

Subject: VIRSKYY, Pavlo Pavlovych

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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
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1. After his first and short meeting which B. and his friend R. had with Virskyy on Friday afternoon, July 30 (report submitted by R.), spoke to him briefly backstage the same day during the intermission of the performance at Aula Magna. Virskyy was very sad and depressed (there was also some liquor present in his breath), and he was complaining that the auditorium was almost empty, as a result of Thursday night political demonstration staged by communist students during their performance. The demonstration was not against the ensemble but the students used the opportunity of having a full house, in front of which they could expressed their discontent and protest against the actions of the government. This demonstration went a little out of hand and the fear that the following demonstrations might take further developments prevented many people from attending the concert that night.

2. On Sunday, August 1, it was B's second meeting with Virskyy, but this time B. was by himself, without his friend R. The meeting was arranged by the phone at noon and was set by Virskyy for 5:30 PM, because at that time he was still in bed and a little tired after a long dinner party the night before, at the home of his acquaintance, Mr. Zhuk, a local Ukrainian. B. realized that the meeting with Virskyy will be a very short one because the performance on that day was scheduled for 6:30 PM, but there was nothing he could do about it. B. went to the hotel el Conde earlier on that afternoon hoping to meet some dancers and have a chance to talk to them.

3. In the hotel lobby there was sitting a large group of male dancers (n.u.) engaged in a busy conversation on the topic of sports. B. joined that group, at first without interfering in their conversation, but soon breaking in to it slowly. They were talking mostly about about the latest results of the

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Ukrainian soccer teams, and the USSR-USA track and field meet that was taking place that weekend in Kiev. Later on they were asking B. some questions about the sports in the USA.

4. Shortly after B. had joined that group, Virskyy stepped out from the elevator with his wife and noticing B. approached him. After exchanging greetings, Virskyy said that he is going out in order to have something to eat. In about a half hour when Virskyy was returning back, he approached B. again and asked him if he is doing anything special right now. When B. answered that he is just chatting with the boys, Virskyy suggested that if he does not mind they could go up to his room and do some chatting together. B. accepted the invitation gladly ~~xx~~ because it will give him an opportunity to spend more time ~~xx~~ with Virskyy than was originally anticipated.

5. Virskyy's wife did not go with them but went somewhere else ~~instead~~, so they were in the room alone. Virskyy invited B. to sit down on the sofa, above which was located a humming airconditioner. As they sat down B. presented Virskyy with some books which included "Slovo 64", about which he was asking on Friday, and "Ne Dla Ditey", "Novi Poeziyi No. 5 and 6", "Poeziyi" by Malanyuk. Virskyy also noticed in B's attache case "Vyvid prav Ukrayiny", "Dokumenty Ukrayinskoho Komunizmu" and "Lehenda i Diysnist", and after looking over these books stated that he does not have these books, so B. presented him with these also. As to the other books about which he was asking on Friday, B. told him that ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ it was not possible for him to get these books there in Caracas, but suggested that he could have these books send to him from New York to his hotel by mail, or if he prefers, these books can be delivered to him by someone in person during his tour of Scandinavian countries this fall. Virskyy was not very enthusiastic about the idea of mailing the books, and suggested that it will be much better if someone

will deliver these books to him in person during his tour of Scandinavia or the following year during the tour of the USA.

In a reply to B's question what other books he would like to receive in Scandinavia, Virskyy listed such books as "Istoriya Ukrayiny-Rusy" 10 vol. and "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Literatury" 5 vol. both by M. Hrushevskyy, "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Literatury" by Chyzhevskyy, a brochure about the Ukrainian dances by Avramenko, something on choreography, and he also mentioned two books, "Istoriya Zaporizkykh Kozakiv", one written by Kigelman and the other by Yavornytsky. The last two books he had at one time but he doubts that they could be possible to obtain at the present because they are very old editions.

6. Virskyy praised many books published by ~~the~~ the Ukrainian emigres and expressed his regret that these books are unobtainable in the Ukraine. B. agreed with him and added that ~~there~~ there should be a free exchange of books and publications between the Ukraine and the Ukrainians abroad, as well as the exchange of musical compositions, art exhibits, etc. Virskyy fullheartedly agreed with B. stating that "there is a great need for such an exchange, as well as for closer relations, because the further we go the more alienated we become to each other. But how can one talk about the exchange of books", ~~xxxxxxx~~ Virskyy continued, "if you (meaning the emigres) print such unnecessary additions on such a wonderful books". At that he pulled out of a desk drawer the book "Obirvani Struny", opened the cover and pointed out to a subtitle "Anthology of Poetry of the dead, executed, tortured, and exiled 1920-1945", looking at B. questionably. B.: "isn't it truth about these authors?". Virskyy: "yes, it is, but is it necessary to print it? You know ~~me~~ very well yourself that this subtitle is very antagonistic and will not contribute anything towards betterment of our relations but on the contrary. And besides, every intelligent person in the Ukraine knows about the

fate of those authors without printing it. This book could very well stand out prominently on my desk or on the shelf of any library in the Ukraine because these authors are highly respected, but that subtitle makes it impossible." B. agreed with Virskyy to certain extent, and added that this book was printed so because our young generation abroad does not know all those things and therefore has to be told about them. Further more, there is not as yet a free exchange of the books between the Ukraine and the Ukrainians abroad, but if this will ever come about, he was sure that such things will not be printed on books, periodicals, or journals.

7. From the topic of books the conversation turned to the topic of cultural exchange and relations between the Ukrainians abroad and the Ukrainians in the Ukraine. B. expressed his regret that the Ukrainians do not have any contacts with each other -- spiritual or practical as well, nor cooperation. Virskyy agreed with B. and said that such a large number of the Ukrainian emigres should never be ignored, and that he is very pleased to hear that the emigres desire it. B. explained that the time has come for the Ukrainians to realize that one group can not stay alienated from the other because no one can benefit from it. We all have our problems, and although they are somewhat different, the cooperation can help a lot in solving them. At this Virskyy asked B. what kind of problems he has in mind and how they possibly could be solved. B. explained that 20 yrs of emigration created many gaps in the cultural life of the Ukrainians abroad, and this gap could be ~~XXXXXXXX~~ narrowed if there would be some help from the Ukraine through printed words and through personal appearances, and not only of his ensemble alone, but also of other artistic and cultural groups and individuals as well. The Ukrainians are usually associated with the embroidered shirts and Hopak alone; it is very ~~XXXXXXXX~~ beautiful and we ~~XX~~ ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ should not disown it, however, we should also show that our culture consists of other things too, and we should show our intellectual potentiality as well. On the other hand, the emigres can help their countrymen in the Ukraine a lot, through their political influences and informational possibilities, to gain and expand their rights within the Soviet Union. It is not ment to be

through revolution or upheavals but through the existing legal and constitutional forms, which give the Ukrainians the possibility to manifest itself as a nation. In order for the emigres to cooperate with the Ukrainians in the Ukraine to a greater advantage, the emigres need to be informed about the actual situation in the Ukraine, specific examples ~~of the imperialistic and colonialistic~~ of colonialistic and imperialistic policy of Russians in the Ukraine, they should have an exchange of ideas, wishes, commissions, etc. Virskyy listened to all of this very attentively, ~~and~~ occasionally nodded his head, and after a moment of thinking said, "As ~~far~~ far as your cultural gaps are concerned, this is what we are here for, or for that matter in any country abroad where the Ukrainians live. We are working very hard in order to show the best in our dancing and the riches of our folklore. But are we fully appreciated for all our efforts -- NO! Instead we meet ignorance, slander, and picketing of our ensemble on the part of the emigres." At this B. interrupted Virskyy saying, "We do appreciate the efforts on the part of the ensemble very much and you can not imagine how much you have done for the name 'Ukrainians', especially when the New York Times printed in its review about your ensemble during the tour of the USA in 1962 -- 'It is the best group that ever came here from behind the iron curtain.' However, it is extremely unjust on your part to accuse the whole Ukrainian emigration for the acts of a few individuals, or at least of a small minority. You know very well that only two or three individuals can steer as much commotion as a thousand. On the other hand, what about the article about the ensemble in the Suchsnist, all those Ukrainian emigres that crowd you and the dancer after each performance in the cities with high concentration of the Ukrainians, invitations to their homes and dinners, etc. Doesn't it all count!" Virskyy did not make any comments to that, instead he said, "As to other cultural groups, you had in Canada and the USA Kolosova and her group, and you had also Korotych. Besides, not that we do not want to help you, but what I am wondering about is why you do not utilize to your best advantage your cultural leaders. Why can't you utilize the potentiality of HIRNYAK and support financially a permanent Ukrainian theater in the USA devoting all its time to its work as well as to training of the future actors. The same can be said about KYTASTYY. I know that you have

a few good composers too, and perhaps more of others." B. interrupted him again and said, "It all sounds very beautifully in words, but you are forgetting that we are only emigres and do not have our own country to support all these projects. It all costs a lot of money, more money than we can afford. You have to realize that we have done already plenty. All our churches, schools, national homes, etc. all have been build with our own money and without any help. There are also many charitable institutions that we have to support, and all of it is already beyond our means and now you are talking about more." Virskyy interrupted saying, "Aren't you getting money from the American government? We know about it for a fact that the Americans are giving you money for propagandistic purposes." B.: "If it is so that the Americans give money to the Ukrainian emigres for propagandistic purposes, ~~Ma~~ how can one use this money for other purposes. Would it be possible to do so in the Soviet Union?" Virskyy did not make any comments but proceeded in slightly different direction, "I always had a gret respect for the Ukrainian emigres, especially after my tour of the USA when I met so many of them in person and had a chnce to talk with them. But now my oppinion is somewhat changed. You see, my birthday was celebrated very widely throughout the entire Union (his birthday is on February 25) and I was expecting some respond from the ~~Mkkkiki~~ Ukrainians abroad. As a matter of fact, I even proudly announced to my friends that I would receive congratulations from the Ukrainians in the USA, England, France. I received them from these countrie all right, but not from the Ukrainians living there. I was very much mistaken. There is a proverb in Russian" B. never heard that proverb before and therefore does not remember the exact words of it but the meaning of it is "you know me only when you need me." B. explained to Virskyy that he is not speaking in the name of all the Ukrainian emigres, but the most probable reason for their silence is that no group or institution wanted to create any embarassment ~~XXXXXXXX~~ or difficulties for him. "What about some individuals. Couldn't they have send at least a congratulatory telegrams?" asked Virskyy. B.: "You know very well that every Ukrainian of social or cultural promonence abroad can be easely connected with one or the other group or institution and therefore it would be the same,

or perhaps even worse because it could indicate that you have personal contact with that individual or group." No further comments from Virskyy.

8. Virskyy changed the subject of conversation by saying, "You have mentioned before that we should manifest ourselves as a nation. Aren't we a nation?" B.: "Yes we are, but ~~xx~~ what kind of a nation? Enslaved, exploited, and Russified. It ~~is~~ is a victim of the Russian policy of the 'drawing together of nations', and what are you doing about it? A lot can be done about it and we can be of some help to you. But you have to remember that in order for us to do anything, you have to speak up for yourselves first. Why can't the Ukrainians in the Ukraine reject and condemn the concept of the 'drawing together of nations' and the process of Russification? In view of the existing conditions, you should proclaim your own concept of Communism, if you feel that such is the best for you. However, it should be based on the Ukrainian national characteristics, traditions, customs, etc. Virskyy: "Don't you know that since we are not a separate ~~nation~~ country we cannot have our own Communism. We are a part of the Union and ~~therefore~~ there can be only one Communism for all the ~~Union Republics~~ Union Republics. If we were to proclaim our own Communism it would be breaking away from the Union, which means a revolution. You mentioned before that it is not necessary to ~~employ~~ employ revolutionary means." B.: "If it would mean anything, it most ~~certainly~~ certainly would mean the sovereignty of the Ukrainian SSR, within the limits of its constitutional rights. Furthermore, why can't we have such a cooperation and an exchange of information between ourselves like Poles, Russians, and other nationalities have? Russians can have literary works and information smuggled abroad and openly publish it ~~by their emigres or speak about it, but~~ by their emigres or speak about it, but why can't we? They do it constantly, but not us. The answer is simple -- they have people willing to do it, but what about us? We do have willing people, but they ~~prefer~~ prefer to be 'stoolpigeons' and play at exposing 'bourgeois nationalists', the 'traitors and enemies of the country'. By doing so, they are in fact the traitors themselves. It is so easy for anyone to see the difference between the truth and the lies with which the Russians are constantly feeding the Ukrainians, and therefore one should be aware of Russian

at ease.

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Note: see attached photocopy. The poem appeared on March 14, 1965.

There ~~are~~ are parts of two words missing, NO(zhi), O(strit), because the lines which they were to start appear to have been taken out.

10. B. asked Virskyy whether the ~~publishing~~ publishing of Symonenko's poems by the Ukrainian emigres abroad has harmed in any way the young Ukrainian poets and writers, and if so, exactly who was repressed. Virskyy answered that, to his knowledge, there were no repressions on poets or writers lately, and stated that Symonenko is very popular in the Ukraine, his poems were published there, and everyone, especially young people, reads his poems. B. added that Symonenko is very popular not only among the Ukrainians but also among other ~~nations~~ nations, listing Italian, German, French, and Swiss newspapers that published translations of Symonenko's poems. In a reference to the Symonenko's poems published in ~~the~~ the Ukraine B. stated that that they have many verses left out and many words changed, and besides the poems under the discussion would not have been published there anyway if not the fact that they had appeared first abroad. ~~By comparison~~ B. paralleled this with T. Shevchenko's statue erected in Washington, D.C. A simmular statue was quickly put up in Moscow.
11. B. asked Virskyy who succeeded Rylskyy as a "father of the writers." Virskyy answered that so far no one succeeded him because it is very difficult to find anyone that could match the quality of Rylskyy as a writer and civic leader as well. He personally can not think of anyone who ~~possibly~~ could possibly succeed him.
12. B. asked Virskyy about the "Ukrainian clique" in the Kremlin -- who they are besides Pidhornyy, and what can he say about them. Virskyy answered that he does not know any "Ukrainian clique", but as far as Pidhornyy is concerned he knows him personally. He is a very ~~nice man and a true Ukrainian~~ nice man and a true Ukrainian. He is not a new man but came up through the ranks and file

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of the Ukrainian Party. Since Pidhornyy rose gradually in the ranks of the Party, B. asked Virskyy whether Pidhornyy's past in the Ukraine is simmular to that of Khrushchev. Virskyy answered it negatively, adding that nothing of this nature ever happened.

To B's question about other Ukrainians in the Party's hierarchy, Virskyy replied, "Well, Shelest ~~and Brezhnev~~ and Brezhnev of course", He described Shelest also as a nice person, and expressed his positive oppinion of him. When asked about Shelest's power and role in the Party, Virskyy answered that he is very strong and has leadership qualities. ~~As~~ As far as his role is concerned, Shelest played a major role in the removal of Khrushchev. Virskyy explained that Khrushchev pressured Shelest excessively for the Ukrainian wheat which was beyond the means of supply. It was a little too much for Shelest so he went to Moscow, conferred with Brezhnev and Kosygin, called a meeting of the Central Committee which resulted in the removal of Khrushchev.

When asked to analize Brezhnev and Kosygin, Virskyy stated that Kosygin is the stronger personality in the government because of his good knowledge of economics and agiculture. About Brezhnev Virskyy did not have much to say except that he is from Ukraine.

When asked to compare the above mentioned Ukrainians, Virskyy, after thinking for a moment, answered that Shelest in every respect is the strongest and the best ~~xx~~ of them all.

To the question about rumours that Brezhnev will be soon replaced by Shelest, ~~Vix~~ Virskyy replied that the future will tell, however, if so will happen, he will not be surprised at all.

13. The conversation probably would have continued, and it was just getting more interesting, but Virskyy looked at his watch -- they were talking already for more than two hours. ~~Vix~~ Virskyy was feeling a little tired so he excused himself and said that he would like to continue the conversation but now he must rest a little before the performance. As they were parting Virskyy gave B. a complimentary ticket for the performance. B. thanked him for the

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ticket and his time, and asked him if he would be so kind and introduce him to Ivashchenko, the orchestra conductor. Virskyy replied that he would be more than ~~happy~~ glad to do it, adding that he will do it that evening at the performance.

B. also mentioned that he has another copy of "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Kultury" and perhaps he could advice him who could be worthy of it here in the ensamble, or maybe he would like to take it along and give it to someone in the Ukraine. But not to anyone like that s.o.t Dmyterko, B. added. Virskyy replied that he will think about it and will let him know.

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14. Before his departure from Caracas B. wanted to see Virskyy once more, and besides, he still had one more book for him, but it was difficult to contact Virskyy on tuesday because he was very busy. Finally on wednesday afternoon, August 4, B. managed to contact Virskyy by phone, but Virskyy told him that he can see B. but not for longer then ten minutes. This was better than nothing, so B. agreed to it.
15. The meeting was in Virskyy's room again. B. gave him "Propashchi Syly" in which were inserted two bulletins. Virskyy was very greatful for this and all the other books that he received, and added that he was thinking about "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Kultury" and decided that instead of giving this book to someone in the ensamble, it will be much better if B. would give it to him, and Virskyy would see to it that this book will get to someone worthy of it in the Ukraine.
16. B. asked Virskyy about Margareta Tankina because he has greetings for her from Myroslava Znayenko from New York City. Virskyy explained that Tankina is not with the ensamble because she is already on the retirement since last year, and added that he would be more than happy to extend the greetings to her. At this point he pulled out his little notebook and made a note of it, as well as writing down Znayenko's name.
17. B. also asked Virskyy about being introduced to Ivashchenko which he promised to do. Virskyy answered that he was looking for B. on Sunday at the concert but could not find him. B. explained that he tried to get backstage but the ensambles administrators, especially Novikova, would not let him in. Virskyy replied that it is a shame, and said that he spoke to Ivashchenko about B. and he should call him in order to make an appointment with him.
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18. The meeting lasted really ten minutes only. They were not even sitting but the whole conversation took place while standing. Virskyy excused himself again explaining that he is very busy and has quite a number of things to take care of. As they were parting, Virskyy said "well, the way the things are right now we are going to Mexico after all, so we will see each other there and do some more talking" (B. told him previously that his destination from here is Mexico). At that B. said that he does not know when he will finally get there ~~here~~ because he has a few other ~~things~~ places to visit, and the ~~ch~~ chances are that they might miss each other in Mexico. "If this will happen, we will see each other this fall, I hope. And once again thanks for the many books, and extend my best regards for Koshelivet and the associates of Suchasnist" said Virskyy and they parted.
19. The same day B. met Virskyy once again, but this time accidentally. It was in the hotel ~~lobby~~ about 10 PM when Virskyy came down to the lobby for something. B. approached him and explained that he called Ivashchenko on the phone but could not see him because Ivashchenko does not feel good and is all day in his bed. B. is not sure that he will have a chance to see him tomorrow, therefore it would be very kind of him if he could hand over a few books that B. has for Ivashchenko. Virskyy explained that Ivashchenko had a sprained back, or something like it, for a few days and since they do not have a performance this evening it is a very good chance for him to cure himself. As to the books, he will gladly do it for B., adding that he will call his wife on the phone right now and will ask her to come to his room to pick the books up. At that they parted, but this time it was for the last time in Caracas.
20. The books which B. handed over for Ivashchenko included: Suchasnist No. 1&6, "Istoriya Ukrayinskoyi Muzyky", opera "Kateryna", "Suchasna Literatura v URSR", "Ne dla Ditey", "Novi Poeziyi" No. 5&6, two books of poems by Andriyevska, "Contos Ukranianos", reprints from Suchasnist about the ensemble, Symonenko, and the fire in the library in Kⁱev, as well as the buletin.

21. Virskyy is very artistic, intelligent, and a very good Ukrainian. He has a good sense of humor, and can make a person feel at ease in his presence. When in the company of Ukrainians he speaks only Ukrainian. He has a great respect for KOSHELIVEC and HALAYCHUK, and for the journal SUCHSNIST as well. He can be classified as a member of the ruling intelligentsia of the Soviet Union, with many friends in high Party positions. He is completely convinced that he is doing very much for the Ukraine as the director of the Kiev Dance Ensemble. He does not attack the Ukrainian nationalism, although at times he reproaches the Ukrainian emigres. However, he protests against what he considers primitive attacks against him. He is very pleasant, and likes to converse with the emigres if his time permits him.