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SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3828
VAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

15 July 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Information about Arrests of Ukrainian Nationalists
Obtained by a Western Traveller

SOURCE: AECASSOWARY/29 from a University Professor, a Canadian citizen of Ukrainian Literary Parentage who Visited in the Soviet Union from 24 May to 18 June 1966

1. The source travelled by train from Luxembourg via Vienna to Uzhgorod. All travel inside the USSR was by train. Border control at Chop was quite superficial. Source was carrying several Western published books, plus a xeroxed copy of a French-language book by Villon Francois, which he planned to give to a Soviet Ukrainian citizen whom he planned to visit. Source was asked at the border who the books were for. When he said he planned to present them to the Kiev Association for Cultural Contacts With Foreign Countries, he was told there was no objection and no further questions were asked. On his return the source carried, among some ceramic souvenirs and Soviet published books, the following newspapers: ZAKARPATSKAYA PRAVDA (2 copies), 25 May 1966 (Russian); CHORNOMORS'KA KOMUNA, 31 May 1966 (Ukrainian); ZORYA POLTAVSHCHYNY, 7 June 1966 (Ukrainian); KARPATI IGAZ SZO, 25 May 1966 (Magyar).

2. Source tried to get permission to visit KOSIV but was told it was not possible because it involved passing through territory contaminated by foot and mouth disease. He was also refused permission to travel on an airplane flight he found was scheduled to the area because the flight was "not for tourists."

In Kiev the source visited Vitali KOROTYCH with whom he was later entertained at dinner in the home of Ivan DRACH. The following day KOROTYCH accompanied him to a bookshop located on the Kreshchatyk, where they met in one of the reading rooms with Hryhori KOCHUR, Mykola LUKASH, 2 other writer/translators, Lina KOSTENKO and Ivan DRACH, the latter who arrived somewhat later. Following a short period of general conversation, the entire group left the reading room to continue their conversation while strolling along the streets of Kiev. DRACH, KOSTENKO and KOROTYCH walked along with the source. They began to tell the source about arrests, interrogations and trials of Ukrainians and mentioned that KOŚTENKO had been interrogated again that very morning. It seems she was guilty of offending a member of the militia who was "guarding the law" in Lvow during the trial of Ukrainian intellectuals in late April 1966. She was arrested for disorderly conduct during the trial because she tossed a bouquet of flowers to the defendants.

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KOSTENKO expressed the opinion to the "interrogators" that the militia may have been "guarding lawlessness" but certainly not the law. At the bookshop the source asked one of the individuals present, Dmytro ZATONSKY, whether he reads Suchasnist. ZATONSKY replied that if he were caught holding a copy of Suchasnist he would be sent to prison for six months. ZATONSKY translates from other languages into Ukrainian. He has translated several works by KAFKA, whom he admires but against whom he must write "as is demanded of him."

- 4. The source visited with Mykyta SHUMYLO and Mykola BAZHAN, who live in the House of Writers in Kiev. He, accompanied by KOROTYCH, visited BAZHAN again in his dacha outside Kiev on election day, June 12 (Supreme Soviet). They were joined by Oles HONCHAR (member of board, Union of Writers of Ukrainians) and Yuri SMOLYCH (head of Ukrainian Association for Cultural Exchanges with Foreign Countries), the wives of the latter two, and Ivan DRACH with his wife and son. The HONCHARS and SMOLYCH's, anticipating their victories, were quite intoxicated when they arrived. Kateryna KOLOSOVA and Oleksander PIDSUKHA who were at a nearby dacha, greeted them from across the fence. BAZHAN greeted the source warmly and expressed great admiration for source's father who was a famous Ukrainian writer in the early 1900's. BAZHAN proposed a toast to his memory. BAZHAN showed the source an uncensored first volume of the Soviet Ukrainian Encyclopedia, which contained the names of many famous Ukrainians deleted during censorship.
- 5. On the 13th of June the source visited in the home of Andrey KOCHUR, in Irpen near Kiev. KOCHUR translates from other languages into Ukrainian. Other Ukrainian writers present were Mykola LUKASH, Prof. Andrei BILETSKIY, Boris MAMAYSUR and ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH. The latter whom the source said was intelligent, energetic and a real European gentleman, came when he heard that the source was most impressed by LUKASH who he said was a real genius. MAMAYSUR, a talented young man, is seriously ill. He suffers from epilepsy and had two attacks on the way home from the KOCHUR's that day. It was at this gathering at the KOCHUR's the source first got a full account of the arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals.
- 6. In July 1965 there were about 40 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in Kiev, Lvov, Odessa, Ivano-Frankøvsk, Lutsk and Tarnopol. Many others were interrogated. Trials open to the public were held in Lutsk, Tarnopol and Ivano-Frankøvsk in January/February 1966. Protest demonstrations were conducted by the local people, and as a result the authorities decided to hold closed trials in the future. A closed trial was held in Lvov in Late April 1966, at which there 20 defendants. Ivan DZYUBA, Ivan DRACH, Lina Kostenko and two other individuals from Kiev attended the trial on 27 and 28 April. They were admitted to the trial only after appealing to the CC CPU and to the Ukrainian Union of Writers. When the defendants were being brought into the court room, they were greeted by demonstrators who shouted

"Slava" (glory) and tossed flowers at them. The authorities turned on water hoses to disperse the demonstrators, who regathered every time the hoses were turned off and shouted "shame on you" at the guards. Lena KOSTENKO was arrested for disorderly conduct and led away from the courtroom when she also tossed a bouquet of flowers in the direction of the defendants during the trial (see para 2 above). The defendants were accused of reading, copying and disseminating anti-Soviet literature. Among other anti-Soviet literature found during the arrests was the following:

- a. Copy of a speech by Pope John XXIII.
- b. Copy of the speech delivered by General Eisenhower at the unveiling ceremonies at the Taras Shevchenko Memorial in Washington, D. C.
- c. The reply from prominent emigres (Ukrainian) to the open letter written by Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals expressing their desire to participate in the Shevchenko unveiling ceremonies in Washington, D. C.
- d. Copies of <u>Vyvid Prav Ukrainy</u> (Sources of the Rights of the Ukraine) a pocket book published by Prolog.
- e. Copies of Ukrainska Nauka v Koloniyalnykh Putakh Ukrainian Sciences in Colonial Shackles), published by Prolog.
  - f. Works by Panteleymon KULISH.
  - g. History of the Ukraine, by Arkas, published before 1917.
- h. 80 copies of the Program of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, written and printed in the Ukrainian SSR.

The defendant's relatives were not admitted to the court room. One defendant was absolved from guilt. Two or three of the defendants, whose pre-trial imprisonment was equal to the sentences given them, were released. The remainder were sentenced to various terms of strict discipline up to six years in corrective labor camps. (Appendex 1 attached lists some of those sentenced at the trials.)

7. Immediately following the trials, Lina KOSTENKO, Ivan DRACH and Ivan DZYUBA initiated a protest campaign by collecting signatures to a petition to the CC CPU, demanding the release of those imprisoned. The following were among the signers to the petition: Oleg ANTONOV, chief designer of the New Experimental Design Bureau, Aviation Industry; Andrei MALYSHKO, writer; Platon MAYBORODA, composer; Mykhaylo STELMAKH, writer; Viktor NEKRASOV, writer; Sergei PARADZHANOV, film producer; Lina KOSTENKO, poetess; Ivan DRACH; and Ivan DZYUBA; Some people refused to sign the petition and locked their doors. Others, like PARADZHANOV who signed the petition while sitting in his car, signed right out on the street.

- 8. As a result of all the turmoil and publicity stirred by the trials the authorities decided it would be a mistake to continue "making heroes" by holding trials, even closed trials. It was decided that in the future, unreliables would be released from their jobs under various more or less plausible pretexts and forced to starve. Mykhaylyna KOTSYUBINSKA, a Kiev artist, and the wife of Ihor KALYNETS of Lvov, an employee of the Museum of Ethnography, have already been released from their jobs. Very clear-cut instructions about who would be deprived of their employment were outlined in a KGB circular addressed to the institutions where the affected individuals were employed.
- 9. The trials caused much turmoil in the Union of Writers of the Ukraine. It was generally believed that the Congress of the Union of Writers scheduled for May 1966 was postponed because of the hot disputes going on among its members. Similar disputes were taking place in the CC CPU. It is believed by Ukrainians the future course of literary politics in the Ukraine will depend to a great extent on who will be elevated to leading positions in the Union of Writers of the Ukraine at the next congress. If the younger members are excluded from its leadership, it will be a sure sign that things will take a turn for the worse.
- 10. The source visited Vitali KOROTYCH in the publishing office of Ranok. There he was introduced to Mykola KHOLODNY who had just been released after 8 days in prison. KHOLODNY was charged with "khuligantstvo" (hooliganism) because he recited nationalist poetry before the monument of Ivan Franko in Kiev on 5 June 1966. He was picked up in a police car and before being driven away, he shouted, "Ukrainians of Kiev, A Ukrainian is being arrested in the capital of the Ukraine." KHOLODNY's head was shaved in prison. He was released after 8 days and told to leave Kiev within 72 hours. When KHOLODNY left the office, KOROTYCH suggested that the source visit Emil KRUBA (a French citizen now teaching at the Kiev University) who lives at the Kiev International Dormitory on CHERVONOZORYANA Street. KOROTYCH did not telephone KRUBA from his office but from a telephone booth near the dormitory. When KRUBA arrived, KOROTYCH left him and the source alone. They talked in the park. KRUBA was quite pessimistic in his appraisal of the Ukrainian political situation and stressed the threat of Russification. He was critical of KOROTYCH whom he did not consider on the same level as DZYUBA, DRACH and KOSTENKO, with whom he maintains close contact. KRUBA told the source that Ivan DZYUBA had written a 200 page treatise on the nationalities policy of the present regime which he sent to the CC CPU. It is a sharp criticism of the Soviet nationalities policy. In his letter of transmittal to the CC CPU, DZYUBA asked for a reply to his treatise. Certain members of the Union of Writers were asked by the CC to prepare a reply but the reply was so weak that the CC was warned it would only be compromising itself if it sent the reply to DZYUBA. The CC then

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- 11. Mykola KHOLODNY brought some of his poetry and asked the source to take them with him, but the source said he didn't consider it safe.
- he came right to the point immediately and asked the source to take out a copy of DZYUBA's treatise for publishing in the West. The source refused. SVERSTIUK stated that the document was so widely circulated in the Ukraine that if Western intelligence was active in the Ukraine in could easily obtain a copy of it. SVERSTIUK told the source there was another document he should also take out to the West. It is a 50-page treatise concerning the recent trials written by Vyacheslav CHORNOVIY, former employee of Lvov Television, now living in Kiev. In the document, the author argues about the unconstitutionality and illegality of the trials. The source later had an opportunity to read the document when he was in Lvov and took some notes from it. (Names and terms of sentences of some of the individuals arrested and tried. (See attached). Some of SVERSTIUK's colleagues were puzzled by the

fact that he had not been among those arrested. It is definitely a status symbol to have been arrested, particularly insofar as the less-known writers are concerned.

- 13. When Ivan SVITLYCHNYY walked with the source, he said he could tind no logical explanation for his release, unless the KGB wanted to compromise him in the eyes of his colleagues by implying by his release that he broke under interrogation and whitewashed himself while denouncing all the others. SVITLYCHNYY, like SVERSTIUK, asked the source to take out to the West the treatises by DZYUBA and CHORNOVIY, but the source refused, explaining that it was too risky. SVITLYCHNYY did not insist. He mentioned that there was another document available which could be obtained for the source. This was a letter from the KGB to university professors requesting their aid in ascertaining the author of a liberation movement program, copies of which were found during the arrests in Lvov and in the other cities. It was the KGB's assumption that the tone of the document suggested the author must have been an elderly intellectual. SVITLYCHNYY expressed his disappointment in the fact that no Westerners visited the Ukraine during the period of the trials. He also expressed disappointment in the lateness of Western reaction to the arrests. Fe felt the emigration should have organized a protest campaign immediately. He and his colleagues knew about the article which appeared in the New York Times.
- 14. During the visit to the home of Andrey KOCHUR on the 13th of June, source learned it was the concensus of those present that the recent arrests and trials of the Ukrainian intellectuals was part of the general Russification, in the avant-garde of which are such individuals in the Ukraine as Andrey SKABA (Sec'y CC CPU), Vadim SOBKO (Writer and former war correspondent), Ivan BILODID (head of Linguistics Institute, Academy of Sciences, UkSSR), V. Yu. MALANCHUK (secretary of the Lvov OBKOM), and Yuri KONDUFOR (head of Dept. of Science of Culture, CC CPU). MALANCHUK is forcing Russification of the Lvov Oblast. Local Ukrainians (e.g. Semen STEFANYK, Thead of OBLWYKONKOM who was replaced by a Russian female from RIAZAN' fnu ILIYENKO) are being pushed aside and replaced by Russians. MALANCHUK was the main instigator of the campaign against the journal Zhovten' and against young Ukrainian artists and writers. Rostyslav BRATUN was removed from his post as chief editor of Zhovten'. Vadym SOBKO publicly attacked the Ukrainian intellectuals who were on trial, demanding harsh sentences for them. It was suggested to the source that Ukrainian emigres should initiate strong action against Russification. Those Soviets responsible should be exposed in the press and fought with their own methods. As an example the source was told that Petro KRAVCHUK, a Canadian Progressive, was nominated for the Galan prize (for outstanding literary and political activity) but his name was later withdrawn from the list of candidates when another Progressive, fnu KASHTAN, reported that KRAVCHUK was really a nationalist (which he is not). Another example: A local Communist activist criticized

a woman for receiving parcels from her brother in the United States. The woman wrote to her brother about it. He in turn, wrote a letter to the Communist activist implying that they were former friends and colleagues in the "common fight for freedom". The activist soon disappeared and the woman continues to receive parcels from her brother without any more trouble.

- On 15 June KOROTYCH and the source visited Kateryna KOLOSOVA, head of the Ukrainian Association for Friendship and Cultural Ties with Foreign Countries. The main topic of their conversation concerned cultural and tourist exchanges. KOLOSOVA complained that although there were 35 Ukrainians planning to visit Canada this year, Ottawa refused to grant more than 7 visas. She said that more young Soviet Ukrainian intellectuals would be permitted to visit Canada and other Western countries if they were invited by Western universities. KOROTYCH was delighted to hear this and said he hoped it would materialize. When the source later mentioned this to Ivan DRACH, the latter said it was just an empty promise because the Soviet Government would not permit them to go under any circumstances. The source formed the opinion, during his visit in KOLOSOVA's office, that she was performing the duties of a minister of foreign affairs, receiving various foreign dignitaries, arranging receptions, parties, etc. She was receiving an Indian diplomat later the same day.
- 16. Following the visit with KOLOSOVA, KOROTYCH and the source went to the Pecherska Lavra. KOROTYCH then had to return to his office and the source went to have lunch with Ivan DRACH. At DRACH's, he met Yuri ILYENKO, director of the film Krynytsia Dl'a Sprahlykh (A Well for the Thirsty), the script for which was written by DRACH. He also met Larissa KLADOCHNIKOVA there. She is a star in the same film. They were both very interesting. ILYENKO changed DRACH's script somewhat and transformed it into a biographical picture of DRACH. It was the opinion of DRACH's friends that the film benefited from the change and that it could actually have been titled, DRACH as Poet. ILYENKO had told DRACH he would refuse to shake hands with him if he had not gone to the Lvov trials with DZYUBA and KOSTENKO. Krynytsia Dl'a Sprahlykh drew large audiences in Kiev ti was withdrawn soon after the threaters began showing it and now "rests in a safe."
- POLTORATSKIY, editor of Vsesvit. Their reception by POLTORATSKIY was quite cold because, as the source soon learned, POLTORATSKIY was not very fond of DRACH. When the source mentioned the fact that Igor KOSTETSKY was working on some translations, POLTORATSKIY abruptly inquired whether KOSTETSKY was taking a Soviet or anti-Soviet position, to which the source replied that it would depend on whether or not POLTORATSKIY would have something to say about the translations in Vsesvit. POLTORATSKIY; reply was merely that he would eventually write something about translations done by the source's father.

- 18. Following the visit with POLTORATSKIY, the source went to a book shop located on CHERVONOARMIYSKA wul. There he met Mykola LUKASH, Hryhori KOCHUR, L?na KOSTENKO Ivan SVITLYCHNYY and Vitali KOROTYCH. They all went to the basement apartment of Halyna SEVRUK, a sculptor. It was here that Ivan SVITLYCHNY gave the source a list of names of the prisoners who were badly in need of some material aid. He asked the source to arrange for their"friends" to send them some aid from the West. According to SIVTLYCHNY, the Soviet authorities would not permit any parcels to be mailed to those prisoners from inside the Soviet Union. SVITLYCHNY said that by "friends" he meant the people who sent Vira Wowk to them.
- 19. The group went to the theater to see Dion which was being staged by the Leningrad Vakhtanovsky Teatr. The source sat between SVITLYCHNY and KOSTENKO. The latter suggested that the source remain in the Ukraine as his type was badly needed there. She said she and her friends would defend him against any attacks the authorities might make against him and he in turn could be of great help to the younger Ukrainian generation. KOSTENKO seemed very depressed for a while. She told the source she might not be around by next year. The source learned from KOSTENKO's friends that she sometimes took a boat out on the Dniper by herself and stayed on the River for as long as five days. KOSTENKO told the source that she had refused to accept a parcel which had been mailed to her by Vira WOWK, but the authorities (people from the Party and the Union of Writers) pleaded with her to accept it and sign the receipt, so that Soviet authorities could not be accused of not permitting parcels to get through to the addressees. Dion, dramatically rather weak, is strong in its political implications. It is a satire on Soviet reality under Khrushchev masked in a period of old Roman history. "Cesar" resembled Khrushchev, and at one point in the play one of the artists states that "the public thinks we talk about Rome, but we talk about the present." Following the performance, they noticed a bus load of military personnel nearby. KOSTENKO's first reaction was that the KGB had arrived to arrest them. The Ukrainian writers are all aware of being under constant surveillance and behave accordingly. At one point, when they were standing by the theater talking, one of the group suggested that they speak louder so that "the fellow hiding behind the board" could hear them better.
- 20. While in Kiev, the source was told by Antonenko-Davydovych that Ivan KOLASKA of Toronto attended a Party school in Kiev for two years. "He was known as a KGB agent", and used to visit various people pretending to be a nationalist. Individuals whom he visited and provoked into revealing nationalist sentiments were frequently later interrogated by the KGB. For example, he called on ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH one day and asked him for a copy of the speech MALYSHKO delivered at the funeral of SOSIURA. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH refused to give it to him. KOLASKA called on him again, this time with a copy of the speech, which he asked ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH to check out for

accuracy. The latter refused to check the copy KOLASKA had. He was called on the following day by the KGB who questioned him about his conversation with KOLASKA and asked him to explain just what he meant by nationalism. They also asked him about a folder of press clippings he had. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH told them to go to his room where he would show it to them but they said they were not permitted to intrude on his privacy so he carried it out to their car. Since the folder contained only Soviet press clippings there was not too much they could say. They did question him as to his reasons for collecting clippings which concerned shortcomings and shortages in the Soviet Union. The KGB men asked him to show them the copy of MALYSHKO's speech which he reportedly had. ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH said he did not have a copy of the speech and after they left, he burned it. The source was told that recently there were new rumors to the effect that KOLASKA was anti-Soviet, that he had been arrested by the KGB and jailed for a while and then expelled from the Soviet Union.

- 21. While in Lvov the source visited with Rostyslav BRATUN who introduced him to Ihor KALYNETS (who is employed with the Oblast Archives in Lvov). KALYNETS introduced the source to other individuals and arranged for him to see the treatise which CHORNOVIY had written. This document was signed by CHORNOVIY and sent to the CC CPU. KALYNETS has been undergoing a series of interrogations by the KGB. His wife recently was dismissed from her job at the Museum of Ethnography. The reason given was that she was unqualified for the job. She majored in philology during her schooling.
- 22. The day before his departure from Lvov, just to "please everybody" the source agreed to a request from Vilna Ukraina to be interviewed. He was interviewed by Mykola Ivanovich BARTOSHEK, a correspondent of Vilna Ukraina.
- 23. The Ukrainian writers with whom the source talked said they were fed up with Western Ukrainian-language broadcasts, particularly those sponsored by the United States. They said they objected to the broadcasts' pursuit of coexistence, which in their opinion, demobilizes the masses in their opposition to the regime. Listeners to the program ask each other what point there is to their opposing the regime when America wants to make friends with Russia. The writers said American broadcasts were neutralizing the masses' anti-regime potential and that if the present line of coexistence is to continue it would be better to discontinue the Ukrainian-language broadcasts. Western broadcasts are not being jammed very much now because the regime considers them harmless anyway. All jamming efforts have been turned on Red Chinese broadcasts which try to incite revolution, and reception of them is very poor.
- 24. The writers asked the source to convey to their friends in the emigration to be very careful in their references to the writers in the emigre press. The writers have no objections to their works being published in the emigre press, particularly in other Western

publications, but analytical articles with political implications can be very dangerous to them, particularly under present circumstances The regime is inclined presently to use any pretext to censor the writers and any carelessness on the part of their friends in the emigration can provide the enemy with amunition. Any article signed by Bohdan KRAVTSIV was particular damaging to them and they, therefore, suggested that he use a pseudonym or stop writing about them all together. Rostyslav BRATUN said that an article written by Bohdan RUBCHAK of Chicago (to the effect that if the Soviets permitted the works of ANTONYCH to be published they would undoubtedly be tampered with) jeopardized the Soviet Ukrainian writers' plans to start publishing ANTONYCH's works. The authorities used the argument that there was no point in publishing ANTONYCH since the emigres would not accept them as correct anyway. BRATUN suggested that in order to help them in their efforts to rehabilitate ANTONYCH, the emigres should initiate a collection of funds for erection of a monument to him. Soviet authorities have been asked for funds to permit erection of a monument to ANTONYCH but none have been forthcoming. Therefore, in the opinion of BRATUN, the collection of funds abroad for this purpose would force Soviet authorities to allocate funds for the ANTONYCH monument. In the meantime, ANTONYCH's works arebeing published by Dukla a Ukrainian-language journal in Presov, CSR. The writers also wanted the source to ask their friends abroad to initiate arrangements with American and Canadian universities to officially invite young Soviet Ukrainian writers to visit in the West just as they had invited VOZNESENSKY and other Russian writers. The source was given a list of Western published books the Ukrainian writers wanted to have mailed to them, which he promised to send after a his return to the West. The source refused to carry back with him any implicating material because he is very anxious to return to the 🦠 Ukraine again next year. For similar reasons, he called on people such as LEVISHCHENKO in order to show no particular favoritism toward nationalists.