

SUBJECT: TSURKAN, Valentin

SOURCE: M.

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
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NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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1. On June 5, 1963 during a meeting initiated by TSURKAN, the latter told M that he himself and his colleagues from the Permanent Mission of the Ukrainian SSR at the United Nations were willing and actually even eager to talk with various Ukrainian organizations and individuals in this country on the subject of establishing "at least" some sort of cultural contacts and co-operation between the emigration and the Soviet Ukraine through her Mission at the UN in New York. This was presented to M as a great secret of TSURKAN which he decided to disclose to M. at the end of their talk. The whole meeting was, of course, directed by TSURKAN in such a way as to prepare M for "his secret" and spund out his reaction in advance. According to TSURKAN the Mission recently changed completely their views about the Ukrainian emigration and did no longer consider it as just a bunch^{of} useless individuals. They found out that there were many positive people among emigrees that should ~~be~~ ^{not} made responsible for their landing abroad in consequence of one ~~of~~ the other "accident of fate". In spite of political or rather "ideological" divergencies between the emigration and the Soviet Ukraine, ^{he} ~~they~~ thought at least a cultural co-operation between the two ^{were} ~~was~~ quite ^{feasible} and stressed the necessity to work for that goal. TSURKAN also stressed that this co-operation could be arranged and developed without any political sacrifices on either side. He himself seemed to be very enthusiastic about the idea, indeed. In the near future he is leaving for KIEV for ~~1~~ month vacations and after his return hopes to continue his efforts to ~~normalize~~ their relations with the emigration.

THURKAN was also interested in LYMAN, L. -Editor of "Notatnik", Grand Central Station, POBox # 2325, New York 17, N.Y. He asked M whether LYMAN was a true

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name, where LYMAN stemmed from, what was his age, who in reality stood behind him: what organization or individuals; who financed "Notatnik" etc. TSURKAN praised "Notatnik" as a quite objective publication and in particular he liked the article entitled "The Ukraine and the World" in ^{the} March 1963-issue of "Notatnik". He thought LYMAN gave an almost friendly appraisal of the work the Permanent Mission was doing at the UN. Therefore he wanted to convey through M to LYMAN ~~that~~ ^{he} himself, as well as AKYZIA and other colleagues of his, were very satisfied with the article.

M's reply was that since TSURKAN knew the address of "Notatnik" the best way to do it would be to write directly to LYMAN.

2. On 5 June 1963 at about 15.40 hrs TSURKAN called M at his office and told him that he would like to see him at once on a very urgent matter. Being aware that TSURKAN might check on his movements and in particular on whether he will telephone someone, M ran out of his office and from the nearest telephone booth called C. Eventually, he was going to phone first his friends from the FBI but having discovered he ~~left their~~ ^{telephone-number} ~~at home~~, he called C. Shortly after he left the telephone booth, he saw TSURKAN go in his direction from the place where they were supposed to meet, i.e. on the corner of Waverly and University. After greeting, they went along the 6th Ave and shortly afterwards stopped in a bar between Waverly and W 4th Street. There they stayed from about 16.00 ~~hrs~~ to 21.00 hrs.

3. The urgent matter TSURKAN asked M for, turned out in the beginning to be a quite ^atrifle thing: GAPON, before his departure to the Soviet Union, gave ~~to~~ TSURKAN "Rozstrilane Vidrodzennia" ~~by~~ which he borrowed at one time from M. Now TSURKAN was going to return it to M according to GAPON'S wish. ~~Strangely~~ ^{odd} enough, however, TSURKAN did not take the book with him and was going first to discuss it with M. He promised to bring the book next time.

3. Referring to "Rozstrilane Vidrodzemia" on the one hand and the Paintings-Exhibition at Washington Square, on the other, M directed their talk to the present literary and art situation in the Ukraine. TSURKAN asserted that there were among the present literary generation a great many an immature and egoistic element, who committed some serious mistakes. He did not think however they will "seriously" be persecuted. Just on the contrary: pretty soon they will be published again. TSURKAN was not going to criticize all and everything they have written. Their main mistake was that they did not apply proper methods to get their views through. Before putting forward ~~any~~ ^{rather} controversial and very often politically weak stuff they should have first learned from people like BAZHAN, TYCHYNA, RYLSKYIa and others how to "establish themselves, secure strong positions" and then go ahead with their plans. As an example he mentioned a case of KORNIYCHUK in 1956. At that time KORNIYCHUK had just finished his play "The TRUTH" that was going to revolutionize the Soviet society. He went with it to various publishing houses and literary organizations in KIEV and sent it also to similar ones in MOSCOW. No one, however, was ready to publish his "Truth".^{2/} Then KORNIYCHUK went on the train to MOSCOW and there by appearing personally at various institution finally convinced the people concerned that his work should be published. And it was published with necessary approval and blessing from above. Only after that, [#] ERENBURG, NEKRASOV and others dared start their controversial writings "sheltering" themselves behind KORNIYCHUK'S "victory".

Of course - according to TSURKAN it does not mean that all old poets and writers are absolutely impeccable. Among them there were also some people who liked to put ^{up} their ego above everything else. Thus, he mentioned, TYCHYNA too at one of the recent celebrations of Shevchenko-anniversary had asserted that his poems only future-generations will be capable to understand, in 100 years or so.

So - continued TSURKAN - there is actually no difference in this respect between TYCHYNA and some of his younger colleagues who think they and only they ^{have} discovered

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truthful and genuine poetry , that only they are honest and capable of "reforming" the Soviet system, which has been to some extent distorted at the time of the cult of personality.

TSURKAN told M that he likes the poems of ZABASHTA. He is also very fond of VINHRANOVSKYI and wanted to know what in particular M liked in KOSTENKO'S and KOROTYCH'S writings. M replied that he was delighted with their style and general subject matter of their poems. On that occasion he asked TSURKAN why actually does the system persecute them since in his opinion they are genuine communists eager to promote new revitalized progressive ideas in the ~~some~~ party. M did not agree with ^{some} emigree-interpretations which were inclined to see in young ^{potential} poets "Ukrainian nationalists " but he could not accept official attitude of the regime to them, either. TSURKAN replied that he quite shared M'S opinion . As to KHRUSHCHEV'S attacks - he thought - they were justified and in time , and will be only beneficial for "the young people". KHRUSHCHEV is an authority , he is very popular, although he (TSURKAN) has to admit that he represents " somewhat conservative society" (zasile suspilstvo).

TSURKAN agreed with M that NOVYCHENKO ~~was~~ compromised ~~himself~~ by castigating himself at the Conference of literary workers with the party-activists in KIEV. He should have stood up to defend not only himself but also his younger colleagues.

TSURKAN was against any form of abstractionism. This is the only ~~form~~ kind of art he could not stand. He mentioned Emma ANDIYEVSKA as an example.

4. TSURKAN did not deny M's attacks against the Russification in the Ukraine. He stressed, however, that there was also a process of Ukrainization . The Russification itself was not new, it had its roots still in Tsarist policy. Then came the cult of personality which also was not conducive to strengthening the progress of Ukrainization. Many mistakes made by promoters of Ukrainization were also hampering their cause.

He mentioned in particular KHVYLOVYI and SKRYPNYK who paying no attention to surrounding realities put forward the slogan "Away from Moscow". It was not only impolitic, it was dooming the fate of Ukrainization and their own.

At the present there are two trends: Russification and Ukrainization and the promoters of the latter were not going to commit old mistakes. He was sure that they will be more successful than their predecessors and the Ukrainian element will be strengthened. TSURKAN emphasized that emigration was not aware of strong efforts of the Soviet intelligentsia to promote "Ukrainian cause"; he specified them as literary meetings, conferences, readings to the people in smaller cities, "contacting the masses", new Ukrainian publications, etc. In particular he was inclined to pay a very great importance to the Linguistic Conference that took place in Kiev in February 1963. On this occasion TSURKAN praised very highly ILCHENKO "sharing his views without any reservation whatsoever". He also stressed that apart from Universities, Ukrainian is being now "forcibly" introduced at Technical schools.

TSURKAN rejected the idea that "Moscow was responsible" for Russification. Ukrainians themselves have also to be blamed for it. As an example he mentioned the fact that in recent years many Ukrainians did not avail themselves of great opportunities they had since Stalin's death. They were just weak, unable to raise to the occasion, preferring to complain about the others. Nevertheless he was quite hopeful, and finally ^{to prove his point he} mentioned his son studying now linguistics in KIEV and "who will be positively as good a Ukrainian as his father himself".

5. According to TSURKAN - the Soviet Ukraine is a genuine Ukrainian state. It has to be united with Russia because the latter is the only natural ally and saviour of the Ukrainian nation. Without Russian help, the Ukraine was doomed to complete extermination by the Germans. This ^{is} something that no emigree politician wants to realise.

Russification in comparison with profound help the Ukraine received from Russia in our century - was a trifle. Russia did not only save Ukraine during the wars. She also helped our people to rebuild their economy and led Ukraine into international

arena. The emigration complains about the Russification of LVOV, for instance. But why doesn't it see at the same time the industrialization of this former provincial city. Of course, one hears very often Russian in Lvov's street, but do you expect Russian specialists, engineers, etc. to learn Ukrainian before they come to the West Ukraine?

As to the sovereign status of the Ukrainian republic TSURKAN had no ~~serious~~ doubts whatsoever. This did not mean, however, that the Ukraine had to have separate diplomatic representations. They were simply superfluous. What was needed in the past were consulates but the West was reluctant to exchange them. Still in 1946 MANUILSKY proposed to Americans one consulate in KIEV (together with another in LENINGRAD) but the US-Government was not interested in them. Instead they wanted to establish American consulates in MURMANSK and other strategical points but not in KIEV. Of course, MANUILSKY could not agree to that. In the meantime the all-union consular service took care of Ukrainian interests and nowadays - he wondered - whether separate Ukrainian consulates were needed at all.

According to TSURKAN the emigration makes a great mistake by not taking into account the fact that in Moscow, in highest governmental positions sit many Ukrainians. In his opinion this is as important as having Ukrainians in KIEV or perhaps even more. Also in military fields Ukrainians play a very important role. When asked by M to specify TSURKAN replied that about half of all-Union ministries are "in hands of Ukrainians" and as to military leaders he would like to mention, for instance, ^{even} BUDIONNI. M laughed but TSURKAN did not react and continued to be serious about his assertions.

As to international contacts of the Ukraine TSURKAN mentioned those through the Mission at the UN and with satellite countries. He asserted that he did not waste his time when staying in New York, he made many friends, gave many lectures etc. Only recently he read a lecture to foreign students at the Mission.

The Mission can be proud of its achievements - continued TSURKAN. "We do it in a quiet way without unnecessary ado, but believe me, my friend, we did a great job and have good chances to continue our work".

TSURKAN was very emphatic about importance of Polish-Ukrainian contacts. In his opinion the present close ties between Poland and Ukraine are of great significance to the whole socialist block. He was very glad they were developing smoothly. Asked what kind of contacts he had in mind TsURKAN replied that, of course, cultural above all. "Culture in this respect is very important and constitutes the basis of ~~all~~ everything else".

6. Cultural contacts with foreign countries will be developed not only within the socialist block but also with Western countries. Thus it is planned to send in 1964 VERIOVKA-ENSEMBLE and in 1965 VIRSKIY, to the States.

7. TSURKAN agreed that deportation and some other methods of fighting the Ukrainian Underground were improper. But all that is now the past. Besides, apart from active enemies of the Soviet regime also many a good communist suffered during the period of the cult of personality. TSURKAN knew one Raikom Party Secretary who was deported because his son joined "the bandists" (he at once corrected "the bands" into "the woods"). Today there are no deportations, no persecutions. Recruitments to Virgin Lands and Far East are voluntary. At most a kind of social pressure is applied. As an example he stated that when a class decides to go to KAZAKHSTAN and only ten students refuse to volunteer then the rest of the class compels them not to desert their friends.

8. TSURKAN stressed the point that the Soviet Union is starving from lack of dollars. He complained the USA does not want to trade with the Soviet Union. He ridiculed the restriction on "strategical materials" and said that recently even an order of clippers and some nylon staff was rejected by Americans. He mentioned again that for instance trade-volume between the Ukraine and Poland was larger than

that between the USA and the Soviet Union. In general, Rubel's position was not strong on international markets. This has its implications in international politics as well. For instance - he continued - they want us to pay at the UN for actions contrary to our ~~interests~~ ^{interests} but they refuse to trade with us. "Where, the hell, are we supposed to get dollars from to pay at the UN, at the UNESCO, at all the other international places /?" - TSURKAN concluded. He was very emphatic about the urgency to develop proper commercial relations with the USA.

9. Between the Ukraine and Russia ~~is~~ ^{is} only a formal border. A real one is between the satellites and the Soviet Union. But there are new efforts to make it as ~~little~~ ^{little} noticeable as possible. Recently, at least between Poland and the Ukraine the traffic was very big. Once a year the Polish-Ukrainian border is being opened for 48 hours for everyone without ~~any~~ documentary or other restrictions. TSURKAN further claimed that travelling from the Ukraine to satellite countries was quite easy.

10. At one point TSURKAN mentioned that they have still many shortcomings in the Soviet economy. "We have actually a crisis, in particular in the agriculture, and we are not going to conceal it. But at the same time we are sure we shall overcome it". ~~there~~

11. TSURKAN complained that Ukrainian young people in the States, in particular students, showed very little interest in the activities of the Ukrainian Mission at the UN and in the Soviet ~~Ukrainian~~ Republic in general. He thought this was very bad. Somewhat better is the situation with Canadian students. Thus, from time to time Canadian Ukrainian students come to the ~~Mission~~ ^{Mission}, and only recently he gave a party to a group of them.

TSURKAN also complained why those Ukrainian students who participated in the UN-Model did not ask the ^Mission for briefing. He personally would have gladly helped them on it. (N.B. Actually the ^Mission refused.)

M noted that probably no one trusts the Mission in particular after they murdered BAndera and REbet. TSURKAN did not reply and continued about necessity to awaken

the interest to the Ukraine among young American Ukrainians.

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12. At one point TSURKAN said that he was talking all the time telling M all he wanted ~~was~~ now came his ^{own} turn. He wanted to know who was LYMAN, Editor of "Notatnik", and some date about him. M replied that as far as he knew LYMAN stemmed from Eastern Ukraine, was a very intelligent man, and he did not think that there was "someone" behind "Notatnik" and its Editor. M was introduced to LYMAN by someone, probably SHLEMKEVICH at a conference and the former made quite an impression on him.

13. Then TSURKAN told M that he had a very big secret which he decided to divulge to M. After positive re-appraisal of the Ukrainian emigration in the States he wanted now to talk to various ^U Ukrainian immigrants and organizations to prepare ground for developing co-operation between the emigration and the Soviet Ukraine through the Mission at the UN. "Two years ago -he said -there was handed to us in New York "Kantata" by UHLYTSKYI. We brought it to KIEV, it was discussed by a council of our musicians, and finally produced on the Kiev Radio". " Why to do these things in such a way, why not to exchange such materials directly, within the framework of normal cultural co-operation between the emigration and the Homeland ?" - he concluded. (N.B. Uhlytskyi's "Kantata" was presented to IVASHCHENKO from VIRSKYI'S ENSEMBLE by M himself .)

M thought this was a good idea and he himself in case, for instance, a famous musician should come from KIEV, would help in organizing public for him. TSURKAN replied that he thought ^{such matters} ~~it should be arranged on a more stable basis and not ad hoc.~~ ^{XXX} This is actually why it is necessary to achieve some sort of normalization between the emigration and the Mission but at the same time the initiative should be forthcoming from both sides.

He himself and his colleagues at the Mission are ready to talk. On their part with them the immigrants should also express their willingness to talk and ~~ask~~ invite for such instance him or KYZIA for talks. He considered it to be a very important matter for the emigration as well. TSURKAN also stressed that the co-operation between the Ukrainians abroad and the Mission was quite ~~desirable~~ ^{desirable} and possible without any political sacrifices on either side.

(M's impression was that TSURKAN would welcome an invitation from Ukrainian politicians addressed to him or KYZIA to start the talks on the subject, and he wanted M to tell it at least to people from the Prolog.)

14. TSURKAN asked M what instrument he was playing and mentioned that they have private "evenings" at the Mission at which they did a little bit of music. He implied that M would be quite welcome. M pretended not to have paid proper attention to his words.

15. Then TSURKAN asked M how his business was going. After M's reply that it was not too bad, TSURKAN asked whether he of the Mission could join it as a partner. M answered that one would have first to think about it and sound out the opinion of other partners. M would, however, appreciate it very much if TSURKAN could get him SKLARENKO'S BANDURA and their permit to reproduce it here. TSURKAN promised to do it.

16. When parting TSURKAN told M that he will call him soon and bring his book from GAPON.