TALKS OF DR M. WITH LEV TH TO RESTO, WHADA ON 13 & 16 JEANNY

1. The talks were arranged by L. TOLOPKO of Now York, N. Y. who informed by

phone Dr Kl en 13 Dec 1964 eround 17.00 hrs that Lev would like to see her in Toronto, Canada as he cannot come to Heu Mork. TOLOTHO gave Dr Kl a telephone number in Toronto (LE 4-8635) explaining that Lev was not obeying together with the Joviet Ukrainien grop in hotel but at a private address. Dr Kl when making the phone cell in Toronto should ask for "Holona".

As Dr Kl esceptained later on in conversation with Lev "Melena" was Holona UKNITENA of "Ukraineka Elyptica" of Toronto. Lev himself-was staying in King Edward Sheraton Motel together with the group sharing a room with KOCHENGA Vladimir Tvanovich figuring officially as a reviewer of "Emmiye"—Sowiety. She had no need to phone Helona as she contacted Lev at the King Edward Sheraton Hotel through BON Michael , an American Express Tour Escept. Dr Kl was staying at the King Edward Sheraton too and the talks took place in her room in presence of her companion Evo. They lasted about 3 hours or so during two days, with interruptions, as Lev had all Mindsof businesses to attend in the noentine.

During conversation Lov made some notes, asked Dr Kl whether she had herself chosen the ream, "looked at walls and celling from time-to-time" as though to make sure whether they were not overheard, and asked her also not mingle or even great when coming across other numbers of the Soviet group. The latter "wish? turned out impossible because when Dr Kl met VILDE and some other people in the elevator she could not but to say at least helle to them and they reciprocated. And DOBROVOLSKYI without a ying a word when bumping on her at the door simply "greated" her with quite a strong twist on her elbow. It was shower, obvious to Dr Kl that at least most of the group must have been instructed by Lev er Kolossova not to recognize Dr Kl.

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2. The first thing Lev told Dr Kl after expressing his gratefulness other their coming to Terento, and which emblance of pleasantries, was his explanation how he had got his American vice. According to Lev clearly effect his arrival in Noscou he discovered that his vice was refused. Hevertheless, this people" told him to wait in Noscou while they will try in the meantine to find some solution. The opportunity came even seemer than they expected. For reflects applied for Soviet visus and Lev's friends took advantage of them. The Jove told their American friends in the Embarsy that the visus for ten Americans will be issued provided Lev gots American visu. Americans agreed and Lev could join his group in Chicago, Ill.

3. Low wanted to know Dr Kl's appreisal of KOLOS OVA'S group, how did they perform, what was the reaction of the enigration aso. He was quite angry when Dr Kl told him that he had suggested to KOLOSKVA an interview with The New York Times and a TV Station but KOLOS OVA refused to do it.

Lev almost showted "how could she have done such a thing, this is just what we were after " aso. Dr Kl mentioned also that Dr LEVYTSKYI of New York wanted by all means to figure as the one who arranged the contact between Dr Kl and KOLOSCOVA. Low replied again quite emphatically that this was a complete nonconce because KOLOSC VA had to visit Dr Kl anyway and no intermediaties were necessary. Dr Kl ad ed that Dr LEVYTSKYI was also against the interviews with American press and refused to follow her advice not to publish " a cilly editorial" in "Kromadskyi Molos".

contacts with people like Lovytckyi TO OPKO. Gradually saising his "warming" he told Dr Kl that she should have nothing to do with KOLOSSOVA and the Permanent Massian of the Ukr S R in New York. Lov explained that NOLOS OVA, the Missian, TOLOPKO, LEVYTSKYI - was one line, and he (Lov) and his ergenization was the other. "Don't make any contacts with them that would require doing comothing for them on your part", were Lov's words.

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He continued: " If enyone asks you arything to do you just please say you have to think about it and first contact no. If they will invite you to the but limited or anywhere close you might go eventually for a few minutes/den't stay any longer. Den't do any business with KOLOSSOVA, Her field of activity is completely different than mine. Why should she (Kolossova) interfere in our you business. Kolossova might involve/in some "dirty business," and I den't want you to do that. My Organization handles cultural affairs only, we den't rush things, and you should remain in contact only with no.".

He added that she might eventually convey semething through the Missien or better directly by mail. In the first instance she should always stress that this for "the gentleman from Klev" (dle pane z Kyyeva) and add districtions are from "paneochly z Heu Yorku".

"We have more foresight - he continued - than Kolossova's organization. So don't have anything to do with people from her, the Missien, Tolopkos and Levytskis. Also be careful with people like Revai". On the other occasion when warning her of Levytskyi and Tolopko, Lev montioned REVAI again along the same line.

When discussing the natter of a trip to the Ulraine in May 1965,
Low stressed again that thetrip should be organized through him. He added
that he had no mensy to pay the trip but he warned Dr Kl not to accept any
money from KOLOSCOVA. " Of course - he said - I know that Kolossova has
money and she might to suggest to you to finance your trip by her organization, but phease don(t accept this offer. You will do much factor by
paying all with your own money".

4. Lev approclated very much what Dr Kl had done by arranging the meeting at Round Table Club in New York. Now it was of great importance to organize a trip of 10-15 representatives of emigration to Upraine.

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The group should include all kind of profe simple: economicts, historiens, doctors, lauyors, politicians, journalists, and by all meants a elergymen. Dr El should in advance submit the list of those pec, le and those who will be approved by him , can be sure that nothing happens to them willo they stay in Ukraine. Should the cituation change in the meantime , Lov would inform Dr Kl by saying only that the group better waits. She should not also ask him for any explanations in case comeone will be refused because this will be obvious from the refusal itchf that the individual concerned is persona non grota . The group will be treated in most generous way, they will be admitted overywhere they will desire to go, they will meet the highest party and government coholons in the Urraine and possibly in Moscov too. One thing he is cortainly planning to do is a necting and press conference in Moscow together with Ambassador Kohler . One condition the group will have to accept is to agree to make intervious wit Soviet press, radio, and television. Low doc not want them to approve of everything they will see. Just on the centrary - he wants tham to criticise the reality in the Ukraine as well, but in a proper, belanced manner, without usual emigro invectives and "argumentation". Low amplained the rationalou of arranging such a group. He was not interested in just another group A friendly to Soviet Utraine but in people who will procent in an objective , reasonable vey the former wellmooning decires and demands of enigration and by expressing them will help to improve new things in the Unraine. " We need your help, your objective critique of our reality in order to induce further changes to the better"- he continued . " We are doing much to improve the lot of Virginian people and we are going to do even more. You can bely us in much greater measure than you might roalize."

"Also in easo of Ukraimian Patrierchata you might do very much by sonding a priest who will be able to present his cale properly and skillfully".



As an emplo of how the enigre group should exitious confishions in Uraino he mortioned impulsions "ben't say there is an estimate of the inflication because three is mone but say that three are still resorteenings and deficiencies in using (perioden language. Don't say we are being an elwied, just say you want to hear more biredains..."

The group shoul come to the shaden in Pey 1965 to that they will have the experturity to visit colocia and talk to temphore, professore, and stalk to temphore.

while meeting foreign prove and Ambassador Mohler to Hoscou the enigros should not only criticise the citurtion in Utraine but also preise what there was positive. "In brief - be objective, belanced, and in such a very you will help those she want to help Utrainian people". " Mind you , many things that have changed in recent years, even shen you were those, including removal of Imagian imperitions ase was done thanks to the objective a linguo of people like you."

Lev precised the powerful forces of emigration, and strossed again that they can be of great help to them (in Ulreine) if properly used. As an emigration of "improper use" he mentioned the fact that the Ulreinian emigration "identifies us with Aussians, protes a grainat the presence of Ukraine in the United Nations, and denies that there is emything positive in the Ukraine at all."

On this occasion he also attacked Americans for refusing him visc.

"They let all kind of people but they dony a visa to no. Is it just because
I am interested only in Threinian affairs and in anignation ?"

- 5. Another retter in Ki should eventually now third: of is the Tabibitian of Unrainian Soviet printers in Her Tork. Of course, they in Mey would condenly classicists ", no modern kitsch . Again she should arrange it trough him and not Koloscova the Unrainian Plasion.
- 6. Leverhood by Al who are the poor to describe round the Normal Mable Club and those with when the maintains contact. In Al explained that being herealf



cutside of any political group she had friends in many political groups.

SHEN She described STANSEV Bugen as nowher of the CHE, MANTENEY Velentin as member of UNDP but she was not sure as to the latter if this was so,

EKHITAK , Mostyplay as an exployee of Prolog, MOSTHUK as the chairman of "Clove".

Lev asked who was at the Round Table Club neeting with levist interlocatuals and Dr Ki told him. He comented that "then actually there was no one as representative of Prolog". "No - was the answer - they were probably waiting for you to talk to but you failed to arrive " - Dr Ki added jokingly.

Lev wanted to know whether Prolog's group invalual wiched genwinely to develop cultural contacts between enigration and the people in the Ukraine.

Does she know what those people really think, what thinks Mr Lebed, did she ever have the chance to talk to kin?

Dr Kl replied that as far she can judge pby writings and expressions of Prologpeople they seem to be genuinely interested in contacts with Ukraine but she did not know personally Mr Lobed.

contacts with Ukraine, Lev said that he was worried, however, about one thing i.e. that origres night be interested only in "shortcut effects and results". Asked what he meant Lev answered that this was his impression that origres wantal only to have defectors and other "results" which in the long run would only harm Ukrainian cause". "We plan in the long run, we want well founded and substantial results, and such offects as defections, at the present time, would only harm the whole cause" - he added. "The same applies to your or rather their demands - if they want to get too much at once they will only harm the whole matter". "One has to ge slowly, be realistic, and be genuine in their desire to help Ukrainian people".

Low remarked that he was aware of the fact that the division of opinion about contacts with Urraine was present incide every emigre group and not between the groups as such. Even 2011 OUN was divided options subject and he

wondered why Danderiviai were absolving all the other groups for thair contacts with Soviet Sprainians "because we talk with them too". Lov asked Dr Kl. whether she know IMMAVSKII and SINISKO. She replied that the say once or twice LEHMANSIMI and SHETCHO. Lev said that he know about her moutings with LIKAVARI in Runich, Germmy , and achod her whether she was avero of negotiations going on new between Banderivisi and Helmykivtsi. Or Kl replied that the heard it for the first time. Lever leined to her that a part of Holnykivtol waats to write with Barkerivtel but the other wart is very much against it. The latter night breck off altegother and Holmykivtai were detually on the vergo of a new split. Lev wondered if any Melnyhivtsi who are gainst the fusion with Bandorivtsi would join ZP UNVR ? Dr KI replied that this all was quite now to her and she was simply flab ergasted by his revolutions. Lev remarked that this all was only in a developing status but he really wondered whether it right cone eventually so far that Helhykivtsi would be d. vided botween Banderivtsi and ZP UNVR. He also wanted to know whother Dr Ki linew the new leader of Holmykivtal - SHTUL-ZHDANOVYCH - and what was her opinion about him. In 12 replied that she not the gentleman once in England a four years ago but this was too shout an encounter to get him known.

7. Low school Or MI whether she know what Prolog was deing and who was employed there. Where do they get money from ? Again - are they really gonwingly interested in contacts with Urreine?

or II what what Prolog was publishing, who worked thereof she did not know about Mure vych), and as to the money - so probably from cort of foundation on this occasion she emplained how such mency could be obtained for various research projects and their the horself dues thinking of an interest with Urreing she can only repeat what she can before, and added that each Kader, Daria

defended her (Dr H1) in one of the crticles in <u>Authorist</u>, and Direinslyi



Comostijnyk printed her sporch in Hemi, Me.

Low said that he would approclate very much the she could find out whether he could need send no competent from the behalf and discuss with him the relevant hat ors. He would to know very much what "those people" really think about compacts with threams. Low can meet him either hore in Canada or in Europe, for instance in France or Italy but not in Meeters Germany.

Low could come eventually also to the States if he is or her friends could help him in obtaining view. Now if the respectantative of her Lobed would not be able to talk about everything at once he would like to meet him in Mentreal to start talking. He (Low) can always talk about cultural exchange and liston to origins! demands provided they—the Prolog—will not demand from him to flight for separation from Buscla and organize revolution. These two questions are undebatable but about mirror everything also have one always talk.

Of this occasion he stressed again that emigration could help "them" very much by being reasonable and moderate in its demands". " We need you to help us to awake the people in Ukraine - he continued - , One should not make responsible for everything the so called Hoscow. Don't forget there are too many too passive individuals among Ukrainlans who denot care about Ukrainlan matters and they are "greater Bussifiers" than the law ions themselves".

Referring again to Prolog, Lov emphasized that he was very been to meet someone from Mr L. "who would know what he is talkying about ".

Then changing suddenly the subject Lov asked whether Dr II met over KASHUBA.

She replied that she saw him together with LEHKAVSKYI in Munich. Lov smiled and said that he knew about it.

E. Dr Kl. asked Lov what they - in Klov - were ready to do to propere ground for eventual developments of contacts with emigration, particularly new, exter the removal of Khrushchev. Lov replied that backedly all was fine but of course some corrections and improvements will follow.

As to instinguistives policy, this problem to being now choose and in Moneous and he hoped the new line will be worked out in about two mentios. At the end of accurry 1965 they will know where they stand on this policy. He could not say what the cotton. The will be but he was core that not worse than the present course. Isburly, he was positive that it will be bottom as now were have even more our people in the Rewallin them ever before and they will never do anything hermant to their collegues in Throiner. Low added that this was not only like personal opinion but also that of his friends in Riov.

9. Lev asked Or II whother she not Netropolitan Slipyi. The said that she did and told him about her encounters with the Netropolitan in None before and after her trip to the Ukrine in 1963. He wanted to know what she was told by the Netropolitan. Or KI explained that the Netropolitan only listened to her and did not even convey his blessings to anybody. Lev sailed again and was very satisfied with what he heard. He said that he know very well about her nectings with the Netropolitan and he was happy she d d not conceal then before him.

Lev asked Or KI what did she and other catholics expect then (in Kiev) to do by agraing to the establishment of Ukreinian Petrierchate. The must understand the cannot open again all Acharches we have closed in the past". The also are some problems with orthodox Caracha churchs. We could eventually give the Netropolitan one or two charches both not what he descends".

urther on he aplained that as far as her was aware of all contacts or rather negotiations between the Metropolitan Slipyi and the Vatican on the one hand and the Mranian on the other were suspended in consequence of recent developments. If however Metropolitan JAMMI is ready to Asnew those negotiations he can arrange it. The will just writ for a word either from Dr 11 or Metropolitan can do it through schoons on the spot in Mane. He would also like to warn the Metropolitan that He should be very careful in his correspondence endwith dealing with all kind of youlds. "The new could on all sides are interested in what he is deing".

O OF SECRET Or El should also realize that there are also thateles limited and lerogatory to the Ulreinian Cathelic Chick . The Latter colleborated with Gorners , the Vations sent his agents to bill IMLAU; the Catholic Church imbood notive y the inderground, over Hatropolitica short, telyi cetivoly supported the Lepistereo.

Dr Ri roplis that she saw nothing wrong in all that and she did not believe the Vations sent its agente to 1411 Helan.

Tien, thethe your of thinn but that about Hotropelitan theptytaly: sending roports to Commune and corving than 4- sold have

Dr Mi felt of ended and told him that she as a former stipendist of the late Motropolitan will not permit to apport the in tremtof her. Lev was quite surprised, began to occuse limedi, he did not mean to efford her feelings aso. Then he added :"Dear Laria, you don't even recline what we got in our archives, it is not so as you think: ."

10. Low asked On II whether "the new trend" enoug asignante directed toward establishment of contacts with people in Utanine was really constiting *concreto*. He was saveid that under strombiaciss of other emigrents, those poorlo will give up. Reserver that they have no prose, no fineress, nothing capable to countervail the pressure and attaches of "conservative algebras $oldsymbol{u}_{oldsymbol{u}}$ To the new very loop of about the performance of Polograpia (peop relither and agreed with Break that , for instense, SCVA rade a feut-pes in Chicago by telling in outi-radigious joic. Det one has to have understanding for the poorla the case with H lesseve. This was just a probe, they had to say that they were told to. What could say for instance, such a ron os Karoshaladi ? No just repeated the fligures he was told in light to note in his notebook. On the other hand - cose ding to Dev - one should not pay to much subantion to such process, Lord important was to have a real tell with political egipration SECHET and this can of be done of the public meetings.

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That's why he wants so such to talk to representatives of individual political groups, and stressed egain her important it was to him to talk to compone from Mr Lebed. He asked by MI if anyone at all from that group talked to Miloscova. Dr MI replied that as for as she knew no one. "That's very good - he replied, and then corrects - I mean it's better this way". They should have nothing to talk with "clossova"." I understand, they containly could not talk with Moloscova".

Lev wented to know who will positively appraise Holo works tour in the States and in Canada. It is very important that there will be positive echo of all these meetings in the enigre proces. "Because if all will beat us and you prothing will come out, Some of our people will simply cay don't so where they want just to best you up."

emigration depended primarily on them, in Miev. If they make concething to show that matters in the biraine are being tutned to the better then this will special all those who supports the idea of contests with Ukraine. As an example she mentioned an eventual repudbtion of the concept of armalgametical of nations, introduction of Ukrainstian acc. "That's exactly - he reglied - why I want to talk to representatives of relitical groups to know what they actually iron want". Or Mi said that she cannot of course speck for anybody but berself and she understood his excitety to talk to those people. The will see what she can do.

Low mentioned again that it was very bad Dr Kl and her friends had no press to countered cell "Ovobode" and others "and we have no money".

"Molocove has of course planty of money but I wouldn't advise you to take any adventage of it" he added amilingly.

Low said again that he was not sure whether he rade strongly enough his point how important it was for then in Miev to cultivate cultural contacts with emigration particularly to organize trips of groups to Uraine like theore they already have discussed. He was sure that Dr Mi will head the projected group of professionals. Actually he cannot think of sensone else that would be so suitable.

"We really need you, you will help to raise the pride of our Urainian people".

"Together we can do very much indeed. " "But please make all concerned understand that they cannot get all at once, one has to be patient, understanding, and have genuine intentions."

11. When coming to Kiev , Dr Kl's group and those that will follow, should bring with them all kind of gifts, like books and other publications, pictures, aso to be presented to the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, to libraries and similar institutions.

Dr K1 mentioned the arson in the library of Ultrainian Academy in Kiov.

Lev denied that this was a deliberate act of Soviet authorities. This was done by a mentally ill person. The damage was also not as large as it seemed in the begin ing. What was damaged will be recovered from copies existing in other libraries.

What particularly he would like to be brought to Ulraine? Everything : Literary works, publications, documents, musical works, microfilms.

12. Dr Kl asked whether she will be able to visit her native village BOZHYKIV near Berezhany on her next trip to Ukreine. Low replied that this was a complex problem. He was sorry they did not let her go there during her last trip in 1963 but they couldn't. Thy? "He have still many problems in Jest Ukreine, you must understand, you are too well known there, many would come to talk to you."

So what - asked Dr Kl - are you afraid of what? Do you have there an Underground or what?

"Indoed -he replied - also that. We have some problems in Western Wardne, you now call it an Underground but this/nothing serious. "
How strong is it?

"Well maybe 2,000, maybe 5,000 but no more than 10,000. You see, there are still some people who could not adjust themselves to reality and dream 'dangerous dreams". "But this is no problem for us necessary that they get fower and fower anyway."

What if Dr III goes to Boshyliv only for one day without staying there overnight?

"O, this is a completely different matter. If she will be accompanied by Lev himself and will not stay in Boshyliv overnight, he sees no trouble in visiting Kith her mother's grave ".

13. Does Dr Kl know if it would be possible to talk to someone from Melnykivtsi? Reply: I cannot be Jack of all trades, and do everything !

Lev: "Of course, I understand, I just asked what you thought about it ".

Most is being planned by the Lev's expanisation for enigration?

Reply: They will continue sending groups and individuals to cultivate cultural contacts, they will help against the assimilation, they will send also books and their other publications, man nusical and ballet groups aso.

They will alone organize trips to "breins, Again; it is very important that all those things will be made through Lev's organization and not via Ugrainian Dission, Kelosseva, Tolopkos and Levytskis.

15. Dr Kl mentioned the Conference on the Culture of Unrainian Language of Feb 1963 and asked how was it possible hat Soviet Ukrainian press completely impored its resolutions?

Low roplied that not all demands of the Conference were reasonable, as



For instance the damand to organise brainian schools in Eurole where Uprainian clonent is scattered all over the territory. "Schools can be expended only in fully Uprainian compacts of proper also". But he has to edult that the Conference merited more publicity and it was the guilt of bureaucrets, bad people aso who try to deungrade everything Uprainian. "Dut we are trying to do our best, too, "and he is sure it want be in vain.

16. Lev described RYMANITYSKYI Stepan, member of the Kolossova's group as a good Chrainian patriot, a great scholer, who knows very well "cll our troubles". SOVA Andrei - a very good humorist, a great artists

VILDE Trone - a nice lady, "one can trust her".

SHOLYCH, Yurl in Kiev - suffers from some serious heart il ness, had already two in strokes. SHOLYCH understands very well Lev and "sup ortalizabil tix endevours!"

- 17. Lev compleined about SHMEIKO Vera who "indoctrinates her clients against the Soviet Upraine, is cold, and unapproachable " aco. If she over wants to ar ange trips to Upraine she will have to write to Lev and ask him for that. It will suffice when she just thanks for Society's help in the past and veloces their aid in the future. (N.B. SHUEIKO is against writing to Lev because she thinks that her contacts with the Inturist will do the Job.)
- 18. Dr Kl mentioned that she would like to write some articles to American press about Ukraine. Lev thought this was a good idea and he was ready to send material for her articles. On this occasion he mentioned that they (in Kiev) would glasly publish works of emigre-writers and scholars, of course, only those which were not anti-Seviet and of artistic materials or scholarly value.
- 19. According to Lev , KUNGLAS Stepan of Chicago, Ill. told him that "Svoboda" changed quite a lot in his rejertage on the trip to Unreine, and Marusia DEK of Dotroit apologized through that the could not

mention positive features of Seviet Ulraine "for obvious medon" coming she was afraid to lose her backing among Ukrainian Americans. Let ad ed that KUROF S, jr was refused Seviet visa recently when he wanted to go together with US businessmen

- when recting Soviet Thrainians. She replied why should she? When Kelessova's party was to come to her house she simply phoned proper authority and asked them if they had enything against it. They said no and that's it. "We in the States she explained look different at those things than you do in the Soviet Union and there was nothing criminal in meeting Unrainian intellectuals from Klev". Low did not ask what particular authority she phoned.
- 21. Low mentioned that he talked with Dr Tona LAPICHAK. The latter, however, "did not take clearly sides and no one knows what he really wants". The only thing Dr LAPICHAK said quite clearly was that his paper was short of meney.
- 22. According to Lov Banderivtsi in England burned Shevchenko's works sont to offices of "SUB" (Union of Ukrainians in Great Britaih) and private advesses by Lov's Society. Only a few emigres thanked for Shevchenko's works and many asked than not to send anything more because they were affraid of receiving anything from Ukraine.
- 23. Low "admitted" that when Dr Kl was in Ultraine she was closely watched by "proper people" meaning KGB. "We did not know why you came and with what intentions. I am being watched horse too."
- 24. Lev laughed at the reports from British source" about areasts of nurses in Lvov. He assured Dr Kl that no one was arrested and someone just made joke in London.
- 25. Asked what was his rank or of icial function, Lov somowhat reluctantly replied that during the war he served in the Siffer major, "and now I do not

Its montioned that during the wer he had many very hard experiences and at ato one time drank only het vater and erumbs of bread. His wife in Russian, she also served with the Army during the war. They have one son, aged 15 with whom he often gots skating and sking. Low 's family lives with his mother who still believes in God and goes to church. Low's wife does not speak Urrainian but can read. Low gave Dr Kl the picture of his son and asked her to bring him a scarf and a thick American sweather whom she comes to Ukraine. Also something nice for his wife. He will reciprocate. Now he could not buy very much because they got only \$6.25 per day and their luggage is limited to 40 lbs.

26. When parting Lev asked again to arrange for him a mosting with someone competent from Mr L. If necessary ho (Lov) is ready to remain for a few days longer in Montreal for that purpose. And if it's impossible here then in Europe. He would prefer Italy to France.