

VOLODYMYR KRAVETS []

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Biographical Data: Volodymyr Oleksiyovych KRAVETS was born May 3, 1930 in the village of Sharino, Uman rayon, Cherkassy Oblast.

His father died when Kr. was still a child. In 1941, when the Germans were advancing Kr. and his sister were evacuated east and spent the German occupation in Western Kazakhstan. Their mother remained behind, saying "I'm old, so I'll stay on the native soil."

Education: Kr. graduated from secondary school in Uman. He attended universities in Kharkiv and Kiev, and received the candidate degree for his thesis on New Ec. Policy. He is now working for his doctorate.

While studying in Kharkiv Kr. used the "Red Archive" where he became familiar with the writings of Skrypnyk, Valuyev, stenographic records of the CP(b)U congresses of the 1920s, but he did not see anything about Khvylovyy.

Currently he is a docent at the Kiev Polytechnical Institute, where he lectures on the history of the USSR and receives a salary of 3,500 rubles per year.

Party membership: non-party member, former member of Komsomol

Military service: Active duty waived, because of university attendance. Kr. went through the officer's training at the university and has a rank of lieutenant in the "political branch".

Publications: Kr. said he has published some things, but did not indicate where and when. In May, 1959 he took part in the 16th Conference of young professors and lecturers in the Kharkiv Aviation Institute, where he delivered a paper on "The Final and Complete Victory of Socialism in the USSR."

Trip to the USA: He was on a six-months' visa (September to February) The trip was subsidized by the UNESCO fellowship, which paid him 350-400 dollars a month. He has visited New York, Washington, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit, Chicago.

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Purpose of the trip: Officially registered with UNESCO to study the American system of higher education for the purpose of comparison with that of the USSR. In conversations explained, somewhat unclearly, that he is here to study the influence of technology on higher education. In one conversation he hinted, perhaps unwittingly, that he is studying the American "Sovietology". From his readings (besides such things as Ian Fleming's Goldfinger, which he read for personal interest) it is assumed that he was doing research on the so-called "Ideology of anti-Communism" -- actually the way American publications write about Communism, with a view to defeat its influences in the USA. He read such things as the books by Herbert Hoover, Wolf, Pipes, Feinsod etc. He visited the Dept. of Education, where he could obtain little material for his official project, and spent only a half a day there. Then returned to the Slavic Division of the Library of Congress, where "I have enough to do for a whole year, and even then I would not be through."

Personal characteristics: Kr. is calm, careful, serious and quiet. Looks like a typical Soviet man in his upbringing and views. He is a convinced Marxist and probably an atheist, although he was baptized in the church -- "it was grandmother's wish." He is also a convinced "internationalist" putting everything "Soviet" before "Ukrainian" and seeing the best answer in the "union of nations". Along with this Kr. believes in the Lenin's nationalit. policy, which is now practised in the USSR. But on the whole he has the "little Russian" outlook, prefers to say that the nationality policy is not his concern -- "I am a historian, student of the modern history of the USSR," "I am not an expert in the nationality policy, besides, that problem is already solved in the USSR."

He did not ask anything about the Ukrainian emigres in the USA, nor was he interested in meeting new people or talking with the emigres.

Discussions based on SUCHASNIST articles.

Kr. was given SUCHASNIST nos. 1,2,6,9,10 for 1965. He read the recommended articles and then discussed them.

On Symonenko: Until reading the poems, said Kr., he knew nothing about him. He used that statement several times when something controversial came up.

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He said he understands now why the whole affair took place: Symonenko wrote in a pessimistic tone. Not like Yevtushenko, who balanced his pessimism with positive statements, and there is much more that is optimistic in the USSR than pessimistic. In the poem "Thief" Symonenko clearly calls for a rebellion against all the kolnosp officials, and that is not the way to do things. He is against everyone, for him everything is bad. But on another occasion, after reading Pasternak's Zhivago Kr. said he did not see why it could not be published in the USSR, with small changes. He also said then, that it was a mistake not to publish Symonenko, because then all these "affairs" with passing the manuscripts to the West would not have taken place. When it was suggested that Kr. should go to the Ministry of Culture or the Writers Union and say there that Symonenko should be published, Kr. replied that "I am just a small cog, I can't tell them what to do."

About the Odessa affair mentioned in Symonenko's diary, Kr. said he knew exactly how it must have happened: Symonenko and probably Vinhranovsky and maybe even Drach and Korotych came to Odessa for the celebration of some event, like the anniversary of transferring of Shevchenko's body to the Ukraine. They decided to hold an evening of poetry, but the local people knowing the type of disturbers they are, decided to prevent them. These people wanted to be left alone, so they refused permission for the event.

Fire in the USSR Ac. Sc. Library: Kr. was taken aback by the clandestine pamphlet about the fire. He did not question its authenticity, but said that the writer must have been a "determined anti-Soviet" and that he wrote very "subjectively." He just would not believe that anyone of the government or party officials would dream up such a thing as the fire. Kr. insisted that the fire was started by a madman Pohruzhal'sky, who carried on a personal feud with the head of the library. But Kr. could not give any answers to the accusations in the pamphlet, saying again that he was not too familiar with the affair. He was angry with the Kiev cretins (meaning officials) for ~~not~~ their failure to rebut the pamphlet to this day. He said the idea of trying to hide sensational events was a carryover from the "period of the personality cult," and cited as a similar example the landslide in Kiev which destroyed a number of homes and killed many people.

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Two weeks later, however, after Kr. probably had a chance to get more instructions at the Soviet Embassy, he spoke again about the fire, and this time knew many more details. He said Pohruzhal'sky burned the books a floor at a time, and those that would not burn, he tore up. When the firemen arrived, they doused the fire on one floor and left. After a while, there was another alarm -- fire on another floor, etc. He said ~~that~~ he had not heard anything about any phosphorus strips, and doubted that the fire was planned or inspired by any official persons.

On Lviv lawyers: He has not heard anything and refused to discuss it.

On the Stained glass window in Kiev U.: He has heard about it, but does not know the details. After reading about it in SUCHASNIST, he agrees with the official decision to remove it. The inscription chosen was not appropriate. The students enter the building, and Shevchenko looks at them, saying "Slaves, I will place my word on guard for you." He compared it to the possibility of another inscription from Shevchenko: "Arise, break your chains." Surely that would have never been allowed. He does not blame the artists, because they created as the spirit moved them, but he does blame the Rector of the university, who must have seen it before granting permission to install it. Kr. said he is sure the Rector has been reprimanded already. Kr. feels that the committee headed by Boychenko, secretary of the CC CPU for propaganda, whom Kr. knows personally, did the right thing in not approving the window. But he doubts that the thing was shattered and boarded up.

On Lebed's article: He did not know who Lebed is. Asked whether he is a relative of the Communist leader by the same name. It was explained to him who L. is. Kr. said he did not like ML's statement that Soviet tourists are spies and KGB operatives. He said any ideas about changing the present structure of the USSR are doomed to failure.

On schools for Ukrainians in USSR: He read Rakhmanny's article and said he heard there were some xx Ukr. schools in Kazakhstan, but he was not sure about that. Again he said this was not one of his interests.

Other SUCH. articles: He liked Holubnychy's article about the Ukrainian problem in American schools, and also praised Chomiak's article about Korotych. When it was suggested that he take that issue of SUCH. to Korotych, Kr. said he probably already has it. He said Maystrenko's history of CP Ukraine was interesting, but he did not like the conclusions ~~drawn~~ drawn from the Lenin-Lapchynsky correspondence.

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On Young Ukr. Poets: He is interested in literature and attends readings of poetry, but does not know too many of the poets personally. He said the "poets of the 1960's" are an important group, he likes them but does not always understand them. He mentioned Drach, Korotych and Kostenko. Kr. said they have given literature a good new start, but he feels that they won't last long as screws are tightened on them. He does not know Dzyuba too well, only that "he always has some kind to say, always criticizing." Pavlychko, on the other hand is an energetic and happy poet. He laughed at the poem "Forget the Ukrainian Language," and said it was directed at him, because he is "a diehard internationalist."

Ukraine

Ukraine's path to socialism: Kr.'s reaction to arguments for Ukraine's independent policymaking varied. At first he insisted that the best answer is the union. That Ukraine would not be able to go it alone, and would not be recognized internationally. He also argued that Union is a historic fact and independence now would be a step backward. After listening to many more arguments, Kr. said during the final meeting that "never in my 50 years have I heard such discussion and such arguments."

He also said that in his meetings with Ukrainian emigres he has frequently heard about Russian exploitation of Ukraine. This disturbed him, because he was never aware of any such exploitation himself. It was noted here that Kr. used the same arguments as those used by Miledan, editor of the News from Ukraine newspaper. xx This was told to him, and Kr. said that Miledan is his school friend. On another occasion he said that he knows Miledan from school, but that they are no friends.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: He did not know why no one had been appointed to fill the vacancy at the top. To the suggestion that Kolossova might be the new minister, he just laughed, made fun of her weight, and generally spoke of her in sarcastic tone. He spoke highly of Fedanuk, however. He said Fedanuk would have been an excellent minister, and also mentioned that Fedanuk was the only member of the USSR mission who took an interest in him, when he arrived in New York. He thought Malamarchuk received a promotion, because being a minister of RA in a republic is just formalism. "You know very well that USSR is a federation." He said it was important in 1946 to get two more votes in the UN, and to convince the Western nations that

Ukraine and Byelorussia are really sovereign nations. Today it has no significance.

Dialog between the emigres and Ukrainians in Ukraine: Kr. agreed that such things as an exchange of articles, discussion carried on in journals with both sides participating would be a good thing, especially on topics of general interest -- Hrushevsky, Franko. He said he would suggest it to the Society for Cultural Ties with Ukrainians Abroad. He said it was high time to come face to face with the opposite arguments and ideologies. There was a time when it was necessary to keep tighter controls in the development of the new generation. Now it was no longer necessary to continue such controls.

Language policy: He saw no problem in this field. No one is forcing Ukrainians from conversing in Ukrainian. He did cite an example where three of his village friends returned from the army and pretended that they forgot Ukrainian. He called it a lack of pride in one's nationality. In official circles Ukrainian is used, he said. But when he was told that it was not quite so, because his interviewer had personal experience while visiting the USSR, Kr. was taken aback, and did not say anything. He did mention a directive announced just before he left for the USA ~~that~~ to the effect that lecturers should use Ukrainian in class, and those who did not know it, should learn it. He did not see anything about it on paper, but said that since such directive was announced in the his Institute, it must have come from high party sources, and must probably apply to other colleges.

As for Ukrainian schools in RSFSR he said that if there aren't any, it is because Ukrainians living there do not demand them. If they had made any attempts ~~for~~ to get such schools, it would surely have been known in Kiev. Here again he said that this was not one of his interests, but he said he thought a public opinion poll should be taken among Ukrainians living outside the borders of the Republic to find out how many are in favor of such schools. Asked about the 1969 conference on Ukrainian language in Kiev, Kr. said he did not know anything about it. Even after he was shown the story about it in Warsaw's Nashe Slovo he insisted that he knew nothing about it. He added, however, that it seemed to him the writer, D. Porukhin, added a lot of his own opinions to the report.

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Shcherbytsky: "A serious and wise person." He said Shcherbytsky was bumped off in 1959 for his conflict with Khrushchev on economic matters. He was supposed to have delivered a speech at a meeting of CC CPSU defending econ. interests of Ukraine. Kr. did not see this speech, but said that in 100 years they will publish the minutes of the meeting of the CC and then we'll know what type of man Shcherbytsky really was. Kr. said Shcherbytsky is a sick man, but he did not specify the disease.

Pidhorny: Does not know him. Only heard two of his speeches in Kiev.

Shelepin: He is no KGB-ist. He is young and energetic, and his service in the KGB was very brief.

Kyrychenko: "He's a fool," that is why he was removed. To the suggestion that Kyrychenko reached so far, Kr. said this too could have been a reason. He called him thick-skinned and uncultured. He did not know that Kyrychenko was the first native Ukrainian to be Secretary of CP Ukraine. He had thought Kosior was also a Ukrainian.

Malanchuk: Secretary of Lviv Obkon. Kr. does not know him personally. He thinks highly of him, and said that he is the only man with a doctorate who holds a high rank in the CPSU. The others have no time to do their doctorates, and doctors don't want to become party functionaries, because it would be a sort of demotion. Malanchuk became secretary after receiving his doctorate, and as the result he draws a lower salary than he would have, had he been a professor. Kr. agreed that Malanchuk holds an important post, since Pravda carried his article, which was actually a policy statement. Before leaving, Kr. remembered that Boychenko, of the CC CPSU also was recently awarded a doctorate, so there are now two doctors on high Party posts.

Rehabilitation: Kr. said in time, all the enemies of the people will be rehabilitated. This includes Hrushevsky and Khvylovyi. Asked about the Bar. Cath. Church - Kr. did not know anything about it, and he also did not know that Cardinal Slipyj was released from the bar.

Observations on the trip to USA

Kravets was impressed, especially by the technology and standard of living enjoyed here. He was also pleased with the ease one can use the libraries here - "you enter, and whatever you want is at your disposal." In the USSR, he said, you have to fill out many forms, and ask for permission, and even then one can't get everything one wants.

In Detroit he was amazed at Ford's production line. He did not think anything like that was possible. The service in stores and restaurants impressed him favorably.

Kr. was surprised at the number of Ukrainians who work in such ~~high~~ government posts. He was in the State Dept. and met Murwariv.

He spoke highly of the Ukrainians he met in the US. In Los Angeles he met a boy, (age 9). In New York he said he was pleased to meet N. Chomich and Kolubnychy. He spoke highly of Martha Chomich and of the Znayenkos.

Other topics

Kr. did not say much about the arrests of Daniel and Syniavsky. It seemed that he was not too happy with the official policy in this respect. He said that he suspected that a number of others have been arrested but he did not know whether the arrests took place in Moscow or in the provinces.

He said he has read all 11 volumes of Hrushevsky's History of Ukraine, but did not want to discuss this further.

The ~~Karkiv~~ ^{Karkiv} Pol. technic is located in the former building of the Dept. of Education and the rector's office is the one in which Skrapnyk killed himself. This was told Kr. by the rector.

The race between USA and USSR is a waste of money that could be put to better use for the people.

Kr. said there are two Ukrainians who work for the US. One in the US proper, the other in JASSCO. He said he would talk to the latter about getting more travel grants for Ukrainian students.

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Asked about Yu. Biloborodko, Kr. said he was a pig.

Will he be able to bring in all the books he has acquired here? He would try, but he did not know for sure.

Kr. did not want to meet Polensky. He said he had read the latter's article in the Osteuropische Archiv.

China-USSR rift: Kr. said the situation is worsening. The Chinese are calling USSR collaborators with the USA and imperialist. He heard Chinese broadcasts in Russian, but not in Ukrainian. Before he left he said he had read the CC secret letter on the Chinese situation and said it made everything very clear..

He saved a lot of money from his fellowship by watching his budget and skimming on food.. He wanted to bring some souvenirs for his relatives. He had long lists of "orders" with him, including such things as butane fuel for lighters, ball point pens, battery shaver, a tailor-made coat for his wife, (made in New York). He was presented in Washington with a wallet, with the initials "B.O.S.", a scarf and some other small things.

Books Read by Kravets in Washington

I. Ukrainian

SUCHASNIET, No. 1,2,6,9,10 for 1965 and "Poems from Ukraine" in 12/19

The article on the conference of cultural leaders held in Kiev in "Nasha Kultura" for 1965.

A few issues of "Letters to Friends".

Rakhmanny's article "When the Two Meet."

Dzyuba's article in DUKLA "Perifying, and Life-giving fire."

Philosophy of a Bootlicker from Inf. Bulletin.

II. English

Bertranda Wolf "Three who made the Revolution."

Marie Perle'sod, "Smolensk Archive"

Dr. H.S. Ver, "The Threat of Communism."

Jaros. Pelensky "Ukrainian Soviet Historiography."

All this does not include the books Kr. used for his official project.

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III Russian.

Ye. Yevtushenko Autobiography

Pasternak "Doctor Zhivago"

Leon Brezhnev, "My Life".

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BOOKS KR. TOOK WITH HIM TO KIEV

1. All titles mentioned above (on preceding page).
2. Kravtsiv, ed.: Vyvid Prav Ukrainy
3. Symonenko: Bereh Chekan
4. "The Soviet Empire; a study in discrimination and abuse of power." Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1965. (ed. by J. Whelan)
5. "Staffing Procedures and Problems in the Soviet Union" US Congress. Senate Committee on Government Operations, 1963.
6. "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States"; hearing before the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Administration of the Internal Security... 1956.
7. "Education for Survival in the Struggle Against World Communism" A symposium prepared for the U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1962.
8. "Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine" Special Report #4 US Congress. House Select Committee on Communist Aggression. 1955.
9. "Recent Developments in the Soviet Bloc". Report on Hearings Before the Subcommittee on Europe. US Congress. House Committee on Foreign Affairs. 1964.
10. "Europe's Freedom Fighter"--Taras Shevchenko. US Congress. House Document No. 445. 1960.
11. "Wordsmanship"; Semantics as a Communist Weapon. A study for the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1961.
12. "The Anti-Vietnam Agitation and the Teach-In Movement"; The Problem of Communist Infiltration and Exploitation. US Senate Document No. 72, Committee on the Judiciary. 1965.
13. "The Techniques of Soviet Propaganda". A study for the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1960.
14. "National Policy Machinery in the Soviet Union." Report of the US Senate Committee on Government Operations. 1960.
15. "Contradictions of Communism." Report to the US Senate Committee on the Judiciary. 1964.
16. "World Communism"; A study for the House Un-American Activities Committee. 2 vols. 1960.
17. Concise Bibliography on the Soviet Union. Prepared by the Free Europe, Inc. (Radio Free Europe).
18. Mykhaylov: Moscow Summer (in Russian)
19. Also some sample issues of pornographic publications including those on nudism. He said it was for his friends as they would see what is published and offered for sale