

UNCLASSIFIED

IN U

CONFIDENTIAL

SECRET

ROUTING AND RECORD SHEET

878
~~887~~

SUBJECT: (Optional)

FROM:

SR/3/CA

MICROFILMED
MAY 21 1962
NO. 57
DATE 22 Sept 60

NO. XAAZ-7076

DATE 22 Sept 60

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

DATE

RECEIVED

FORWARDED

OFFICER'S INITIALS

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

1.

RI/AN (26074)

JTB

Please card as marked. File No. 74-124-29/3

2.

RID/MIS

JTB

3.

SR/3/CA

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

11.

RETURN THIS DOCUMENT TO RID FOR MICROFILMING BEFORE IT IS FILED. IF THIS DOCUMENT IS TO BE RESTRICTED, CHECK CLASSIFICATION: 74-124-29/3

HERE RESTRICTED TO

RID/MI 1035 L

Unit Designation

JOB # 69-425783
Box: 21 Fold: 15

13.

14.

15.

- AD
- IN
- PS
- BX
- DELETED
- RI

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

INDEXED

Hand Carry
Call X 43/87-also

RI: Please index to 74-124-29/3.

Only indexing needed in Annex II pages 20-35, as marked. All individuals, Soviet citizens who were in contact with Stephen Olynick.

74-124-29/3
ABSTRACT INDEX
DATE 22 Sept 60

This is cross referenced in 74-124-29/3. leave in this file

SECRET

811

RECORDED
MAY 31 1962
FBI - WASH. D. C.

DEBRIEFING OF TRAVELER STEPHEN OLYNYK

Removed from Project *Aerodynamics*
CS Classification: 74-124-29/3
JOB # 69-425/83
Box: 21 Fold: 15

SECRET

CS COPY

74-124-29/3

SECRET

DEBRIEFING OF TRAVELER STEPHEN OLYNIK

Table of Contents

I.	ANNEX I	1-19
	Operational Diary	
II.	ANNEX II	20-35
	Biographical Information	
III.	ANNEX III	36-53
	Positive Intelligence	
	A. Memorandum	37-38
	B. General Requirements	39-49
	C. Specific Requirements	50-53
IV.	ANNEX IV	54-83
	Public Opinion	
	A. Conversations	54-75
	B. Radio Interviews	76-83
V.	CONCEPTS OF THE BRIEFER	84-85

SECRET

SECRET

DEBRIEFING OF TRAVELER STEPHEN OLYNYK

ANNEX I

Operational Diary

My trip to the Soviet Union, which lasted from 3 September to 21 September 1960, was arranged by Maupintour Associates, 1603 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. The itinerary included Moscow, Lviv, Ushgorod, and Kiev. My BOAC plane, which was scheduled to leave for Europe from International Airport in New York on 2 September at 1900 hours, took off one hour later and landed in London on 3 September at 0900 hours. I missed my connection with the Soviet plane, which left twenty minutes before our arrival. Instead, I took a plane to Paris at 1200 hours and from Paris via Air France to Moscow, leaving about 1330 hours. On the way we stopped for twenty minutes in Warsaw, Poland, at about 1630 hours and arrived in Moscow at 2000 hours. The passengers on the French plane included French tourists to Moscow, three or four Americans going to Moscow, and two Poles going to Warsaw. There were also some Italians, probably Communist delegates, flying to Moscow. Only about half of the seats on the plane were filled.

3 September 1960, Saturday

The plane did not land at the Vnukovo Airfield in Moscow but on another. We were met by only one girl from the Soviet Airlines and two uniformed border guards. The passengers had to produce their passports and then proceed to the terminal building, where officials began to assemble. First came an Intourist official, a young man about thirty years of age. He had a passenger list with him and checked the Intourist passengers and exchanged currency. The border guards also arrived and proceeded with passport checking. There were two officers. They had lists on hand and compared the visas in the passports with their lists. They stamped the passports and gave them back to the passengers. The visa control was very prompt and lasted just a few minutes for each passenger. The customs control was also very prompt. There was no luggage control whatsoever. Each passenger was asked to fill out a declaration with questions about carrying such items as weapons, narcotics, articles for sale, how much money he carried, and so forth. There were no instructions to itemize the contents of the luggage and no questions as to the quantity of luggage. The luggage

SECRET

SECRET

-2-

was brought from the Air France plane and given directly to the passengers without any delay. The Intourist man called a taxi and told the driver to take me and another American tourist, a man about fifty years old who was going only to Moscow and Leningrad, to the Hotel Ukraina. The distance from the airport to the city was approximately 40 kilometers and took us about an hour to drive.

At the hotel porters brought our luggage to the lobby. The lobby was crowded with travelers, foreign and Soviet. My American co-traveler was helpless. Nobody cared for him, and he did not know any language except English. I helped him to register. At first I went to the hotel manager (administrator) and gave him the Travel Bureau voucher and my passport. He assigned me Room 712 on the seventh floor, and gave me one "talon" for the restaurant. I was traveling on the so-called "pension" travel arrangement for \$16 a day, and the room did not differ whatsoever from the \$30 arrangement. The only difference was that the \$30 tourists were taken to the higher floors. The elevators, however, did not function well, the rides were not smooth, and the passengers had to wait for long periods of time. For these reasons nobody was particularly happy to get a room on the upper floors.

Some time after 2200 hours I went to the hotel restaurant for supper. There I saw my American companion sitting at a table with another man. I joined them and learned that the other man was a Russian resident of Moscow named Victor VIKHILIN (see Annex II and IV), who often came to the restaurant. We talked in Russian. After supper the other American left, and the Russian and I remained and talked till closing time at midnight. He proposed to me that we meet again the following day, at which time he would be delighted to help me with sightseeing in Moscow. I agreed, and he promised to come to the hotel lobby at 1100 hours. After making this arrangement, I retired to my room.

4 September 1960, Sunday

After breakfast in the hotel restaurant I went to the Intourist office in the hotel, gave them the travel voucher, and received "talons" for my whole tour. They also arranged my travel schedule by plane and train. The Intourist officer, a girl, treated me as if she wanted to get rid of me as soon as possible, probably because I was a pension class tourist and was not entitled to all the care given to the higher class passengers. She was not interested in me in any respect.

SECRET

SECRET

-3-

At 1100 hours my Russian friend of the day before arrived. I met him in the hotel lobby, and we walked out to the street. He wanted to go to the exhibit of Russian Folk Art, and we took the Metro to get there. After visiting the art exhibit, we walked to Red Square and saw the Lenin-Stalin mausoleum from the outside. My friend said that the mausoleum is being extended to make it larger, and he remarked, "Nikita Sergeyevich is also a mortal." The mausoleum was closed because of the construction work. We walked into Saint Basil Cathedral, which is now a museum. My Russian friend was surprised and said that he had not visited the church for quite a while, but that the last time he had been there, an anti-religious exhibit was being displayed. He was surprised that this exhibit had been removed and that the church was now a museum. By that time it was 1400 hours and time for lunch. We went to the National Restaurant and had lunch (The service was terrible and took a very long time). About 1600 hours we went to the Lenin Gallery of Art. Around seven o'clock we went to his home, to which he had invited me. He lived on some shabby backstreet. His apartment was typical for Soviet citizens, that is, one room with a kitchen to share with other tenants. He lived with his mother. We talked, and he played jazz records made in the Soviet Union (American Jazz) and also an "Ave Maria." He showed me books on art, in which he is interested, and then we watched television. About eleven o'clock we left his house, and he accompanied me to the hotel by bus. In the hotel restaurant we had a drink. He wanted to see me again the next day, so we arranged that either he or I would call at 6 p.m. by telephone. After we parted I went to bed.

5 September 1960, Monday

After breakfast I went to the United States Embassy to register. A woman employe showed me upstairs where a Marine corporal gave me a registration form to fill out. At some time after 1100 hours, I walked down the streets looking for bookstores to find some technical magazines which the Library of Congress had asked for. I went to several bookstores, but the magazines were not available. I went to the University Library, where I was asked for a pass which I did not have. I was sent to the Chief of the Pass Department, who advised me to make arrangements through Intourist. I then went to Intourist, where they told me that all the material I needed was in the Lenin Library and that I should go there. When I arrived, I was asked to fill out two forms in order to get a pass. I also had to produce my passport. I received a pass with the classification K, and I observed that many Soviet visitors to the library (students) received the same

SECRET

SECRET

-4-

classification K. I also received a folder with instructions and dates for using the library. I went through the library to have a look at the arrangements. It is a big building, very much like the New York Public Library. I went to the catalogue and saw that they have a different system from that used in America. I found much of the material I needed, but because the publications and other material referred to Kiev and Lviv as places of origin or publication, I abstained from ordering books.

As evening came, I went to my hotel to wait for the telephone call from my Russian friend. Since he did not call, I tried to call him. He was not at home, as somebody, probably another party living in the apartment, informed me. I waited until 2000 hours. No call came, so I left the hotel for the Bolshoi Theater. It was too late to buy a ticket; therefore, I asked at the door if I could just see the theater from the inside. I was sent to the director. A group of Czech tourists who were going to the Caucasus were in the same position as I. One of the Czech girls, showing more initiative, went to the director, and he assigned one theater usher to show us the theater. The usher took us to the balcony and told us we could stay there until the end of the performance (Carmen). After the program was over, I went with the Czech group (one boy and four girls) to the Praga Restaurant and had beer. When we left the restaurant at midnight, it was raining. The whole group and I with them approached the Kremlin gate. The militia man at the gate was somewhat uneasy to see a group approaching at that hour. The Czech boy made jokes and asked the guard, "Is Nikita Sergeyevich at home?" The guard smiled, but said nothing. I left the Czech group shortly afterwards and went to the hotel.

The restaurant in the hotel was closed by this time, but four dickheads were sitting in the lobby, close to a little bar that was still open. They were drinking wine and vodka. I joined them. One of the group got thoroughly drunk and started a discussion on political topics. After he became very critical of the regime, the others took him away almost by force. There were two other men at the bar, one a Ukrainian and the other a Russian. After a while the Russian left, but the Ukrainian remained and talked to the girl at the bar. I sat there and listened to the conversation. I got into a heated discussion. About one o'clock in the morning I finally went to my room (see Annex IV).

6 September 1960, Tuesday

In the morning I went to the library and to the bookstores to look for some magazines. I again called VIKHULIN, but he was not at home.

SECRET

SECRET

-5-

I asked his mother to call him up at his work. In about an hour he called back and promised to come to the lobby of the hotel in the afternoon, but he never came. I waited until five o'clock, and by then it was time to go to the airport. I signed out at the hotel with Intourist and by Intourist car went to the Vnukovo Airport. I went through the usual procedure of checking my tickets at the counter and of weighing my luggage. The plane to Lviv was scheduled to take off at 1900 hours. I tried to make another call to VIRKHULIN, but he was not at home. I was told by the person who answered the telephone, probably his next-door neighbor, that he had not come home yet. I asked that VIRKHULIN be informed that "Steve" had already left Moscow.

At 1900 hours it was suddenly announced that all flights at the airport had been canceled. No explanation was given, but everybody knew that an African resident, probably NERUMAH, the President of Ghana, was to arrive at the airport. Crowds gathered, many reporters appeared, and a real reception party with flowers and so forth was ready. There was a kind of reversal of the reception, and the reporters began taking pictures of the crowds. The people were told to wave their hands and their flowers, and more pictures were taken. About nine o'clock or shortly before the African arrived; he was met by officials with Khrushchev. Passengers on other planes were not allowed to go to the platform where the planes arrived; they had to look through the windows of the waiting rooms. After nine o'clock official announcements about the delayed flights began to sound. Some flights were delayed until the next day.

During the waiting time I talked with a construction engineer who said he was in training and was supposed to fly to Kiev, but his plane was delayed until the next morning (see Annex IV). My plane left about one o'clock in the morning. It was a two-motor plane, and only twenty-four passengers were allowed to board. There were no safety belts on the seats. In the plane I had a conversation with a young Russian from Moscow who worked in Lviv (see Annex IV). The plane made one stop in Kiev at about 4 a.m. and landed in Lviv at 6:30 a.m.

7 September 1960, Wednesday

Because I had been expected in Lviv the preceding evening, there was nobody from Intourist to meet me when I did arrive the next morning. I talked with an official (administrator) in the airport who advised me to take a taxi and go to town. I insisted, however, that he inform Intourist of my arrival. He did so, and Intourist sent out a car to pick me up. In addition to the driver, an Intourist girl, about thirty-five years old and probably of the Jewish faith, came to meet me. She could speak a little English. On the way to the city she asked me whether I was in the Soviet Union for the first time, and we talked

SECRET

SECRET

-6-

casually. On the way to town the car ran out of gas and stopped on the road. The driver tried to stop other cars to help us out, and finally one stopped. The driver used a little hose and a hubcap to siphon out some gas for our car. This procedure took about half an hour. The Intourist girl was a little embarrassed, but she remarked to me, "You see, with our people we help each other." At the Intourist hotel I was assigned to Room 15 on the second floor. Next door was the office of the Intourist guides, and the noise from this office could be heard very well in my room. In about half an hour the administrator of the hotel, a young Russian who had the look of a shy man came to my room, made excuses for assigning me to that particular room, and had me moved to Room 25, the same room I had had the year before. About 9 a.m. I reported to the Intourist Bureau. I talked to the director, a woman whose name, I think, was Nina Alexandrovna. She was the same director that I had talked to the year before. She received me, said that she was very pleased that I had come again, and gave me some information about my travel arrangements in the pension category. I told her the purpose of my visit, that I was writing a paper on Soviet local government, that I wanted to go to the university, to the library, to the Rayvykonkom, and possibly to the Oblvykonkom for some interviews. She said that Fm HILGZUB (see Annex II), who was her assistant and was also present at this conversation, would help me in this respect. He made notes regarding my questions and intentions, promised to make calls to the respective institutions and to inform me about the results.

I was tired after my trip, and I went to my room to have a nap. It was raining all the time outside. I stayed in my room for a while and maintained contact with HILGZUB in order to know what arrangements could be made. Then I walked out through the streets and went to the radio shop where my cousin worked last year to find out if I could see him. He was not in the store, and a sales girl whom I recognized from last year told me that he had changed his place of work. She gave me his new place of work, another store. I went to this store, but it was closed. I had a feeling that I was followed, but I could not observe anything definite in this respect. I visited some bookstores and bought some pamphlets regarding Soviet local government. I looked for a map of Lviv but could not find one. Previously at Intourist I was told that a map of the city was available in the stores, but the salesman in the stores looked at me in surprise. They said that no such map existed.

Toward the evening I took a cab to my cousin's house, but nobody was at home. I left a message saying that I had arrived and that I was staying at the Intourist hotel and pushed this note under the door.

SECRET

SECRET

-7-

While going there in a taxi, I did not give the driver the address of my cousin but left the taxi on another street several blocks away. When I saw that I had not been followed, I approached the house. On my way home I walked to the streetcar station and then went to the hotel.

After dinner, about 9 p.m., I walked out of the hotel to the promenade on Shevchenko and Lenin Boulevards. It was cold and raining from time to time. I noticed that this year a much younger element was promading, mostly teenagers and generally young people. There were many military people on the street, and because of this it was my impression that Lviv was a border city. On Lenin Boulevard I saw three young men standing and talking in Ukrainian. I introduced myself as an American tourist who did not know anybody in town and who would like to talk to them. Immediately I sensed an interest in me on the part of the group. We talked for about forty-five minutes (see Annex IV).

After this conversation I went to the Intourist restaurant which is located in the Intourist hotel but has an entrance on Prospect Shevchenko. I joined two people at a table. One of them was a Russian who said that he was from Vladivostok, and the other was a Lithuanian tourist. We had some cognac and talked until closing time, about midnight. After that we went out and remained in the street talking (see Annex IV). After we parted, I retired to my room.

8 September 1969, Thursday

After breakfast I called at MILICINS's. He informed me that the only thing he could arrange for me was an interview with the head of the Rayvychshchyn of the Zakharychyni Raion and that the meeting was set for 5 p.m. He told me that he had also made arrangements with the university library and that I could go there any time and that the director of the library, Hanna Yosylyvna REZHIKWA (see Annex II), would be glad to help me. He said that he could not arrange an interview at the Chyryshchyn because he could not get in touch with them and that arrangements with the Sillada could be made only by the Chyryshchyn. About 11 a.m. I took a taxi and went to see my aunt. She was at home and was pretty much afraid to see me. She said that after my visit last year her son (my cousin) had some trouble. He was followed, and for this reason he had changed his place of work. In addition, his divorced wife threatened that she would send him where the white bears live. She probably denounced his having a relative from Poland who visited him last year to the police. (She

SECRET

SECRET

-8-

was told last year that I was from Poland.) My aunt told me that last year she saw that "a man from surveillance" took notes of the license plates of the taxi in which I was riding from or to their place. She said that the present wife of my cousin did not know that I was from America. She thinks that I come from Poland. My cousin stays with his wife's parents. No inquiries from authorities were made to the aunt and/or to my cousin. We discussed the problem of seeing my parents. My aunt promised to arrange a meeting with my father--my mother was not able to come because of sickness. I was to meet my father the following day at 8 p.m. at my aunt's place.

My aunt also told me that after the U-2 incident the situation got worse, that people were warned about foreign tourists who actually were not tourists at all, and that people were now very cautious about meetings and conversations. She gave as an example a man from the Khodoriv region who gave a lift in his car to an unknown person on the road. The following day he was arrested and has not come home yet. At 1300 hours I left my aunt's house and went to the university library, which is located on Drahomanova Street. I was received by the director of the library, who was a Ukrainian from Stalino, but her husband was a Russian. She was very pleased with my visit and practically gave me the red carpet treatment. This was probably because I was from the Library of Congress in Washington. She introduced me to Fedir Pylypovych MAKSHENKO (see Annex IV), Chief of the Bibliography Department of the library and Deputy Director of the library, and instructed him to show me the catalogues and to assist me. He took me to the room used by people doing advanced research and assigned me a desk where I could work. He also offered me his help if I should need it.

The time approached when I was to have a meeting at the Rayvykonkom. At Intourist I was given a guide who took me to the Rayvykonkom building on Slovatski Street. The guide introduced me to the Rayvykonkom chief, FOINAROCHNYI, and his assistant, KRAYCHUK, both Ukrainians. I had an interview with them for an hour and a half. They answered my questions, which I then put into notes. At the end of the conversation FOINAROCHNYI called in the chief administrator of the apartment building, who also participated in the interview (see Annex II and IV).

After I left the Rayvykonkom, I went for dinner to the Intourist restaurant. There were many tourists in the restaurant, among them Czechs, Frenchmen, Argentinians, and some Soviet tourists. After dinner I went again to the promenade Shevchenko-Lenin and approached a group of five young Ukrainians, with whom I talked until 1 a.m. in spite of bad weather (see Annex IV).

SECRET

SECRET

-9-

2 September 1960, Friday

In the morning I again visited the university library and worked at the desk assigned to me the previous day. MAKSYMENKO asked me how I was doing with my work and then introduced me to a man who was sitting in the same room at another desk. The man's name was DASHKEVYCH (see Annex II). We talked for a while, and DASHKEVYCH promised that the next day he would bring me some books of which he was co-author. Then I worked at my desk, looking over the sources of interest to me. I noticed that photostatic copies of American technical journals were on display in the library. I stayed in the library for approximately two hours.

After lunch I visited the university. Not many students were around because of the harvesting. In one building I met three Ukrainian students and had a talk with them. After a short conversation I entered the office of the university rector, LYCHENKO, but he was not in. Instead, I talked to the pro-rector of the university, BORATSKYI (see Annex II). I told him about my interest, and he called in FIM PASHUK, the chief of the Department of Government and Law at the university (see Annex II). BORATSKYI asked him to help me in the field of my interest. PASHUK took me to his office, where another professor, IOFOLIVYAKYI, was present. We discussed the problems for quite a while. Afterwards I went to dinner and started to prepare for the visit with my father (see Annex II).

Back in my room I wrapped a length of material I had brought with me and went out of the room. I think the package I carried attracted some attention from the hotel gymnasium, at whose desk I was supposed to leave my key. She was not present, but I met her in the lobby, and she gave my package a curious look. I left the hotel and crossed Mickiewicz Square toward the taxi stand, which was located on Frunze Street off Lenin Boulevard. While walking on Lenin Boulevard, I noticed a man who was approaching me from the opposite direction on the same side of the street. He stopped at the corner of Frunze and Lenin, leaned on the iron railing at the corner, and watched the taxi stand and my movements. Another man who followed at a distance came from the same direction and stopped on the other corner of Frunze and Lenin. The first man was tall and wearing a black cap with a visor, a dark raincoat, and no necktie. The other man was shorter. The first man kept his hands in the pockets of his trousers. They both stared toward the taxi stand. After a while I saw a third man approach the shorter man, talk to him for a while, and then depart.

SECRET

SECRET

-10-

I lined up for the taxi, but a private car arrived at the stand asking for passengers in the direction of the railroad station. I took the car, and when we passed the two men on both corners, I saw one man turn his head and look at the license plate.

I arrived at my aunt's at about 7:30 p.m. My father was already there. We talked until midnight (see Annex IV). After leaving him, I went to my hotel.

10 September 1960, Saturday

In the morning I went to the university library and stayed there from ten o'clock til noon. DASHKEVICH brought his books. I proposed that we have another meeting, and we made an appointment for 11 a.m. on Sunday in the library. After dinner I again went through some bookstores. In addition, I tried to find the address of SHKHERBA because I did not know his patronymic. The address bureau refused to give me his address and advised me to get in touch with the main address bureau which is located in the Militia Building. I did not take this advice and did not go to the Militia Building. At approximately 4 p.m. I went to the apartment of Yuriy MOSKAL, whose address I had from last year (see Annex II). When I got to his house, I noticed in front of the house a Ukrainian worker with whom I had talked last year on the way to the streetcar stop. He recognized me and again started to complain. While we talked, MOSKAL's father arrived from work. I had not met him before, but the worker to whom I was talking told him that he had a guest from America. MOSKAL's father was a little startled, but he asked me to come to his house. In about ten minutes his son came home from the Polytechnical Institute. He told me that DORICHENKO (see Annex II) was in Lviv. Some time later DORICHENKO with his friend YEVCHENKO (see Annex II) came to MOSKAL's place. Not knowing about my presence in Lviv, DORICHENKO was a little surprised. We talked until 11:30 p.m. (see Annex IV). MOSKAL took me to my hotel and the others to the Hotel Dnipro, where they stayed while in Lviv.

11 September 1960, Sunday

After breakfast I went to the library to keep my appointment with DASHKEVICH. He was already there waiting for me. We went to the third floor and talked for about two hours (see Annex IV). MAKHYSHENKO, who was around, did not participate in our conversation. He came in from time to time, looked around, and went on. After the conversation I visited two Ukrainian families of my relatives in New York. I got back to the hotel about 1 a.m.

SECRET

SECRET

-11-

12 September 1960, Monday

I walked through the streets in the morning and visited some stores. I had a feeling that I was being followed by a man who looked like one of those who had followed me previously. I went to one big store and there I lost him.

At two o'clock I had to catch my train for Ushgared. The Intourist car took me from the hotel to the station. In the train I had some conversations with some of the passengers and overheard a conversation between two officers who talked about the Bandarovtzy (see Annex IV). At 9:30 p.m. I arrived in Ushgared. I was met by an Intourist girl, J. KREBSZKY (see Annex II). She took me to the Verkhovyns Hotel, where I received Room 4 on the second floor. After dinner I took a short walk and then retired to my room.

13 September 1960, Tuesday

About 10 a.m. I visited the Intourist office and talked to the director, Alexander LEVINOV (see Annex II), a young Ukrainian about twenty-seven years old, but looking more like thirty-five. I asked him to arrange interviews with the Oblyvtonskan and the Rayvynskan and also with the university. He promised to arrange things for me. He said that in the meantime I should go to the Museum of Trans-Carpathian Folk Art. The Museum was located at the end of Kremlin Street in an old castle which had once been a convent. I spent about an hour there, and at approximately 11 a.m. I went to the university, where I met three students. I had a conversation with them for about forty-five minutes.

At 1 p.m. I returned to the hotel, had lunch, and inquired from LEVINOV about my arrangements. He advised me that he could not achieve anything yet and promised to do it the next day. He advised me to see the city and assigned the same girl who had brought me to the hotel to assist me. We strolled around for about two hours and talked.

Toward evening I returned to the hotel and met an Intourist employee, FEREED (see Annex II). I talked to him until about 7 p.m. Afterwards I went to dinner in the restaurant. While I was sitting at the table, two uniformed men entered the restaurant wearing fatigue uniforms and carrying map cases. One was a lieutenant colonel, and the other was a colonel of the border troops. They asked me if they could join me at my table, to which I agreed. Later another Soviet colonel in civilian clothes joined us. We ate, drank vodka, and discussed

SECRET

SECRET

-12-

things until midnight (see Annex IV). Later in the evening we were joined by PESHKO. I left the restaurant with the Intourist employee, who was on night duty at the Intourist office in the hotel, and we talked until 2 a.m.

14 September 1960, Wednesday

After breakfast I again looked for LIVINOV, but I was told that he was not in the Intourist office and that he had gone to a meeting at the Oblyuzhokom. He left a message that I should wait for him, but later he called up and said that he could not come because he was to go to Kiev on an official trip in connection with new plans for Intourist for the next year.

I strolled through the city for a while and went to the workers' section, which looked very poor. Since I was normally dressed, I aroused much attention all around me. Afterwards I visited some bookstores and bought some books. I met two students, but I was not able to engage them in conversation. I went back to the hotel and had a talk with another Intourist employee (see Annex IV). He kept talking along the official Soviet propaganda line. Toward the evening I walked around the streets again and for a while watched a movie being shown out-of-doors. The movie was about safety measures, particularly concerning children, traffic, and so forth. This movie, in my opinion, had some civic value, and it was watched by some hundreds of people. At about 11:30 I went with the same Intourist girl by car to the station. The drive took about ten minutes. The train left at 1 a.m. It was the Chop-Moscow train. I was alone in my compartment and did not talk to anybody. I arrived in Lviv at 6:30 a.m. (Note: For some unexplainable reason in arranging my itinerary, the Intourist in Moscow changed it, with the result that I received one additional day in Lviv after Uzhgorod.)

15 September 1960, Thursday

At Lviv I was met by S. S. BASHNIK (see Annex II), an Intourist employee about twenty-five years old. He took me to the Intourist hotel, where I met another Intourist employee whose name was Stepan SHUK (see Annex II), a very noisy man about twenty-five years old. I was given Room 7 on the first floor. After breakfast I again made an attempt to see my cousin at his store, but he was not there. About 11 a.m. I went to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences on Radianets Street. BASHNIKOVICH mentioned to me that there was an exhibit of publications, and I went through this exhibit. I did not have a chance to talk to

SECRET

SECRET

-13-

anybody. I went back to Intourist, where I was visited by a son of my aunt whom I had visited two days before. He wanted to bring me some gifts for his family in America. I had informed them about my arrival by telegram from Ushgorod, so that they knew that I was in Lviv again. He was questioned by Intourist in the hotel about his relationship with me. I met him and his mother not far from the hotel on the street. We went to Lenin Boulevard, talked for about two hours, and then went to a restaurant and talked again.

After we parted, I went to Intourist again to ask HILIZUB if he could still make some arrangements with the Oblvykonkom and specifically with SPESHANYK. HILIZUB told me that he had called the Oblvykonkom and was told that they were busy harvesting now and had no time for tourists. After that I again went to the university library and asked the director for a certificate indicating that I had done work at that library. I said that I needed the certificate for my university in America. The director promised such a certificate, but she said that she would send it to me in Kiev. I never received it. After my return to the hotel I had dinner in the restaurant and talked to a man (see Annex IV). After dinner I retired to my room.

16 September 1960, Friday

After I had gotten up and was shaving, the telephone in my room rang, and the girl from Intourist ask if she could come and see me. I agreed, and in a while she came with a man carrying a tape recording machine. I thought that this was certainly the police about to question me, but the girl introduced the man as a representative of the Ukrainian Radio in Lviv who wanted an interview with me. The man said that he had already had an interview with a tourist named KRAVCHIV from Canada, and he wanted another interview from me about matters that I would like to discuss and to tell the people of Lviv about. I agreed (see Annex IV).

I had to catch my train at two o'clock, and I went to the station with DASHUK. I boarded the Chop-Moscow train again. The dishurns took very good care of me and did not let any other passenger in my compartment. When the train stopped at the Shepetivka station and many people boarded, three passengers came into my compartment. The dishurns asked them to leave and asked me to lock the door. During the night trip I joined three army lieutenants in the next compartment, and we played checkers.

SECRET

SECRET

-14-

17 September 1960, Saturday

The train arrived in Kiev at 6 a.m. I went to the Intourist representative, Edward **SHERSHEN** (see Annex II), at the station. He spoke Ukrainian, Russian, and a little English. We went by limousine to the Hotel Ukraina, where I submitted my passport and received Room 304 on the third floor. I went immediately to bed and got up at 9 a.m., at which time I went to the Intourist office, located about four blocks from the hotel. **SHERSHEN** was there, and I told him about the purpose of my visit, but I did not ask him for arrangements with the Soviet administration. I did ask him if it would be possible to extend my stay in Kiev for at least two days. Because it was Saturday, he asked me to call him on Monday. On Monday he said that he had not received permission to extend my stay.

I took a walk and visited a few bookstores. I then went back to the hotel and called up P. A. **TSIBA**, Chief of Protocol and Consular Department, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, USSR. He recognized me and apologized for using "comrade" in addressing me. **TSIBA** asked me to call again on Monday morning about 9 a.m. for an appointment. Then I called the Union of Ukrainian Writers, after having received the telephone number of the Union from the Spravochno Bureau by telephone. I asked who among the Ukrainian writers was in town and was told that **KORNIYENK** was abroad, that **HONCHAR** was out of town, and that they did not know about **KYLSKY**. I asked for their private telephone numbers and got some of them (see Annex II). When I called **KYLSKY**'s home, I was told that he was on vacation and would be back on 27 September. When I called on 22 September, I was to get more specific information about his return. I also called **MYKO**, but nobody answered the telephone.

About noon I visited the university library and afterwards strolled around town, near Kreshchatyk. On Lania Street I noticed a man in the bookstore to whom I had talked last year, and I bought a book from him. Then I went to the restaurant and had lunch. I was joined by a man who said that he came from Kazakhstan. He had just passed some exams and wanted to celebrate (see Annex IV). After a while we were joined by two Czechs who were on a visit to Kiev. While we were sitting in the restaurant, I noticed that the **LEBANYERS** and the **SHINEYKOS** entered the restaurant. I was a little startled, but they did not know me and I did not approach them.

After dinner I went to see **DORICHENKO**. He had changed his address, but in Iriv he had given me his new address in Kiev and had asked me to see him. He has a nice three-room apartment. I

SECRET

SECRET

-15-

met his wife and his younger brother there. I stayed in his place until 11:30 p.m. and made an appointment to meet him again the next day at 11 a.m. at the main post office building located either on Sverdlov or Stalin Square. While on my way home, I met two Georgians who were students. In broken Russian they asked me if I was an American or an Englishman and said that they were Georgians. They asked me where I was staying and if it was not the Hotel Ukraina. I answered in the affirmative and gave them the number of my room. They promised to visit me the following day, but they never came.

18 September 1960, Sunday

After breakfast I kept my appointment with BORICHENKO. The weather was beautiful, but I did not take my camera in order not to draw too much attention. BORICHENKO would meet me anywhere in Kiev except near the hotel. We went to see the exhibit of paintings. About noon we walked to the Dnieper and talked as we strolled along the river. About 4 p.m. we parted. BORICHENKO promised to call me at the hotel from his place of work since we wanted to meet again the next evening.

I went to the restaurant and was joined by a man who said he was Ukrainian but who spoke Russian. I talked with him, but found that he was reluctant to talk about political matters. In the evening I went with the same man to a restaurant opposite the opera house, and we had champagne cocktails. Afterwards I went to the opera which was giving a performance of "The First Spring" about the Komsomols who went to the virgin lands. In the theater I met a group of Poles--four women and two men. After the performance I went to the Intourist hotel and stayed up until midnight.

19 September 1960, Monday

At 9 a.m. I called SYBA and made an appointment for two o'clock at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I called HURCHAK, who was at home, and he told me to come to the offices of the Union of Ukrainian Writers at 3 p.m. (see Annex II and IV). Then I called KORSHENY, but he told me that he was busy and asked me to call him on Tuesday about 10 a.m. I went to Intourist and inquired about the extension of my visa. I got a negative answer. I then inquired about any mail, particularly from the library in Lviv because I expected the certificate from them. I saw the man look through the mail and noticed many letters to Americans to the Intourist address in Kiev. About 11 a.m. I went to the university library and

SECRET

SECRET

-16-

and the director. I asked her about the possibility of my doing research work there, but she did not agree to that, saying that I should make arrangements through Intourist. She reluctantly gave me the list of dissertations on the subjects I needed. From her office I went down to the catalogues to take some notes about some other sources I needed. I was helped by a Ukrainian girl who was a library employee.

From there I went to see SYRA. The armed guard at the gate told me that SYRA was at lunch and that I should wait until he came back. I waited for some time and read an announcement addressed to new draftsmen of the Soviet Army which was attached to the wall. About 2:10 p.m. the guard informed me that I could go to see SYRA in his office. I went there. The office was located on the second floor. I had to pass through two rooms, one of which was empty. In the second room three girl secretaries were at their desks. The office was the same one I had visited a year before. I talked to SYRA for forty-five minutes (see Annex IV). From the Ministry of Foreign Affairs I went to the Union of Ukrainian Writers. I asked for HENRIK, the chairman of the Union, and a secretary told me to wait because he was not yet in. After about twenty minutes Oles KOUSHAR entered the room and we exchanged greetings. He asked me to a conference room where the writers Vadya SOUKH and Lihovyr DMYTRENKO and one other whose name I did not know were waiting. We started a conversation during which we were joined by two more writers, Yuriy SHYKHUR and Fm KOZAKHNSKI (see Annex IV). After this meeting I visited for a period of time the office of the "Literary Gazette," which is located in the same building and on the same floor. A man who was sitting at a desk and looking through the mail told me that the editor was not in, but that he would be in the next day.

After that I went to the hotel. I got a call from DOROSHENKO, and we made an appointment for 7 p.m. on Kreshchatyk at the bus stop. After dinner I met DOROSHENKO. We walked through the Kreshchatyk streets and talked until 11 p.m. DOROSHENKO promised to call me the next day around 6 p.m. before I left.

20 September 1960, Tuesday

At 10 a.m. I called KORNICKI, and he asked me to come to the Presidentium of the Academy of Sciences at noon. I also tried to call the writer MISO, but he was still not at home. After I completed

SECRET

SECRET

-17-

these calls, I received a call. A man who said his name was Toriy Olexandrovich KALINOVSKI, a representative of the Ukrainian radio, asked me if I would not make an appointment for an interview with him. I agreed (see Annex II and IV).

At 11 a.m. I rushed to keep my appointment with KORINSKI, which was for noon. I arrived at the Preklism of the Ukrainian Academy of Belences at 54 Volodymyrska Street ahead of time and was told to wait. As soon as KORINSKI arrived, he approached me and took me to his office, which is on the first floor. He told me that he expected from MICHALOVICKI (see Annex II and IV), his co-senator, to arrive soon. He arrived shortly and we started a conversation which lasted approximately forty-five minutes. When I left, MICHALOVICKI accompanied me to the street and once again repeated his question about whether or not I had some relatives in the Soviet Union, but I denied having any. I said maybe some distant relatives.

I walked to the university library, went through some sources there, and then visited the bookstores of the Bureau of Publications by Subscription. I bought several books there, including two first volumes of the Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia, a history of the Paderland War, and some dictionaries. I took the books to the hotel and selected those that I wanted to send out by mail. While I was in the hotel, DORIMENKO called and we made an appointment for 6 p.m. on the Khreshchatyk, the same place we had met the last time. I took the books and went to the main post office to send them out. I had first inquired at the Invariant office and was told that only small packages up to one kilogram could be sent out through the Invariant office. Otherwise, the post office handled the larger ones. At the post office I learned that the books which I wanted to send to my address in America must be wrapped in cloth and sewed up. For this there was a charge of 25 rubles. I protested that I did not want this cloth wrapping and had rather have them wrapped in paper, but they explained that it was a regulation that all packages being sent abroad must have a cloth wrapping. At the post office I saw a great many packages with cloth which were being sent out from Kiev to different addresses in Siberia, Asia, and Russia. At 6 p.m. I met DORIMENKO, and we walked on the Khreshchatyk and adjacent streets. When we parted, it was eight o'clock. DORIMENKO had wanted to know how my working in the Union of Ukrainian Writers and with KORINSKI had developed. I had dinner at the hotel where I was joined by a musician, a Stepanish, with whom I spent the whole evening until midnight (see Annex IV).

SECRET

SECRET

-18-

21 September 1960, Wednesday

Early in the morning I was asked to rise and to prepare to depart. About 8 a.m. we departed by an Intourist limousine to the Kiev airport, which is located on the left bank of the Dnieper, south of Kyryvtsin. I was accompanied by the Intourist employee, SHCHUKHIN. I first went through customs. The customs officials were in blue suits, maybe uniforms. I was asked to fill out a declaration of what I carried with me. Then my luggage was opened and searched superficially for customs items. At the same time a uniformed captain of the border troops searched the luggage for literature. He looked through the books which I carried in my luggage and was not particularly satisfied with the amount of Soviet publications I carried. I also had to open my brief case, which I carried under my arm and where I kept the notes I had made during my official interviews. The guard only looked inside, took nothing out, and gave it back to me. The customs officer signed the declaration as okay, closed the luggage, and I went to the passport control. A uniformed border guard examined my passport, put a stamp on it, and handed it back to me. Compared with last year, the procedure was much simpler, and the passports were not taken away as before. They were only examined in front of the passenger.

My jet plane was scheduled to depart at 11:30 a.m. The passengers waited for about one hour, and before 11 a.m. all the passports were taken by the border guards who had previously examined the passports to a bus which brought us to the plane. The two guards took places at the entrance of the plane. Every passport had to be shown to the guards once again. They looked at them briefly and then at the face of the passenger. After this they let the passenger enter the plane. There were altogether only ten passengers. The plane took off half an hour prior to its scheduled departure time, at 11 a.m., and landed in Vienna about noon. At the present time only one plane a week makes flights from Kiev to Vienna.

Going through Austrian customs, I met two Ukrainians, a man and a woman, who spoke Ukrainian and who were passengers on the same plane. One of them was a Canadian-born Ukrainian, Bobden KOWCH (see Annex II). The woman was a Ukrainian from Holland. They were both on a visit to the Ukraine and had traveled from Kiev via Kiev to Vienna. I talked with KOWCH for about an hour and a half while waiting for the plane to London. From Vienna I cabled my family in New York, then boarded the Half plane, and arrived in London at 9 p.m. I stayed in London for

SECRET

SECRET

-19-

the night and the next day, 22 September. At 11:55 p.m. I boarded a BOAC jet plane and landed in New York at Idlewild Airport at 7 a.m. on 23 September.

In every house in cities in the Soviet Union, a list of residents is displayed with full names and numbers of apartments. The access is not difficult.

The telephone book of a given city is available at each Intourist office. Sometimes the telephone directory is given to the tourist upon his request. Often, however, the Intourist employee requests the name of the person whose telephone number is sought in order to "expedite quickly."

The registration of passports of tourists has been altered this year. While last year the passport was taken away, registered, and stamped at the militia in each city, this year the registration was made only in Moscow at the Intourist office, and no militia stamp was placed on the passport. A stamp "registered" was placed on the passport. In the cities of Kiev, Lviv, and Ushgorod, the tourist was informed by Intourist that no militia registration was required because the registration was made in Moscow. In Lviv the passport was returned to the tourist, and in Kiev and Ushgorod it was kept by Intourist during the entire stay in the city.

SECRET

SECRET

R/m is ADD to each
card except the last
one. USSR Contact of
Stephen Olynyk (201-25512)

ANNEX II

Biographical Information

 Viktor
VIRKHULIN, Victor

Patronymic unknown. Thirty-two years old. Russian. Address: Physical &
128 Studencheskaya Street, Apartment 29, Moscow. Telephone: 9-3114. Description pro
USSR. Nationality:

He works until six o'clock. His home telephone is located in the corridor of his apartment building and is not listed in the telephone book. The telephone is used by two families. A photograph was made of VIRKHULIN. Physical description: Approximately 5 feet 9 inches tall, weighs about 150 pounds, long thin face, black hair, brown eyes. He has a kind of troubled look, seems to be under some pressure, and rarely smiles. Education: Graduated from an institute in Moscow, his speciality being geophysics. He has in his possession professional magazines, also some foreign magazines, and is well acquainted with technical literature. Military Service: Served in the Soviet Navy, Black Sea Fleet, for four years. Probably achieved a low officer's rank. Marital Status: Single. His mother and sister are living in the same building, and his father, a common worker, was lost during the war. He has a friend who came to visit him with a child. He has not traveled abroad, but in the USSR he had traveled to the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Caucasus. Religion: Atheist. He said that he is not a party member and did not belong to the Komsomol.

This man is a very intelligent individual, has anti-regime attitudes, and knows much about literature and art, not only Russian but also European and world literature and art. He knows many American writers whose works have been translated into Russian. His hobbies are art, literature, and music, both classical and jazz. He knows little about the outside world. He listens to the Voice of America.

He is favorably disposed toward the West and looks at Soviet reality with a dose of pessimism, having a kind of spiritual depression. He does not see the outcome of the situation, did not have any particular concept as to a solution, but is dissatisfied. He does not have any crystallized idea as to how to suppress the evil which exists.

SECRET

SECRET

-21-

In conversation he did not criticize specific aspects of the Soviet system. His main dissatisfaction was the lack of freedom and that under the circumstances the Russian intelligentsia and elite could not develop properly. He was interested in the book Doctor Zhivago and wanted very much to get it. He asked if this book had been published abroad in Russian and expressed disappointment that I had not brought it with me. He asked about the content of the book, and I narrated the story for him. He characterized Pasternak as not a very high-class writer and said that under normal circumstances he should not have received the Nobel Prize.

He agreed with me about the ideological disintegration of youth and said that the Komsomol is composed primarily of careerists. When shown a copy of the "New York Herald Tribune," he examined it with curiosity and said that it was the first time he had had an American paper in his hands.

Our conversation started in this way: I injected some critical remarks about the Soviets and watched his reactions. When I noticed that he did not defend the system and even added to the criticism himself, we went into a deeper and deeper criticism. He asked about America and about freedom of speech and press and literature, and we compared it with the situation in Moscow. He expressed his disappointment about the lack of freedom in the Soviet Union (for his other opinions see Annex IV, "A Young Professional Man").

BILOGUB, Fm

D.O.B. ca. 1912 Physical description provided

Approximately forty-five to fifty years of age. Eastern Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 9 inches. Long, narrow face, hair combed back and balding on the sides. He wore a sports jacket and was well behaved. Languages: Ukrainian and Russian. He has a daughter about ten years old. Occupation: Assistant Director of the Lviv Intourist. He was very cautious and gave the impression of being afraid of foreigners.

HEZNIKOVA, Hanna Yosipovna

sex: S

D.O.B. 1900 P.O.B. Uk SSR

About sixty years old. Ukrainian, comes from Donbas. University education. Languages: Ukrainian and Russian. Occupation: Director of the Lviv University Library, Drabuznaya Street, Lviv. Office Telephone: 1-3874 (a secretary answered the telephone). Married to a Russian and has one son twenty-seven years old.

SECRET

SECRET

-82-

Fyodor

MUSKOWSKI, Fyodor Fyodorovich D.O.B. ca. 1900 P.O.B. USSR
Physical Description Provided

Approximately sixty years old. Eastern Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 8 inches. Weight: 180 pounds. Brown hair, uncombed; thick brown eyebrows; wears glasses for reading; looks like a typical professor and librarian. Fast in speech and movements. Languages: Ukrainian and Russian. Married and has a son. Very intelligent and well acquainted with literature, particularly Ukrainian literature. This is his main interest. According to BARSHCHYK he is one of the top Ukrainian bibliographers who survived the Stalinist period and saved his life by a miracle. He is interested in literature dealing with the Ukraine, also literature in foreign languages. He is the Deputy Director of the Lryv University Library and the Director of the Bibliographic Department of the Library.

My conversation with him was interrupted several times because he was busy. He came back again several times, said a few words, and was on his way. He quickly noticed that I was not a progressive, and that was, I think, the reason he introduced me to MASHKOVYCH. He was interested in what was being published in America and in the West, particularly about the Ukraine. He knew about Armstrong's book, Ukrainian Nationalism, and about the encyclopedia on the Ukraine. These books he said he saw in the library in Kiev but added that they did not have them in Lryv. In discussing publications about the Ukraine in America, I mentioned to him Redebetar's book, The Ukrainian Revolution, and I said that it deals with the Ukrainian liberation struggle after the revolution. He remarked that it was a nationalist book, to which I replied that it was a scientific book about this period of Ukrainian history. His remark was as follows: "You think this way, but we have look through red glasses." He was also interested in the new Ukrainian encyclopedia which is being published abroad and asked how many volumes had been published and how many were yet to come out. While I was explaining these matters to him and was telling him about the difficulties and financial problems the Ukrainians abroad have in connection with publications, he quickly yickered out from somewhere a pamphlet with a picture depicting a Ukrainian emigre with a trident symbol on his arm, holding a hat in his hand into which a fat gentleman who was Uncle Sam was dropping a 25 cent coin. He said in a joking way, "And this was published here." He discussed the possibility of an exchange of books between the library in Lryv and the Library of Congress. He remarked that the exchange exists but only to a small extent and almost no books on the Ukraine published abroad are being received by the Library. He said that the books which are being sent out are probably censored and remain somewhere along the way, Moscow or Kiev.

SECRET

He was very much interested in receiving in the library all Ukraine publications and all publications on the Ukraine which appear abroad. I told him that an encyclopedia on the Ukraine had been sent to them, and he remarked that it probably got stuck in Moscow. He emphatically expressed the wish to receive a list of the above-mentioned publications on the Ukraine and said that he and the library are interested in all these publications from a scientific point of view. I explained that the policy of the Library of Congress is that they must get a request before they can send out books. I suggested that he make out such a list of books as a request, to which he replied, "Young man, I cannot do it because, first, I don't know what you have, and second, I just can't." Finally, we agreed that he would send out a letter to the Library of Congress requesting in a general way all the Ukrainian books and all the books on the Ukraine in foreign languages. Whether he will do this or not, I do not know.

He particularly wanted to have the following publications:

1. A magazine "Bihlos"
2. The encyclopedia on the Ukraine
3. A bibliography by E. Y. Palensky

I promised to send him these books.

POINAROSHNYI, Leonid

D.O.B. ca. 1920 P.O.B. Western Ukraine, Poland

Physical Description Provided

Thirty-five to forty years old. Western Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 10 inches. Weight: about 180 pounds. Brown hair, combed back, signs of balding on forehead and sides. Round, full face, dark complexion, turned-up nose. Very slow in movements and wears glasses. Chairman of Palingsubnyi Rayvykonkom in Lviv on Slovatski Street. Hobby: Philatelist.

After my arrival in his office he asked me questions about who I was, where I studied, about life in America, about how much men in America make, and so forth. I asked questions on my subject, which he answered, very often referring to some official booklets and printed instructions. At the end of our conversation he asked me to find a philatelist in America who could get in touch with him, so that they could exchange stamps. He also put down on a slip of paper his name and his office address where this American philatelist could write to him. I promised to do this for him (see Annex III).

H
* KRAVCHUK, Fnu

D.O.B. ca. 1932 Physical description provided

Approximately thirty years old. Eastern Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 11 inches. Weight: 170 pounds. Brown hair, wavy and long, combed back. Occupation: Chief of the Organization Committee of the Zaliznychnyi Rayvykonkom. He was always present at my conversations with POLVAROCHNIY. He did not speak much, just listened to the conversation most of the time.

D.H.
* DASHKEVICH

Physical description provided

DASHKEVICH, Y. R.

D.O.B. ca. 1922 P.O.B. Lvov, Poland

About thirty-eight years old. Ukrainian, born in Lviv. Height: 5 feet 11 inches to 6 feet. Weight: 180 pounds. Average build. Brown hair, combed back; dark complexion, probably tanned; brown eyes; slow in movements and reactions. He has a gold tooth on the left front side of his mouth. He was deported for a long period of time and came back just a few years ago. University education. Employed by the Lviv branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Radianska Street, specialty probably Ukrainian literature. He often uses the facilities of the Department of Bibliography at the Lviv University Library. Co-editor of several publications at the Academy. Intelligent. While discussing problems and his position, he did not go into extremes. He did not precisely reveal his political views, but it could be assumed from his conversation that he is sympathetic with the Ukrainian liberation movement. I had three conversations with him: two short ones about my study interests, but including some questions designed to determine what his views were, and a third which was longer and concerned with the situation in the Ukraine (see Annex IV, "A Young Scientist in Lviv").

D.H.
* BORATSKIY
BORATSKIY, Fnu

D.O.B. ca. 1900 Physical description provided

About sixty years old. Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 8 inches. Quite fat and has a moustache. Occupation: Pro-rector of Lviv University. He asked me whether the Ukrainian language was being taught in American universities and whether there were Ukrainian schools in America. I told him there were plans to start a department of Ukrainian language and literature at one American university. He was eager to help me and called in one of his assistants to give me any information and aid I might need.

D.H.
* PASHUK, Fnu

D.O.B. ca. 1912 P.O.B. Austria-Hungary (Western Ukraine)
Physical description provided

Forty-five to fifty years old. Height: 5 feet 11 inches. Weight: 180 pounds. Born in Western Ukraine. Handsome, almost classical features

R/M/S more on this card on next page.

SECRET

-25-

of face, particularly his nose, long face. Blond, wavy hair, combed to the back with a part. Blue-gray eyes. Well behaved in speech and manner. Occupation: Deputy Chief of the Department of State and Law at Lviv University and Deputy (Deputat) of the Zaliznychnyi Raion. Author of works and publications on law, particularly law in the Ukraine (Hetman Period of the seventeenth century). Studied in Lviv, in Poland, probably in Poznan, and in Germany, probably in Berlin before and during the war. Languages: Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, German (perfect), and probably French. He visited in East Berlin recently, probably for a meeting of scientists or something of that sort. He asked me about the schools and educational system in America. He was somewhat surprised that I came on an individual tour. He talked about the work and organization of his department and about the department's publishing activities. I asked him to send the publications of his department to the Library of Congress, and he promised to send at least his own publications. He also put down for me his address at the Lviv University, Department of State and Law, and added "Dean's Office."

He said that he had studied with STEPSKO, adding "and it happened that we went different ways." He asked whether I knew Vasyi LEV, who is in America, and wanted to know what he was doing. He said that he and many others in Lviv knew LEV well. He also asked about DONSHOV, what he does and if he continues to write.

I asked him why our press is not permitted into the Ukraine, and he answered, "What for? So that you can agitate in terms of capitalist ideas?" I replied that it was good to have a competition of ideas. He said that they overthrew capitalism by the revolution and that we wanted to start propagating its return and that he knows how it was under capitalism in Poland. I remarked that that was a Polish occupation of a part of the Ukraine and that now they had a free and independent Ukraine. He laughed and continued to ask about the emigres, about their organizations, schools, and publications. He produced a letter and said it was from SHEVELOV-SHEREKH, who is the President of the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in America and a professor at Columbia University in New York. In his letter SHEVELOV-SHEREKH proposed that a centennial of Shevchenko's death be celebrated by a joint meeting with participants from the Ukraine and from among the emigres. I remarked that it was a good idea for delegates from the Ukraine to participate in such a meeting. He smiled and did not say anything positive. (Note: I do not know to whom this letter was addressed nor how it happened to be in his possession.)

When he mentioned that he had been in Berlin, I asked why he did not take a train to West Berlin and see a little more. He replied, "Oh no, if your intelligence had learned about it, that one PASHK had

SECRET

SECRET

-26-

arrived, I would never have seen Lviv again." Then he added, "We know all about your intelligence stealing Khrushchev's speech and your knowing about the de-Stalinization. We know all about you, what you write, and so forth. We are well informed too." He did not reveal his real attitudes, but his behavior, smiles, and so forth, indicated that he was not a convinced Communist, that he was a conscientious Ukrainian, and that under other circumstances in private discussion he could tell much more.

NA
D
* TOPOLNYTSKIY

* TOPOLNYTSKIY, FIM

D.O.B. ca. 1900

P.O.B. USSR

About sixty years old. Western Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 3 inches. Balding. He was sitting in the adjoining room to PASHUK's office and was introduced to me by PASHUK. He asked about Vasyi LEV, saying that he was a good friend. He is a lecturer on the subject of labor law at Lviv University. When explaining the charters concerning the labor laws, his subject, he made some facial expressions and winked his eye to indicate that he was not convinced of what he was explaining to me.

D
* MOSKAL, Turko

D.O.B. ca. 1935

P.O.B.

Physical Description
provided

About twenty-five years old. Born in Canada, probably in Toronto. Height: 5 feet 9 inches. Weight: 150 pounds. Thin, long face; dark blond hair with a part; vivacious personality. Attended the Warsaw Festival about 1955, met DURICHENKO, went to the Ukraine, and never went back to Canada. Address: Δ 10 Stalintok, Lviv (streetcar to the end of Mayakowski Street and then walk to the right). He is a student of mechanics at the Technological Institute of Lviv. His wife comes from Eastern Ukraine, finished her schooling at Drohobych, and is a teacher in Lviv. Languages: Ukrainian, Russian, and English. Accent with English is noticeable now.

He collects pieces of Ukrainian art, has records, two radios, and a television. Of the radios one is a normal radio, and the other a shortwave manufactured in East Germany. His apartment, where he lives with his wife and father, consists of three rooms, fairly well furnished. Last year he had a car of Czech make, but he sold it, probably for financial reasons. He said he had made an application for a Moskvich car, but he would have to wait five years for it.

His father was a progressive in Canada and followed him to the Soviet Union. Last year he gave the impression of being a naive young man, but this year his naivete had disappeared. He is now a conscientious Ukrainian who sees the Russification, lack of freedom,

SECRET

and economic shortages. He knows what he did and where he is now. When his father was talking about why he became a progressive in Canada, MOSKAL indicated with a touch of sarcasm that he does not agree with him. His father is still satisfied with the Soviet Union and the circumstances under which they live. He said that in L'viv at institutions of higher education, all kinds of political discussions are frequently heard among the students and that one like myself should have a chance to listen, indicating that these conversations are pretty unusual. He knows and loves Ukrainian literature, but this knowledge is confined to publications in the Soviet Union. Because he was in progressive circles in Canada, he did not have a chance to read things that he would like to read now. At present he is resigned to the situation and wants to do his best under the circumstances. While discussing publications abroad, I mentioned Armstrong and Pasternak, and he asked me to get him these books sometime. I agreed to do this, but I remember that I did not know whether it would be advantageous to him for me to send him books. He participated in our conversations at his home with others present (see Annex IV, "Conversations in a Young Ukrainian's Home, L'viv").

* MOSKAL, Pim

D.O.B. ca. 1900

~~SECRET~~

Former resident of Canada

100 USSR

Father of Yurka. About sixty years old. A worker. He owned a candy store in Toronto. Some time after his son went to the Soviet Union, he followed him there, and at present they live in L'viv together. He said that he is not dissatisfied with his present situation, that he feels at home with his own people, that the relationship between him and his employer is good, that he likes his work, that nobody tries to rush him as in Canada, and that his boss shakes hands with him. He did not participate in the conversations. He left the house at the beginning of our meeting, but later on he returned and told us the story of how he became a Communist in Canada. He told his story because someone asked him why so many people from Canada return home. The story is as follows:

At the age of twenty-four he went to Canada from the Ukraine and was unemployed for a long period of time, working from one farm to another in Manitoba. He was extremely at the mercy of some farmers who helped him out with food. Once, when in despair, he made the remark, "What kind of God is this that he has forgotten about us?" Later on when he was in Toronto and was employed, he went to confession and told the priest this remark he had made about God. The priest accused him of being one of those who "have their organization in the vicinity of the church," meaning the Ukrainian Communists. The priest told him that he was probably one of those "who are under the influence of this party."

SECRET

-28-

The priest also warned him about these people. After the confession he thought about this remark and was curious about what kind of people the priest was talking about. He went to this Communist house and saw nothing wrong about it because "there were young men and girls there like myself who talked Ukrainian, sang Ukrainian songs, and so forth." After that he remained with them.

KUKHARSKY, T. D.O.B. ca. 1938 Sex Female

POB. USSR(?)

Physical Description

Provided

About twenty-two years old. Height: 5 feet 2 inches. Brown hair, gray eyes, not very pretty, slow in her reactions and in talking, smiles seldom, and has a kind of troubled face. Her mother is a Hungarian, father a Ukrainian, and husband a Hungarian. Languages: Hungarian, Russian, and Ukrainian. She is employed by Intourist in Uzhgorod as a guide. She wrote her name in my notebook and gave the Intourist address in order that I could send her a picture I had taken of her. In conversations she defended the Soviet policies. She said that everybody works, that there is no unemployment, and that it was her opinion that everybody must work. She also defended the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution.

LITVINOV, Alexander

D.O.B. ca. 1933

POB: USSR(?)

Approximately twenty-seven years old, but looks more like thirty-five. Height: 5 feet 10 inches. Eastern Ukrainian. Blue eyes, wears glasses, brown hair, combed back, somewhat bald. Graduated in philosophy and is very much interested in this subject. He asked me about what Ukrainians do in America, what they publish, and he was disappointed when he learned that I was not a progressive.

FESEKO, Paul

D.O.B. ca. 1933

POB USSR(?)

About twenty-seven years old, but looks much younger. Eastern Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 6 inches. Little, thin face, sharp, pointed chin; looks like an Englishman; blond hair, parted and combed like that of young Englishmen I saw in London. Probably graduated from the University of Kiev in Ukrainian philology. His father is an editor at the Trans-Carpathian Oblast publishing house. After his graduation he wanted to write a study maintaining that the author of "Slove o Polku Ihorev" was a resident of Trans-Carpathia. He was, however, advised by his professor from Uzhgorod, a party member, to abstain from writing this study. His main interest is the Ukrainian language, and if one starts talking to him about this subject, he has made a friend of him. He said that he is an atheist. He gave me a little booklet containing Shevchenko's poem "Zapovit" translated into several foreign languages.

SECRET

While discussing the Ukrainian language, his attitude seemed to be anti-regime. He stressed that it is not allowed to write in the way one wants to write and that a struggle for using the Ukrainian language must be waged against Russification. To my remark that this was a deplorable situation and that hope is rather dim in this respect, he replied that I should not be afraid because there were many like him, including hundreds of university graduates who studied with him and have the same opinion as he has. He was also interested to hear about the Ukrainian emigration and received the information positively.

When we had another discussion a few hours later and talked more about the situation in the Soviet Union, he changed his position completely and kept to the agit-prop line, attacking me and America on the subjects of unemployment, persecution of Negroes, Ukrainian nationalists who helped the Nazis, and so forth. The big contrast between the first and second conversation stemmed from the fact that in the meantime he had seen his father, had probably discussed the problem with him, and had received a warning.

D DATSYUK
* DATSIUK, S. S. *Intourist employee in Lvov, USSR* D.O.B. ca. 1924
Physical description provided *POB USSR*

About ~~thirty-six~~ years old. Eastern Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 6 inches. Weight: 150 pounds. Round face, wears glasses, brown hair, combed back and cut short, looks out from under his eyebrows. A guide for Intourist in Lviv. Languages: Ukrainian and Russian.

7 * SERIK, Stepan *Intourist employee in Lvov, USSR* D.O.B. ca. 1935
Physical description provided *POB USSR?*

About twenty-five years old. Western Ukrainian. Height: 5 feet 6 inches. Weight: 145 pounds. Long face; brown hair, combed back; deep, low voice; pug nose. Languages: Ukrainian, Russian, and some English. A guide for Intourist in Lviv.

H * KORETSKIY, Vladimir
KORETSKI, Volodymyr D.O.B. ca. 1892
Physical description provided *POB USSR(?)*

About seventy years old, but looks much younger. Height: 5 feet 10 inches. Weight: about 200 pounds. Busty, big head, blue eyes, wears glasses in light frames, good appearance. Black hair, straight, combed so that it covers up his baldness. Academician. He has offices at the Presidium of the Academy of Sciences, 54 Volodymyrska Street, Kiev (telephone: 9-22-42) and at the Institute of State and Law, Klrova 4.

4
1916
70
9

SECRET

-30-

MIKHAYLOVSKIY

* MIKHAYLOVSKIY, FIM

D.O.B. ca. 1920

POB USSR (?)

Physical Description

About forty years old. Height: 5 feet 10 inches. Weight: 180 pounds. Black hair, thick brows, brown eyes. An employe of the Department of State and Law of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Lviv, probably KORETSKYI's assistant.

PROVIDED

SHERSHEN, Edward

Intourist ^{Ugolodnyy} Representative, Kiev D.O.B. ca. 1936 POB USSR

Physical Description Provided

About twenty-four years old. Height: 5 feet 8 inches. Weight: 150 pounds. Looks like an Armenian, narrow face, dark complexion, small head, straight black hair, thick brows which come together over his nose, long nose, slow in movements. Languages: Russian, Ukrainian, and English, which he speaks fairly well. An Intourist guide in Kiev.

DOROSHENKO, Alexander

D.O.B.

*Do not copy
files with
in his 201*

Born 20 September 1936. Height: 5 feet 6 inches. Weight: 140 pounds. Girlish face, brown hair, combed to the back. Address: 25 Yaryvanska Street, Kiev, Apartment 26 (new apartment house), no telephone. High school education. Three years army service in a special services unit as a dancer. For his services he received a medal from Malinovsky. His wife's name is Valentina, nineteen years old, a graduate of an institute, plays a Bandura instrument, and is a performer. He has a brother twenty years old who graduated from high school and eventually wants to go to college, but now he is deciding whether to go to the army for four years or to work. His father, who was a common worker in Kiev, was killed in the army during the war. His mother remarried after his death. He is a dancer in the Ukrainian State Chorus (Varyvka).

In my conversations with him we had a so-called common language. He is a conscientious Ukrainian who is fond of the Ukrainian language and literature. He is aware of the trend of Russification imposed upon Ukrainians and the restrictions imposed upon Ukrainian culture, but he does not yet have a complete political finish. He is definitely not a supporter of the system or of the regime, but he does not know anything else that could now replace the present system. He is searching for a way out.

His national consciousness he acquired mostly by reading Ukrainian literature and such writers as Rylsky, Sosiura, Malynko, Yanovskiy, and Samiyenko, who are actually his idols. In his apartment, which consists of three nice rooms, he has quite an extensive Ukrainian library.

SECRET

He does not yet have a complete understanding of political principles and matters. He represents a certain group among Ukrainians who think as he does and feel as he does. He sees that there are great shortcomings as far as the development in the Ukraine is concerned, but he does not have an immediate solution. He complained that there was no proper Ukrainian literature available, such as history books, which would educate the younger generation. His views are rather pessimistic because of the dissatisfaction trend and the existing inertia among the Ukrainian people in the sense of initiative and struggle for the Ukrainian national cause.

He is disappointed in the Ukrainian Soviet writers, who do not take the initiative in the above-mentioned respect. He is also pessimistic about the upper echelon of the government and the administration in the Ukraine. The Ukrainian Soviet writers with whom I met he called Communists from whom one could not expect much. He complained that there is no point of attraction for the young people from the upper echelon in the Ukraine. Plainly, he expressed a kind of helplessness as to what could be done. He is not at all enthusiastic about the possibilities of using legal means in promoting the betterment of national development in the Ukraine. He stressed the difficulties in this respect. He could not imagine that the Ukrainian emigration could do to help in this situation of the permanent growth of Soviet power. When I mentioned three possibilities (a war, which nobody wants, but which could come unexpectedly; an internal upheaval; and the evolutionary process), he was skeptical on all three points.

He was, however, interested in that the emigration does. He was also interested in acquiring some knowledge about the Ukrainian political development in recent years, which he did not know about. I gave him an extensive outline in this respect. I discussed and explained the program and activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He did know about the existence of the OUN, but he did not know much about it. He has seen many Soviet propaganda films directed against the so-called Bandera bandits, but he did not know exactly what this was all about. I gave him a detailed account of the history, program, and activities of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He did not know under what circumstances Petlura died and that Komarivets was assassinated by a Soviet agent. I also explained the very recent trials of OUN members in the Soviet Union. From his attention, questions, and remarks, I got the impression that he felt this was something bigger and more impressive than he had known or had imagined. He was interested in facts concerning the Ukrainian liberation movement, and when I explained these facts to him, I felt I had opened his eyes to matters which

SECRET

-32-

had been carefully concealed from him. I mentioned to him the Bulletin. He actually would not believe that it was possible or how it was possible to penetrate the strictly imposed censorship.

I also discussed other aspects of life in the Soviet Union, among which freedom was first. I told him that the prime goal of our program is freedom for all men and that we feel that only a free nation and a free government can guarantee for its people a free development in all aspects of life. Under such circumstances the people will have a free choice to establish such a political, economic, social, and cultural development as they want and really need. All in all, I felt that in our talks I should give him plenty of material and ideas for thought.

During our conversations he told me a few little incidents which had happened since I had seen him last. First, when his group went to Munich last October, the posters announced that it was a group from Moscow. There was a strong reaction of protest from members of the group, but the announcement on the posters was explained as a misunderstanding. A German private concert bureau was responsible for the error, not the management.

Second, he, together with a group of other Ukrainians, recently made a trip to Shevchenko's grave in Kanly. They placed on his grave a wreath with the inscription "To the greatest son of the Ukraine from his followers." Then they assembled with other people who were visiting and sang Ukrainian songs. DORICHENKO said that this demonstration was very encouraging for him, his friends, and the people who gathered around.

Third, a man from Kiev, a party member whose name he did not want to disclose, came to LITV to see STEPANIK. He saw STEPANIK's secretary, who spoke to him in Russian and did not know Ukrainian. This man asked STEPANIK to release her immediately and to get a Ukrainian secretary. When STEPANIK hesitated, the man threatened to use his influence in Kiev to force him to release her, so STEPANIK fired the secretary.

DORICHENKO's wife keeps more to the official Soviet propaganda line, and several times he remarked that he did not agree with her in this respect.

He was interested in publications from abroad. He particularly wanted the complete works of Oles. He said that twenty thousand copies of an incomplete edition of Oles' works, published last year in Kiev, had sold out shortly afterward. There is a great demand for Oles in the Ukraine. He also asked about the writings of Kollath.

SECRET

He asked me to write to him, not to his home address, but in care of general delivery. When I mentioned that it would be better not to use his name, he said he had to produce his passport to get a letter from the post office anyway. He mentioned that in the near future he might travel with his group to Canada and asked if I could see him there. His wife was supposed to go to Canada with the Bandura players, but the Canadians refused to grant them visas.

Finally, it is worthwhile to mention that he constantly travels throughout the Ukraine, knows many people, and has many friends in various cities of the Ukraine. He seems to know much more than he says, but he is very cautious in revealing facts and personalities when he thinks it might tend to compromise someone else.

YEVSSENKO

YEVSSENKO, Fria

DOB. ca. 1935 *POB USSR (?)*

Physical description provided

About twenty-five years old. Height: 5 feet 8 inches. Weight: 160 pounds. Full face; brown hair, combed back; dark, lively eyes; normal nose. He is a dancer in the Varyovka group, a resident of Kiev, and a conscientious Ukrainian. He was critical of the regime concerning economic, cultural, and national development of the Ukraine. He does not have a complete political education in the Ukrainian national aspect, but he does resent the present lack of freedom and so forth. He participated in the conversations at MOSKAL's apartment in Lviv and made some observations in connection with the U-2 incident. He took the official line in condemning it, but at the same time he was rather curious as to the Western stand and the explanations which it provided.

KALINOVSKIY, Yuriy Aleksandrovich

KALINOVSKIY, Yuriy Aleksandrovich

DOB. ca. 1930

POB USSR (?)

Physical description provided

About thirty years old. Height: 5 feet 9 inches. Average build. Curly black hair, combed back, wears glasses. As well as he, his father or some other relative probably works for the Ukrainian Radio in Kiev. When I telephoned him, they did not know which one should be called to the telephone, the senior or junior. Occupation: Reporter and employee of the Ukrainian Radio in Kiev. Office telephone: 9-00-10, ext. 368.

MINKO, Vasily

MINKO, VASYL

a DPOB: ?

Ukrainian writer in Kiev. Home telephone: 5-47-95 (Kiev).

RYLSKIY, Maksim

RYLSKIY, Maksym Tadeyovych

DPOB (?)

Famous Ukrainian writer in Kiev. Home telephone: 4-20-50 (Kiev).

AKA
 RONCHAR, OLES
 RONCHAR, Oles

DPOB(?)

Ukrainian writer and President of the Union of Soviet Ukrainian Writers in Kiev. Home telephone: 4-21-52 (Kiev).

~~RYDA, V. I.~~ ~~RYDA, V. I.~~

DOB USSR
 Cit USSR
 2cc government

Chief of Protocol and Chief of the Consular Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kiev. Office telephone: 3-42-61 (Kiev).

UNION OF SOVIET UKRAINIAN WRITERS

Kiev. Telephone: 3-64-95.

KOVCH, Bogdan
 KOVCH, Bohdan

D.O.B. ca. 1930 P.O.B. Canada

Cit: Canada

Twenty-eight to thirty years old. A Canadian-born Ukrainian from Toronto. Employed by the Trans-Canadian Air Lines in Toronto. He made a trip to Lviv to see his cousin and some other relatives. When we first met after getting off the same plane in Vienna, I tried to decide if he was a progressive, and I felt that he was doing the same with me. After establishing that neither of us was a progressive, he told me that the first day after his arrival in Lviv, he met his cousin and they both took a bus to a village in the area. In the village he went to the militia and said he wanted to register, saying that he had just arrived from Lviv and showing them his passport. The militia were confused and did not know what to do. They said that it was not their job and that KOVCH could go. He was not bothered by anybody while visiting the relatives. He took pictures of a wedding in the village and then went back to Lviv.

Contact of Stephen Olynyk (201-255172)

The next day he again took a bus to the same village. Upon arrival he saw two plain-clothesmen and a uniformed man standing at the bus station. When he started to step down from the bus, the two plain-clothesmen took him quickly under his arms and returned him by car to Lviv. They took him to a militia station, asked where he was, and released him. He then went to Intourist and told them that he had had trouble with the militia, that they would not let him visit the village, and that nobody had told him that he was not permitted to go to the village. The chief of the Intourist apologized because nobody had told him about this, but he said it was true that he should have had permission to go. KOVCH also said his cousin in Lviv had told him that one high-ranking party member in Lviv whose name he did not want to disclose

SECRET

-35-

said that the plans and the policy of the party were to Russify the whole Western Ukraine quickly. They leave the outside signs Ukrainian, such as names of streets, inscriptions, and so forth, but actually they encourage an intensive process of Russification.

SECRET

SECRET

ANNEX III

Positive Intelligence

-36-

SECRET

22 August 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, SR/3

ATTENTION:

SUBJECT: Requirements for AECASSOWARY/33

General Requirements

1. Guided Missiles

Subject should be given a thorough indoctrination on guided missile indicators such as is contained in the SR Field Requirements Notice No. 3 and 21.

2. Airfields

Subject should be thoroughly briefed on airfields to include: dimensions, layout and orientation and construction of the runways; buildings and other support facilities such as hangars, control towers, fuel storage, electronic facilities; number and types of aircraft with description of engines, wings and tail sections; note all markings on aircraft to include unit designations (two to four digits, large numbers on wing or tail sections) and factory markings (seven or eight digits, smaller numbers).

3. Construction Activity

Note new construction projects or evidence of large scale construction plans; particularly rail spurs, tunnels, storage areas and warehouse facilities.

Specific Requirements

1. What is the relationship between the local administrations of the militia and the KGB on the one hand, and the Oblispolkom (Oblast Executive Committee) on the other?

2. To what extent does the local government exercise real influence in local affairs? Was its role increased during the past few years? If so, how?

3. In the electoral process, who really decides which individual shall be chosen to run?

4. Has the campaign to "strengthen socialist legality" resulted in some real improvements in the administration of justice? Are the rights of the accused better respected?

5. Details of any specific incidents of friction between Great Russians and members of minority groups. Maximum biographic data is required on any individuals involved.

6. What measures, if any, are being taken to lessen friction between Great Russians and members of minority groups? Is there considerable friction in the area with regard to the study of languages and the teaching of Russian vs. Ukrainian.

7. Is there considerable friction centered on economic matters; are Great Russians given preferential treatment in obtaining choice jobs? What economic positions are closed to Ukrainians because of their nationality? Is such discrimination by official policy or by established custom?

8. Give details on any case involving members of a minority group moved to the New Lands or to the mining areas of Siberia. Any incident of their return home would also be of interest.

9. Discrimination of Poles or Ukrainians; special controls imposed; improvements in job opportunities and relations in general with Great Russians.

Local Governments and Special Activities

10. Names and titles of local Soviet governmental, Party and industrial officials. Also give location of offices and areas of jurisdiction.

11. Organization and structure of the city governments, including as much information as available on various departments. Information on personnel and administrative policies; pay scale; promotions; records maintenance.

12. Details of any conflicts in local government echelons either as a result of policy disagreements or personality clashes.

13. With the abolishment of the MVD, to what higher organ or body is the city militia responsible? How is liaison maintained? Names of personnel of the higher organization? Does the city militia maintain relations or liaison channels to other organizations at higher levels than the one to which it is directly subordinate? Which one? How arranged and maintained?

14. Describe in detail the major problems faced by the various cities visited; i.e., crime, food supplies, traffic, housing, etc.

15. Civil defense program, including names of officials, construction of shelters, training programs, air raid exercises.

16. Restricted areas or secret installations reports on specific locations, security guards, fences, guard towers, etc. Describe all vehicle traffic entering area to include license plates and other vehicle markings.

[] :ks

[] S/SR/RQ

SECRET

-39-

Explanation to Diagram No. 1

Route: Lviv to Uzhgorod (by train)

Location: Five minutes by train from Lviv main railroad station in the direction of Uzhgorod on the right side, approximately 30 feet from the railroad tracks.

Description: An enclosure, fenced on three sides with wire fence and a concrete wall on the side parallel and nearest to the railroad tracks. Inside the enclosure are two buildings appearing like warehouses. Railroad tracks enter into the enclosure from the right side with two locomotives standing inside the enclosure. There were also two or three 3-ton trunks. The warehouses were made out of wood planks with concrete foundations. Out in the open and on the ground were piles of various metal parts that looked like new and old railroad equipment and other unidentifiable objects. Two armed Soviet Army soldiers were patrolling the area.

SECRET

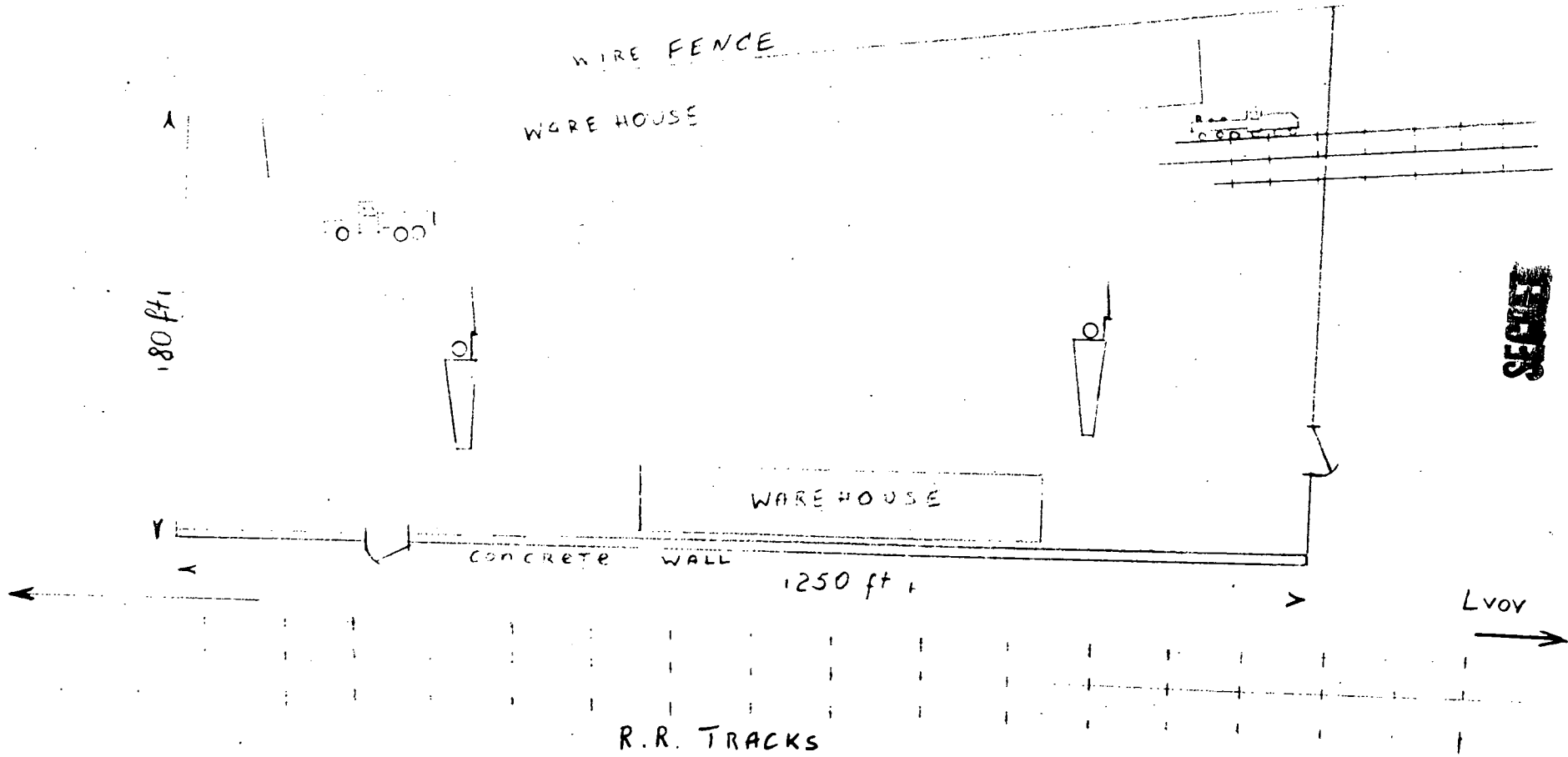
DIAGRAM NO. 1.

Route: L'vov - Uzhgorod (by train)

Location: 5 minutes by train from L'vov Station in the direction of Uzhgorod (between L'vov Main Station & Sknyliv).

SECRET

SECRET



SECRET

-41-

Explanation to Diagram No. 2

Route: Lviv to Uzhgorod (by train)

Location: Two minutes by train from Nikolaev-Drogevyzhe railroad station in the direction of Uzhgorod via Stryi.

Description: Up on the hill, facing towards the railroad tracks, and on the left side of the railroad tracks in the direction of Uzhgorod, an enclosure, perpendicular in shape, enclosed by barbed wire. Two guard towers on each side of the enclosure. Distance by air from the railroad tracks approximately 1,000 yards. Inside the enclosure there were about three wooden plank buildings, one story, barrack type. No activity noted. No highway or railroad was observed leading to the enclosure. To the left, sparsely populated suburban area of Nikolaev; to the right, arable land.

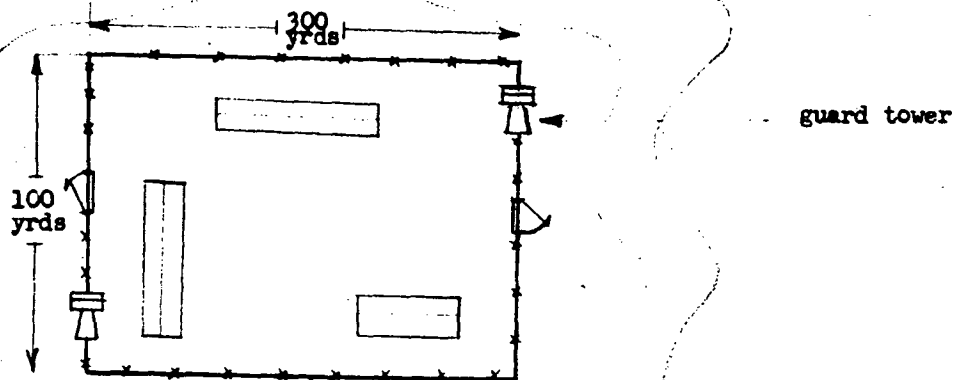
SECRET

DIAGRAM NO. 2.

Route: L'viv - Uzhgorod. (by train)

Location: 2 minutes by train from Nikolayev (Mykolaiv) in the direction of Uzhgorod via Stryy

H I L L



guard tower

100
yds

300
yds

1,000 yds (by air)

AEV - DROGOVYZHE

2 min.

R.R. tracks

Uzhgorod
via Stryy

SECRET

-43-

Explanation to Diagram No. 3

Route: Lviv to Uzhgorod via Stryy and Mukachevo.

Location: One-half minute by train to the local stop, station Zakarpatskiy Kurort, between stations Svalyava and Pasika, about thirty minutes by train to Mukachevo.

Description: Five railroad cars were standing on a side track: two platform type and three standard boxcars. On the two platform cars were objects (one on each) of trapezoid shape, covered with rain-repellent canvas. A Soviet Army soldier, armed with a rifle and fixed bayonet, was standing on one of the platforms, apparently guarding them. Contents of the boxcars were not known to the source. His train was moving, approaching the station. There was no locomotive attached to the train, and its destination could not be identified.

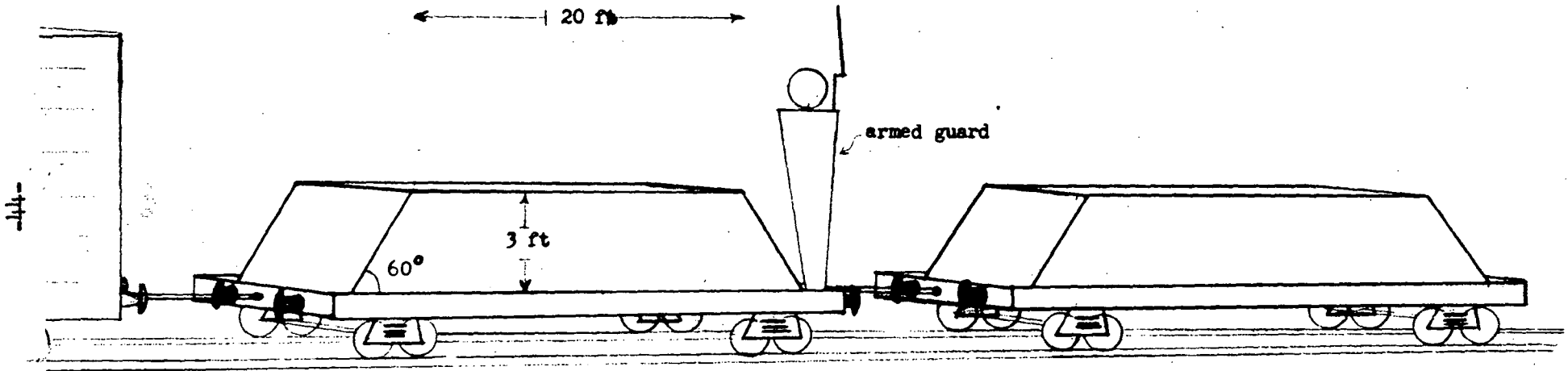
SECRET

DIAGRAM NO. 3

Route: - L'vov - Uzhgorod

Location: $\frac{1}{2}$ minute to R.R. station "Zakarpatskiy kurort" (between SVALYAVA & PASIKA R.R. stations) in the direction of Uzhgorod via Mukachevo.

144



SECRET

SECRET

-45-

Explanation to Diagram No. 4

Route: Kiev to Vienna (by air)

Location: Thirteen minutes by air from Kiev airport in the direction of Vienna. Probable co-ordinates: 50.10 N - 30.30 E.

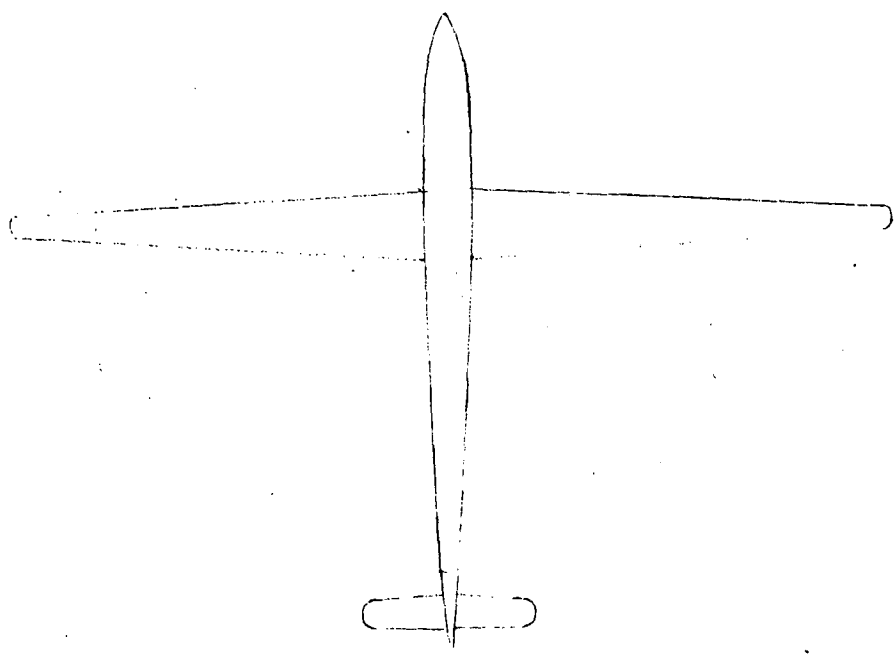
Description: Flying at the approximate altitude of 9,000 meters and speed of 850 km per hour, the source observed through sparse white clouds an airport with approximately ten airplanes, appearing like a U-2 type, long, slim fuselage and long, narrow wings of wide span, possibly gliders. The airport was on the flight line from Kiev to Vienna, thirteen minutes after take-off. The plane had just crossed the Dnieper River (wide, spreading out with sand islands and meandering). The source observed the airport about 10 miles to the west of the Dnieper. Visibility was poor; no identifying marks were visible; no activity was discerned. Surrounding area was densely populated with villages and townships all around, though no large town was observed in the area.

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

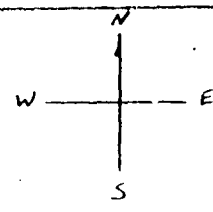
Route: KIEV - VIENNA (by plane)

Location: 13 minutes by air from KIEV Airport in the direction of VIENNA.



Altitude: 9,000 meters

Speed: 850 km per hr



village

River

Kiev ↗
11:06 AM

airport



To Vienna ↙ 11:19 AM

~~SECRET~~



SECRET

-47-

Explanation to Diagram No. 5

Route: Kiev to Vienna

Location: Two minutes from a point above Uzhgorod on the flight line towards Vienna, most probably Czechoslovak territory.

Description: The plane was flying at an altitude of 9,000 meters and a speed of 850 km per hour. To the right of the flight line and about 10 miles west of Uzhgorod, a railroad depot was observed with a building appearing like a warehouse, railroad tracks spreading out from a two-trunk line into a fork formation with numerous side tracks running at an angle to the fork formation and with numerous train cars (boxcars - freight) on side tracks. A canal appendage (dead end) was running parallel to the warehouse. A factory was visible to the left of the canal at a distance of about 500 yards. No activity was noted. The surrounding area was densely populated, rural with much arable land.

Explanation to Diagram No. 6

Route: Kiev to Vienna

Location: One hour nineteen minutes flight time from Kiev in the direction of Vienna (observed time 12:25 p.m.; take-off time in Kiev 11:06 a.m.). The plane made a sudden sharp detour to the right at a 30-degree angle to its original flight direction. It flew for six minutes, then detoured back to its original flight line (correction by approximately 30 degrees from its detoured flight line). No reason given, nothing was observed on the ground other than rural areas.

SECRET

Route: KIEV - VIENNA (by air)

R.R. Depot
Factory (& Warehouse
Canal

Location: 2 minutes from UZGOROD
over CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Altitude: 9,000 meters

Speed: 850 km per hr

SECRET

To
Vienna

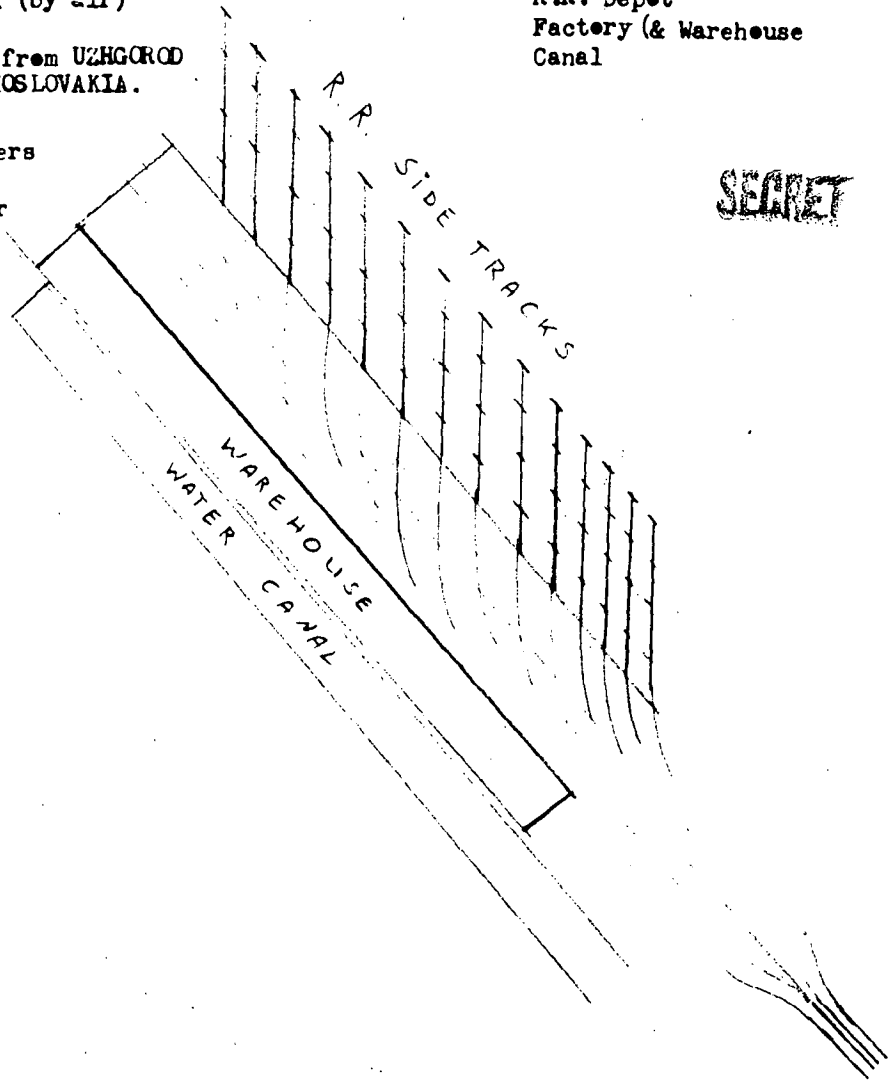


DIAGRAM NO. 6

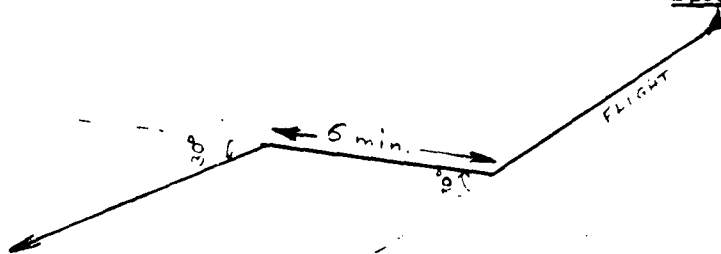
Route: KIEV - UZGOROD (by air)

Location: 1 hr 19 min. from KIEV to VIENNA (flight time 12: 25 PM)

DETOUR

Altitude: 9,000 meters
Speed: 850 km per hour

To Vienna



SECRET

Other Observed Data

1. LYLV: At the airport where source's plane landed on the morning of 7 September, he observed about twenty-five Soviet jet fighter aircraft of MiG-17 type lined up on the right remote side of the airport. Eight large military helicopters were also situated nearby. No unusual activity was noticed in the vicinity.
2. KLEV: On the way to the airport, which is located across the Dnieper River south of Dzerzhinsk (suburb of Kiev on the left bank of the Dnieper River), travel time by car from the center of town (Khreshchatyk) approximately thirty to forty-five minutes, a large radar station was observed, located about one mile to the left of the airport (as one approaches the airport from Kiev). Many mobile radio stations were also observed on the runway and vicinity. On the aerodrome, parallel to the runway of source's plane, there were fifty-seven two-engine Soviet jet fighters and ten one-engine light jet planes (training type). No activity, other than commercial flights, was observed.

SECRET

-50-

Answers to Specific Requirements

1. Formally, the Militia is subordinated to the Rayvykonkom and to the Oblvykonkom, but actually, they get their directives from the KGB. After the war and into the fifties, the KGB had their offices and representatives as far down as the villages, and in practically every village at least one KGB man was stationed. Now there are only the Inter-raion committees. It means that one such committee or station serves several raions, and this is the lowest unit of the KGB. This station is usually located in the larger cities. (Source: DASIKEVYCH)

2. The kolkhoz has priority before the silrada. Kolkhoz plans must be carried out in the first place, and the chairman of the Kolkhoz is the one to decide. A kolkhoz often includes more than one village, and that again speaks for the subordination of the silrada to the kolkhoz. In Lviv the Rayvykonkom has primary authority for distribution and procurement of living space in Lviv. However, when it comes to issuing a permit to get to the silrada, as in my case, authority belongs to the Oblvykonkom, not to the Rayvykonkom. (A statement from Datourist.)

It is difficult to establish whether the influence of local government has increased in recent years, but one can sense more initiative on the part of local government. For example, I got an interview at the Rayvykonkom without any permission from higher up, and Intourist arranged the meeting in the same raion in which it is located. (Source: POLVAROCHENKI and Intourist)

3. The Communist Party decides. (Source: DASIKEVYCH and my father)

4. PASHUK interpreted the campaign for the strengthening of socialist legality as follows: The tendency is not to put on trial the guilty, but to prevent the crime in the first place. For this reason Komsomol Drushyny and factory workers committees were established. They have to be vigilant and prevent individuals from committing crimes. To avoid intervention of the militia, these groups combat drunkenness and hooliganism.

PASHUK also discussed the rights of the accused during the Stalin period and at the present time, stating that his rights are obviously greater now. Contrary to PASHUK, people are being arrested and are "disappearing" without trace.

SECRET

Another case should be brought up here. An old man, a farmer, took some grain from the collective farm in a bag and was caught. Additional grain was found in his house. The case was brought to the rayon court, and the defense attorney advised the man to admit guilt and he would be released. The old man did this, but the attorney did not do a thing to defend him, so he again withdrew his admission of guilt. Asked why he did it, he told the court the story about his defense attorney.

The case was sent to the investigating committee for review. The chairman of the committee, a woman, ordered a hearing. Before the hearing the accused gave her some money as a bribe. She then asked whether the authorities who brought the case to court examined the grain which was found with him, in order to establish whether both were the same grain and from the same place. When she learned that no such comparison was made, she ruled that not enough evidence had been introduced, and the man was acquitted. (Source: 'Father')

5. (a) DORICHENKO uses the Ukrainian language constantly and because of this has been called by young Russians a Banderovitch.

(b) SHERAVIK was asked to remove his secretary to a professor from Kiev because she used only the Russian language.

(c) While talking to a group of young Ukrainians in Lviv, I asked what the relationship between Ukrainians and Russians is, and they answered, "It is opposing one another." One of them described the situation by hitting his two index fingers together. They also said that at the present time they do not fear the Russians as much as under Stalin and that several times they had given them a rebuff.

6. There are no overt means. There is a very fine over-all policy from above which has as its goal final Russification. This is being done by constant and strong propaganda in the press and radio about friendship, liberation, and help from the Russians. It is a one-sided activity, and all opposition to it is condemned. At Lviv University Russian students are dismantled when they have to take lessons in Ukrainian. There are Ukrainian students in the same university who pointedly use the Ukrainian language when addressed in Russian by Russian professors.

7. It is a policy in the Western Ukraine not to let local Ukrainians assume high positions and even lesser jobs. The jobs in higher administration, industry, and labor are being filled by the Russians primarily

and then by people coming from other areas--other republics and other parts of the Ukraine. Local Ukrainians can easily get jobs in the Virgin Lands and in the Russian Republic. This same policy is being pursued in establishments of higher education in Western Ukraine. Admission to colleges and institutions is very difficult. Sometimes bribery is used to achieve admission. In some instances, the student body at institutes consists of only about one-third Ukrainians. On the other hand, admission of students is much easier in other parts of the Soviet Union. This is an established official policy, carried out, but all Ukrainians in the area know that they are being discriminated against.

8. Because it is impossible to get jobs, the Ukrainians are often sent to the Virgin Lands and to other parts of Asia. As a result of forced deportation in former years, there are whole villages and towns in northern Kazakhstan and in Siberia where no other language is spoken but Ukrainian. At the same time, they do not have Ukrainian schools, and no Ukrainian papers are allowed to them. In contrast the small groups of Germans and Koreans in those areas have their own schools and radio broadcasts. There are also isolated cases when people go to the Virgin Lands and other parts of Asia, work there for a period of time, earn some money, and come back.

9. In the opinion of Ukrainians, the Poles in Lviv contribute to the Russification of the area because they constantly use the Russian language and associate with the Russians. The same applies to the Jews.

10. POINAROVICHY, Leonida, Zaliznychnyi Rnyv'yankom, located on Slovatski Street in Lviv.

KRAVCHUK, Jm, Chief of the Organization Department of the Zaliznychnyi Rnyv'yankom, Slovatski Street, Lviv.

11. Some information will be submitted later.

12. No information.

13. No information.

14. Housing is the number-one problem faced by the cities. It is the most pressing problem in Lviv, to a somewhat lesser degree in Kiev, and still less noticeable in Uzhgorod. Lviv is actually closed to newcomers. The neighbor of MORZAL told me that it is necessary to

SECRET

-53-

present a sum of 15,000 rubles as a bribe to obtain an apartment. POLVAROCHNY explained that his office tries to solve the housing problem as follows: First, no admittance of new people; second, new construction of big blocks of apartments. The same construction activity has been observed in Kiev and Ushgorod, where new blocks of apartment houses are under construction. POLVAROCHNY also mentioned that the city of Lviv has another important problem which must be solved in the future, and that is the conversion of the streets in the cities and their adaptability to the rising traffic problem. In Lviv the streets are too narrow and congested. This is a problem of the future, but it has not been solved yet. Broadening the streets would require the removal of many buildings, which is undesirable. POLVAROCHNY and PASUK asserted that crime, particularly drunkenness and hooliganism, is on the downgrade because of the activity of Komsomol Druzhyny and workers committees.

15. No information.

SECRET

SECRET

ANNEX IV

Public Opinion

I. Conversation with a Young Professional Man in Moscow, September 1950:

A. The Russian people are always suffering, and this suffering can last for a long time. During this suffering the Russians don't do much; they just suffer. But, when it comes to the edge, they overthrow that-- over in the their way, as with the 1917 Revolution.

B. The Russian intelligentsia does not exist at the present time. A real intelligentsia is not on the top and does not give the tone of life. The intelligentsia has been crushed, and the upper echelons of the Soviet society have been taken over by the entire herd, like Khrushchev. Everything is upside down.

C. KHRUSHCHEV wanted to become a dictator. He was close to the political police and wanted to take over the police when Khrushchev was abroad, probably in Bulgaria. The Presidium members were afraid of him, so they ousted him.

D. Malenkov and Beria both wanted to utilize the nationalists problem as well as the economic factor in the Soviet Union. To the question about an order which was issued in 1953 stating that the party and government officials in the Ukraine should know and use the Ukrainian language, Beria commented that this was not an order of Beria, but of Malenkov. Malenkov was a much more cultivated personality than Khrushchev. Representations against national groups during the Stalin period were an outrage. Beria gave the following characterization of the behavior of the nationalists and supporters of nationalism in the army: The Asians would be army, and then called, they are murderers. They will only for the time when they can be discharged. The Ukrainians are "stomach". They do everything possible to become officers. Beria's opinion of the Interims was derogatory; he did not like them.

IV. Conversation with a Young Scientist in Lviv, September 1950:

A. There is a difference between the national consciousness of the youth in the Western and the Eastern Ukraine. In the East the youth are more Sovietized, and the Soviet Union is closer to them than to the

SECRET

Western Ukrainians. The main difference is that the Western youth lived through the underground period, and also the older generation contributed to their national consciousness. Nevertheless, there are instances of Russification because many study or find jobs outside the Ukraine. It is a policy of the Soviet government to make the Western Ukraine a second Donbas. That means there is a strong tendency toward Russification of that area. To carry out their experiment, the Soviets restrict admissions of Western Ukrainians to institutes of higher education. In some instances these restrictions limit the number of Western Ukrainian students to one third of the student body. It is very difficult for Western Ukrainians to get employment at home. They are offered jobs primarily in Asia and in the Russian Republic. Instead, Russians and other nationalities, as well as Eastern Ukrainians, are finding positions in government and industry. Even common workers are being imported to a great degree. Manual workers from among the local population are also restricted in getting employment; they must often go to the Virgin lands and to other remote areas. At the present time it is almost impossible to get a "prylykha" in Lviv. The Jewish population contributes to Russification, as do the remaining Poles, who use only the Russian language. The local Ukrainian population maintains little social contact with outsiders. This is true in the case of the intelligentsia as well as common workers.

B. The schools are used for Russification of non-Russian areas. There is a tendency to increase the use of the Russian language for instruction. Only in Armenia was the new school law of 1959 rejected by the Armenian Supreme Soviet, but the next day it was overwhelmingly approved again. At Lviv University most of the instruction is still in the Ukrainian language. The majority of the professors are from the Eastern Ukraine; the minority from Western Ukraine. There are also Russian professors and a few Poles. The Rector and the Pro-rector of the University try to keep instruction at the University in the Ukrainian language. Instruction in technical institutions is in Russian for the most part.

C. The upper echelons of the party and government in Kiev consist of careerists or Russified elements. The same rule applies in the oblasts. In the Western Ukraine the local Ukrainians are almost not represented.

D. In the Virgin lands--parts of Siberia and the northern part of Kazakhstan--there are whole villages and towns inhabited by Ukrainian deportees where only Ukrainian is spoken, but these areas are doomed to Russification in the long run. There were attempts to organize

Ukrainian schools there, but the applications were rejected with unreasonable excuses, such as lack of funds and so forth. The flow of Ukrainian-language press and publications to these areas from the Ukraine is also heavily restricted. At the same time, in Siberia a German group of sixty thousand--and even some smaller Korean groups--has its own schools, radio stations, and so forth.

E. Under the influence of Soviet propaganda there has been some criticism among Ukrainians in recent years concerning the methods used by the underground. An attempt was made by some former inmates of Soviet prisons and camps who had been released to organize the underground again, but it did not succeed, so that the Ukrainian underground is now in a stage of inactivity. The Communists have said it does not exist, but contact among former members does exist. There are, however, no visible signs of dissemination of underground literature. Source knew much about CHUPHYNKA, but he did not have any knowledge of KOVAL. He also did not know about the split of the OUN in 1953. He readily accepted my information in this field.

F. Source asked questions about the emigration and about political groups and how strong they are. I gave him this information. He knew about BANDERA's death and said that when the Verovivka Chorus was in Germany last October, two outsiders were included, indicating that he thought they might have been responsible. I did not try to explore this further. He mentioned that he knew or knew about HRYNIOCH, STAKHIV, REHET, and LEBED. He was pessimistic about the possibilities of the emigration for long range operations, as he believed it was doomed to assimilation. For the time being, Source thought the emigration should do the following things: (1) Publish as much Ukrainian literature as possible in order to stimulate publishing activity in Kiev. He gave as an example the Ukrainian Encyclopedia and said its publication abroad had stimulated Kiev to start publishing the Ukrainian Encyclopedia in the Ukraine. The emigration should publish predominately works which stand no chance of being published in the Ukraine. (2) Personal contacts among Ukrainians should be maintained and increased in order to have an exchange of views and information and to know what is going on on both sides. He said that the opportunity which I had during my tour was very necessary and very precious. He stressed that there is a great lack of information on the inside about the outside. I mentioned to him the Bulletin, which is being sent into the Ukraine to give such information and to discuss problems on the inside. Source accepted this, but he said that he had not had a chance to see it. (3) Organizing and participating in international congresses is necessary. A world

SECRET

-57-

congress of Ukrainians, planned abroad, would be very welcome. Such congresses, if they have enough publicity, would certainly become known inside and would encourage people. In this connection I mentioned to him the participation of Ukrainians at the Stockholm Congress, and he was pleased.

III. Conversations in a Young Ukrainian's Home with Three Young, Intelligent Ukrainians Participating, September, 1960:

The conversation embraced a variety of subjects, of which the most important were:

A. The situation concerning the Ukrainian language in the Ukraine. All present agreed that Russification is being pressed by the Soviet authorities, and in some areas, particularly in the cities, it has achieved considerable success.

B. Ukrainian literature is lagging. Not enough is being published and the quality is not what is necessary.

C. The Ukraine as a separate political entity, at least in the form of a satellite state.

D. The lack of Ukrainian history books from which the younger generation could be educated. Hrushevsky's works have been suppressed, and some important periods of Ukrainian history have been interpreted according to the Soviet line (Mazepa, Vyhovsky, Khmelnytsky). I pointed out that Hrushevsky has been branded as a Fascist, and Mazepa as an aristocrat and a traitor. At the same time, Czar Peter I is accepted as a great personality in history. We discussed what could be done in the Ukraine at the present time to improve the situation, and I pointed out that legal measures and writings should be utilized.

Source mentioned an incident in a cultural institution where a newly acquired producer, CHERNYSHOVA, who was said to be a Belgian of Jewish faith and who has strong backing in the party, introduced Russian programs which have nothing in common with Ukrainian culture. In spite of the protests of the members, nothing could be done to change the situation. They also mentioned another incident concerning the black and yellow colors on posters which appeared in some cities, including Lviv. On these posters, which announced some kind of an exhibit, the girls wore yellow and blue ribbons (Ukrainian national colors). One of the sources commented that the party inquired about why this was done--why only those two colors--and asked to have some other colors added. The party is very sensitive in this respect.

SECRET

SECRET

-58-

In all these discussions I commented freely, and Sources agreed with me. They complained that not enough is being done and that Ukrainian writers, and the Ukraine as a whole, do not do what is necessary. Commenting on Ukrainian history, I pointed out that there was a continuous struggle between the Ukrainians and the Russians through the Cossack period, which ended in the defeat of Mazepa, through the revolutionary period 1917-19, the recent period of World War II, and, following that, in the course of the activities of the UPA. I also pointed out that the Ukrainian freedom fighters have been branded by official Soviet propaganda as bandits, but at the same time, the fighters for freedom in Algeria are being praised as national heroes. I also mentioned the African peoples, who get their independence, while Ukrainians of a highly advanced country are denied those rights which the Russians have.

At the beginning of our conversation one of those present tuned in the Voice of America. When the Russian program had been going on for about ten minutes, the jamming started. The Ukrainian program was heard for a much shorter time, only two or three minutes, before the jamming started. They also tried to get Radio Canada, but it could not even be heard on the shortwave radio.

IV. Conversation with a High Ukrainian Soviet Official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, UkSSR, Kiev, September 1960:

I explained the reasons of my visit, and Source apologized for not having answered my letter and for not having sent me the studies on the UkSSR I had asked him for. He asked me whether my work about the Ukraine in the United Nations had been published, and then he began telling me about the construction of two-family houses for farmers. I touched on the problem of diplomatic relations with the UkSSR, to which he replied, "Okay, recognize us, and we will have diplomatic relations, but you don't want to recognize us."

I said, "The initiative should come from you. As a state, you should have the initiative. When the Sudan became independent, they sent out letters asking for diplomatic relations with all states, so you should send a note to our Department of State, and we will see what happens."

He said, "This might still happen; we are expanding to some extent. In Poland, for example, there is an office at the Soviet Embassy for Ukrainian affairs, and all matters concerning Ukrainian minorities abroad are being sent to us from Moscow. They ask us for counsel and to solve

SECRET

SECRET

-59-

these problems. Since last year we have established two new departments in the Ministry, the Department for Economic Affairs and the Department for Cultural Affairs (UNESCO)."

Source asked how the resolution concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the United States stands in the American Congress. I replied that this resolution has not been adopted yet, but if there was an act of initiative on their part, such a resolution would not be necessary. On the other hand, even if the resolution was passed by Congress, it would be up to the Department of State to establish such relations. (Note: I had the impression that he was very much interested in establishing diplomatic relations with foreign countries. He asked many questions about this, but could not do much about it.)

I mentioned Merkus' book on the Ukrainian SSR, which was published in French, and asked him whether he wanted this book. He looked somewhat afraid, but said nothing. He then mentioned the Ukrainian delegation which went to New York with Khrushchev, and I asked him why MERKUS, a writer who specializes in attacks on Ukrainian nationalists and on the emigration, was sent with this delegation. He replied that it was the policy to send one of the writers to each session of the United Nations and that there were some problems in the sphere of cultural relations and human rights in which the writers participated. He mentioned a professor of economics of the delegation from the USSR who became a member of the Economic Commission of the United Nations. I asked if he had heard that there was a diplomatic school in Kiev. He said that there was one, and many students were enrolled. This school does not exist now, but maybe it will be opened again. Then he remarked, "He have good diplomats, even better ones than in Moscow." He said that two or three young men had been sent from Moscow to Kiev and were now practicing in the Ministry. He showed me an invitation for a banquet that he had received from the Czechs.

I mentioned PALAMARCHUK, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR, and that I had heard that he is preparing a study about the Ukraine in the United Nations. He replied that PALAMARCHUK is probably the editor of this study.

I felt that further discussion would lead nowhere and that Source's position was deplorable. I told him goodbye and left.

SECRET

SECRET

-60-

V. Conversation with a Professor of International Law and Member of the Academy of Sciences, UKASER, September 1960:

Source asked me about myself, about my school, about American universities, and about whether there were Ukrainian schools in America. He also gave me the name of some authors who wrote about the local organs of Soviet Government. He asked about the Ukrainian organizations in Munich and about what they publish. I told him about the Ukrainian Free University in Munich and the Ukrainian Section of the Soviet Press University in Munich. Then Source wanted to know about the Institution Institute in Munich. Then Source wanted to know about the Institution in Belgium which published YAKUCHNIK's book, and I explained that. He asked about the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences in the United States, and I explained what departments this institution has, the kind of work it does, and that the President is Professor SHEVELOV, once a professor at Kharkov University. I also explained that people usually work there after regular working hours and that the funds for publication are collected from among Ukrainian emigrants.

I mentioned that I had heard that Source had met Professor Bohdan HALAYCHUK in Europe. He wanted to know about him--who he was, what kind of person he was, what views he had. HALAYCHUK had told him many things, and Source wanted to know what to think about them. He also said that HALAYCHUK told him that he would accept even the form of the Soviet's Ukraine if she became independent. I explained that HALAYCHUK was a specialist in international law, that he is a professor at the University of Dijon in France, and that his views are expressed in his book. In this book, HALAYCHUK recognizes the USSR as a state from the point of view of international law, but at the same time he states that the Ukrainian nation is politically enslaved. I added that this is not only his own view, but is shared by others. There is a debate in this sense abroad, whether to recognize the USSR as a state from the point of view of international law or to reject this fact. At this point Source turned to his assistant, present during the conversation, and explained that there are two groups in the emigration and that one rejects everything that is Soviet. I added that the other one looks at things more realistically and considers the Ukraine a form of state, but without full sovereignty. Source wanted to know what I meant by sovereignty. I explained that according to Western standards and international law, sovereignty meant unlimited rights in internal affairs as well as in external affairs. According to the fourteen articles of the Soviet Constitution, the rights of the USSR are limited in these respects. Source remarked that the Soviet system comes from the people.

SECRET

SECRET

-61-

I asked whether Source had read MARKUS' book. He said he had not and asked what the book was about. I explained that the book dealt with the status of the Ukraine from 1917 to 1921 and particularly with the problem of the succession from the Ukrainian National Republic to the USSR. His assistant remarked that the Ukrainian Soviet Republic emerged from the 1917 Revolution and that there was no question of succession whatever. He stated that the USSR existed from the beginning and did not recognize the URR at any time, since the URR was not accepted by the people. The professor added that I did not know these facts because I was a young man, while he, as an old man, remembers very well how the URR was supported by the Germans. I replied that this might be the case, but that now their state was supported by Russian bayonets. I told him about Murrayov's articles intervening in the Ukraine and about his sending Lenin a telegram at that time. I also said that it is a fact that Lenin and the Berthas in Moscow had recognized the Ukrainian National Republic before it was overthrown. To this Source said that we should not go into further discussion of these problems because they belonged to the past and to history.

I again discussed Markus' book. Source accepted my offer to send this book to him at the address of the President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Source asked what other questions I had for him, and I said that the most important problem now for discussion was that of establishing diplomatic relations between the Ukraine and the outside world. He explained to his assistant that there was some kind of revolution in the American Congress on this matter, and he told me, "If you did not carry a knife in your pocket, we could probably have diplomatic relations."

Source asked about other Ukrainian organizations and constitutions abroad, and I mentioned the Sherwooda Society and so forth. I also mentioned the Ukrainian political groups in exile. I talked of the increasing numbers of Ukrainians at universities in the West who contribute to the elucidation of the Ukrainian question. I mentioned Armstrong, Ruchter, and Burghorn as American authors who wrote books on this subject, and Source remarked, "Oh, I know those students who come here and then write all kinds of lies about us." I objected and said that it was not a question of lies, but of different views. I said that he himself had been in America twice, and when he returned home, I did not think he had changed his views completely, and we did not say that he had done something wrong. He said that it was a pity I was such a young man and that I was following such bad guidance. Source wanted to know about the Ukrainian emigration, about the nationalists and the progressives, all of which I explained to him. I added that compared with pre-war-time, the situation had improved now because

SECRET

SECRET

-62-

of the new political emigration to the West. Source asked me if I considered that group a political emigration, and I said yes, adding that Lenin was also a political emigre.

Source also wanted to know when my book was going to be published and asked me to send it to him when it appears. Then he asked who HOLIB was. I explained that HOLIB was a young student of economics who wrote a study on the Ukraine in the United Nations. Source said that he had read the book.

During the conversation Source's assistant asked me if I had any family in the Western Ukraine, to which I replied that I might have some distant relatives, but that it was impossible to visit them because the Soviets would not give permission to visit villages. At the end of our conversation the professor asked me not to forget them in the Ukraine in the future. He asked me to send him MARCUS' book and my own study and to visit him again when I came to Kiev.

VI. Meeting with Ukrainian Soviet Writers H., O., SM., K., and SO. in the Conference Room of the Union of Ukrainian Soviet Writers in Kiev, September 1960:

H. asked who I was, where I was from, what the purpose of my visit was, and what my impressions of the Ukraine were. He mentioned that he had visited the Library of Congress a few months previously, and he seemed to have been very much impressed, particularly, as he explained to his colleagues, because many of his books were in the Library of Congress. He received a very nice reception.

After this introductory note I made a general statement that the Ukrainian emigration follows events in the Ukraine by reading Soviet newspapers and publications and that the Ukrainians abroad were perturbed by the appearance of an article by KRAVTSOV in "Radyanska Ukraina," promoting the intensification of Russification of the Ukraine. I also mentioned that because there was not a reply to KRAVTSOV's article, it was assumed that this was the policy of the party. D. replied that this article was not worth mentioning, that it was only an individual's view, that they had given him a good reply, and that they had protested. H. added that KRAVTSOV did not represent anything of importance, that he is not in any important position, and that no attention should be paid to him. He also said, "We have settled the account with him." He said that there were many philologists in the Ukraine who represented different views, and one of them was KRAVTSOV.

SECRET

SECRET

-63-

D. said that the present situation was better than during the Stalin period, when things could not be published, and that de-Stalinization followed, so that at the present time much more could be written. He said that many people had been rehabilitated, and he thought that many more would be. I expressed my surprise, which I said was shared by other tourists from America and Canada, that so much Russian is being spoken in Ukrainian cities. D. replied that radio and television are in Ukrainian, that the Ukrainian language is the official language, and that the language spoken in the city of Kiev was a remainder of the czarist time. Much about the use of Ukrainian is being written and much more Ukrainian is being spoken in the cities at the present time. The situation is improving. Many people are attending institutes of higher education; there is a growth of the intelligentsia and more interest in good literary H. added that it is best to write literary works in good literary Ukrainian language. This will have a better effect than articles about the language. I asked about the appearance of young Ukrainian writers, to which H. replied that there were more applications for membership in the Union of Writers than they could accept. D. added that from the Odessa District alone, more than a hundred applications for membership had been sent to the Union and that some of them were very good candidates.

At that time BO. and SK. entered the room. I was introduced and told them that I was perturbed by KRAVTSOV's article. SK. remarked again that no attention should be paid to him and that accounts had been settled with him.

Later on in the conversation I told Gousses about the Ukrainian Literary Gazette, which is published in Munich, and that I was sure they were receiving this publication and were reading it. H. admitted reading two issues, but he said that it was not a very strong publication, and in some instances, is given to insignificant writers. He said that SK. reads and knows more about publications from abroad. SK. admitted reading the Literary Gazette, mentioned the diaries of SHUKHIN, saying that SHUKHIN was the Ukrainian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He also said that second-rate writers contributed to the paper.

Then H. wanted to know which Ukrainian writers were active abroad. I mentioned OSNACHKA, SHEVELYV, and BARKA. They knew about the first two, but made no comments. They did not know about BARKA, except SK., who described him as a second-rate poet. I also mentioned SAMCHIK. Then H. wanted to know how Ukrainians lived in America and what organizations they had. I mentioned some and said that there were also

SECRET

SECRET

-4-

the so-called progressives, particularly in Canada, but that I did not belong to them. As for publications abroad, I explained that our tendency is to publish works which would not have a chance to be published in the Ukraine, for example, the complete works of M. KULISH. H. observed that KULISH was an able playwright. I asked him if they were going to rehabilitate KHRYSYIYI. H. said that they should rehabilitate him in his capacity as a writer and literary critic. D. agreed with him and added that he was not a bad novelist either. Then I mentioned KHURSHVYKI, and again H. agreed that as a historian and scientist, he should be rehabilitated.

At that time many other members of the Union began to assemble for a meeting, and I felt that my conversation should be terminated. H. and the others wished me good luck, and I on my part expressed the wish that they would write more and better. They also asked me to visit them again in Kiev. I shook hands with all of them and left.

VII. Conversations in the Lobby of the Hotel Ukraina in Moscow,
September 1960

When I returned to the hotel after midnight, I noticed in the lobby four men drinking vodka and wine in one corner, not far from the night bar counter where I stood. They noticed me, took me for a foreigner, and asked me to join them. They asked me who I was, and as usual, I answered that I was an American tourist. They said that because it was pay day, they were having some sort of celebration. I joined them and a little discussion started about peace. We drank to peace and friendship. The U-2 incident was touched on, and they wondered why this incident occurred, since it certainly did not contribute to peace. They said, "Our people want peace," to which I added, "Ours too." I then said with some provocative intonation, "People always want peace, but the governments, one does not know what they are up to." I lifted my glass of vodka and said that we should drink to peace, but "down with the government" (doloy pravitelstva). One of the drinking men raised his glass and repeated, "Doloy pravitelstva." One of his colleagues looked sharply at him and at me. He was obviously frightened. He rushed to me, shook my hand, and said, "Thank you for your company," and to the others, "We shall go." The one who was drunk resisted, but his two colleagues took him under the arms and forced him away. In about half an hour he again came to the hotel lobby.

After they had left, I observed two other men who were talking to the barmaid. I had coffee and waited for change. (There is a great shortage of coins and one ruble bills, and it is always difficult getting

SECRET

SECRET

-65-

change.) One of the men asked the girl if she had apples, and she said not. Suddenly he started to say, changing from Russian to Ukrainian, "Now I am going to speak Ukrainian. What kind of Hotel Ukraina is it that there are no apples here?" I interrupted him and asked whether he was Ukrainian, and he said he was from Zhytomyr. He continued in Ukrainian, "We in the Ukraine have apples, pears, and all other fruits, but here in the Hotel Ukraina you don't have them. What kind of Ukraine is this?"

A charwoman who was cleaning around the bar interrupted and said, "Don't tell me about the Ukraine. I know you Ukrainians." The man from Zhytomyr asked her whether she had ever been in the Ukraine, and the woman said she had been there in 1943. The man remarked that that was a different story because it was under the occupation, but she continued complaining that she was sorry she went there. She said she knew "that that Ukraine news." The man from Zhytomyr started telling her something which I did not catch, but at the same time the barmaid cautioned him that I was a foreigner and that I could understand what they were talking about. They quit the conversation.

When the man from Zhytomyr departed, I approached him and asked him, "What's a man in the Ukraine?" I started a conversation with him, but he expressed his opinions in accord with the Soviet official line. When some other people gathered, he changed to Russian again. Some of the people joined in the conversation, which continued for some time and finally ended at about 2 a.m.

VIII. Conversations with Taxi Drivers and with Miscellaneous Individuals and Groups:

The topics with these groups and individuals were usually the U-2 incident, life in America, and so forth. They always asked why the U-2 incident occurred and were convinced that there is a ruling group in America which does this sort of thing, but that the Americans as a whole do not want war. I did not notice any resentment toward Americans when the conversations touched the problem of freedom. I gave an argument about our free press in America. They usually could not understand this. They thought that the American press is directed by some ruling group and that the press is decisive in elections and in other matters. I told them how President Truman was elected in spite of the fact that about 70 per cent or more of the American press took a stand against him, supporting Dewey. They could not possibly understand this.

SECRET

SECRET

-66-

When they said that in the Soviet Union the people also elected their government, I usually used one argument after which they remained silent and could not give me an answer: "If that is true, that you elect your government, then it must be true that you elected Stalin. What about it?"

Another question which was commonly discussed was the question of discrimination against Negroes in America. To this I gave the following explanation: "It is not discrimination on the part of the American Government. There might be some discrimination from individual people and from some groups, even from the local governments elected by these groups, particularly in the South. The Federal Government, however, is against this practice, and there is a ruling of the Supreme Court against discrimination. On the other hand, that is something which is a matter of individual choice, whether or not one wants to associate or live with Negroes." I also told them about Negroes driving Cadillac cars and about how I went to high school and college with Negroes. I explained that there is a good and a bad element among them and that the fact that the Negroes fought in the American armed forces during the war shows that what is written about this problem in the Soviet Union is not true.

The question of unemployment I answered in this way: "There is some unemployment in America. It is the result of a free economy which has periods of transition during which unemployment appears. This is the result of fluctuations in the economy of the country. It is a fact that some people want individual unemployment benefits, and as soon as they can get them, they voluntarily stop working. There is seasonal unemployment, and seasonal workers do not look for continued employment. Instead, they register as unemployed. Students who have just graduated from school register as unemployed while looking for jobs. Some people could get employment in another locality, but they do not want to move.

I asked them if they had people looking for jobs, and they usually had to admit that people look for jobs for months. I explained that in the United States such people would be registered as unemployed, whereas in the Soviet Union they would not be registered as such, and there were many of them.

At the airport in Moscow before leaving for Kiev, I met a construction engineer, about forty years old, who said that he was a Ukrainian, but explained his not using the Ukrainian language well. He complained that what he earns is not enough to support his family (he was poorly dressed). He was very much interested in life in America, what people earned, and how much one could buy for his money. He asked me questions in this respect.

SECRET

SECRET

-67-

When I brought up the problem of freedom, he could not imagine how a free press could exist and how anyone could criticize the government. I tried to discuss the problem of Stalin and the post-Stalin period, but many people were in the vicinity, and he gave me a sign with the expression on his face and in his eyes that he should not talk about it.

In the place from Moscow to Lviv, I met a young Russian about twenty-four years old who had graduated from high school and was working in industry in Lviv. He asked me about the life in the West. I was very sleepy and tired, but he would not stop asking new questions, to which I had to give him answers. He was interested in the social and economic situation, about the standard of living, about freedom, about disarmament. On the last subject he wanted to have some explanations and did not show any attitude of agitating to the contrary.

IX. Conversations with Young Men on the Streets of Lviv, September 1960:

In the evening a group of three young men, aged twenty to twenty-four, stood on the street and talked in Ukrainian. I approached them, introduced myself as a tourist from America who did not know anybody in the city, and they showed interest in talking with me. They said that they were local Ukrainians who had graduated from high school and were working in the bus factory in Lviv. As far as America was concerned, they were interested in everything--what people earned, what they could buy with their money, how much a car costs, if there is unemployment, about Ukrainians in America. They were not the standard Sovietized type. They were very much like the kind of people one could meet anywhere in the West. They made jokes about "Mikita" and about the Soviet's overtaking America. (Note: I never can remember jokes and have forgotten this one.) This conversation did not last long, only about forty minutes. It was very cold and drizzling.

X. Conversation in a Restaurant in Lviv with a Russian and a Lithuanian, September 1960:

In the Intourist restaurant I joined two people sitting at a table. One was a young Russian from Vladivostok, and the other a Lithuanian, both about twenty-five years old. The Lithuanian was better dressed and gave the impression of being a tourist from a satellite country in his appearance. At the beginning, when I introduced myself as an American, the Russian looked at me astutely and did not want to get involved in a conversation. I remarked that in Vladivostok he must be close to America. He remarked, "Very close, very close to American planes too." The Lithuanian kept to the official Soviet line in general, but he liked to

SECRET

SECRET

-68-

Listen to the arguments the Russian used to counter my questions. He just smiled. The Lithuanian said that at the present time there is more freedom in the Soviet Union than under Stalin and that more Lithuanian is being taught in schools. When I remarked that prior to the war everything was in Lithuanian in Lithuania, he did not argue and admitted that this was true. When we started talking about the Baltic states that became a part of the Soviet Union, the Russian stated that the incorporation was voluntary and that the people wanted it. I argued that it was done by the occupation of the Red Army. The Lithuanian smiled, and the Russian said, "The Baltic shores are too dear for us to give them up." The Lithuanian asked if there were not Lithuanian embassies abroad that were still recognized, and I explained that situation.

XI. Conversations with Young People on the Street in L'viv, September 1960:

About 9 p.m. I approached a group of five young men, approximately twenty to twenty-eight years old, who were standing on the street, and talked with them in Ukrainian. I again introduced myself as an American, and we started a long discussion, touching on the problems of American standards of living, unemployment, and so forth. This group was later joined by a girl and a man who worked in the theater. When we talked about unemployment, they told me that many people were going to the Virginia lands to earn some money there because wages were higher than at home. Then they came back and live on that money for some time. When speaking about the Russification and about KRAVCHIV's article, they agreed that Russification is the policy of the party. Some of them expressed some skeptical views about it. When I started giving some examples from the Soviet press, they were surprised that I knew so much about it. They said, "How is it that you are from America and you know so much about what is written here?" I explained why we have read the Soviet-Ukrainian press and that it is one of our main sources of information. They wondered how it was possible that the Soviet papers could be obtained in America and how it was possible that Pereda and Tymoshyn could be bought on the streets of New York and in other American cities. They asked questions about the death of Bandera and expressed the conviction that it was done by the Soviets. After a while two men and the girl left, and I took a walk with the three remaining men. On the way another man joined us, and the man with whom I was walking said, "That is one of us," so I should not hesitate or be afraid. This man was about twenty-six years old and an engineer. He was a very intelligent man, very well informed about international affairs and knew the English language pretty well. The other two men were young engineers who had recently graduated. This man who joined us dominated the discussion.

SECRET

SECRET

-69-

He criticized American policy, but not from the point of view of the Soviet official line. There was a great difference. He and the others accepted the U-2 flight as a natural thing which should be done, but they criticized the performance. He said that he listened to the Voice of America and to other stations. His impression was, as in the case of the U-2 incident, that there is no co-ordination used in the American Government. Otherwise, how could it be that there was no one statement and no one stand concerning this matter? How could the American Government have stated in one instance that they did not know anything about the flights, and then after a while, admit that there was a plane on weather reconnaissance? Then how could the President admit that intelligence is the national policy of America? This has had effects on the people who listen. I corrected him in the last statement, saying that the President did not say that intelligence was a national policy of America. He agreed that he might have overdone it a little in this respect, but he insisted that his criticism was right.

We walked further on side streets where there were no people. I asked him for his opinion on the situation in the Ukraine, about the younger generation, and so forth. He said that the official policy is one of Russification and that the situation is not very promising at the present time. He said that after the underground was crushed, there developed an inertia among the Ukrainian population. The people, he said, do not see any factor in the Ukraine on which they can rely and from which they can get hope. On the one hand, people do not know what to do, and on the other, they are afraid. The result is a kind of inertia and stagnation. For the immediate future the people do not have any hope. They cannot foresee any changes; therefore, they are passive politically. He asked me the question, "What do you think can be done?" I expressed my point of view about utilizing the legal possibilities, but he did not entirely agree with me. He said that at the present time there are no people in the higher echelons who could do the work in line with this policy. He said that there was a kind of expectation among the people from KHRUSHCHENKO, and some people were saying, "Now that we have one Ukrainian on the top, maybe he will do something."

The people with whom I talked wondered why a certain number of Ukrainians from Canada and America were coming back to the Ukraine. They did not know that there exists a group of so-called progressives, and I had to explain this fact to them. They did not give any suggestions as to what could be done in the emigration to help the situation. They were all favorably disposed to the underground, although some of them expressed some criticism toward some of the methods used by the Ukrainian underground.

SECRET

SECRET

-70-

During the conversations they also said that the Ukrainians in Lviv were becoming a little more unafraid. During the Stalin period everyone was afraid of a Russian or a Communist, but now they said, "We give them some times so that they will remember."

XII. Conversation Overheard Between a Soviet Captain of Artillery and a Civilian on the Train from Lviv to Uzhgorod, September 1960:

They talked about the events after the war in the Western Ukraine. The captain commented on the activities of the underground, about fear of the Soviet Army, and about the resistance to the Army. They also discussed the numbers of bunkers built and used by the underground in their particular area. They stated that even at the present time the local population is afraid of them (the Soviet military) and that they lock their doors when the military approach the houses.

XIII. Conversation with Students in the Garden of the University of Uzhgorod, September 1960:

In the garden of the university I tried to approach three students, but I was not very successful in my approach. One of the students was obviously a Soviet agitator. He said that he was an atheist and knew pre-war Hungary. We discussed the problems of religion and freedom. He used the typical language of a Soviet agitator. When I mentioned that even if we did not agree, we should discuss problems, he retorted, "With some people it is no use to become involved in discussions because it can be seen from their faces who they are."

XIV. Conversation with a Colonel and a Lieutenant Colonel in the Intourist Restaurant in Uzhgorod, September 1960:

During dinner two uniformed men, one a colonel and one a lieutenant colonel of the Border Troops, approached my table and asked if they could take the remaining seats. They were wearing field uniforms and map cases and started talking about their duties in the service. They mentioned the cities of Smolir and Rovno, where they had been recently. They also talked about a reception they had with their general. They ordered vodka and so did I. I raised my glass and asked them to drink to friendship and peace, adding that I was an American. They were very startled, saying that they did not know they had a guest like me at their table. The lieutenant colonel, about thirty-five years old, tried a few words in English. The colonel, about fifty years old, asked why I had come to the Soviet Union. It was somewhat characteristic that at the beginning of our conversation, they expressed some feeling which could be interpreted

SECRET

SECRET

-71-

as an inferiority complex. They said that we in the West laugh at them because they are "Mushiks," but they are going to prove that this is not so. Their sciences are growing, and finally, they are proving to the West what they really are. We touched on the U-2 incident, and they wanted to know the reason for it. They said that such a thing could bring about a war, and they, as military men, knew what war meant. I replied that the reason for this was the secrecy which surrounds the Soviet Union and gave them the example of Hitler, who surprised the world, the Soviet Union included, by starting a war. We in America do not want such a thing as this to happen again, and we do not want it to happen to us as it happened to the Soviet Union in 1941, at which time the German tanks were in the vicinity of Moscow. They replied that the Soviet Union is not and never was an aggressor, to which I remarked that I knew that they and the people did not want a war but that one cannot be so sure about the government.

Another Soviet colonel in civilian cloths joined us. He was probably retired. Most of the time he just listened and did not participate in the conversation. We continued the conversation about the U-2, and they commented, "How would Americans feel if a Soviet plane would fly over America?" I replied that in the first place, this is not necessary because the Soviets have many spies in the West, including America. Secondly, most of the things which are secret in the Soviet Union are not secret in America, that is, papers in America write about these things, about military bases, about the location and launching of rockets, and often the launching of rockets is witnessed by correspondents and reporters. Therefore, a reconnaissance plane over America is not necessary for the Soviet Union.

They saw that they could not expect much in this direction and said that we should disarm. I agreed, but added that controls are necessary. Here they introduced an official Khrushchev line, saying that first an agreement on disarmament should be made and then controls should be discussed. I gave them the following example: "You sit here with your hands on the table, and I know that you have nothing in them. I join you with one hand behind my back, and you do not know what I have in my hand behind my back." After that example they agreed that we should have disarmament and controls at the same time. I said that is still not enough because when we agree on disarmament, we should agree on controls, and experts in this field should mutually agree on the kind and amount of controls. There should be a mutual assertion that while disarming, control commissions on both sides would supervise such disarmament, so that we would be mutually convinced that our hands are clean. They saw that I was right and did not want to continue the discussion in this direction.

SECRET

SECRET

-72-

They asked the question, "Why did you arm yourselves in the first place?" I said that we did it for one simple reason. After the war we disarmed and maintained an army of about one-half million. At that time the Soviet Union had an army of four million. "And how do you know it?" they asked. That is an established fact. Zinukov admitted that and everybody knows about it. At that time, when the Soviet Union armed and we disarmed, they started the Berlin Blockade, the Greek Crisis, which initiated the Truman Doctrine, and finally, the Korean War. These facts convinced us that we have to arm.

They said, "Why should you be afraid of us? We never started a war." I pointed out Finland, Poland, and so forth. To Poland they replied that they did not attack it, they only liberated Western Ukraine and Belorussia. I mentioned that when the war with Hitler started, Molotov made a pact with Hitler. They then asked, "Why so many rocket bases around the Soviet Union?" I said they are a safeguard. The rockets might rust on the launching pads, but once the Soviet Union starts a war, they will fall directly on Moscow. They knew that if American troops were not in Europe, they could reach the Atlantic in a matter of hours, and then we would have to start another Normandy. They seemed to approve of my estimate, and they smiled.

They switched the conversation to American generals and said that the generals are connected with big business and that in America the generals come only from rich families. I disagreed and told them how it works. I mentioned West Point, an academy which produces a large number of future generals, and said that I myself applied to West Point and that only for physical reasons could not be accepted. They asked how I knew about the organization of the American army, and I replied, "Everyone knows. It is written about, and there is no secret about it." I asked them what kind of military academies they had, but they would not discuss it.

We then discussed problems of religion and atheism and then Shevchenko. The colonel, who said he was a Ukrainian, mentioned a few titles of political poems (Don, Kavkaz) and asked me if I had read them. There was also a discussion about freedom in general, of the press, of speech, and finally, of the election system. They said that their people elect their leaders, to which I replied that Stalin must have been elected by the people for about thirty years. They did not say a word to this, but four young men sitting at the next table who heard this discussion were looking at me with approval. We had a lot of vodka during this discussion, and we talked in fairly loud voices. During this discussion they did not particularly counter my arguments, and they did not use an agit-prop

SECRET

SECRET

-73-

approach in any way. Often the younger officer covered his mouth with his hand and said something to the colonel which I did not hear, but they would smile. At one point the colonel took out his party card from his pocket and showed it to me. I wanted to take it from him and look at it closer, but he would not let me. Once, when we talked about discrimination, the younger officer said that he was Jewish, and that in spite of that, he had achieved his rank. At all times during the conversation, I had the feeling that everyone was enjoying himself, with the exception of one instance when I told them a joke. (There is no Investiya in Pravda, and no Pravda in Investiya.) After I told this joke, everyone was stone-faced. When we finally parted, they said that I was a bad polemicist, but a skilled disputant who knows much and always gives one an answer. I added that we should discuss, but we should not fight. The colonel said that he earned 5,000 rubles a month.

XV. Conversation in the Intourist Office in Uzhgorod, September 1960:

At the Intourist office I met a man who said he was from the Donbas. We got involved in an agit-prop discussion on war planes and so forth. He said that among American tourists there were many spies. Recently there was an incident in the Uzhgorod area concerning an American who proposed to a farmer that the American live with him or give him his own car in exchange for secret military information, but the farmer reported it to the authorities.

XVI. Conversation in the Hotel Ukraina in Kiev, September 1960:

After supper a man, about forty years old, joined me at my table. He was a Russian. We started a conversation. He said that he had been in the army during the war and that he studied afterwards in the evenings to become a mining engineer. He said he does not earn much and works hard. Nevertheless, he is very much for the Soviets. He praised Stalin very much and commented that in recent times Stalin has been blamed, that this is not right, that Stalin was a great ruler, and that only thanks to him has socialism been achieved. I argued with him about the price paid for these achievements, the famine, the deportations, and that Stalin himself said to Churchill that the collectivization cost him ten million lives, but the Russian was not convinced. He said that this was not Stalin's fault, that the lower echelons of the party were too eager to fulfill the plans, and that even Stalin cautioned them. I said that Stalin knew about the famine, but nothing was done to remedy the situation. Even foreign aid for the famine-stricken areas was refused. Stalin and his associates proclaimed that there was no famine whatsoever, but Soviet statistics show that at that time of famine the Soviet Union exported

SECRET

SECRET

-74-

grain to the English in exchange for machinery. He still defended Stalin, saying that Stalin won the war and that only because of him was the Soviet Union saved.

He also remarked that I had probably heard about Khrushchev's speech denouncing Stalin. He thought this speech was out of taste and that it was very bad manners to say that Stalin was not a strategist and so on.

In the meantime we left the restaurant and walked in the streets. We had had a few drinks. The conversation touched the Vlasov Affair. The Russian said that Vlasov was a traitor and a Ukrainian. I explained that Vlasov was a Russian general who surrendered to the Germans with his units at the Moscow front and that later on during his political activity in Germany, he was against Ukrainian national aspirations. At this time a militia man walked over to us. I approached him and said, "Tell us please, was Vlasov a Russian or a Ukrainian?" The militia man did not say anything and walked away. By this time it was late, so we parted.

This incident was the only time I met a convinced Stalinist. He was not very well-to-do, just a common man, but I felt that he spoke out of deep conviction.

XVII. At a Ukrainian Home in Lviv, September 1960:

I met there a student, about twenty-six years old. He expressed the view that the Ukrainians should not expect to be liberated by anyone. They should rely only on themselves. He told me that at his institute there are often discussions among the students on political topics concerning the situation in the Ukraine.

XVIII. Information from Other Individuals:

The policy of the Soviets in Western Ukraine is one devised on the lines of divide and rule. Jealousy is being nurtured even toward those who receive packages from America and Canada. There are many informers in each village.

There was a war scare after the U-2 incident.

The economic situation in the villages has worsened during the last year. People are asked to work more, and the food situation has deteriorated. The same could be said about Lviv, where queues for fat and meat are an everyday occurrence.

SECRET

SECRET

-75-

Those who have returned from camps, prisons, and other places of deportation are under constant watch. Some people who received permission to return could not stay in places of their former residence because demonstrations had been organized against them. They were told that they were not wanted. They had to go back to Asia or to other places.

In Lviv University Library there are photostats of American magazines such as Geophysical Abstracts, Chemical Abstracts, and Radio and Electronics on the shelves. The reason that they are in photostatic form was explained by the people in the library as follows: One or two original copies of such magazines are being subscribed to by Moscow. Photostatic copies are made and sent out to libraries and institutions, thus saving money on subscriptions.

Many people listen to Voice of America broadcasts. Three individuals and a group of young men in Lviv all agreed on one point: The people in the Soviet Union do not and cannot believe information on the American high standard of living because it is so amazing. They consider it American propaganda by the American Government. A Ukrainian intellectual complained that Voice of America broadcasts only news and material achievements and neglects completely Ukrainian national and political problems, the nationality policy of the Communist Party, Russification, and so forth.

SECRET

SECRET

Interview with the Representative
of the Ukrainian Radio in Lviv

The girl from Intourist mentioned the name of the man who interviewed me, but I have forgotten it. He was a young man, 30-35 years of age, with black hair combed to the back of his head, about 5 feet 6 inches tall, black eyes, dark complexion, a round face, and very fast and talkative. For the first few times he addressed me, he used the name "Mr. Kravtsiv", but he excused this as a slip of his tongue. In the preliminary discussion after the girl left, I told him that the purpose of my visit was not tourism, but that I was interested in some research and study and that I did not agree with the Soviet political system. To this he replied that it was all right and that it would be even more interesting for his listeners. Because I was not a common tourist, he always addressed me as "Mr.". From his accent and behavior, I assumed that he was a Western Ukrainian. He asked me to start right away without any preliminary preparation and started the tape recorder.

Question: Mr. O, tell the people of Lviv who you are, where you are from, and what your impressions of Lviv are.

Answer: I am an American who was born in the Ukraine in the Stryi area, but as a young boy, I emigrated to the United States. I am a student at Georgetown University in Washington. I have a tourist visa, but I came to the Soviet Union to do research work in libraries and to interview people of the local governments. This work is needed for my dissertation.

Question: Have you seen anybody from the local administration? Did they give you the information you required, or did they make some difficulties for you?

Answer: I do not think they made difficulties. There were some difficulties with the Oblvykonkom, but I understand that they are faced with the harvest season. I have only been to the Rayvykonkom. My time is limited because I was permitted only five days stay in Lviv.

Question: What are your impressions of Lviv, of the city and of the people? What in your opinion are the positives and the negatives?

Answer: I have noticed some material progress. I have noticed that some people are better dressed than in previous years and that Lviv is expanding. But compared with last year, I noticed some negative things, such as some shortages of fat, meat, and so forth. Lviv is, in my opinion, very much like Vienna as far as architecture is concerned. There are nice girls and prettily dressed girls.

SECRET

SECRET

-77-

Question: What about negative things?

Answer: I do not share your views about your political structure. You have much less freedom than we have.

Question: But wait a minute, Mr. O. Specifically, what do you mean "less freedom?"

Answer: For example, I was limited to stay in Lviv only for five days, and we in America do not have such limitations. I could not go to other cities such as Stryi. Furthermore, Soviet papers are available in New York. You can buy them in stores and see them in libraries. Here you do not have foreign papers available to anybody.

Question: You live in the capitalist system, and you have exploitation by the monopolies. Is that not so?

Answer: It is not so as your press reports it. The monopolies are under the control of the federal laws, and there is a tendency to limit monopolies. America exports only 4 per cent of its products and the market for its industry is mainly in the United States.

Question: And which system is going to win?

Answer: God knows. I think that after a while the socialist and capitalist systems will come closer together and that there will be some kind of a compromise. Your system will come closer to our system and will become more free economically and politically.

Question: But in our country all people support the communist system, and nobody wants to return to capitalism and czarism.

Answer: You are right, but you present only two alternatives: communism and czarism. I think that we could have a third alternative: a social system with more freedom in the political and economic aspects.

Question: In spite of all, we believe in the victory of communism.

Answer: Because you are dogmatists. You have a dogma, but we do not have such an all embracing doctrine which gives the answer to all the questions. We have all kinds of philosophy which try to give the solution to different questions. We are seeking different ways of solution, and we do not pretend to have absolute truth in this respect.

Question: So that means that you do not know where you are going.

SECRET

SECRET

-78-

Answer: We know very well, but no one individual and no one philosophical concept could give answers to all the complicated questions of life, and the life gets more and more complicated. No system gives an exhaustive answer to all the questions.

Question: We went very far in our discussions. Tell us please, what are your plans for the future?

Answer: I will go to Kiev and from there to Vienna and fly-back home.

Question: And finally, what do you have to say to the Ukrainians in Lviv?

Answer: I am very happy that I had the opportunity to visit Lviv and to see how the Ukrainians live here. I extend my personal greetings and those from all the Ukrainians in America to the Ukrainians in Lviv. I wish them success in their work.

Question: Thank you, Mr. O.

After stopping the machine, he said that we did this interview very well, and it was very good that we had had such a nice talk and that he had not expected that it would turn out so profitable. I asked that I be informed about the time and date of the broadcast so that I would have a chance to listen to it. He promised with pleasure. He said that he thought this interview would be broadcast in a couple of days and that he would inform the Intourist and the Intourist would inform me in Kiev about the date and time. He said that the interview would need a little editing.

I asked him if I could get a copy of the tape, which would be a nice souvenir for me. He promised to send it out to me and ask for my address in Washington, which I gave to him. He then asked if I had some American postal stamps. I said that I did not, but I showed him some post cards from New York. He selected three, thanked me for them, said he was in a hurry, and left. The whole interview and conversation lasted one hour, from ten to eleven o'clock in the morning.

SECRET

SECRET

Interview with Representative of the Ukrainian Radio in Kiev,
Yuryi Olexandrovych KALINOVSKYI
(See Annex 2)
20 September 1960

Shortly after I agreed by telephone to give him the interview, he came to my room carrying a tape recorder. First, we had a preliminary discussion. He asked me who I was, where I was from, and what the purpose of my visit was. I gave him the answers. Step by step, the conversation changed to a debate concerning our understanding of freedom and other similarly controversial subjects. I emphasized to him that I was a so-called progressive Ukrainian and did not share the views officially prevailing in the Soviet Union about the social and political structure in the USSR. He asked me for different kinds of points in this respect. We touched on the problem of Stalin and the elections in America and in the USSR. He said that in the Soviet Union the people also elect their government, to which I answered with one of the most effective arguments I have learned from previous discussions of this sort. I said that it is so that your people in the Soviet Union elect their government, so it must be a fact that the people elected Stalin. I added that in America Stalin would not be possible. He was confused and did not know what to answer. He looked very unhappy. He did not actually know whether or not he should do this interview with me, and he asked me if I would still do the interview. He probably thought that I would back out, but I answered that I would go through with the interview once I had agreed to it and that I would be very pleased to go along with him. He started the tape recorder and the interview began.

Question: Mr. O, please tell the Ukrainians of Kiev something about yourself, what the purpose of your visit is, and what impressions you have of Kiev.

Answer: I came as a tourist with the purpose of doing research for my dissertation on the local organs of Soviet government. I am a student of Georgetown University. I have been to Moscow, Lviv, Uzhgorod, and Kiev. I had an interview at the Rayvykonkom. I was in the Ukraine last year and participated in the Vienna Festival, but I wanted once again to see the Ukrainian cities, particularly Kiev.

Question: Did you notice any material progress since you last visited Kiev?

Answer: Yes, I noticed that the people are somewhat better clothed, but there are still insufficiencies in textiles, and the standard is still far behind that of America. I saw that girls wore better clothes, some in the Western fashion to a degree. I saw girls in sweaters in the Ukraine. I saw bleached blonds and French twists in Moscow and Lviv, but more in Kiev.

SECRET

SECRET

-80-

Note: I purposely went into this to try to avoid more emphatic issues for the sake of saving the interviewer some discomfort.

Question: Very well about the girls, but tell us something more about the progress and the people. What did you observe about their life?

Answer: In the cities they live better, but in the country not so well.

Question: How do you know that?

Answer: I have had conversations with farmers, peasants, and workers.

Question: And they told you that?

Answer: Yes, and I must add that in the cities I noticed some shortages. For example, in Lviv I noticed long queues for butter and meat, but in Kiev I did not see these shortages.

Note: About this time I made the remark that I had noticed that a campaign was being conducted to catch up with America. I said that we all are very happy about it and that we believe that the material standard will rise quickly. I also said that I would be even happier if they would try catching up with America in the realm of freedom. My interviewer was very much aroused by this.

Question: How can you say such things as we do not have freedom? Please give some examples.

Answer: First, we can buy your papers and publications in our bookstores and at our newsstands, but our papers and publications are not allowed for the public here. Second, we listen without restrictions to your radio broadcasts, but our radio broadcasts are jammed by you. Third, our tourists go en masse to the Soviet Union, and ten thousand, I guess, have already come from America this year. We should like for the amount of your tourists to match the amount of ours.

Question: How do you like our system of education? You know that in our country the people study without paying. In your country the students probably have to pay for their education, so that only the rich ones can afford it.

Answer: Yes, I noticed that in the schools here many young people attend and that is a positive thing. However, I also noticed that the emphasis here is on physical and technical sciences, that social sciences are neglected.

Question: How come? What do you mean, "neglected"?

SECRET

Answer: You profess only one ideology. You have only one all-embracing doctrine which you believe gives the answer and solution to all the problems. We are engaged in a broad and expansive search for new solutions of problems which the present time places before us. Americans emphasize the great development of economic studies in the West, and this discipline is neglected in your country to the extent that even your communists have recognized this fact recently and have asked for more studies in the field of the so-called capitalist economics. We have also made great progress in the study of sociology and psychology.

Question: But why is it that in your schools you have to pay for education?

Answer: We pay only for college education. Primary and secondary education is without pay. We have a different system of education, and we do not have the Ministry of Education. Our federal government does not mix or intervene in our educational system. We have different school systems in different states. Our universities, each one of them, is a private institution of itself which raises its own funds and develops its own system of education for instruction. If an individual does not like the system of one university, he is free to go to another or to pick a college to his liking.

Question: And when the owner of a university decides to close the school, then the students will be out on the street.

Answer: That is not so. We do not have owners of universities. There are boards of trustees and professors who are interested in the existence of their institution. In America we have over a thousand colleges, so that even if one of them is closed for some reason, it is still possible for all interested in education to have one. Many of our students work during the day and study at night. I myself am one of these. I work in the Library of Congress and study at night. Our students are convinced that once the federal government is the sole source of funds for the universities, the government is then controlling the educational system. Once the government provides the money, it will also provide the requirements.

Question: And what government in the world takes more care of the children than ours?

Answer: We have a different attitude and our thinking is different. We leave the initiative to the individual, and we are convinced that he is able to take care of himself and to solve his own problems without the control of the central government. Only in such cases when individuals or communities are not able or do not have the possibility of solving their own problems does the central government give a helping hand. This is our notion of freedom.

SECRET

-82-

Question: How do Ukrainians live in America? Tell us something about it.

Answer: They are pretty well organized. They publish Ukrainian literature. The number of university professors of Ukrainian decent is increasing, and this trend has been growing since the mass political emigration after World War II.

Question: Oh, but I know that there are many nationalist bandits who committed crimes here.

Answer: Excuse me, but you cannot talk in that way about Ukrainians even when they are nationalists and have different attitudes or convictions from you. If they are bandits, they should be named and brought to courts of justice. Could you, for example, call Professor SHEVELOV, aka SHEREKH, a former professor of Kharkov University and at the present time a professor at Columbia University in New York, a bandit?

Question: I do not think that I consider SHEVELOV a bandit. I did not have him in mind.

Answer: Do you think that OSMACHKA, a Ukrainian poet who was imprisoned, deported, and almost by a miracle escaped, could be called a bandit because he does not share your views?

Question: (The interviewer took an evasive attitude.) No, I did not have such people in mind. I was thinking about those who killed people including women for supporting the Soviet government. We should leave this subject. This will not be transcribed and broadcasted.

And what is your impression of the people here? Isn't it true that they are gay and full of life? Did you notice this?

Answer: Yes, I noticed this, particularly among the youth. This is a prerogative of the youth, who always have a hope for the better future, and particularly the students who are not in everyday life involved in the industry and who live in the sphere of their leaders.

Question: Finally what else could you tell the Ukrainians of Kiev?

Answer: I want to convey my personal greetings and the greetings of the Ukrainians in America, and I want to wish them success in their work.

The interviewer turned off the tape recorder. He thanked me for the opportunity of interviewing me. I also expressed my thanks and remarked that I did not consider myself such a popular individual as to be interviewed. I

SECRET

SECRET

-83-

asked him for a copy of the tape. He said that he would get one for me with pleasure. He will have a copy made in the near future and will send it to me.

SECRET

SECRET

COMMENTS OF THE BRIEFER

This operation must be considered a successful one. Considering that Subject was very strongly cautioned about his activities inside the Soviet Union and briefed accordingly, he showed much initiative in all the tasks he was assigned. In this respect he:

1. established contact with Soviet citizens where ever the opportunity arose--in hotels, in the streets, and in Soviet establishments;
2. re-established contacts with individuals known to him from his previous trips to the Soviet Union;
3. paid visits to Soviet officials in connection with his study plans, as well as to personalities of Soviet Ukrainian culture and science;
4. tried to obtain information on general and specific intelligence requirements;
5. participated in two tape recording interviews for the Ukrainian Radio in Lviv and Kiev which were not initiated by him, but occurred for reasons which cannot be immediately and fully explained. The probably explanation is that he was considered either a progressive or at least as having sympathies which could be exploited by the Soviet propaganda.

Comparing Subject's two trips to the Soviet Union, there was not much difference as far as normal tourist movements were concerned. In connection with the newly introduced pension plan for tourists, it was advantageous for the reason that Intourist did not pay much attention to the low-budget tourist. In busy places like Moscow, Kiev, and even Lviv, the Intourist employees seemed to be happy that they were dropping some of the burden from their shoulders.

As far as contacts and conversations were concerned, there was not much difference from last year, except that in some instances it seemed as though people were somewhat more cautious and probably a little more afraid. It was Subject's feeling that he could have made some personal operational contacts if he had been so briefed. His general feeling was that he had been cautioned a little too much. On the other hand, the briefing on security led him to discover Soviet surveillance.

SECRET

SECRET

-85-

In connection with FI briefings, it was Subject's feeling that pictures should have been provided which would have enabled him to recognize targets at first glance.