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15 July 1966

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

MEMORANDUM FOR: SB/S/RR

SUBJECT : Arrests of Soviet Ukrainians for Nationalist Activities

SOURCE : AECASSOWARY/29 (usually reliable source) from Assistant Professor in a Western University Who Visited in the Soviet Union in June 1966 (an untested but probably reliable source)

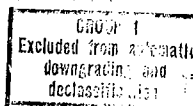
1. The source travelled by train from Luxembourg via Vienna to Uzhgorod. All travel inside the USSR was by train. Border control at Chop was quite superficial. Source was carrying several Western published books, plus a xeroxed copy of a French-language book which he planned to give to a Soviet Ukrainian citizen whom he planned to visit. Source was asked at the border who the books were for. When he said he planned to present them to the Kiev Association for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries, he was told there was no objection, and no further questions were asked. On his return the source carried, among some ceramic souvenirs and Soviet published books, the following newspapers: 2 copies of ZAKARPATSKAYA PRAVDA, 25 May 1966 (Russian-language); ^{Ukr. language} CHORNOMORS'KA KOMUNA, 31 May 1966 (Ukrainian); ZORYA POLTAVSHCHYNY, 7 June 1966 (Ukrainian); KARPATI IGAZ SZO (Magyar). (Copies attached to be returned to for return to AECASSOWARY/29).

2. The source tried to get permission to visit KOSIV but was told it was not possible because it involved passing through territory contaminated by foot and mouth disease. He was also refused permission to travel on an airplane flight he found was scheduled to the area, because the flight was "not for tourists."

3. In Kiev, the source visited Vitali KOROTYCH, a young Soviet Ukrainian poet, with whom he was later entertained at dinner in the home of Ivan DRACH, Soviet Ukrainian poet. The following day, KOROTYCH accompanied him to a bookshop located on the Kreshchatyk, where they met in one of the reading rooms with several other Soviet Ukrainian writers, among them Lina KOSTENKO, and Ivan DRACH both writers. Following a short period of general conversation, the entire group left the reading room to continue their conversation while strolling along the streets of Kiev. The Source was told about arrests, interrogations and trials of Ukrainians, and that Lina KOSTENKO had been interrogated by the KGB again that very morning. It seems she was guilty of offending a member of the militia, who was "guarding the law", during the trial in Lvov in late April 1966 of Ukrainian intellectuals accused of nationalist activities. She was arrested for

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*Based on A/29
Report in "Bourgeois
201 file 19 July 66"*

disorderly conduct during the trial because she tossed a bouquet of flowers to the defendants. KOSTENKO expressed the opinion to the "interrogators" that the militia may have been "guarding lawlessness" but certainly not the law.

4. At the Kiev home of another writer where the source visited, he was told by the host and four other Ukrainian writers who were present more of the details about the arrest and trials of Ukrainians. He was told that in July 1965 there was a total of about 40 Ukrainian intellectuals ^{among them *St. P. Lychnyy*} arrested for nationalist activities in Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivsk, Lutsk and Tarnopol. Many others were interrogated. Trials open to the public were held in Lutsk, Tarnopol and Ivano-Frankivsk in January and February 1966. Protest demonstrations were conducted by the local people, and as a result the authorities decided to hold closed trials in the future. A closed trial was held in Lvov in late April 1966, at which there were 20 defendants. Ivan DZYUBA, Ivan DRACH, Lina KOSTENKO and two other individuals from Kiev attended the trial on 27 and 28 April. They were admitted to the trial only after appealing to the CC CPU and to the Union of Writers. When the defendants were being brought into the court room, they were greeted by demonstrators who shouted "slava" (glory) and tossed flowers at them. The authorities turned on water hoses to disperse the demonstrators, but they regathered every time the hoses were turned off and shouted "shame on you" at the guards. Lena KOSTENKO was arrested for disorderly conduct and led away from the courtroom when she tossed a bouquet of flowers in the direction of the defendants during the trial. The defendants were accused of reading, copying and disseminating anti-Soviet literature. Among other anti-Soviet literature found during the arrests was the following:

- a. Copy of a speech by Pope John XXIII
- b. Copy of the speech delivered by General Eisenhower at the unveiling ceremonies at the Taras Shevchenko Memorial in Washington, D. C.
- c. The reply from prominent Ukrainian emigres to the open letter written by Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals expressing a desire to participate in the Shevchenko unveiling ceremonies in Washington.
- d. Copies of Vivid Prav Ukrainy, a pocket book (Sources of the Rights of the Ukraine) published in the emigration.
- e. Copies of Ukrains'ka Nauka v Koloniyal'nykh Putakh (Ukrainian Sciences in Colonial Shackles), a pocket

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book published in the emigration.

- f. Works by Panteleymon KULISH.
- g. A History of the Ukraine published before 1917.
- h. 80 copies of the Program of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, written and printed in the Ukrainian SSR.

The defendants' relatives were not admitted to the court room. One of the defendants was absolved from guilt. Two or three, whose pretrial imprisonment was equal to the sentences given them, were released. The remainder were sentenced to various terms of strict discipline up to six years in corrective labor camps. The source brought out a list of some of the individuals sentenced at the trials. (List available in SB/S/CA.)

5. Immediately following the April trial in Lvov, Lina KOSTENKO, Ivan DRACH and Ivan DZYUBA initiated a protest campaign by collecting signatures to a petition to the CC CPU, demanding the release of those imprisoned. The following were among the signers to the petition: Oleg ANTONOV, Chief designer of the New Experimental Design Bureau, Aviation Industry; Andrei MALYSHKO, writer; Platon MAYBORODA, composer; Mykhaylo STELMAKH, writer; Viktor NEKRASOV, writer; and Sergei PARADZHANOV, film producer.

6. As a result of all the turmoil and publicity stirred by the trials, the authorities decided it would be a mistake to create more heroes by holding future trials, even closed trials. It was therefore decided that unreliaables would be released from their jobs, under various more or less plausible pretexts, and forced to starve. Mykhaylyna KOTSYUBINSKA, a Kiev artist, and Ihor KALYNETS' wife, an employee of the Museum of Ethnography in Lvov have already been released from their jobs. Very clear-cut instructions about who would be deprived of their employment were outlined in a KGB circular addressed to the institutions where the effected individuals were employed.

7. The trials caused much turmoil in the Union of Writers of the Ukraine. It was generally believed that the Congress of the Union of Writers scheduled for May 1966 was postponed because of the hot disputes going on among its members. Similar disputes were taking place in the CC CPU. It is believed by Ukrainians that the future course of literary politics in the Ukraine will depend to a great extent on who will be elevated to leading positions in the Union of Writers of the Ukraine at the next congress. If the younger members are excluded from its leadership, it will be a sure sign that things will take a turn for the worse.

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8. The source was introduced by one of the writers to a young man in the publishing office of Ranok who had just been released after 8 days in prison. He had been charged with "khuligantstvo" (hooliganism) because he recited nationalist poetry in front of the monument of Ivan Franko in Kiev on 5 June 1966. His head was shaved in prison. He was released after 8 days and told to leave Kiev within 72 hours.

9. The source talked with a young Kiev University professor who told the source that Ivan DZYUBA had written a 200-page treatise on the nationalities policy of the present regime which he sent to the CC CPU. It is a sharp criticism of the Soviet nationalities policy. In his letter of transmittal to the CC CPU, DZYUBA asked for a reply to his treatise. Certain members of the Union of Writers were asked by the CC CPU to prepare a reply but the reply was so weak that the CC was warned it would only be compromising itself if it sent the reply to DZYUBA. The CC then sent the treatise to all oblast secretaries, with a request that a reply be prepared. DZYUBA had, as of the time of the Source's visit in the Ukraine, not received a reply, and it was generally believed by his friends that DZYUBA was spared being arrested because of his treatise.

10. During a conversation the source had with three other Ukrainian writers he was asked whether it was really true that he knew as little about the arrests in the Ukraine as he pretended. They said Soviet Ukrainians took it for granted that Westerners were better informed. Source was told that Dmytro PAVLYCHKO, who presided at the ceremony at the Union of Writers of the Ukraine marking the anniversary of the death of the young Soviet Ukrainian writer, Vasyl' SYMONENKO, had some trouble for permitting DZYUBA to deliver the address which he did.

11. The source was asked by one of the Ukrainian writers to take out some of his poetry for publishing in the West. The writer also asked him to take out a copy of DZYUBA's treatise to the CC CPU for publishing in the West. The source refused both requests because he felt it would not be safe, particularly at this time, and since he hopes to visit in the Soviet Union again next year.

12. While in Lvov the source saw and read a 50-page treatise written by Vyacheslav CHORNOVIY, former employee of Lvov Television, in which the author argues about the unconstitutionality and illegality of the recent trials in the Ukraine. The source noted the names of some of the individuals listed in the document and the terms of the sentences given them at the trials. The source was told it presently was a status symbol to have been arrested, particularly for the young lesser known writers and artists.

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*from the list of
camp to which he was
sent*

13. Ivan SVITLYCHNYY told the source he could find no logical explanation for his release, unless the KGB wanted to compromise him in the eyes of his colleagues by implying by his release that he broke under interrogation and whitewashed himself while denouncing all the others. (Information had been received by SB/S/CA earlier this year from other sources to the effect that SVITLYCHNYY was among those arrested in the Ukraine last autumn for nationalist activities and that he was sent to a corrective labor camp in Mordva without even ^{being} tried in court.) SVITLYCHNYY expressed his disappointment in the fact that no Westerners visited the Ukraine during the period of the trials. He also expressed disappointment in the lateness of Western reaction to the arrests. He felt the emigration should have organized a protest campaign immediately. He and his colleagues knew about the articles which had appeared in the New York Times.

14. The source learned from one of the writers about the existence of another document, a letter from the KGB to university professors requesting their aid in ascertaining the author of a liberation movement program, copies of which were found during the arrests in Lvov and in other cities.

15. It was the concensus of those Ukrainian intellectuals with whom the source spoke that the recent arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals was part of the general Russification in the Ukraine, in the avant-garde of which are such individuals as Andrey SKABA (sec'y of the CC CPU), Vadim SOBKO (writer and former war correspondent), Ivan BILODID (head of the Linguistics Institute, Academy of Sciences, UkSSR), V. Yu. MALANCHUK (secretary of the Lvov OBKOM), and Yuri KONDUFOR (head of the Dept. of Science and Culture, CC CPU). Local Ukrainians are being pushed aside and replaced by Russians. Vadim SOBKO publicly attacked the Ukrainian intellectuals who were on trial, demanding harsh sentences for them.

16. Ukrainians with whom the source talked said they were fed up with Western Ukrainian-language broadcasts, particularly those sponsored by the United States. They objected to the broadcasts' pursuit of coexistence, which in their opinion, demobilizes the masses in their opposition to the regime. Listeners to the program ask each other what point there is to their opposing the regime when "America wants to make friends with Russia". Source was told American broadcasts were neutralizing the masses' anti-regime potential, and that if the present line of coexistence is to continue it would be better to discontinue the Ukrainian-language broadcasts. Western broadcasts are not being jammed very much now because the regime considers them harmless anyway. All jamming efforts have been turned on Red Chinese broadcasts which try to incite revolution and the

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reception of them is very poor.

17. Any inquiries concerning this memorandum should be addressed to [], Room 5B4804, x-7168.

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