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12 March 1959

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Report of Contact with AECASSOWARY 2 on 5 and 6 March 1959

1. [] and [] met in Washington with Subject on 5 and 6 March 1959. [] of SR/10 and [] of SR/9 were invited to talk with Subject during the luncheon on 6 March to brief him on latest developments regarding legal travel and talk with him about his assets in this regard.
2. [] gave Subject a brief and general review of tourist travel in the USSR; i.e., places in the USSR to which it is easiest to obtain visas, things that may be easily carried in through customs, the fact that letters can be mailed on the inside by tourists from the West, ways to break away from guided tours in order to look around on your own, how to encourage conversations with the local population, etc. Subject also was told that arrangements could possibly be made to have a letter mailed on the inside to any one of his contacts. Subject in turn talked about conditions in the Ukraine as reported to them in current correspondence and about items most frequently requested in correspondence by people living in the Ukraine.
3. Subject displayed a list of Soviet Ukrainian writers (attachment A) and a list of Soviet Ukrainian educators (attachment B) with whom he felt contact could and should be made by tourists from the West, preferably by individuals of similar profession, in order to determine the attitudes of the people on the inside. He agreed to elaborate on each individual giving some reason why he considered them approachable and of interest. This additional information was supplied later to the undersigned orally by Subject. (Copies of both attachment A and B have been forwarded to SR/10.) He promised to submit lists of Soviet Ukrainian economists and other professionals at a later date.
4. Subject had prepared and brought along a list of suggested questions to be asked of Ukrainians by Western, non-Ukrainian travelers in the Ukraine. He stated, however, that after studying the list he felt it needed to be changed somewhat before submitting it for further editing by this office. He did submit a short background on the history of the Ukraine and Ukrainians (Attachment C) and some information on Ukrainians beyond the borders of the Ukrainian SSR (Attachment D). He recommended that these be edited for use by non-Ukrainian Western travelers to the Ukrainian SSR.
5. It was suggested by Subject that Western travelers to the Ukraine be made aware of the fact that there are many returnees from Soviet prison camps now living in the Ukraine and that these people probably would be very willing to talk rather openly.

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6. Subject recently met a fru SOROKA, elderly Ukrainian businessman from Chester, Pennsylvania, who is planning to travel to the Drohobitch area this year if he can obtain a visa. He plans to be in touch with SOROKA to learn more about his plans and perhaps brief him on what observations to make in the Ukraine.

7. A letter dated February 1959 was received from the Ukraine (see Attachment E) which gives evidence to receipt of a copy or copies of the INFORMATION BULLETIN. A letter also was received from a Ukrainian in Poland acknowledging receipt of the BULLETIN and stating that it would be forwarded on to the Ukraine (Attachment F).

8. Dr. Oleksa HORBACH (AECASSOWARY contact, Assistant Professor, University of Marburg) has letter contact with Roman SHPORLIK, a Ukrainian from Lublin, Poland, now studying at Oxford University, England. (Attachment E). HORBACH met with SHPORLIK in Warsaw in 1957. HORBACH also maintains letter contact with other Ukrainian students in Poland.

9. Subject was asked to supply details needed to complete the accounting for the last \$500 advance under project AECUPBOARD. He promised to have the information in the mail by this Friday. He asked for an additional advance of \$500 for mailing of packages under AECUPBOARD and was told that this would be supplied to him as soon as the accounting for the last advance has been made. To date Subject has supplied detailed accountings for all monies expended under this project.

10. [] discussed with Subject the idea of having one of his associates, AECASSOWARY 27 in particular, take a trip to Havana on short notice to interview a group of Ukrainians who are scheduled for repatriation to the USSR in mid-March. Subject said this was agreeable to him. The first eight names of the repatriates received were checked out with him but he felt there was not sufficient information to identify any of the individuals, even if the names had been familiar to him. He was told that we would telephone him as soon as it was determined definitely whether or not one of his men should make the trip.

11. Subject informed the undersigned that the elevator men who had been regularly employed in the building where Prolog offices are located have been fired and that three new young men have been employed. Subject stated that he and his associates have become concerned about these new operators and suspect that they may be FBI agents because they are so unlike the usual elevator operator type. He said they are all very well dressed, extremely pleasant, and very polite.

12. There was no date specified for the next meeting with Subject.

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ATTACHMENT A TO REPORT OF CONTACT
WITH ALCASSOWARY-2 ON 5-6 MARCH 59
REPORT DATED 12 MARCH 59

UKRAINIAN AUTHORS

1. Mykola Platenovych BAZHAN
Head of Union of Soviet Ukrainian Writers
Kiev
Listed under same address as the LITERATURNHA HAZETA, VITCHYZNA and COMMUNISTICHNY UKRAINETZ.
Should be approached by VIP, some who has read at least one of his writings.
DEATH OF HAMLET is one of his works.
ALCASSOWARY mentioned BAZHAN as one of the most active literary figures in Ukrainian nationalist movement and to whom he has access.
2. Maksym Tadeovych KYL'SKY
Poet. Famous for translations from other languages into Ukrainian.
Recently completed translation of the works of Shakespeare.
Was in Austria in 1957 and in Brazil in 1958.
It is rumored that he has started to drink heavily because he is troubled about his children having become completely Russified.
When he was in Austria, he disappeared from his hotel room and after two hours of frantic searching by the Soviets, he was found asleep in his hotel room.
3. Oleksandr Terentovych HORCHAR
Young writer, novelist - Kiev - writes for VITCHYZNA.
One of his latest novels is PEREKOP.
Enigres are quite impressed with him because of his command of the Ukrainian language.
4. D.D. KOPYTCHA
Of Jewish origin - Ukrainian writer.
Writes for VITCHYZNA.
5. Pavlo H. TYCHINA
He is old. Was one of the greatest Ukrainian poets but was purged and left completely broken in spirit.
It is rumored that he has written a great poem but keeps it hidden because he fears repercussions. ALCASSOWARY feels he might want to get it out to the West.
6. Yurij ZBANATSKY
Writes for the journal DNIPRO.
Travels frequently, most recently to China.
7. Andrew Samoylovych MALYSHKO
Poet - contributes to BCE SVIT, the new Ukrainian literary journal.
Has been frequently attacked by Moscow for his Ukrainian nationalist theme.
He attacked Kaganovich in his writings for being responsible for the death of many Ukrainians.
It is rumored that he has taken to heavy drinking. When his father died, he went to the funeral in the village and to point up the present attitude of Soviet life, he treated the entire village to samagon for two whole days.

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8. Oleksandr KORNIYCHUK
Dramatist - writes for BCE SVIT.
AECASSOWARY 2 feels he must have good relationship with Khrushchev.
He criticized the MGB and Stalin in his KRYLA, but he sings Khrushchev's praises.
He has a membership card in the Communist Party.
Was once married to Wanda VASILEVSKA.
Because of his extensive writings he is believed to be a millionaire.
9. Leonid PERVOMAISKY
Poet - was once purged.
Jewish background.
10. Volodimir SOSHURA
11. Irena WILDE
Writes for journal ZHOVTEN.
Lvov.
One of AECASSOWARY contacts saw her at Brussels Fair.
She has corresponded with someone in Trenton, according to AECASSOWARY 2.
12. Volodimir OZHITSKY
Was purged and sent to Siberia for 12 years. Rehabilitated.
Writes for ZHOVTEN.
13. Dmitro PAVLYCHKO
Poet.
Writes for journal ZHOVTEN.
Met and talked with AECASSOWARY contact in Moscow during Youth Festival.
14. Yu. Yu. SHOVKOPL'AS
Kharkov.
Editor of journal PRAPOR.
15. I.L. MERAZOV
Kharkov.
Writes for PRAPOR.
Was once editor of FOR RETURN TO THE HOMELAND.
16. Boris PALITYCHUK
Kiev.
Editor of journal SOVIETSKAYA UKRAINA.

Another list will be submitted on economists.

Original in Ukrainian
Submitted by AECASSOWARY 2
6 March 1959

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UKRAINIAN EDUCATORS

ATTACHMENT B TO
REPORT OF CONTACT WITH
AECASSOWARY-2 ON 5-6 MARCH 59
REPORT DATED 12 March 1959

1. Leonid Arsenovych BULAKHOVSKY
ca. 65-70 years of age
Director of the Institute of Linguistics
Kharkov University
Academy of Science, Ukrainian SSR

During a session held in Kiev between 27 and 31 May 1958 dedicated to problems of continued development of liberal arts in Ukraine, Subject pointed to the long overdue need for a special journal of linguistics in Ukraine.

According to information received from an AECASSOWARY contact, Subject was supposed to announce during one of his classes that he is old and he doesn't care what they (the Soviets) will do to him for his comments against Russification. He stated that if Russification continues as at present, the Ukrainian language will soon be non-existent.

2. Oleksandr Ivanovych BILERSKY
ca. 70 years of age
One of the best known professors of Ukrainian literature.
Academy of Science, Ukrainian SSR.
Attended Slavistics congress in Moscow.
Mentioned in the biography of USSR.

3. Ivan Petrovych KRYPLAKEVICH
Director of History of Social Sciences, Kiev
Academy of Science, Ukrainian SSR

Was professor of AECASSOWARY 2.
Only individual from Lvov who was left in such a high position.
Was once purged. Recently authored a new work on KHEMLNITSKY according to the Soviet line.

Has relatives in the United States.

4. O.K. KASIMENKO
Historian
Academy of Sciences, USSR.

5. F.P. SHEVCHENKO
Editor, UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL, Kiev.
A contact of the AECASSOWARYs met with this individual when he was in Warsaw and had conversation with him.

6. O.Y. KARPENKO
Whereabouts not known but it is believed he is in Lvov.
He wrote a paper on the Ukrainian Revolution and was attacked for it but he refused to back down.

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7. ~~X~~ M.I. SUPRUNENKO

Academy of Science, USSR

Writes frequently on Ukrainian historical themes in UKRAINIAN HISTORICAL JOURNAL.

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I. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics consists at present of 15 Union Republics. The second, after the Russian Federated SSR, in size of population, is the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, with a territory of approx. 233,000 square miles and a population, according to the latest census, of 42 million.

According ^{to} ~~the~~ the provisions of the Soviet Constitution of 1936 all Union Republics, including the Ukrainian SSR, are independent nations, and are free to secede from the Union of their own volition. In practice, however, secession is unthinkable, and even ~~a~~ consideration of it would be classified as treason.

Formally, the highest authority in the Ukrainian SSR is the Supreme Council (Ukrainian "Rada", Russian "Soviet") of the Ukrainian SSR, and the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. Pursuant to the provisions of the Soviet Constitution, however, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stands above all governmental bodies. Ukraine, like other Union Republics, does not have its own Communist Party, but merely a branch of the CPSU which bears the name Communist Party of ~~the~~ Ukraine, and is merely an executive arm of its Moscow head office.

In addition ~~to~~ being subject to the Communist Party, the Government of the Ukrainian SSR remains, in fact, under orders of the Government of the USSR. Some ministries of the Ukrainian SSR are merely fronts, without any real power. Thus, although there exists formally a Foreign Ministry as part of the Government of the Ukrainian SSR, with Luka Kh. Palamarchuk as Foreign Minister, this Ministry, acting for the Ukrainian Republic, does not have diplomatic relations with any foreign country, nor does it even maintain a Consular Service abroad. Two attempts, made heretofore by foreign countries to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian SSR, by the United Kingdom in 1947, and by Sudan in 1956, were simply ignored.

The Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Republics are both charter members of the United Nations, but they ^{have} never made any independent appearances in the UN and, until 1958, did not even have their own permanent delegations to the UN. It was only under pressure of emigre public opinion, and to create an impression that Ukraine had the required trappings of sovereignty, that a permanent Ukrainian delegate was appointed to the UN, in the person of V.V. Udevychenko. The latter, however, does not show any independent activity and confines himself to the role of the only Ukrainian diplomatic officer abroad.

Taking advantage of the superficial knowledge of Soviet affairs by visitors to the USSR and the Western public in general, Soviet propaganda has, for the past two years in particular, been constantly harping to the theme of the existence of a "sovereign" Ukrainian nation, pointing to the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry and the Permanent Delegation of the Ukrainian SSR to the UN.

This is done mainly for the purpose of having naive people believe that whereas the West is still oppressing colonial peoples, the USSR has brilliantly solved all its nationality problems by granting all nations of the USSR national sovereignty. The circumstance that very few foreigners, especially visitors to the USSR, have ever bothered to see for themselves what degree of independent activities are engaged in the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, and whether there were any foreign diplomatic missions in Kiev, has made it possible for communist propaganda to continue bluffing the West with "Ukrainian sovereignty."

The same thing can be said of the Ministry of Military Affairs. Such a Ukrainian ministry exists formally and is headed by General S.A. Kovpak. But there is not a single separate Ukrainian armed unit

in the entire USSR, and only the Russian language is used throughout the armed forces of the Soviet Union. Incidentally, prior to 1930 there were separate Ukrainian divisions, and even a Ukrainian officers' schools, the "Red Officers School" in Kharkiv, but it was disbanded and its officers executed.

Confining its allegations of Ukrainian sovereignty to propaganda Moscow does not permit the Ukrainian SSR to participate on its own in any international congresses, including even artistic events. Thus, the Kiev Ensemble of Song and Dance under H. Veryovka, while in Brussels ^{in 1948} ~~last last~~, was not accompanied or introduced by any delegate of the Foreign Ministry or Ministry of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR, but introduced to foreign correspondents by a representative of the Moscow Ministry of Culture, M. Belotsekovsky.

Part of the success of Soviet propaganda can be attributed to the fact that foreign visitors accept all Soviet statements in good faith and without question. But inasmuch as Soviet propagandists are very sensitive to well substantiated criticism, it would be advisable to suggest to visitors to ask some pointed questions. Among such questions to be asked in Kiev are: 1/ With which foreign countries does the Ukrainian SSR maintain diplomatic relations? 2/ If not, why not? 3/ Does the Consular Division of the Foreign Ministry, Ukrainian SSR issue visas to prospective visitors to Ukraine? 4/ If not, why are visas within the sole competence of Moscow? 5/ What is the purpose of the existence of the Ukrainian Ministry of Military Affairs?

A HANDFUL OF INFORMATION ABOUT UKRAINE

ATTACHMENT C

1. Territory and Population, Resources and Industry

The territory occupied by ethnic Ukrainians is about 328,000 sq.m. with nearly 50 million Ukrainians. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic has an area of 232,493 sq.m. and a population of 40.6 million.

Ukraine exceeds in territory such European countries as England, Austria, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Portugal and Switzerland all put together. In production of pig-iron per capita of population, the Ukrainian SSR surpasses England, France, Italy and West Germany; in steel production Ukraine surpasses France, England and Italy; in mining of iron ore Ukraine is ahead of all important countries, including the United States. During the year 1956, Ukraine produced 48% of the Soviet Union's total pig-iron, 38 % steel, 56% iron ore, nearly 1/3 hard coal, 53% coke, nearly 30% natural gas. Ukrainian factories produced 80% of the Soviet Union's total of locomotives, nearly 50% beet-harvesting combines, nearly 40% tractors, 60% traction plows, 48% freight cars, 44% tractor sowers, and 72% of the Soviet Union's sugar.

The primary industrial region is in the Donets Basin. The gross figure of the large machine-building and metalworking industry exceeded the figure for 1913 in 1956 more than 130 times. A variety of machine tools are made in Ukraine, also tractors, locomotives, turbines, ball-bearings, precision tools, aircraft and automobiles.

The actual industrial potential of the country is much greater than the figures indicate since under the present imperialist policy of Moscow, development of Asiatic regions is favored for strategic reasons to the disadvantage of Ukraine.

Known at one time as "the granary of Europe" Ukraine is now the breadbasket and sugar-bowl of the far-flung Communist empire.

2. Highlights of Recent Ukrainian History and Politics

When World War I. began in 1914, Ukraine was partitioned among two powers: the bulk of the Eastern and Central territory was within the Russian Empire, and western Ukrainian lands of Galicia, Bucovyna and Carpatho-Ukraine were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The tsarist Russian government was completely hostile to all and any Ukrainian aspirations toward independence, its plan being to obliterate Ukraine through Russification and assimilation. The Austro-Hungarian Empire was somewhat more liberal in its treatment of Ukrainians and permitted them a limited cultural and administrative home-rule.

The one aim which united Ukrainians under both occupations on the eve of World War I. was complete national independence in a unified state. The Ukrainians took advantage of the over-

throw of the tsarist rule in 1917 and began setting up their own state. Even before the outbreak of the Communist October Revolution in Russia, a Central Rada (Council) was established in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev in March, 1917. This body was the nucleus of the subsequent independent Ukrainian Government. On January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and within one year it was joined by West Ukraine which had proclaimed its independence after the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A number of governments recognized Ukraine de iure and de facto.

Even during the initial stages of its organization, the Ukrainian nation had to stand up to aggression on the part of Communist Russia. Notwithstanding the fact that Soviet Russia (RSFSR) had officially recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in a diplomatic note dated December 17, 1917, the Council of People's Commissars of Soviet Russia issued an ultimatum to the Ukrainian Government the same month demanding the right of Russian troops to enter Ukraine. Following the ultimatum came a march of Russian armies upon Ukraine. The new Ukrainian nation rejected the ultimatum and accepted the challenge. Armed resistance to Communist aggression lasted in organized army fighting until 1921, and partisan warfare against the Red occupying power went on into the 1930's.

It was only by overwhelming force of arms that the Russian Communists succeeded in conquering Ukraine and their puppet government called "Soviet Ukrainian" was set up under a reign of terror. The Ukrainians were not, however, broken in spirit, and even under Communism continued their struggle for their national rights. In addition to revolutionary and underground resistance, there were attempts to secure rights unto the Ukrainian people within the framework of the USSR. Even as early as the late 1920's such forerunners of Tito and Gomulka appeared in Ukraine in the persons of the Ukrainian Communist leaders M. Skrypnyk, M. Shumsky, M. Khvylovy and others who chose Communism along a Ukrainian road and opposed Moscow's policy of Russification and curtailment of Ukrainian national rights. They stood for a truly independent Ukrainian SSR. Stalin and his regime proceeded with them summarily: many were liquidated immediately, and some were given the chance to commit suicide. After the liquidation of Ukrainian national-communists came a wave of mass liquidation of Ukrainian intellectuals, writers, cultural leaders and teachers. The number of writers and artists alone, liquidated by Moscow in 1933 and 1934 was 223. Many were shot on the spot, others were sent to Siberia where they disappeared without trace.

In the action of liquidating Ukrainian patriots the present Prime Minister of the USSR, N. S. Khrushchov was Stalin's most faithful deputy. He was appointed First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine in January, 1938, and while holding this position he was responsible for the mass executions of more than 10,000 Ukrainian patriots in Vinnytsia, which like Katyn to the Poles, was a mass grave and symbol of Moscow's policy of extermination.

Thus Ukraine was the first country which even before the outbreak of World War II. suffered the most bloody terror of the

Stalin regime. Attesting to its extent is the fact that during the compulsory collectivization of agriculture in the early 1930's, over 5 million Ukrainian peasants died of famine, induced artificially to break their resistance. Hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian educated classes were deported or liquidated at the same time.

3. World War II. and the Ukrainian Liberation Movement

The Ukrainian people faced the outbreak of World War II. with the expectation that war would give them a chance to shake off the Soviet Russian domination and to regain Ukrainian independence. Other non-Russian nations of the USSR had the same hopes. The German Nazis failed to see this, however, and their policy of terror made the Ukrainians and others actively opposed to the German conquest. It is hardly surprising that following years of Communist terror, the Ukrainian population greeted the conquering German army as liberators, and hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians in the Red Army surrendered (700,000 in the Kiev "pocket" alone). The Ukrainian people recognized the real intentions of German policy soon, and joined in a relentless underground warfare against them. As early as the fall 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its political underground leadership went into action against the Germans and continued to inflict heavy losses upon them. Given support by the entire population, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the underground organized in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) waged war on two fronts: against Hitler's aggression and against Communist partisans, the latter beginning operations in Ukraine as soon as the Germans stopped going forward at the front.

This struggle did not cease even after the Soviet Army re-occupied all of Ukraine. Under the leadership of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR), the active armed struggle of tens of thousands of UPA soldiers actively supported by the entire nation, went on day-by-day not for months, but for years, at least until 1950, the year of the death in battle of the commander in chief of the UPA and of the liberation underground, Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych. This struggle went on not only on Ukrainian territory, but also beyond its borders. Armed raids of UPA units initiated or aided the liberation underground struggle of other neighboring nations: Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, and Byelorussians. In 1947, a detachment of the UPA soldiers about 400 strong made a fighting march from Ukraine to West Germany (where they were interned by the American Army). At that time the West did not understand the power nor the significance of this struggle of the UPA and of the underground liberation struggle of other enslaved nations, and never gave them any support.

After 1952 there began in Ukraine a mass movement of resistance of the people in all sectors of life, particularly in the form of passive sabotage on collective farms and in factories, absenteeism, higher wage demands, premium wages, etc. Along with this, especially since 1954, the people began to isolate

themselves from the imposed administration and slowly rid themselves of the fear of the MVD and MGB terror. The people started to hide within a shell as to thoughts, but made common effort to better their social and living conditions.

4. Recent Developments

Considering the threat of all these liberation processes, and to preserve the empire, Moscow embarked on a policy of liberalization since the death of Stalin. In addition to decentralization on an All-Union scale, amnesty for political prisoners of concentration camps and some improvement of the living standards of the people in the USSR, since five years there is observable some retreat on the national sector, especially toward the Ukrainians. Moscow is particularly fond of stressing the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR lately, some liquidated Ukrainian writers have been partially rehabilitated, and the number of Ukrainian schools has increased. Along with this policy of liberalization, however, the course of Russification in Ukraine and in other non-Russian republics continues in somewhat changed form, and the attack goes on against so-called Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who allegedly are in the service of American capitalism and of the Vatican.

In summarizing the situation in Ukraine it must be stated that today the Ukrainian people are facing another attempt by Moscow to include them, through the Ukrainian members of the Communist Party, as junior partners in the administration of the empire and to place upon them at the same time, the burden of responsibility for the policies of the party's central committee. On the other hand, the Ukrainian people are today attempting, step by step, to regain their rights within the framework of the Ukrainian SSR along the line of making their so-called national sovereignty filled with Ukrainian contents. This may sound paradoxical, but as a matter of fact, the Ukrainian people are struggling for national autonomy in their own ostensibly sovereign country.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people is not a matter of a narrowly regional nature. If we consider that the free world is faced today with a mortal threat on the part of Moscow and Communist imperialism, if we realize that Moscow's desire to rule the world is not merely a propaganda slogan, but a fact continually emphasized by Khrushchov and indicated by such events as Communist-inspired demonstrations in South America, the infiltration of the Near East, etc., we are faced with necessity to think about defense and counteraction in concrete terms.

In no event can this be a policy of coexistence because this would only help Moscow spread her influence and bring her closer to the desired goal. The only real counteraction can be counteraction of a political and psychological nature. Successful political and psychological counteraction means a understanding, recognition and help given to the national liberation movements within the USSR. The West has a powerful potential ally in the Ukrainian liberation movement. Its importance can better be understood if we consider that every fourth soldier of the Soviet Army is a Ukrainian and every other a non-Russian. This explains why it is so important to help the liberation movements of the non-Russian nations

and why the liberation struggle of the Ukrainians, the most numerous nation of the USSR after the Russians, is not a regional problem, but a matter casting a shadow upon the whole world today.

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UKRAINIAN BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE
UKRAINIAN SSR

ATTACHMENT D

Out of a grand total of 44 to 45 million Ukrainians in the world, between 12 and 14 million reside outside of the borders of the Ukrainian SSR, and of that number about 2 million are outside the USSR. It is extremely difficult to determine the number of Ukrainians in the Union republics, particularly in the RSFSR. The main areas of Ukrainian settlement in the Russian Federation are: 1/ in the Far East "Primorski Kray" (Maritime province) and "Priamurska oblast" (Amur province), 2/ the Caucasian foothills, or so-called Kuban province, and 3/ the Kursk and Veronezh provinces. In addition, there is a considerable number of Ukrainians in the Kazakh Republic (between 20 and 25%).

In many area Ukrainians live in thick settlements, preserving their ethnic and cultural characteristics. Since the 1933-1935 period, however, Ukrainians living outside of the Ukrainian SSR have had no national or cultural rights: no schools, newspapers, theaters, or radio programs in the Ukrainian language. (In the 1920s and early 1930s there were Ukrainian grade and secondary schools, three teachers colleges, theatres, and newspapers, including several dailies. Since the mid-1930s Stalin initiated a policy of denationalization of Ukrainians living outside of the administrative borders of the Ukrainian SSR, and this policy is continued by the present Khrushchev regime, in spite of the fact that lately the Ukrainian dispersed all over the USSR have been demanding the right to preserve their own culture in their own language).

Outside the USSR there are Ukrainian minorities in neighboring countries, occupying areas adjacent to ethnic Ukrainian territories.

In Poland there are now about 350,000 Ukrainians, settled partly in areas bordering on Ukraine (Lemko, Kholm and Pidlasha regions) and dispersed in Western Poland as a result of forced resettlement in 1946 and 1947. Since 1956 the Warsaw Government has recognized cultural

rights of the Ukrainian minority to a certain extent: there is a "Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society" in Warsaw publishing the weekly "Nashe Slovo" (Our Word) and engaged in educational work in Ukrainian concentrated settlements. Over one hundred Ukrainian grade schools and several secondary schools have been opened in Poland. According to religious faith the Ukrainians are divided into Orthodox and Greek-Catholics. Recently, Ukrainian Catholics have been permitted to maintain their own religious organization, but only on the parish level.

In Czechoslovakia the present number of Ukrainians is about 150,000 mainly in eastern Slovakia. The city of Pryashiv (Presov) is the center of Ukrainian activities, with the Cultural Association of Ukrainian Toilers of Czechoslovakia, a Ukrainian theater, a teachers college, the newspaper "Druzhno vpered" (Forward Together), and a Ukrainian radio program. About 85% of the Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia were members of the Greek-Catholic Church, in 1950, however, the church was forcibly annexed to Orthodoxy with the establishment of the so-called Czecho-Slovak Autocephalic Orthodox Church which cooperates closely with the Russian Orthodox Church.

In Rumania there are about 100,000 Ukrainians, mainly in Dobruja and Northern Transylvania. A Ukrainian weekly "Novy Vik" (New Age) is published in Bucharest. There are also Ukrainian schools in Rumania.

In Yugoslavia there are Ukrainian settlers (settled there by Austria in the late 18th century) numbering about 30,000. The main Ukrainian centers are Bachka with a newspaper "Rus'ki Novyny" (Ruthenian News) and a Cultural Association of Bachvan Ukrainians, and the town of Srem. There is a Greek-Catholic diocese in the city of Krizevac, and Ukrainians are under this bishop's jurisdiction.

About 100,000 Ukrainians live in Western Europe, a majority being

political emigres from the period of World War I and World War II. Most of them are settled in Great Britain, France and Germany. They have their own religious, cultural, professional and political organizations, a widely circulating press, publications, and artistic activities.

In North America, US and Canada there are about 1,500,000 Ukrainians, who began to migrate in the 1870s in search of work. After World War II about 100,000 came as political emigres (DPs) and became integrated with the existing Ukrainian communities. American and Canadian Ukrainians have a highly developed church and community organization: two Catholic and two Orthodox church provinces (metropolitanates), large numbers of associations, an abundant press, scholarly and artistic activities. The central organizations at the head of Ukrainian activities are the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, and the Canadian Ukrainian Committee. Two Ukrainian scholarly associations maintain a network of branches in the US and Canada; they are Shevchenko Scientific Society, and Ukrainian Free Academy of Arts and Sciences. Fraternal Benefit insurance associations are very highly developed, with the Ukrainian National Association having a membership of about 80,000 and assets of over 22 million.

In South America there are nearly 200,000 Ukrainians, mainly in Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay, and Venezuela. Ukrainians are organized in churches and communities, with newspapers, publications, etc.

In Australia and New Zealand the number of Ukrainians is over 20,000 who came after 1948. They are well organized in religious, cultural and professional societies and have their own newspapers.

It should be added that Ukrainians are very active in politics in Canada. Their concentrated numbers have favored promoting men of Ukrainian origin to political positions in the cities, provinces, and in the Dominion. Ukrainians are mayors of many large cities (e.g. Winnipeg), they have large representations in all parties in provincial legislatures, several members in the Federal Parliament, two Federal Senators, and one member of the Federal Cabinet.

SECRET

ATTACHMENT E

11 March 1959

The following letter, written in Ukrainian, was addressed to Ivan WOZNIAK (address shown in the INFORMATION BULLETIN). The envelope contained the following return address:

Polscha
M. LUBLIN
Wul. RIWNA 21
MARUSCHEWESKY

The letter was postmarked in WROCLAW, although the return address is LUBLIN. The return address is written in Ukrainian style rather than Polish; i.e., Ukrainian WULITSA instead of Polish ULITSA; Ukrainian RIWNA instead of Polish ROWNA.

Greetings to Pauline, daughter of George, ROZHNEVI POLYA. Before her death, my mother wanted to know something about her son, my brother Vasile. Instead of trying to help us learn something about Vasile, you are sending us some kind of "papers" (papir) which can get us into trouble. If you are really Ukrainian, as you say you are in your "paper" (papir), then help us find Vasile.

I am taking advantage of an opportunity of a *girl who is going to Poland and writing this to you. I am writing another letter to the addressee on the envelope in which your paper came to me. (c/o Note: The addressee was a fictitious name, so we must assume the letter lost for all practical purposes.)

If you want to know who it is that is writing this to you, read the UKRAINEKE SLOVO for November 1956 in which my communication to ~~PUHACH~~, Vasile appeared and in which is given the address of an acquaintance in Poland through whom you will be able to let us know about Vasile.

/S/ Paulina

(c/o Note: *It appears the girl who travelled from the Ukraine to Poland mailed the letter in WROCLAW, although the return address was LUBLIN.)

SECRET

ATTACHMENT F

*Q. memo
Attd. 12 Mar 59*

Translation

Esteemed Mr. ~~X~~ Sokoliak:

I have received your letter and BULLETIN. It was at first surprising to me how this letter reached me and when I read it, it seemed like something out of this world. Things brightened for a moment, but it is like a dream. The points of the UHVR program which are found on page 2 -- there is the question of whether they shall ever be realized? I should like to meet with you. It is all true. We are working for a better tomorrow and this is good. The material aid (Bulletin)/would be helpful because we have a family for which to care. I shall try to pass the BULLETIN on to others. Let them know what a good heart you have. I thank you very much, and once again ask you to remember to send more material. Greetings from us all.

/s/ P.

P. S. The BULLETIN will go on to the Ukraine. Your Ukrainian family is not only here. According to what I hear, she is working for you.