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OPERATION VIENNA FESTIVAL, 1959

I - GENERAL INFORMATION

Preparations by us for the Vienna Festival began several months in advance and were aimed at contacting Ukrainians from Soviet Ukraine, exchanging information with them, arranging for future exchange of communications and arousing in them a willingness for closer cooperation. A further aim was to counteract the Soviet propaganda staged in Vienna during the Festival.

An operational team, with specially prepared literature and an exhibition of Ukrainian books printed in the West were put in action, in order to achieve the above-mentioned tasks.

Operational Team. Our operational team during the Vienna Festival consisted of 15 men and women including myself. (See Attachment A for the list of names.) In addition to this group directly under my supervision, I maintained contacts and received help (information, storage of books, distribution of books, transportation, etc.) from approximately six other Ukrainians. I also remained in contact with and occasionally received help from other operating teams such as Pax Romana (via Mr. KIRSNER), Hungarian groups, Austrian youth organizations.

Before operations actually were started all members of my team were briefed by me about our task and techniques of approach. During the Festival I held personal meetings with individual members of the team in order to give further detailed instructions and receive their reports. Also, I maintained steady contact with Barry.

All team members had contact with Soviet Ukrainians present in Vienna, had many talks and lengthy conversations with them, exchanged small gifts, held social gatherings in many cases, and gave the Soviet Ukrainians literature which was discussed after it was read by the Soviets. Photographs were taken, addresses exchanged and some of our team members were invited by Soviet Ukrainians to visit them while on trips to the Ukraine. In a few cases, Soviet Ukrainians promised to write letters to their new acquaintances in the West.

In addition to these general contacts on a common level, so to say, there took place talks with a higher echelon of Soviet Ukrainians who were in Vienna. In one case there was a continuation of a previous contact made earlier this year in Paris--a Ukrainian language journal with autographs was transmitted from Kiev. (See section on contacts.) All these contacts, as will be shown in the future sections, supported material about the situation inside the Ukraine and the USSR. They also gave a picture of Soviet Ukrainian interest in activities of the Ukrainian emigration. Based on the results of

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these conversations, we can reach some important conclusions which should be taken into consideration for future planning of our operations and our policy toward the Ukrainian SSR.

Literature. Five pamphlets in the Ukrainian, Russian and English languages were prepared by our group for the Festival and were distributed in Vienna. Also prepared and distributed were six different leaflets and postal cards with cartoons. Samples of this literature are attached as Attachment B. There were distributed to Iron Curtain personnel in Vienna approximately 6,000 pieces of our literature, 800 pieces were mailed to addresses in the Soviet Ukraine, and 60 pieces were mailed to Poland.

Book Exhibition. During the Festival there was an exhibition in an Austrian bookshop (the Lechner Bookhandlung Am Graben) Ukrainian books, phonograph records, and works of art. This exhibition had a permanent service consisting of three persons. It was seen by many Soviet Ukrainians and some of them visited the exhibition inside. There were many visitors from Poland who took books and pamphlets. At the end of the Festival a demonstration organized and led by the Soviet Ukrainian Volodymyr Vasylovyeh KULYK took place in the bookstore. During this demonstration KULYK among others launched a verbal attack on me. A detailed description of the attack is given in the section about the bookstore.

II - UKRAINIANS FROM THE USSR

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Soviet at Vienna  
Youth Festival 1959*

Approximately 200 Ukrainians from the USSR participated in the Vienna Festival. Next to the Russians, the Ukrainian group, composed of three elements, was the strongest national group from the Soviet Union.

1. The chosen group of Soviet Ukrainians: activists, members of Central Committee of the Komsozol, chief editors, journalists, teachers and artists. They were well prepared and instructed to seek contacts and engage in conversations with Ukrainian emigres. This first group could be described as representative of the Soviet Ukrainian "new class." It was headed, as far as could be judged, by Valeriy Pavlowyeh SHENCHENKO (he claimed to be a member of the Soviet Ukrainian Foreign Ministry in Kiev, Visa Section.) and Ivan Danylowyeh SHENENKO, Chief Editor of "moled Ukrainy" and member of the Central Committee of Komsozol. Their main purpose in contacts with emigres was to get a personal view of their counterparts and to make propaganda that the Ukrainian SSR is really an independent state, that in recent years big changes towards full Ukrainization in the Soviet Ukraine have taken place, that there is no danger of Russification, that there is big progress in all fields of Ukrainian culture and economic life, and that, therefore, the political struggle of Ukrainian emigres is out of date. This group enjoyed in Vienna a comparatively good life. They wore well-tailored suits and had more money than the average Soviet Festival participant. Some of them, like for instance SHENCHENKO, were guests of the Soviet Embassy in Vienna. (During one conversation with our man, he mentioned that he must go for dinner to the Soviet Embassy.)

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2. The second and most numerical group consisted of minor activists of the Komsomol, of persons distinguished for accomplishments in production and public life, students and industrial workers. Almost without exception they were townspeople, no kolkhoz members. Only very few claimed to be workers of former MTS stations. They were poorly dressed, and had a very limited amount of spending money. (According to a conversation with one of our men, they received only 242 shillings for the Festival.) Members of this group were eager to receive monetary gifts and to be entertained. There were many contacts with individuals of this category, some of which continued for a couple of days. Some members of this second group showed interest in wanting to be informed, in getting information about the Ukrainian emigration, about living conditions in the West. Some of them were well-informed about the political life of the Ukrainian emigres, especially in the USA and Canada. Almost without exception all of them revealed their Ukrainian patriotism, being at the same time afraid of touching upon such topics as Moscow ruling the Ukraine and the Russification policy. It was obvious that they considered this topic as a hot iron.

3. Numerically very small, the third group consisted of professional artists sent to Vienna to perform. Very well situated financially and, in most cases, being guests of the Soviet Embassy in Vienna, they showed no particular interest in contacts and conversations. Some of the artists were brought to Vienna not for performances but as Festival participants. These individuals showed good knowledge of the situation in the Ukrainian emigration, were eager to discuss the political situation and submitted interesting information as to the situation in the Ukraine.

General Characteristics. The following conclusions could be made about the Soviet Ukrainian Festival participants. With the one exception of SHENCHENKO, who could speak and move freely and have contacts without witnesses, all others, including even the Komsomol member SHENEC, were not fully trusted by the Soviet Russians, were forbidden to move about unaccompanied and to speak alone with emigres. (This statement was made to one of our men by the Soviet Ukrainian writer PAWLYCHKO.) These individuals were under permanent control and obviously were obliged to report their conversations with Ukrainian emigres.

Under a superficial Soviet loyalty and oral declaration of contentment with life in the Soviet Ukraine, equality between Russians and Ukrainians, the Soviet Ukrainians are not free of the possibilities of persecution for their Ukrainian patriotism (my discussion with SHENEC).

Without exception all Soviet Ukrainians, regardless of the place from which they came (East or West Ukraine), spoke a very good Ukrainian language as soon as they were free of the presence of their Soviet supervisors.

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## III - CONTACTS

1. In this section I am going to give a summarized story of contacts made by our team members with Soviet Ukrainians. The list of contacted Soviet Ukrainians and data obtained will be submitted separately. A more detailed report on all conversations will be made later, after all team members have sent in their reports. A special report will be made on the trip to Poland and the Ukraine made by two members of our team after the close of the Festival.

2. First contacts were made during the opening of the Festival in Vienna Stadium on July 26. They were limited to generalities and concentrated on pin-pointing among the Soviet group the Ukrainian participants. It was determined at this time that the main group of Ukrainian Festival participants were living in Postaleindorf, a Vienna suburb; in former "Studentheim" in Porzelangasse; and in so-called Sanatorium-am-Sternwarte (Soviet property). The following day the first visits by our members to the Postaleindorf took place, discussions were initiated and acquaintances made.

3. In most cases contact by our team members with Soviet Ukrainians was made comparatively easy. A team member would ask a group of Soviets if there were among them Soviet Ukrainians and immediately he would be surrounded by a small group of Soviet Ukrainians. After general questions like, "Where are you from?"; "Who are you?"; etc., a conversation would begin and sometimes the meetings and discussion continued for several days. In the first stages our men and women had to answer a flood of questions on: living conditions in the West, is it possible to obtain scholarships and to whom are they available, why are there so many political parties, and so on.

4. As to living conditions in the West, there was observed a lack of basic information by the Soviet Ukrainians about the most common institutions of the Western society like for instance, trade unions and their role in the protection of workers. Also, they didn't understand the phenomenon of freedom the Western citizen enjoys. For instance, they criticized the many party systems by pointing out that political parties are concerned primarily with interests of a small group and not working for the benefit of society as a whole. They displayed a Western advertisement and stated that "the nude women in shop windows are demoralizing the youth." On the other hand, they praised the good Austrian service in restaurants and shops, admitting freely that at home the waiters or salesmen are not so polite and not interested in good service to the customer. Asked why, they answered, "Because he is a State employee who doesn't care about profit." They also wondered about high prices of books which in their opinion could be obtained only by a rich person. The overwhelming majority of them identify the Western world with a Capitalistic regime which they considered reactionary. They were almost completely ignorant about modern welfare and state institutions of Western societies and were eager to be informed about them. Our team members gave basic information on the above topics to almost all the Soviet Ukrainians with whom they had contact.

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5. A large part of all conversations with Soviet Ukrainians was devoted to the situation in the Ukraine and to answering questions about the Ukrainian emigration and our activities. As a rule, after a short general conversation our team members tried to turn the discussion to political subjects and this was almost without exception willingly accepted by the Soviet Ukrainians. They were interested in the living conditions and political activities of the Ukrainian emigres, they asked whether it is true that the Ukrainian emigres are under the protection of the United Nations, and they inquired about some prominent Ukrainian emigre personalities. Compared with last year's experiences in Brussels and previous contacts with Soviet Ukrainians, it was observed that the Soviet Ukrainians were better informed about the Ukrainian emigration.

6. Topics Most Often Discussed. As all Soviet Ukrainians boasted about the sovereign status of the Ukrainian SSR, the main topic brought up for discussion by our team members was the so-called sovereign status, the position of the Ukraine in the United Nations, and the lack of the basic elements of sovereignty, as for instance the absence of diplomatic representation of the Ukraine abroad. In most cases the Soviet Ukrainians at first automatically defended their statements regarding sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR. They tried to explain the lack of diplomatic representation by very unsound arguments. There were cases where confronted by our arguments about the lack of foreign relations of the Ukrainian SSR they kept silent, were unwilling to go farther in this subject, or defended the present status by poor argumentation.

7. Russification of the Ukraine. This topic was the most discussed problem with all Soviet Ukrainians. With one exception (KOTENKO) all Soviet Ukrainians at first categorically denied the Russification policy, claiming full equality between Russians and Ukrainians and pointing out tremendous development of the Ukrainian cultural and scientific life in the last five years. They cited names of new book editions, spoke about the growth of publication and circulation of Ukrainian newspapers. Confronted with contrary facts they either pretended not to be aware of them or remained silent. The above-mentioned KOTENKO was asked about and admitted that service in the Soviet Army is one of many means of Russification. He said, "A boy who can speak only Ukrainian leaves his town or village and after years of military service where the only accepted language is Russian, he returns home with a confused language, using many Russian words." "But," KOTENKO continued, "this doesn't mean that such a boy ceases to be a Ukrainian even if he speaks Russian." His opinion was supported by other Soviet Ukrainians.

One subject that was discussed with many Soviet Ukrainians was the new school law. This school law leaves to the parents ~~if~~ the final decision as to which school the child shall be sent, to a Russian or a Ukrainian school. All interviewed Soviet Ukrainians denied categorically that this law opens a new door for further Russification of the Ukrainian school system. A man from Rivne, Soviet Ukraine, unidentified by name, explained to K that this law should be considered as a progress toward Ukrainization of the school system.

By this he meant that this law gives to the parents the legal basis to demand a Ukrainian school. The same man gave as proof about the school situation in the Ukraine the following data about schools in the Rivne Oblast--231 Ukrainian schools and only 14 Russian. The school law topic also was discussed with another Ukrainian, STECIUK, who gave exactly the same explanation. For him this new law is nothing else but legalizing the rights of parents to have the school they want. He also mentioned that it is known to him that the Ukrainian emigre parties and newspapers protested very strongly against this law and he considered that they were misinformed. Another topic was the lack of Ukrainian schools in the RSFSR. Our team members complained about the fact that millions of Ukrainians in the RSFSR and elsewhere in the Soviet Union behind the borders of Ukrainian SSR do not have possibilities to send their children to Ukrainian schools while at the same time the Russians in the Ukraine have plenty of Russian schools. Some of the Soviet Ukrainians pretended not to know about this, while others, like for instance BORYSHUK, in a conversation with K, admitted the present situation is not just and in his opinion the Ukrainians in the RSFSR should really demand establishment of their own schools.

8. While discussing the situation of the Ukrainians behind the borders of Ukrainian SSR (that means in RSFSR, in Siberia, and in Kazakstan), the Ukrainian STECIUK in conversation with K stated that Ukrainians in Siberia and Kazakstan are much more patriotic than the countrymen in the Ukraine. "The Ukrainians in the Ukraine take the fact that they are Ukrainians for granted, whereas the Ukrainians in Siberia and elsewhere in the Soviet Union behind the Ukrainian borders are surrounded by other nationalities and are more conscious, proud and even active than our brothers at home."

9. The Ukrainian Emigration. As already mentioned, the Soviet Ukrainians in Vienna seemed much better informed about the Ukrainian emigration than they were in previous years. Sometimes they had an exaggerated impression about the numerical strength of the Ukrainian emigration. For instance, A was asked by one engineer from Donbas, "Is it true there are 300,000 Ukrainians in England?" The next almost standard question put to our men and women by the Soviet Ukrainians was this, "Why do they have so many political groups and quarrels among themselves?" After A identified himself with the Program of our group (UHVR) the Soviet engineer told him that he knows about Messrs. LEBID and KONOHENKO and pretended to be very well informed about the OUN. In the discussion carried on by S with a Ukrainian from Uzhorod known only by his first name Dmytro, he asked S about the whereabouts of Mr. MARKUS whom Dmytro described as a writer. Our team members also were asked whether BANDERA and STECKO were present in Vienna. It was news to one of the Soviet Ukrainians when K told him that BANDERA and STECKO were jailed in a German concentration camp during the war. Programs and activities of the Ukrainian emigration was the subject of lengthy discussions with many Soviet Ukrainians.

10. Contacts on "High Level".

A. On July 30 a group of five Soviet Ukrainian men and women came

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Festival, 1959

into the bookstore in which our exhibition was located and after taking a quick look at the exhibited books and pamphlets asked S whether she can help them find ~~out~~ a Ukrainian journalist or writer with whom they could speak. S explained that the chief editor of a known Ukrainian newspaper would soon be there. The group left the bookstore and promised to come back in a few minutes. In the meantime, W came to the bookstore and soon after the same group of Soviet Ukrainians reappeared. The spokesman of the group who presented himself as SHEWCHENKO, member of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry, expressed a desire for a conversation with W. The other members of the group were Ivan Danylowycz SEMENEC, approximately 35, chief editor of MOLOD UKRAINY; Volodymyr Wasylowycz KULYK, 29-30, a teacher from a Lviv high school and principal of the 9th grade; BESHILY from Poltava, staff member of the newspaper Prykarpatska Pravda in Stanislaw; Valentyn Leonidowycz ZABRODIY, staff member of the newspaper Kultura and Sport; known writer and pamphleteer against Ukrainian nationalism and the emigration - Mytro PAVLYCHKO from Lviv. After a conversation in the bookstore Mr. SHEWCHENKO made the proposition that W meet with him again. They agreed to meet July 31, 10 a.m., in Cafe Bauernfeld. Informed by W about the visit and planned meeting, I could not attend the first meeting because of other important obligations and meetings with Barry and his friend Peter.

B. On July 31, at the agreed time and place, SHEWCHENKO (with the above-mentioned colleagues but without the two women who were present at the bookstore) met W in the Cafe Bauernfeld and later they moved to another restaurant for lunch. A detailed report on this 4-hour conversation will be submitted later. The following information about this meeting can be given now. While PAVLYCHKO and KULYK took a very aggressive position attacking W with phrases (Ukrainian people want you to go away, they don't want you, the UPA and OUN are enemies of our nation and so forth), SHEWCHENKO took a more calm position. They discussed in general the position of the Ukrainian SSR. SHEWCHENKO tried to explain such questions asked ~~at~~ by W--as why doesn't the Ukrainian SSR have foreign representation? Why is the Russification policy continuing? etc. SHEWCHENKO said that Ukrainian Consulates abroad will be opened in the future and right now there are in countries with large numbers of Ukrainian emigres special Ukrainian members of the Soviet Embassy to deal with these groups. The Soviet Ukrainians brought along two bottles of vodka and Soviet canned food and had lunch with W. At the end of this gathering they expressed a desire to continue this discussion and made an appointment for 4 p.m. the following day at the same place.

C. This time I took part in the discussion which, at my suggestion took place not at the restaurant proposed by the Soviets but in the Cafe Auernfeld. I had informed Barry about the meeting in advance. Shortly after 4 p.m. SEMENEC, KULYK and ZABRODIY were brought by W from the place where they met the previous day. W gave SEMENEC one example of LITERATURNI HAZETA which SEMENEC pretended to be seeing for the first time. Then I started the conversation saying that this was an abnormal situation that even chief editors of the Soviet Ukrainian press are ignorant of some of the more important emigre

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newspapers. While SEMENEC gave a diplomatic reply KULYK stated that the Ukrainian people are not interested in emigre production. Further he stated, "We know there are two kinds of emigration--the old one who left the country for economic reasons and the second, so-called new one, who was thrown out by the people." At this point I interrupted KULYK asking him not to simplify the situation and protested against the statement that the new emigration was thrown out by the people. As the words exchanged in this moment sharpened, SEMENEC took over the conversation and made the proposition that we shall continue our discussion without attacking each other. I explained that conversation is impossible if they consider us as a group of people thrown out by the nation and, therefore, KULYK must be more careful in the choice of his words. Then I made the following introductory statement. "Taking into account the situation in which our counterparts are living under the Soviet Regime, we are realistic enough to know that at the present time they must live under the conditions present at home. We are not going to ask them to make a revolution. Nevertheless, the Ukrainians should defend Ukrainian interests and should be interested in the welfare of their nation. Having this in mind, we in the emigration are studying closely the conditions in the Ukraine and are trying to help our nation."

D. SEMENEC smiled and stated that on this basis we can continue our discussion because he also feels obliged toward his nation and is also interested in the Ukrainian cause. I then asked them to explain to me the following situation. Why doesn't the Ukraine have foreign diplomatic representation if it is true that the Ukraine is a sovereign state? Also I asked him to explain the Russification policy in the Ukraine. On the first question about foreign representation SEMENEC didn't give a satisfactory answer. Where Russification was concerned, he categorically denied any such trend of the Soviet policy claiming big cultural and scientific progress of the Ukraine. Further he stated that the Ukrainian nation must be very obliged to their Russian neighbor for the historical fact of uniting all parts of the Ukraine into one state.

E. Then he launched an attack directed against us. "At the time the Russian nation is helping us to unite all of the Ukraine into one state the Western world is still thinking about and preparing new partitions of the Ukraine. The Poles are eager to get the Western Ukraine, the Czechs and Hungarians want Carpatho Ukraine." Coming back to our newspaper SUCHASNA UKRAINA which was submitted to him the day before by W, SEMENEC remarked that by reading this newspaper he got the impression we are inspired by a war-like spirit. Explaining that we are not going to defend everything that is going on in the West and especially some plans of a new partition of the Ukraine, I made a lengthy statement about the necessity on their part to defend the Ukraine.

F. Then the discussion turned once more to the Russification problem and SEMENEC boasted that for instance his newspaper permanently grows in circulation while the Russian edition of the newspaper has a very small circulation.

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Further arguments and facts which I submitted to him as proof of the Russification policy SEMENEC commented with a slogan, quoting the Russian poet Mayakowsky, "If I had been a negro I would learn this language in order to properly understand Lenin and his works." He also tried to explain the absence of a separate Ukrainian delegation to the Vienna Festival by the explanation that the Austrians barred from visa 100 Ukrainian applicants. I and W laughed at this statement and nothing more was said about this topic.

G. In a further stage of the conversation SEMENEC stated that he got our point that we are thinking about the Russification of the Ukraine but for the time being, they are satisfied with the situation they have right now. He also mentioned the abolishment of the international trade barrier shortly after the death of Stalin. Beria tried to use the national cause of the Soviet republics as a trampoline to seize power in the Soviet Union, but this attempt was foiled and he himself was shot. I remarked that this attempt by Beria, who as a security chief should know where to look for support, proves only that the national question in the Soviet Union is very acute. This remark remained unanswered.

H. The entire discussion lasted for more than two hours and was mainly carried on between SEMENEC and me, with small interjections made by W and KULYK. KULYK, for instance, asked me what the Ukrainian emigres' situation would be in let us say 50 years. I answered that I am a politician and not a metaphysist. Once during the discussion when SEMENEC praised the cultural development of the Ukraine and told that there is no force on the earth which could stop it, I interrupted him by saying that in our recent history, only so far back as the 1930's, we had such development, a tremendous Ukrainization stimulated and carried on by men like SKHYPHYK, KHVYLOWYJ, LUBCHENKO and that he, SEMENEC, knows as well as I do what happened to these men, and that all this development was liquidated by Moscow practically over-night. At this moment W made a move with his hand, meaning that in your regime it goes up and down. It was at this moment that for just a second one could read fear in SEMENEC's eyes. But only for a moment. Then he got himself under control and said that such a thing is impossible today. Before departing SEMENEC asked W to give him the book, one of our editions which we showed him at the beginning of our meeting. Smilingly we departed. SEMENEC several times expressed a desire to continue the discussion with me and asked me to come again on the following days. I didn't say either yes or no to this proposition.

11. Continuation of Contact by B.

A. On July 27 B received a letter mailed from Kiev by his acquaintance whom he met in Paris, Miss TANKINA, informing him that she received his letter containing his newspaper article. In this letter she informed him that she was sending him, via a man named DUBOWENKO, a copy of the Ukrainian-language Journal Mystetstvo containing an article written by her and her autograph. (Attachment B is a photocopy of the letter. The original was shown to

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Barry and then left for copying with Steve in Munich.) About this letter I sent through Barry a message and received an answer. With the help of A, B was connected with DUBOWENKO who gave him the above-mentioned journal. Before he handed over the journal, DUBOWENKO made sure that B was the man for whom he was looking.

B. During previous contacts with A, DUBOWENKO asked whether there were in Vienna some Ukrainian journalists from Germany, meaning obviously B. B made an appointment with DUBOWENKO but didn't appear at the place and time agreed because, in the meantime, he was accidentally met by SHEWCHENKO who wanted to speak with him. At the time B met SHEWCHENKO the last was in the company of HEMENEC, ZABODIY, and C.D.

C. The meeting of B with SHEWCHENKO lasted for four hours. In his report B writes the following about SHEWCHENKO and this meeting. "SHEWCHENKO gives the impression of a cultured and tactful man with a great deal of prestige in the Soviet Government. He was really free to move about unescorted and he spoke with anybody he wanted.

D. "From the discussion I gained the impression that the Soviets now are very interested in the Ukrainian emigration and they are carefully studying all our activities. In my opinion that was the purpose of the presence of SHEWCHENKO in Vienna. We discussed political problems, and during the discussion he remained tactful but never left the official line. He said that we emigres are always thinking in categories which we applied in Stalin's era. In the meantime, everything has changed and the emigration lost the impression about the true situation in the Ukraine. Of course, it was easy for me to find arguments against his statement but it wasn't possible to provoke SHEWCHENKO for more open talk.

E. "It was also my impression that they are studying our emigration in order to prepare a more elaborate attack against our activities. For instance, SHEWCHENKO said earlier that there was the opinion in his circles that all Ukrainian emigres were 'Banderivtsi', that now they know the difference between 'Banderivtsi', and 'Malnykiivtsi' and the 'UWVR'. 'We also know what the UWVR is.' He also said that not all emigre groups are anti-Soviet. I answered him that he was in error because there isn't one group of Ukrainian emigres who isn't against the Soviet Regime. For a moment my answer created amazement. He avoided my question as to where they get their information about the Ukrainian emigration. He only said, 'Now we have much more detailed information about the Ukrainian emigration. I could for instance tell about you in many details and you would wonder how I knew so much. For instance, we read your paper UKRAINSKA LITERATURNHA HAZETA. I know for instance that you are not a member of any party and that you are more interested in arts than you are in politics.' Here I explained to him that he was right, I am not interested so much directly in politics but nevertheless my newspaper is a political one because we are criticizing your socialistic realism which is

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suppressing Ukrainian culture. Then SHWCHENKO continued, 'I for instance know that last year you were in the United States. Also, I know that for some short period of time, in 1947, you were with the Bahrianyi group. As a matter of fact, you don't have much sense.' Here I interrupted him by saying, 'Do you expect to agitate me to return to the Ukraine?' He laughed and said, 'As a matter of fact, if you would return you wouldn't be bothered.' So not to leave any illusions I gave him the following explanation. 'My dear Valeria Pawlowich, I feel it necessary to make a full declaration in order to let you know who I am and where I stand. I do not intend to return and will never return, not because I am afraid of punishment but because I could not live for one day in that world of lies and of totalitarian political pressure and national discretion. I am used to living in a free world, used to being open about my feelings, I am sincere and not hypocritical, which it is necessary to be in your regime. So as long as the USSR exists, there is no force in the world which could bring me back. I think now you have a clear picture of whom you have before you.' SHWCHENKO laughed at this statement and said, 'Of course it is clear to me. Do you think that I am such a naive person as to think that I can agitate you into returning back home. I studied rather carefully your newspaper and I came to the conclusion that it would be easier to convince a Banderivitch than you to return home.' We both laughed heartily. Later on we discussed many topics. He asked many questions about living conditions in the West and it was obvious that it was very interesting for him to hear about these conditions. Many times I tried to return to the political question but he answered only along official lines. The general impression which he made on me is that he is a very disciplined official who is very careful to secure his career. I would like to repeat once more my impression that the Soviets are very carefully studying the Ukrainian emigration and that maybe they are planning broad action against us."

## 12. Contact of F and G (Continuation of Previous Contacts from Moscow.)

A. F and G met the writer PAWLYCHKO accidentally in the foyer of Stadthalle at the performance of the Soviet delegation the night of August 3. PAWLYCHKO made an appointment for the next day and said that he must come with a companion in order to have an alibi. When departing from this first meeting he said, "Anyway, I do not trust anybody." The next day at 10 A.M. we met at the entrance of Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. PAWLYCHKO and his two colleagues, MUSHKETYK, staff member of the monthly DNIFRO, and BEZUHLY from the PRYKARPATSKA PRAVDA (Stanislaw), were already waiting. We took our places on a bank in the square and while G talked with PAWLYCHKO, F tried to have a conversation with MUSHKETYK and BEZUHLY to divert their attention.

B. The discussion lasted for two hours and during the conversation MUSHKETYK and BEZUHLY tried to eavesdrop on the conversation between G and PAWLYCHKO. G gave PAWLYCHKO some German books and literature which he asked for the previous day. PAWLYCHKO, MUSHKETYK and BEZUHLY looked at the books and literature. PAWLYCHKO presented G with a few cards from Kiev, MUSHKETYK a small bottle of Moscow perfume, and BEZUHLY a small edition of Ukrainian poetry.

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C. In our conversation we touched upon the following topics: The poor official representation of the Ukrainian SSR in the Soviet delegation at the Festival; the Russification of schools as a result of the new school law; the Russification of Lviv and compulsory transfer of Ukrainian youth to Siberia and so-called virgin lands. BEZUBLY and MUSHKETYK declared that they were not in a position to discuss and answer all the questions asked. PANLYCHKO, during the rare moments when he was not being heard by BEZUBLY and MUSHKETYK, spoke frankly. Among other things he said that the participation of the Ukrainian SSR in the Festival and in other Soviet artistic performances abroad is much greater than that of the other republics. Concerning the Russification of Ukrainian schools, PANLYCHKO said that up to the present, only Ukrainian writers were fighting for the Ukrainian language and now it seems that the entire population will take part in this struggle. In PANLYCHKO's opinion, this new school law may stimulate action of the entire Ukrainian nation. "Sometimes," he said, "our people need a stimulant before they will react." "Anyway," he continued, "we are too big and too numerous and they (Great Russians) can't devour us." In answer to the question as to what KIRUCHENKO is doing in Moscow, PANLYCHKO answered, "His being there doesn't help much. He thinks only about himself." Speaking about the low circulation of Ukrainian-language journals, MUSHKETYK stated that they are going to increase the circulation of the journal DNIPRO to 27,000. Recently some 4,000 Ukrainians in Kazakstan subscribed to Ukrainian newspapers. MUSHKETYK insisted that Ukrainians in Kazakstan have the right to have their own Ukrainian schools.

D. Regarding Russification of Lviv, PANLYCHKO said the situation has improved very much in recent years, as in 1953 half of the population there was Russian. Today the situation has changed and there is a big stream of newcomers from surrounding Ukrainian villages.

E. Speaking about Donbas and the danger of Russification of this industrial center, BEZUBLY admitted that, as a matter of fact, there are many Russians in Donbas but nevertheless the Ukrainians are still in the majority.

F. MUSHKETYK added, "I would like to insure you that we in the Ukraine constantly are trying to stress that we are Ukrainians and not Russians; that we desire to preserve our own culture, and pursue our own historical and political development and I can say that we do have good results. Recently we heard that embassies of the Ukrainian SSR will be opened in certain countries abroad. For instance, I give you one example of what happened in Kiev. The Czech Consulate in Kiev displayed its door plaque in the Russian language. I myself intervened at the Consulate and the language on the plaque immediately was changed to Ukrainian." BEZUBLY said, "I know that in the West they are mixing up Ukrainians and Russians and they do not know enough about us, but that is harmful for them, not us." MUSHKETYK further described the situation in the Crimea stating that in recent years this oblast has been undergoing a radical process of Ukrainization and recently the writer NECHODA was sent from Kiev to Crimea to conduct a Ukrainian writer's association there.

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G. The following day PANLYCHKO met with F and G and said that his colleagues BEZHILY and MUSHKETYK were very satisfied with yesterday's talks. During this latter meeting, PANLYCHKO said that he was criticized recently by TYCHYNA and BAZHAN for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism which was found in his poetry, The Call of Truth, circulation of 17,000, which was sold out in three weeks. PANLYCHKO's wife is a physician and her monthly salary is 600 rubles. He himself earns approximately 1,000 rubles. He is a member of the Town Council of Lviv. In the near future he plans to move to Kiev. G and F presented PANLYCHKO with 11 books on German literature. (List attached as Attachment D.)

## 13. Contact M.

A. M met SHEWCHENKO who was accompanied by SEMENEC and ZABRODIY. They discussed primarily the national policy of the Soviet Union.

B. SHEWCHENKO and his colleagues made all possible attempts to convince us that there is no Russification policy in the Ukrainian SSR and that the new school law of April 17 in no way endangers the Ukrainian school system. In order to show that there is no danger of Russification, ZABRODIY gave what he called a practical example from daily life in Kiev. "The children of Russian parents in Kiev play with Ukrainian children, and after the Russian children return home they talk to their mothers in the Ukrainian language." ZABRODIY said that in no way is there danger of Russification.

## IV - DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATURE

1. Every team member was equipped with Western literature and was instructed to give it to his Soviet counterpart at the end of a discussion or at any time he considers appropriate. Experience showed that Soviet Ukrainians, in spite of being eager to get the literature, were careful not to take it in the presence of other countrymen. Only a comparatively small amount of literature was handed from hand to hand. (Not more than 30 pieces: i.e., Khrushchev's talks at the 20th Congress, Petrov's description of the liquidation of Ukrainian writers in the 1930's, Our Program, and MYTH AND REALITY.) In a few cases, like for instance in the case of a follow-up conversation which K had with STECIUK and others, he was in a position to discuss with them the topic of our pamphlets.

2. The second method of distribution was by leaving literature in places where Soviet Ukrainians were living. Approximately 500 pieces of literature and post cards and cartoons were left on the banks, in the yard and other places surrounding the Potsleindorf. It is highly probable that at least a part of this literature was taken by Soviet Ukrainians. This procedure was soon discovered by Soviet supervisors and it happened that on 28 August a show of "open destruction" of this material was staged by the supervisors. They

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ordered the members of their groups to tear up a dozen of our booklets. Present at this time, A commented to them that an easier way would be to burn it but it would bring to mind Nazi practices. Some 1,000 pieces of our literature, especially booklets, were available in the 16 Austrian information kiosks placed throughout the city. These kiosks were visited by Soviets and especially by delegates from Satellite countries. Some 800 pieces of literature and cartoons were on shelves in the Soviet exhibition pavilion at Karlsplatz. There were put there by special action in which six members of our team participated during one lunch period. They inserted our literature into the Soviet books and in this way it is assumed our literature got into the hands of Soviet visitors who came that afternoon to visit the exhibition and who took many of the exhibited booklets.

3. Still another way of distribution was to leave two or three booklets on benches in parks which were visited by Soviet groups, like for instance the Schoenbrunn Park. Some 3,000 cards with cartoons and with a parody on the Soviet life was distributed by the Hungarians and Austrian youth organizations. Leaflets informing about our exhibition in the Lechner Book Store were distributed by Austrians paid to do this. In two reported cases they were physically molested by the East German Communists who after they took leaflets and read their contents, attacked the distributors. As a matter of fact, this information leaflet was approved and admitted for distribution by the Vienna Townhouse. Approximately 400 booklets and 1,000 cartoons were distributed in Messenglcunde among delegates of the Festival.

4. Mailing. Eight hundred letters containing our booklets bulletins and cartoons were mailed to addresses in the Soviet Ukraine and 60 to addresses in Poland. Because of heavy mailing to the USSR from the Soviet Festival participants, it was highly probable that this mail would reach its destination. In a few cases in which we were able to check the reaction of Soviet readers of our pamphlets, we were led to believe that this material was found of interest and that it shall be used in the future, especially such pamphlets as MYTH AND REALITY, Petrov's book, Our Program, and Khrushchev's Secret Address to the 20th Party Congress.

## V - EXHIBITION OF LITERATURE

A. Our Vienna book exhibition, because of its location, proved to be a success. The exhibition was placed in the Lechner Buchlandlmy opposite the Stephansdome. Almost all Soviet visitors who visited Stephansdome automatically must have seen this exhibition. In a short time the news about this exhibition was spread among the delegates and a great many of them came to see it, some maybe only from curiosity. A sensation was created around this exhibition. The Soviets sent their observers and took many photographs.

B. On August 3 at 1140 a.m. a group of approximately 10 Soviet Ukrainians led by KULYK came to the bookstore. This time W and S were in the bookstore. KULYK in a very loud voice started by saying, "You see here many books in the

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Ukrainian language but they do not depict the truth about our country. They are all big lies." Then turning to S he continued, "You are misused by such old politicians as W and O. You have never seen the Ukraine, you are too young, you know nothing about our country. You are misled and misused by these nationalists. Take for instance O. I spoke with him a couple of days ago. He was only interested in high politics. He is preoccupied with the idea of an independent and united Ukraine but he wasn't interested in and he didn't ask me about his sister who is very sick."

C. KULYK gave the first name and exact address of my sister in the Ukraine. W interrupted the loud speech of KULYK by mentioning that he is in an Austrian bookstore and should behave himself properly and not compromise himself as a Ukrainian visitor. But KULYK continued his loud talk. He said, "When I was 13 years old I received my first pair of trousers, so poor was my family, but he, O, studied in Vienna. How was it possible?--because his parents were bourgeois. Who paid for his trip from New York to Vienna? As KULYK continued his loud talk, Mr. Lechner, the owner of the bookstore, threatened that he was going to call the police. This quieted KULYK a little and after a while he and his group left the bookstore.

D. In this group there was a girl who several days ago met S and told her about hardships at home. She also mentioned to S that she believed in God. It was obvious that she was impressed by KULYK to come with him and to participate in this demonstration. She stood by white as a sheet, her eyes cast down, not saying a word.

E. There was another woman in the group who helped KULYK in his oration by shouting oral attacks on Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. The rest of the group remained silent.

F. As was already mentioned in the chapters on Contacts, SHENCHENKO and his colleagues visited the exhibition and made their appointment with us.

#### VI - GIFTS

Rapport between our team members and Soviet Ukrainians was strengthened through the presentation of small gifts to and entertainment of Soviet Ukrainians. For this purpose all team members were given a supply of small gifts (pens, lighters, necklaces, and other small items). These gifts could be presented in most cases only at the end of conversations. An attempt was made to arrange meetings with a bit of entertainment in order to create a pleasant atmosphere for conversations. This procedure was especially applied successfully by A. After getting acquainted with Soviet Ukrainians he would ask them to meet him the next time in one of the Austrian restaurants, he would treat them to some refreshments, tell jokes and, in between, touch on serious topics. Soon we found out that the food the Soviet Ukrainians were receiving in camp was not satisfactory and not having enough money to buy additional food, they were literally hungry. In one particular case A ordered three

plates full of sandwiches, as the first and second servings of the sandwiches were eaten immediately by the Soviet Ukrainians. Beer and wine also helped to ease the atmosphere. In some cases, as for instance during the meetings arranged by SHEWCHENKO, the Soviet Ukrainians, especially members of the higher echelon, entertained their counterparts with vodka and canned fish food. Such entertainment by Soviet Ukrainians was repeated three times as far as I know.

### VII - CONCLUSIONS

Before starting to sum up our activities at the Vienna Festival, I would like to mention some unforeseen difficulties which I noticed later in Vienna. These were the technical difficulties created either by Austrian Government employees or by the Soviets and their helpers, Austrian Communists, East Germans and Czechs.

1. The Austrian Government feared reprisals by the Soviets for our activities. They tried to hinder all open activities against the Festival, as for instance, the distribution of literature not censored by them. Thus it was necessary to apply a clandestine behavior in order to carry our activities such as transport and storage of literature, distribution of literature, meetings with team members, etc. It was especially difficult and time consuming to accomplish my daily meetings with our team members.

2. The presence of Communists in the Austrian police and especially at the foreign department of the police presidium (polizeipresidium) enabled the Soviets to control all foreigners who checked in at Vienna hotels. Therefore it was necessary to avoid living in hotels and to take private apartments. The Austrians asked a very high rent for their apartments and especially when they did not report one's presence to the police.

3. As all Vienna cafes and restaurants were over-crowded with every conceivable type of individual, it was necessary to arrange meetings with team members far from the center of town which caused a tremendous loss of time.

4. Use of the telephone was hindered by "telephone listeners." There was one known case where an emigre was thrown out from Austria on the grounds of monitored telephone conversations.

### VIII - RESULTS

A. First I would like to state that there is practically no possibility at this time to measure the results of such political and propagandistic activity as we developed in Vienna during the Festival. For instance, the results of many contacts and conversations, exchange of gifts, entertainment, the book exhibition, the Ukrainian Catholic Mass in Stephansdome (which was partly supported by us) have a psychological and political influence over a long period of time and cannot be measured immediately.

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B. Speaking in terms of contacts and addresses received which can be considered as the first step to possible future correspondence, the results can be assessed as satisfactory. (See attached list of contacted persons, addresses and, in some cases, other personal data.)

C. We had planned to receive and to give information. We did gather extensive information, highlights of which I submitted in the chapter on Contacts. At least of the same importance is the information which was submitted to Soviet Ukrainians by our team members. The Soviet Ukrainians, including even the higher echelon, took back home with them new views, new facts, new ideas which will preoccupy them for a long time and can possibly open their eyes on the Soviet regime and especially regarding the rule in the Ukraine. These Soviet Ukrainians who were contacted and subjected to our arguments could become more critical of what they hear and read in Soviet propaganda. How many of them completely accepted our views and how deeply their beliefs in the Soviet system were shaken remains an open question, but it can be said that they will give some thought to many of our arguments which they could answer only by remaining silent or by quoting the party line.

D. In the short story of contacts between Ukrainians from the West and the Soviet Ukrainians (I have here in mind the experiences from meeting Soviet Ukrainians in London, Paris and Brussels Fair) this was the first time that Soviet Ukrainians were seeking contacts with Ukrainians from the West. They took, so to say, the initiative in their own hands and like SHEVCHENKO, came to the bookstore and asked for an appropriate individual from the emigration with whom they could discuss the political situation. This attempt should be considered as a new tactic used by the Soviets and aimed at:

1. Intensifying their study of the Ukrainian emigration by gathering, in addition to the information received through agents and from printed materials, first-hand impressions through personal face-to-face study.
2. Finding weak points in our political program in our relations with the West, and in the attitude of the West to the Ukrainian question, in order to use these weak points in a stepped-up campaign against the emigration.
3. Agitating of at least a small percentage of Ukrainian emigres about the prosperity of the Ukrainian nation, the tremendous progress made in recent years. In the opinion of our team members, especially those who met with members of the higher echelon and also in my own conviction, the Soviets are preparing a broad political attack on the Ukrainian emigration the activities of which creates a very unpleasant factor for them.

To counteract this attack requires a more positive attitude toward the Ukraine on the part of the West and especially on the part of the USA. This is especially important at the time when the Soviets enforce their new tactics. To back my statement I would like to present some experiences I gained in Vienna. During a discussion with a Soviet Ukrainian, let us say a young engineer, teacher or journalist, the argument of economic backwardness

of the Soviet Union is no more a valid argument and does not convince the man that the Western system is better. This young member of the intelligentsia is a witness to the progress in the economic life as compared with the situation a few years ago. He sees some progress and improvement in the living standard. Therefore he believes, sometimes sincerely, that the Soviet regime is really interested in improving his living conditions and that in the near future the Soviet society will reach a high standard of living. Also freedom is for many others not quite the same phenomenon as we understand it. Of course, this argument is and will remain a valid one. But it applies to the Soviet man only after he learns something about this freedom. We should not forget that the generation we met in Vienna is the second or even third Soviet generation, a typical product of the Soviet society, Soviet education and political system.

In spite of all the various methods of Russification put into practice, the Soviet regime did not kill the Ukrainian national feeling and we have today, as could be observed during the Vienna Festival, a young generation, men and women not older than 25, who are speaking the Ukrainian language and who declare themselves as Ukrainians and who are, to some degree, Ukrainian patriots. In most contacted cases these young people received a professional education and are today in an economic process of the country. They have comparatively a good economic situation. As an educated element they are eager for knowledge. Therefore they read books and journals and, what was proven by many contacts, they are eager to read Ukrainian publications, therefore, we have an increase in the circulation of the Ukrainian language journals.

Soviet propaganda tries to convince them that they have a Ukrainian Soviet state in a brotherly chain with the Russian. But at the same time many Soviet Ukrainians feel that as Ukrainians, they are not fully trusted by the Russians. (See my conversation with SEMENEC, especially his reaction full of fear as I reminded him what happened to the Ukrainian Communists in the 1930's). In addition, this young generation has received through contacts and other means some information about the political struggle of Ukrainians abroad. As a matter of fact, many hundreds of this generation recently have been in touch with Western Ukrainians at the Brussels Fair, the Vienna Festival and during other travels to the West. Of course, the information they gathered from Ukrainians living in the Western world was spread by them and we can say that at least a part of this youth is already effected by this information. All these factors stimulate young men and women to new thoughts and ideas. The only one idea which will appeal to a young Soviet Ukrainian editor, writer or engineer is not the idea of a better economic situation (in many cases they have acquired an easy life) but the idea of real equality as a Ukrainian, a human being and a nation. Right now even a person like SEMENEC, in spite of his high position, in spite of his absolutely clean background (veteran of the second world war, many times wounded) is still afraid of being accused a Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist.

To give another example, PAWLYVCHKO, a well known writer against Ukrainian nationalists, stated in a conversation to G and F that he doesn't trust anybody. He has already been attacked for Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism

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and is afraid of persecution for being a Ukrainian patriot. The Soviet Government is of course very well aware of these facts and has been forced to make certain concessions because of the demands of the Ukrainian people. On the other hand, Russification continues and causes permanent fear even in prominent Ukrainian Communists.

Therefore I am coming to the conclusion that the only approach is the "national gate", through which we can approach men like SEMENEC and others. Of course, this possibility is a very well known fact. The Soviets know for instance that Soviet Ukrainians are interested in the attitude of Western powers toward the Ukraine. For many years Soviet propaganda identified the West, especially the USA, with Hitler's Germany, implying in this way that the Ukrainian nation has nothing to gain from the USA. For the time being, this very simple identification (USA-Hitler) is not enough and does not apply to the Ukrainian masses, especially to the intelligentsia. Therefore they are using in their propaganda more elaborate arguments emphasizing the present attitude of the West toward the Ukraine. For instance, in my conversation with SEMENEC he mentioned that the West is preparing a new partition of the Ukraine and is against a United Ukraine. There is no doubt that he didn't gain this knowledge by himself but was indoctrinated with this information. Soviet propaganda also tries to make ridiculous such manifestations as the proclamation of the Ukrainian beliefs in the USA, emphasizing that up to the present time the West has no positive policy toward the Ukrainian nation. And that is, in my opinion and on the basis of experiences in Vienna, the problem which must be faced and solved.

The results of our future contact operations which now will be initiated by Soviet Ukrainians, depend on the solution of these political problems.

As compared to Brussels, the Soviet Ukrainians who appeared in Vienna were much better prepared for contacts with Ukrainian emigres. Of course their preparedness still was lacking. They answered many of our arguments with silence or with Party slogans in which they themselves did not believe. But they will improve their tactic, and they will base their attacks on our weak points. In other words, we also must make preparations for future contacts. This does not mean technical preparation but above all, political. I am not going to elaborate here on a concrete proposition for how this positive attitude of the USA toward the Ukraine should be realized. I wanted only to emphasize that this is the most important problem facing us today, especially at this time of exchanges of high level visitors between the USA and the USSR.

#### Final Remarks

Thanks to the activities developed in Vienna by all anti-Communist elements the Soviet propaganda crusade, camouflaged as the 7th World Youth Festival, did not pay off. We can even say they lost a propaganda battle. This is a good proof that such counter-action is necessary and also shows the opportunities for our success. But counter-action is not enough. We must initiate certain

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activities on our own which are more than mere counter-reactions to Soviet action. I should like to conclude by quoting a conversation one of our team members had in Vienna with an African student. "Are you a Communist, since you came to participate in the Vienna Festival?" asked our man. "Not at all," answered the African, "I would like very much to come to a non-Communist Youth Festival organized by some Western country but there is none. Tell me, why don't the Americans, British or Germans organize such a Festival? That is really a good idea, isn't it?"

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**X - APPENDICES**

- A. Key to Team Members' Identity
- B. Conversations and Contacts in Vienna, Seventh World Youth Festival (Report by V.P. SHAKHIV)
- C. Conversation with H.M. DOBROV, First Secretary of Kiev Okrug. (IKHBU)
- D. Characteristics of Individuals Contacted
- E. Names and Addresses of Individuals Contacted during 1959 Vienna Youth Festival.
- F. List of 11 German Language Books Given to RAVLICHOV by Team Member F.
- G. Photocopy of M. TANKINA's Letter to Team Member B.
- H. Photography of Book Display
- I. Samples of Leaflets and Postal Cards Distributed at Festival

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ATTACHMENT 3

21 September 1959

Translation

Conversations and Contacts in Vienna

Seventh World Youth Festival

27 July 1959, Monday

During the intermission at the music and dance festival which took place in the large hall (attendance 12,000) "Staadthalle", V.P. STAKHIV together with I. CHORNIY, went to the dressing room to visit Ukrainian participants of the dance group of the Ukrainian State Choir under the direction of Hrytsko VERIOVKA. I should mention here that this group received the greatest ovation and had to repeat a portion of its program. As soon as the announcer stated that the group of Ukrainian dancers in Vienna was going to start with the Ukrainian hopak, there was a tremendous applause. The guard did not want to let us go through, but a photographer who STAKHIV addressed as "KOLEGE" helped us to get in to the dressing room. In the corridor we approached Svitlana HORS'KA (a blond) who first started to speak to us in Russian but immediately switched to ~~educated~~ <sup>educated</sup> Ukrainian. I. CHORNIY remained to talk with her. STAKHIV went to the dressing room where he met Natalka BYKOVA and Ludmila SHISHKINA and dancers Oles DORICHENKO, and twin brothers Oleksandr and Petro KOLOSKA. They were all very happy that their "fellow countrymen" came to greet them. V. LENYK also was in the dressing room. We acted as if we did not know each other. There was a guard in "Festival Uniform" standing near the dancers and he also said he was glad that we came to talk to them and congratulate them. We discussed only generalities with the dancers. Together with Natalka BYKOVA, STAKHIV returned to the Hall where CHORNIY was conversing with Svitlana. Standing nearby was an individual who was dressed as an American and had an American style haircut. He turned out to be a Russian from Sverdlovsk. STAKHIV told him that it wasn't very polite to listen to other people's conversations. He then walked away. In the meantime Svitlana informed us that the guard in the dressing room is the Secretary of the Kiev Komsomol and that his name is DROZDOV. (STAKHIV didn't catch this name correctly, because it later turned out that the mentioned individual's name was H.M. DOBROV and that he really was the Secretary of the Kiev Oblast Committee IKSMU.) A Russian girl from Sverdlovsk (who is in charge of the Ballet School of reserve in Sverdlovsk) came to listen to the conversation Svitlana was having with CHORNIY, but STAKHIV diverted her attention by conversing with her. The conversation with her was on general topics. All conversations with Russians (as opposed to Ukrainians) were carried out without any eavesdroppers.

STAKHIV also talked with other dancers without having any eavesdroppers around "in Festival uniform"--members of the Soviet delegation.

Later there were conversations with H.M. DOBROV, during which time STAKHIV kept addressing him as DROZDOV. H.M. DROZDOV asked STAKHIV which newspaper he

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represented. STAKHIV told him the name of the newspaper and that he was the chief editor (but he did not give him his name). The conversation was along the following lines:

STAKHIV: Tovarish Secretary of the Obkom., could you not tell me a little more about the future program of our compatriots at the Festival?

DROZDOV: Oh, and how do you know what my profession is?

STAKHIV: You shouldn't have your photographs published in the newspaper MOLOD'UKRAINY.

DROZDOV: Soloists and dancers of a Ukrainian collective, will appear tomorrow at the Concert House during the program of the Soviet delegation. And what newspaper do you represent?

STAKHIV: Maybe you have already heard about the chief editor of Suchasna Ukraina

DROZDOV: No, I haven't heard. What's the name of your newspaper in German?

STAKHIV: (Patting him on the back) DROZDOV, I haven't yet asked you how MOLOD'UKRAINY is called in Russian, but if you want to know then I will tell you the name of our newspaper in French, in German and in English. (And I gave him the names.)

DROZDOV: And how do you know my name?

STAKHIV: I have already mentioned MOLOD' UKRAINY. But if you do not know about my newspaper, then ask Leonid NOVYCHENKO in Kiev about it.

DROZDOV: Why? Are you acquainted with him?

STAKHIV: No, but NOVYCHENKO engaged in polemics regarding our newspaper at the meeting of Ukrainian writers and stated that we have tasted revisionism.

DROZDOV: Is Suchasna Ukraina a revisionist newspaper?

STAKHIV: (Patting him on the back again) DROZDOV, again I must tell you no. Suchasna Ukraina is a newspaper of free Ukrainian thought.

DROZDOV: Then it seems like Suchasna Ukraina wants to liberate the Ukraine from the Ukrainian people.

STAKHIV: I did not come here to abuse you or to listen to your abuse. Let's not discuss political topics. It'll be better if we talk about cultural exchange between the Ukraine and the West. When will a Ukrainian artistic ensemble with its own Ukrainian program come to Germany or the United States? Why is it that you only come with folk art and not with classical music and ballet? Could we not meet and talk about such subjects, but let's not talk about politics at that time because in that case we will not find a common ground.

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DROZDOV: Our ensembles have already appeared in England, Belgium, France, Austria and we are also coming to Germany, Canada and the United States. I am not going to talk about our accomplishments in the countries of our democracy and in China. They (Americans) do not permit us to come to the United States, and our Government just recently signed an agreement for cultural exchange with East Germany.

STAKHIV: They (Americans) don't permit you? You mean Moscow doesn't permit you.

DROZDOV: Washington doesn't permit us. We were not able to get sufficient transportation for Austria. Why should I meet with you when we will not be able to agree, why should we, a nation, carry on discussions with emigrants. We are a nation and what are you all?

STAKHIV: Don't put on airs about being a nation. Is the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Komsomol, Vasile Ivanovych DROZDENKO, also here?

DROZDOV: He is here in the Hall. What need do you have to meet with him? You won't find any common ground for discussion with him either. We are a nation and you all, what?

STAKHIV: DROZDOV, I have already told you once, don't bring up the question of your being a nation. Let's be congenial and discuss cultural themes and leave politics alone.

DROZDOV: Come to our concert tomorrow. There you will see what achievements the Banduristy and the opera soloists and dancers have made. But there is no use for us to meet personally.

The conversation lasted about ten minutes. It was conducted in a polite-ironical tone. DROZDOV seemed disturbed that I patted him on his back in an intimate manner. He kept looking to both sides to see if anyone was watching. We were approached on a number of occasions by the girls from Sverdlovsk, the civilian with the American style haircut and various "Festival uniformed" delegates. There were only three of us "Ukrainians who live in the West", but there were eight of their people watching and eavesdropping on our conversation. On several occasions DROZDOV turned to the dancers as they passed by and asked them, "Where is Svitlana?" Natalka BYKOVA would answer for instance, "She is talking with one of our countrymen". When those who were watching insisted that Svitlana return with them to the Hall, Natalka BYKOVA answered, "She still doesn't want to go."

#### General Impression

Ukrainian artists were watched more closely than others (Russians or Georgians). Their conversations with us were always monitored, even STAKHIV's conversation with DROZDOV. The Georgians expressed their pleasure that the Ukrainian emigres came to talk to them and to greet them and one of them emphasized that Ukrainians and Georgians have always been and will be friends.

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To Typing  
Please put on all  
cards: cit - USSR  
Soviet at Vienna Youth  
Festival 1959

Russians in general (with the exception of the eavesdroppers) very gladly entered into conversations and talked in a friendly manner and answered questions politely.

Ukrainians did not try to hide their pleasure that we came to them in order to greet them. They emphasized on several occasions that this made them very happy. Ludmyla talked the least, perhaps because her Ukrainian was not very good.

Several Explanations. (c/o comment: These notations were made for AECASSOWARY 27 by STAKHIV in Vienna so they would have more bearing on identifiable info than they do now.) *Resides Kiev USSR*

*Koloska*  
Oles DORICHENKO, *DOB ca 1935* soloist wears blue trousers, *dancer with Ukrainian State Choir*  
Petro and Oleksandr KOLOSKA, as mentioned before, are twins. They dance in red trousers. *Ukrainian State Choir CIT-USSR*  
Svitlana HORS'KA, blond, talked most freely and entered into conversations very easily. *Ukrainian State Choir*  
Natalka SYKOVA, freckled brunette. She holds back somewhat on conversations and appears a bit timid. *Ukrainian State Choir*  
Ludmyla SHYSHKINA, probably a Russian, seems to keep her guard up at all times. *DOB ca 1930*  
H.M. DOBROV, *DOB ca 1930* First Secretary of the Kiev Obkom. IKSMU. Ruddy complexion, about 30 years of age, short, looks a bit like the head of SUM, Inj.  
M. SERDIUK. (The last fact is important for further conversations with him.)

28 July 1959, Tuesday

During the intermission of the music and dance festival of the Soviet delegation which took place at the Concert House, STAKHIV again went back stage with the pretense of collecting autographs. (DOBROV corrected him and said autographs.) During the early part of the evening the following Ukrainians appeared in the concert. Alla OSYPENKO, soloist of the Leningrad Theatre of Opera and Ballet. Zoya KHRYSTYCH, singer from the Kiev Opera. Mykola KONDRATIUK, singer from the Kiev Opera. Vlodyslav ARBUZOV, a tenor from Lvov who appeared in a duet with KONDRATIUK. A trio of Bandurists--Eleanor KILYPENKO, Valentina BARCIMEJKO, and Ludmyla SYBAKOV'S'KA. *Ukrainian artist* The dancers were to appear in the second part of the program and therefore they were somewhat excited because as we later learned, they were competing for a gold medal. DORICHENKO and HORS'KA seemed very happy to see STAKHIV and they approached him first. The conversation went along general lines about autographs which DORICHENKO offered to collect. They explained that Z. KHRYSTYCH, A. OSYPENKO, and KONDRATIUK have separate dressing rooms on the second floor. DORICHENKO explained also that V. ARBUZOV is a Ukrainian from Lvov, that among Ukrainian artists in Vienna there is also Nadia KUDENL'A and others, names which I do not remember. He also told me that he himself comes from Kiev and asked about the place of my birth. I replied that the city of my birth was "given away to the Poles by you." He then said, "Oh, then you are from Peremysl.

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We gave nothing to the Poles unless they just left this city to them." After receiving three autographs I also turned to DROZDOV for his autograph and the following conversation took place.

DROZDOV: Why do you want my signature? I am not a very interesting person to you unless you have need for my signature.

STAKHIV: Autographs are collected every place in the East and in the West. If you do not wish to give me yours, that is your concern. Is V.I. DROZDENKO here today and could you introduce me to him? I heard that he is here in the dressing rooms.

DROZDOV: I do not know the character of your newspaper. Therefore, I cannot give you my signature. DROZDENKO is in the Hall and you can find him there. Tell me, what is the character of your newspaper?

STAKHIV: I am giving you a separate edition in which Hungarians have written about Hungary. In particular, they are Communists who took part in the revolution in 1956.

DROZDOV: That was not a revolution, but a fascist uprising which was instigated by the West.

STAKHIV: Read the article and then you will see that the authors are Communist just like you.

DROZDOV: (Having looked at the titles of the issue among which was "Workers-- Betrayed by Communism.") He said, See what kind of Communists! Why did you give me this? This is an insult to my feelings. Take back your fascist paper.

STAKHIV: Don't insult me now and don't call the newspaper fascist because I spent three years in a Hitler concentration camp. The authors, as I mentioned, are former Communists. I have given you this issue as a gift. Therefore, I cannot take it back. Take it with you and read it.

DROZDOV: I am not going to read fascist literature.

STAKHIV: DROZDOV don't get excited. Why do you insult me again? I spent three years in a Nazi prison camp when your country was having friendly relations with the Nazis.

DROZDOV tore up the Suchasna Ukrainy in a very dramatic fashion and threw the pieces away from him.

STAKHIV: DROZDOV, I've already seen something like this when Goebbels burned books in Berlin.

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By this time a large number of people gathered around us. Some of them looked very excited but they all kept quiet. I noticed unrest and sadness on a number of faces. In particular, the Ukrainian dancers stood there looking very embarrassed. DROZDOV looked very excited and wasn't able to control himself. The "Festival uniformed" guards appeared from the Soviet delegation.

DROZDOV: Why did you give me this propaganda? Why did you come here to make propaganda?

STAKHIV: I am not making propaganda and only in reply to your questions regarding the character of my newspaper did I give you this issue which you very dramatically destroyed. And if you want to know why I came here, I came to meet with my countrymen and to talk with them.

DROZDOV: You are not our countryman.

STAKHIV: DROZDOV, it is not up to you to determine who is a compatriot and who isn't.

DROZDOV: And maybe you're going to determine this? Why don't you leave and don't trouble the artists which already are excited because of their (scheduled) appearance. Go away.

STAKHIV: DROZDOV, you are becoming excited again without reason. I did not come to make propaganda nor to insult you but you insult me. This is not very dignified.

In the meantime PAVLIUK, who also was in the dressing room and presented himself as an American of Ukrainian descent and who entered into many conversations suggesting that Ukrainian artistic ensembles visit the United States, entered "our conversation" and tried to settle the conflict. The uniformed delegates at this time surrounded me and squeezed me out the door. In the corridor they surrounded me and several voices stated, "You will not leave here until the concert is finished." I replied, "This is a democratic country and don't cause any scandal. If you want scandal, then I will create it for you. The Austrian and your representatives are in the Hall. Do you want the police to come?" One of the guards approached and I asked him to show me the exit because "These gentlemen don't want to let me leave." As I left the hall I told the small gathering in Ukrainian and in Russian "You are red fascists." Before the conversation with DROZDOV I talked with Eleanor FYLYPENKO on several subjects about their appearance at the Festival and so forth. I asked them about the BAIKO sisters from Lvov, why they don't take a trip out to the West and so forth. Eleanor introduced me to V. PARKHOMENKO and L. LYSIAKOVSKA. She introduced me as "our editor countryman in the West." My disagreement with DROZDOV lasted about ten minutes. I must again emphasize the confusion on the faces of the Ukrainian artists and also the surprise and conduct of the Party "boss." Regarding H.M. DOBROV, which in this part of my report is referred to by the name DROZDOV, there are additional details in a separate report which I ask you to treat confidentially. I did not inform ORT about this particular meeting with him in order

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not to spread unnecessary panic because there already did exist in Vienna frequent unnecessary panic situations.\* PAVLIUK and CHORNIY know about this meeting. CHORNIY does not have the details of this conversation. I am convinced that later conversations took place as a result of this particular meeting.

/s/ V.P.S.

Munich 11.8.59

\*This is not true. ORTYNSKIY gave me a detailed oral account of this altercation the day after it happened.

/s/ H.F. LANGHENRY

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ATTACHMENT # C

17 September 1959

Translation

Separate Report No. 2  
A Separate Conversation with H.M. DOBROV

Under date of 27 and 28 July in a report on contacts and conversations in Vienna there is reference to a conversation with a "DROZDOV".

This concerns H.M. DOBROV, First Secretary of the Kiev Obkom. Komsomol (IKSMU). In the dressing room in the Concert Hall I met ORT and SLAVKO and gave them the details about this discussion. Our conversation lasted until after midnight.

As I started back to my pension (on foot) I met, not far from my pension, an Austrian taxi cab on Theobald Gasse and Mariahilfstrasse from which DOBROV and an unknown female (approximately 30 years of age) appeared. DOBROV greeted me and introduced me to his companion, whom he called Rita. (When I later asked her, she told me her name was Margarita. I did not ask for her surname.) In our conversation I continued to address DOBROV as DROZDOV and he did not correct me. It was only after that I learned his correct name. DOBROV suggested that we go for "some wine" to a nearby coffee house which was situated two parallel streets away from Theobald Gasse. I agreed to go there by taxi with them. In the beginning DOBROV (DROZDOV) told me that after our conflict earlier in the day he had to meet with me to clarify certain matters and he asked me not to question him how he knew of my Vienna address. He also said that not everyone whose name ends in "ov" or "ev" necessarily has to be a Russian, and not everyone whose name ends in "enko" is a Ukrainian. He reminded me of such Ukrainians in the emigration as DONTSOV, VETUKHOV, and SHEVEL'OV.

He asked me not to consider his attack on me as provocation but said he did this merely for the benefit of the others present. He said that during the existing period Ukrainian tourists, delegates and artists at the Festival gladly will meet with Ukrainian emigres and converse with them on all topics, and political topics, that he is not only a member of the Party and leader of the Komsomol, but a convinced Communist. Because I had suggested to him a special meeting, he agreed to come, although the conditions of this meeting were for me "not clearly understood and suspect." Regarding political problems, he suggested that it was better not to touch upon them because we would find no common ground here on which to talk. He said it was better to discuss cultural matters.

I told ~~to~~ him that I was surprised by this unexpected meeting and openly admitted to him that I entered the taxi with misgivings. I asked him to stop into our bookstore near St. Stephan's Dome and acquaint himself with the Ukrainian books. He replied, "Our people know about the bookstore and are very surprised that there is so much propoganda literature and less educational material of works of art."

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He knew that Prolog from New York was behind this display. He criticized the UKRAINSKA LITERATURNNA HAZETA and SUCHASNA UKRAINA which seek only the dim side of life in the Soviet Ukraine. Although such situations in life do exist it is necessary also to acknowledge the positive achievements of the Ukrainian people.

It was interesting for me to note that when it was his turn to pay for the wine, he would not pay for it at the table but would walk over to the cashier. I paid at the table.

I gave him B. HALAYCHUK's NATSIYA PONEVOLENA, ALE DERZHAVA (A Nationality Enslaved, but a Nation) and V. HOLUB's "The Ukraine in the United Nations." He did not previously know about these two books. Having leafed through the books he began to talk about HOLUB, saying, "We have made achievements in the U.N. about which you, too, must know", and so forth.

The conversation following took on a dialectical and propagandastic character, so far as he was concerned. Therefore, after an hour's time, I terminated the conversation. He did not want to take copies of PROKOP's book nor the brochures on Petrov, Khrushchev's secret speech, or Myth and Reality, stating that he had already seen them here in Vienna.

/s/V.P.S.

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ATTACHMENT D

CHARACTERISTICS OF INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED

1. SHYCHENKO, Valerie Pavlovich. ca. 40 years of age. Wore ordinary civilian clothes but usually with an embroidered shirt. Somewhat nonchalant, ironical and had a sense of humor. Introduced himself as an employee in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an attache in the protocol-consul division, chief of which is SYBA. He said he came to Vienna on a diplomatic passport and that he is living in the Soviet Embassy. He spoke a clear, literary Ukrainian. Following his talks with STAKHIV, (when others were present) he insinuated that STAKHIV tried to engage in intrigues among the Ukrainian delegation, asked too many questions, and even provocative questions. This information was conveyed by Ivan CHERNYI, Ivan V. MAISTERSKO and A. ROMASKO all of whom had talked with him.

2. SENENEC, Ivan Danylovych. 25 years of age. Wore the same suit on the occasion of my two meetings with him. He reminded me of "OMEL'KO." He is very intelligent and quiet mannered. He introduced himself as the chief editor of the main organ of the Komsozol in the Ukraine, NOIAD' UKRAINY. This is a true fact. He also is a member of the "bureau of the CC IKSMU" which is made up of about 15 individuals. He also is a member of the CC IKSMU.

3. KULYK, Volodymyr Vasylovych. 29 years of age. He wore a different suit each time I saw him. Always very elegant, dark brunet, dark eyes, forceful and a propagandist. He said he was a teacher of geography and principal of the 9th grade in a secondary school in Lvov. Born in Belz. During German occupation attended a gymnasium in Sokol where he completed the 3rd grade. He did not mention that he was a member of the CC IKSMU and First Secretary of the Lvov Obkom. of the Komsozol.

4. NAVLYCHKO, Dmitro Vasylovych. 30 years of age. Comes from Stanislav. His brother was shot by the Germans. He is of medium height, a dark blond, wore very ordinary civilian dress and an embroidered shirt. He belongs to the younger generation writers, writes mostly poetry. He engaged in some polemics with B. Kravtchiv. His poems appear in the Soviet Ukrainian journals, SHYFTEN and DNIPRO. He did not mention that he is a candidate for the CC IKSMU.

5. SABRODNIY, Valentin Leonidovich. ca. 35-36. Was dressed very poorly. He is very quiet, about medium height, emaciated face. He said he was an employee of the journal, VILKULATURA I SPORT. He also mentioned that he had been in exile and returned just two years ago. He had met with the brother of Osyip T'USHKA who has also returned from 10 years' exile.

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6. ~~HEZUNLIY~~ <sup>from</sup> cit-455Z <sup>found at Vienna Youth Festival, 1959</sup>  
A small, likeable young man. He did not want to give his first name nor his patronymic, stating "it is not proper for an older person to address him in that manner". (e/o comment: the writer probably meant "to address me in that manner".) He comes from <sup>USSR</sup> ~~Beltava~~ <sup>USSR</sup> but now works in Stanislav, in the editorial offices of the oblast newspaper, PRYKARISHA PRAVDA. He revealed an interest in all topics but he did not show up for another meeting.

/s/ V. P. Stakhiv

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ATTACHMENT # E  
To typing of loose papers  
all cards cit - USSR  
Source of Vienna Youth Festival

Names and Addresses of Individuals Contacted During 1959 Vienna Youth Festival 1959

1. ZUBNOV, Boris - Miner, Stalino, Donbas  
Shachta No. 5/6 in. Kalinina, USSR
2. BOYAROV, Viktor - <sup>DOB ca 1925</sup> <sup>Resides: Kiev, USSR</sup> Kiev, Tel.: 3-37-74. Completed law course at Kiev Univ.  
ca. 35 years of age.
3. DOBROVA, T. O. - <sup>DOB ca 1928</sup> Engineer / Kharkiv USSR  
Kharkivskiy Traktorniy Zavod (YT.3) KHARKIV  
ca. 32 years of age
4. STETSUK (STETSUK) Mykola - <sup>DOB ca 1925</sup> <sup>Resides: Kiev, USSR</sup> Kiev, ca. 24 years of age STEWIK  
Photo attached  
Member of CP, convinced Communist  
Lecturer on Russian literature in Kiev
5. DORILENKO, Oles - member of dance group, <sup>LA-1935</sup> ca. 25 years of age  
with Verivka ensemble in Vienna  
Kiev, Cherkaseniyska 170, N. 12, USSR
6. BORYSIUK, Hnat - <sup>DOB ca 1930</sup> <sup>Resides: Luck, USSR</sup> (photo attached) ca. 28 years old  
Luck, Rolna 6 (vul. Rol'na 6)  
No party membership. Employed in bookstore in Luck
7. BESEFAMILNOV, Vladimir - <sup>Resides: USSR</sup> Kiev, Kirova 16
8. KOLOSOV, Petro - No information
9. POPOV, Viktor - <sup>DOB ca 1932</sup> <sup>Resides: Rostov Don, USSR</sup> ca. 27. Rostov-Don, Frunzenskaya 195/ kv.48
10. KOTENKO, Volodymyr Michailovych - alias DUBOVENKO <sup>Kiev, USSR</sup>  
Harmatna 9, Kv. 4
11. BEZDITKO, Maria - <sup>DOB ca 1935</sup> <sup>Resides: Kharkiv Oblast, USSR</sup> ca. 25. Chernoakina 29, Blyzniuky, Kharkiv Oblast
12. ANDRUSHKO, Andriy - Ushorod, <sup>USSR</sup> Zakarpatska Oblast. No further info.
13. MUSHKETNYR, Inna - <sup>DOB ca 1925</sup> <sup>POB: Pechyn, East Ukraine</sup> <sup>Resides: Kiev, USSR</sup> ca. 35. Editor of DNIPRO - Kiev. Born Mishyn, East Ukraine  
Has his own villa and auto in Kiev.

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14. BEZUHLYJ - Editor, PIDKARPATSKA PRAVDA - Stanislav. ca. 35-40.
15. SHEVCHENKO, Valeriy Pavlovych - claimed to be employee of Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Visa and Protocol Section, Chief, ZYBA
16. SEMENEG, Ivan Danylevych - ca. 40. Strong build. Chief editor of MOLOD UKRAINY - Kiev
17. KULYK, Volodymyr Vasylowych - Teacher in Lviv. ca. 30. *70 Typing  
Please put on all  
cards @ 4/55R*
18. ZABRODIY, Valentyn Leonidovych *Sound at Vienna Youth Festival  
1957*
19. ~~#~~ STECIUR, Nela *Resides Kiev, USSR* \* Just finished Kiev Univ. (Philosophy) Kiev *W*
20. ~~#~~ SHEVCHUK, Natalka *DOB ca 1923 Resides Lviv, USSR* - ca. 38. Employee of Polyclinic in Luck - Receptionist *LD*
21. Leonid (L'onia, Levko) - Miner from Lugansk (Donbas) - ca. 24-26, strong build.
22. Volodia - ca. 21. Drohobych.

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ATTACHMENT B F

LIST OF BOOKS GIVEN TO PAVLICHKO BY BORBACH

1. Religiöse Lyrik des Abendlandes
2. Die Schönste Liebesgedichte der Weltliteratur
3. Auswahl deutscher Prosa u. Lyrik vom 12 Jh. bis Zur
4. Deutsches literarisches Lexikon
5. Herder's Philosophisches Lexikon
6. Brecht: Auswahl aus seinen Dramen und Lyrik
7. Giroudoux: Dramen
8. Sortre: Dramen
9. Hofmannsthal: Jedermann
10. Zuckmayer: Des Teufels General
11. Wilder: Unsere Kleine Stadt

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17 September 1959

LETTER NOT DATED

Translation of M. Tankina's letter - Attachment 6

Honorable Mr. Koshelivets!

It was very nice to receive your letter with your article. I will sincerely say in reply to your short but very pleasant message that I am sorry our meeting was so short. But you know as well as I do how things were in Paris, and therefore, forgive me for not fulfilling my promise. You remember asking me for my autograph. Because you are a journalist, as well as a very intelligent (writer uses expression hrudirovana) individual I didn't want my autograph to be banal. In reply to your article about our ensemble's concert (in Paris) I am sending you my PARISIAN IMPRESSIONS in the journal MISTETSVO in which it appeared. I am adding my autograph with the feeling that, although we do not completely agree in our views (politically), we as Ukrainians in the first place and journalist in the second place will always remain good friends.

Friends ordinarily are open with each other, therefore I frankly admit that your critique of our State ensemble surprised me somewhat with its detachment from principle theme. I am very fond of art and therefore was not very pleased to find that in place of your personal general view regarding Ukrainian dances a confused political composition (writer uses the word pamphlet). But the polemics regarding this topic we will leave for some future time. For one reason I do not want to hurt your feelings and in the second place I just yesterday returned from a tour of the Ukraine and have not yet completely settled down and collected my thoughts.

I have a big favor to ask of you. Do not refuse me. Please send me the article, a part of which appeared on the back side of your article which you sent me. The part of this article which I read, although only a small part, impressed me with its fresh ideas and strength of actor's temperament. I ask you to send this to me via my friend journalist DUBOVENKO who will be in Vienna at the Festival with a group of tourists and through whom I am sending you the copy MISTETSVO. I believe you will be in Vienna at the Festival.

With great respect to you

/s/ M. TANKINA

(Case Officer Comment: Because of the bad penmanship, misspellings, and other errors it would appear the letter was written in a great hurry, perhaps on short notice when she learned DUBOVENKO was going to Vienna)

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