soviet people are aware of what today's war would be like and do not want the destruction of mankind. Communism will prevail without war. People themselves, also the American nation, will adopt socialism as the only solution to their problems in the future.

American managers play with the idea of nuclear war because they have never experienced real war and are blinded by their fear that all people will finally turn against them.

All Soviet men and women know what war is like. Every family lost a father, husband or other relative during the last war, and they all are very strongly against any new war.

A BEL-FESTIVAL ACTIVITIES: All efforts of the State Department and "other" departments to foil the festival are in vain. The State Department connected itself that it spent \$250,000 for sabotaging the festival. They sent people like you to do their traitorous work. We know who your bosses are. (In one case they claimed to have seen our man with his boss, who had a bear and who was in charge of the whole operation.)



The people who demonstrated against the festival parade were paid hooligans made drunk by American agents and their handhelpers. They stoned Soviet buses, and several people were hurt. This was pure American gangsterism. And why did they do it? If they don't like the ideals of the festival, they should have stayed at home.

Many "anti-festivalshchiki" came here to teach us what we should do in our country and to inform, and enlighten us. You are the ones who need proper enlightenment. There is no need to tell us about Stalinism. We know more about it than anybody else, and we can distinguish what was wrong with him and what was right. We also know better what is good for us and our future. Anyway, we know what the motives are behind all the enlightenment and friendly advice, and you may skip them. So, don't interfere with our affairs.

**SUBJECT: SHATURIN, Rodin**

**SHATURIN is a Russified Tatar who cares very little for his nationality. He is a party member, of rather low intelligence, a typical apparatchik, age 32; 5'6"; black hair, combed back; dark eyes; somewhat yellowish complexion.**

**Leo RUDNYTSKY met S on 31 July near Sputnik. In a 30-minute conversation, S denied that there was any exploitation or oppression of Tatars or other non-Russian nationalities. As to Russification, he admitted it existed to some extent, but should be called Sovietization. Sooner or later there will be established one language in the Soviet block which will be neither Russian or any other existing language. It will be a real mixture of all languages of the nationalities of the Soviet Union. Of course, Russian will constitute the basis of it. The Communist Party will succeed in creating a pure Soviet man who will be a synthesis of all nationalities, a genuinely universal type who won't be Russian, though with pre-dominant Russian features.**

**R met S also on 2 and 3 August at Sputnik, but continued to stick to his party-line.**

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SUBJECT: MAROGOSHIN, Pavel, alias Pavel VLASOVTSSEV

M seemed to be a higher officer of the KGB and rather intelligent. He claimed to have been in the U. S. on a visit in 1960. In talking, he concentrated on the higher echelon of his adversaries. He was rather impudent and aggressive. The name he gave to our people seemed to be just another "alias".

He was about 35; 5'10"; average stature; black hair combed back, receding on the sides; oval, longish face; black, rather piercing eyes; no glasses.

M seemed to be convinced that OLYNYK was interested in Soviet youth leaders and tried to check on that. He also knew that BOHACHEVSKY "belonged" to OLYNYK and asked her about him, pretending to be very good friend of the latter, and using "surprise tactics" in putting questions.

On 27 July OLYNYK was talking with PAVLICHKO and DUBROVA near the Gruzija about American literature in which PAVLICHKO was interested, when they were approached by M. The latter was introduced to O by DUBROVA, who used only M's first name. M introduced himself as VLASOVTSSEV, after O asked him about his name. M embraced O at once, saying that he knew him from Vienna. He remembered O very well from various seminars and meetings. This was not true because O had never seen him before, but he kept silent. PAVLICHKO parted at once and said he hoped to see O sometime in the future. O remained with M, DUBROVA and two or three other delegates.

M asked O what he was doing; what was his occupation; his working place; what did he study; what was the title of his PhD thesis; and what languages he spoke. Then he took O aside and continued his questioning: how and from what angle O studied political systems; what countries and what political systems O was interested in; in what country did he specialize; what was his understanding of the structure of a state and from what basic principles he studied it. O gave him true answers. As to his political principles and views, O replied that this was a very wide topic and they had too short a time to discuss the same. Moreover, there

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was no single theory in the West that would encompass these problems, but rather different schools of thinking which in the process of analytical practice come to certain conclusions. This is not like in the Soviet Union, where only one theory absolutely dominates within the framework of which all and everything has to be explained. In the West, because there is freedom, normal process of dialectics is possible. Opposite views collide with each other, and in a free discussion a real synthesis emanates from the collision.

M asked what theory of basic principles O believed in. O answered that he was in favor of a pluralistic society wherein a free encounter of different views and interests, a free will of the people, could crystallize. O thought that only in such a way could a real majority be discerned and that any political system should be based on respect of the individual, for whom the state had to exist and serve his interests, and not vice versa.

M wanted O to write him his name in Ukrainian. O did and asked why he disguised his true name. M tried to get out of the predicament by asserting that O knew him anyway and that MIROGOSHIN or MAROGOSHIN was his real name. He asked O who from the Soviet youth leaders he knew. O replied that he didn't know anybody because he was not interested in them. M asked him whether he knew RESHETOV, whereupon O replied that he didn't.

M: So, you don't know anybody. You are disguising yourself, what? And do you know... (and he enumerated a series of names, looking intensively at O's face to check on his reaction. O really did not know them and could not even remember their names.)

M was very surprised at O's reaction, but continued not to believe him.

O was walking around one day when he again came across M. M introduced O to an elderly man who was one of the administrators. Again, the same topic: whom O knew, among the Soviet youth leaders. This scene was repeated several times during the following days.

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SUBJECT: Irena V. YERMAKOVA, Ira, Russian  
Office Address: Moscow, Kropotkina 10,  
KMO, USSR (Komitet Molodezhnikh Organizatsii)  
Private Telephone: KH 6-79-14

Y claimed to be 28 but looked 32; 5'6", slim, black hair, cut short with bangs, oval face, wore hornrimmed glasses, slightly uptilted nose. Y is rather emotional, almost hysterical, easily excitable. She is a chain-smoker and can consume a great amount of liquor without any apparent effect except that she gets melancholy and talkative. She likes to play cards. ARKHIPENKO's comment, "She plays cards like a man."

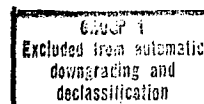
Y is oversexed. Her favorite subject is eroticism such as "La Dolce Vita". In teaching ZUBENKO literary Russian she started with the word "exhibitionism". According to what she said about her life in Moscow, with her friends from KMO, she leads a typical Moscow La Dolce Vita. In the presence of Z she discussed with ARKHIPENKO without any inhibitions Z's highly escapades and girlfriends.

Y is very critical of the Soviet system. She actually has a disdain for it. She considers it to be wrong, hypocritical and full of deprivations. She made critical, cynical remarks and comments on Soviet reality and her colleagues from the Komsomol and the Party. In this respect she could be described as an angry, cynical opportunist. She works in a Komsomol editorial staff. She does not like her job very much but she is fond of her salary and the general, rather loose milieu existing at the top of her organization.

Y is married. Her husband is a journalist. "He is good but I don't care for him", she says. She does not mind going to bed with another man if she loves him. According to Z, her attitude toward her husband might be rooted in what he stands for, in his convictions and job. Y refused, however, to elaborate on that. They have no children.

Y's parents live in Moscow. They have a dacha outside of the capital. They are very well off. Her father is a major with a technical unit. Subject likes her parents more than anything else in the world. Her brother, two years older, is an engineer.

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Y likes a comfortable, loose life. She likes films, the theatre and good music. In particular she likes Eastern music. Y explained that when she was young, during the WW II, she lived with her parents in Iran and learned to like Eastern music. Her favorite actor is Ivashov.

Y studied linguistics, but claimed to know only Russian.

Y told Z that in 1947 or 1948 she had been in Norway. ("Oh, I like the high wooden stairs in front of the houses I saw in Norway.") She also lived for a short time in France and in Scotland.

Y claimed that YERMAKOVA is also her maiden name.

As of her second meeting with Z, Y gave a clear indication that she would like, eventually, to remain in the West. She vacillated till the very moment of her return to the Gruziya on 7 August but finally decided to go back. As reason for returning she gave only her concern for her parents, who would suffer for her defection. She was also worried about the fact that she might be unable to sustain herself abroad. As she tied her willingness to defect mainly on her affection for Z, the latter did not encourage her by obligating himself. She promised to write and hoped to see him in the future either abroad or in Moscow. Z's impression was that should she eventually get out of the Soviet Union again, she would probably remain in the West.

Y arrived and stayed on the Gruziya. In Helsinki she worked on the staff of the Club Drushba as hostess. She also helped in some editorial work. Y had relative freedom and could move around without company. She complained that she had to get up early, at 0630, and return to the Gruziya at 2300 hours.

Y was on good, friendly terms with ZAKHARCHENKO, director of the Club Drushba, ARKHIPENKO, YEVTUSHENKO, PAVLICHKO and others. She claimed that PAVLICHKO had fallen in love with her. In the presence of RESHETOV, Chairman of the KMO, Y was somewhat more restrained than usually.

Y indicated that she had some knowledge of the Russian and Ukrainian emigrations. At one meeting she said that there were differences between Russians and Ukrainians inside the Soviet Union. She did not want to elaborate on it.

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Z introduced himself as a German of half Russian origin by the name of George STEPUN, student employed with the Bauwirtschaftsinstitut in Aachen part time. He met Y for the first time on 30 July at the Club Druzhba and saw her almost every day until her departure. He visited cafes and restaurants with her, once in the company of ARKHIPENKO.

Z met Y first in the library of the Club Druzhba. They talked about modern poetry. Y did not know very much about it, but she liked it. They came to YEVTUSHENKO's poetry. Y did not like YEVTUSHENKO. "He is egocentric, bigheaded, and at the same time too much concerned with pleasing masses." Z remarked that it was in compliance with Leninist principles to write for the people. Y laughed, looked at him ironically and replied, "Perhaps you are right, but I think a poet should write, above all, what he feels and not what pays best." Then she said, "we have enough principles to follow in everything. It is time to do some good without them."

PAVLICHKO was reading his poem in Ukrainian. Y asked Z whether he had read any works of PAVLICHKO. Z replied that unfortunately he had not. Y laughed and said, "I haven't read him either. You haven't missed very much. Unfortunately this applies not only to PAVLICHKO."

ZAKHARCHENKO was conducting a discussion on opportunities and prospects of development of poetry in the Soviet Union. When Yuliy SEMENOV, a Russian poet of Jewish origin, asked who ZACHARCHENKO's opponent was, Y whispered to Z, "his own conscience; nobody else".

After the concert on 31 July, Y went with Z to the garden. All the time she tried to keep apart from other people. She asked whether Z was married, whether it was difficult to get divorced, whether she could marry someone abroad when separated from her husband. She asked Z what he was doing, whether he had a comfortable life, etc. She asked where he planned to go on vacation. She herself would probably go to Azerbayzham, but she didn't know definitely.

It was cold outside and they returned to the club. Y wanted to see the film Ballad of a Soldier. Z sat with Y and they watched the film. Y became very excited about the film. When it was finished she drew Z again into the garden. She actually cried, and was very upset and murmured, "That's what they did and they called it the happiest, the most heroic life a human being might have. You can't understand it. They lied everywhere and to everybody,

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even to themselves. " Z tried to calm her down. Y mentioned some first and last names. Z could not catch them. She called them swine, liars and hooligans. He understood that they were from the Party or Komsomol.

Finally Y calmed down and became rather sentimental. She told Z how her mother in 1938 had put away a bottle of good cognac and told all that she would open it when Y got married. When Y got married she did not open it but promised to do so when Y had her first child. "Now we are all waiting for my child but it does not want to come," she said

Y mentioned the high wooden stairs in Norway that she liked so much. For some time they had lived in Norway, in such a house. She liked the garden and flowers, and she wanted to be in Moscow then, where her parents had so many flowers, she remarked that soon she would have to go back. Z asked what she meant--to the Gruziya or Moscow. Y thought for awhile and then said, "Unfortunately both". Half jokingly she added, "Why don't you take me away from here? Do you have a boat? I should return but I don't want to." Z remarked that he had no boat and besides they wouldn't get very far by small boat. "Then take me by something else, for instance by car." She remembered a French film in which a young boy takes away his girl friend on a scooter. She liked the story. Z said that a defection was nothing to joke about. The people who do it must have their reasons for it. Y looked at him somewhat surprised and replied, "I was not joking". Z mentioned something to the effect that he had no car. She kept silent.

Suddenly Y asked Z how he liked SEMENOV. "You know, he is Jewish, but they let him go to Helsinki." They talked about Jews and Israel. Y seemed to be rather sympathetic to the Jews.

Indoors Y told Z that PAVLICHKO had made a declaration of love to her last night. "He is funny and silly," she added.

Y asked Z how he felt being German while his ancestors were Russian. They began to talk about the difference between "Heimat" and "Vaterland". Y wanted to know what Z's future plans were and what he wanted to do in life.

Y mentioned that the Finns did not seem to like the festival very much. Last night they had thrown stones at Soviet buses. One man was hit. She knew that there was a publication in French against the festival. She had seen it. "Their business," she commented.

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On 20 August Z again mentioned her defection. "I am thinking about it. Ah, it is so difficult to make up my mind. I am thinking of my parents and brother," was her reply.

They talked about Germany. Y said she did not like the old Germany. She did not know the present one either. She would prefer to live somewhere else in Europe; Paris, somewhere in Scandinavia or even in Spain.

On 3 August Z met Y at the Club Drushba as arranged. Y introduced him to BROTSKIY, the painter, ILYUTIN, DOVBUSHEVA and others. It was a meeting of film artists. ZAKHARCHENKO was chairman again. ILYUTIN began to talk about the great opportunities of Soviet producers. They can have as much money as they want. The government and the party take care of everything. Y sneered at the talk. ILYUTIN continued along the same line. He gave as an example of the great opportunities of young producers in the Soviet Union, himself. As soon as he had finished his studies he had gone directly to the studio and was given his chance. He claimed that this is the usual pattern in the Soviet cinema. Y looked at Z and whispered, "Now you can understand why our films are so bad."

When at the end one of the French participants proposed to ILYUTIN to use Doctor Zhivago as a film script, Y was quite pleased with the commotion in the hall among the Soviets, who were dissatisfied with the discussion that followed afterwards.

Y again mentioned defection. Z said he had a Finnish friend who could help. It was no problem at all. He said some Germans had defected in the meantime. Y asked him whether he was sure about this Finnish friend. Z assured her. Suddenly she said, "But what happens to my parents? I don't care about my husband, but what about my parents? And how shall I sustain myself abroad? I have heard about Golub. He was dragged from one intelligence spot to the other until they finished him. Will I have to do the same?" Z answered that she must decide herself what was best for her. He did not know what had been done to Golub. He was simply going to help her with his Finnish friend. "But it is so difficult when you love somebody like your parents, you know you will hurt them. I really don't know what to do," she said. Z said that this was a good opportunity. She kissed him and kept silent.

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On 4 August Y and Z went together to welcome Gagarin. After that they went to supper. Y told Z she had seen PAVLICHKO and he told her that he had seen Z somewhere in Moscow or Kiev. (Z had told her previously that he had been in the Soviet Union.) PAVLICHKO was very jealous of Z. He complained about Z to YEVTUSHENKO. The latter calmed him down. "PAVLICHKO is dependent on YEVTUSHENKO, or rather he respects him very much. I don't know what for," she said.

Z told Y he had seen a recent number of "Izvestiya" in which there was correspondence from Italy by a YERMAKOV. He asked her whether this was her husband. She answered briskly, "My husband has not been recently in Italy."

On the way back they met RESHETOV. He grinned but Y was somewhat uneasy.

On 6 August Z met Y at the Club Druzhba. After Druzhba had closed Z, Y, and ARKHIPENKO went to a bar to drink beer. ARKHIPENKO talked mostly about his love affairs in Moscow and himself. Y was rather amused and "helped" him by putting pointed questions.

On the way home Z and Y sat in the park. Z gave her a powder compact. Y mentioned her defection. She still had not made up her mind and did not know what to do. She had dreamed about her parents. It was a terrible dream. Y was upset and restless. They talked about Freud. She enjoyed the topic and calmed down.

On 7 August Z met Y at the Uspenska Church at 1130. They had lunch together. Y was very sad. She had not slept the previous night. She had thought again about her defection but still did not know what to do. Again there was the old story about parents and brother. She told Z that all passengers were supposed to be by 1400 hours aboard the ship. They all would be counted and then wait till departure at 1700 hours.

Y: I shall write, but don't wonder if my letters sound different from what we say now. Somebody might read them.

Z: But who?

Y: Ah, who, I am telling you so that you know. Don't be surprised. Couldn't you come to Moscow one day?

Z: Perhaps. Perhaps you will come to Germany.

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Y: We are not liked very much in Germany. You know, now it is possible in the Soviet Union to marry foreigners. One of my girl friends married an Italian and lives now in Italy. Another married a Frenchman and lives with him in France. I think it has been allowed since 1959.

Z looked at his watch to see how much time they had. Y complained again about going back. She asked whether Z was sure that his Finnish friend could fix everything. Z assured her again. "But what about my parents?, the same old story on her part. She was very upset with tears in her eyes and very nervous. At 1515 or 1520 she decided to go back to the Gruziya. They kissed and parted. Her last words were, "Perhaps I am making a big mistake, but I cannot do otherwise."

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