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19 June 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR: Chief, Soviet Internal Affairs Branch, OCI

SUBJECT : Excerpts of Material from SB/CA Operations

SOURCE : U.S. Citizen active in Ukrainian Emigre  
Circles, from a Member of a Soviet Delegation  
to the United Nations (herein referred to as  
the Source)

1. The Source said he was surprised that the publishers of a Ukrainian emigre journal he had read recently did not know about the dismissal of Yuri KONDUFOR (head of the Science and Culture Section, CC CPU) from his post, but he didn't elaborate any further.

2. Concerning KAPTO (A.S. KAPTO, new head of the Ukrainian Komsomol) and a speech in which he attacked the Uniates and former nationalists, the Source commented that "evidently the Party was worried about a religious revival among the youth and about nationalist trends in general. The comments were not KAPTO's own but were dictated by the CC. One must realize that people like KAPTO say what they are told to say." YELCHENKO was removed from his post as 1st Secretary of the CC Ukrainian Komsomol because of his age. There was no other reason.

3. SHEVEL (Georgiy G. SHEVEL, a deputy for the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet, head of propaganda agitation) recently raised his head, but sooner or later he too will have to go. This will come to pass despite the fact that today he agrees with the KGB. Both SHEVEL and his colleagues, taking advantage of the present "orientation" in Moscow, have started a quiet smear campaign against their adversaries. Anyone they don't like is branded a nationalist.

4. For the time being, there will not be any new arrests or other harsh forms of persecution against the intellectuals. Such action would only add to Moscow's problems. The fact that Novy Mir recently carried an item by Ivan DZYUBA (issue No. 3, 1968) indicates that he will be left in peace, at

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least for a while. The internal situation has changed for the worse, and it will continue in that direction. Moscow is worried over recent developments in the CSSR, particularly in view of its own troubles in the Soviet Union. The developments in the CSSR could trigger the reaction of "hotheads" in the Ukraine. This would be catastrophic. The Ukraine is not ready. Any upheaval would be quashed in Kiev within 24 hours. There is fear of individual actions, which would cause the SHEVELS to tighten the screws. OVCHARENKO might be trying to mitigate the whole situation, but he is bound to follow the general line. Sooner or later, however, things will change for the better for the Ukraine. Even today there are important developments which cannot be ignored. An example: most every gathering of the young people sooner or later brings up the question of Ukraine's right to leave the Union. What can you do? Arrest all the youth? Of course, this question won't be raised at a CC CPU or other high Party forum. However, even there, the nationalities question, which for a long time was tabu, is being discussed from time to time. Time is working in favor of the Ukrainians, despite all kinds of setbacks. In his time, SKRYPNYK was the climax of Ukrainian Communist development. He was followed by Russified careerists, interested only in power. At the present, the trend goes from the latter extreme toward a "Skrypnykivshchyna," and soon a middle of the road will be reached. This will be the synthesis of contemporary Ukrainian Communist development.

Pressure in the Soviet Union will depend not only on what is going on in the Ukraine, in Russia, Georgia and in other republics, but also on what is going on in other areas. The further Czechoslovak Communists go in their liberalization and democratization directed against the Soviet Union, the worse will be the possible repercussions in the Soviet Union itself. All is not over in Czechoslovakia. There is the risk that the Soviet Union might be compelled to intervene militarily. The turmoil in France does not work in the interest of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it is quite inconvenient.

5. SKABA (A.D. SKABA, former Secretary of the CC CPU, responsible for ideology) called SHELEST (Petro Y. SHELEST, 1st Secretary CPU) a nationalist, and the situation became such that either SKABA or SHELEST had to go. SKABA probably will not remain in his present position very long.

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6. Ivan DRACH is being prepared for the role of a new TYCHYNA (Pavlo TYCHYNA). "They" began working on him when he was in New York and appointed him to the post of Secretary of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine. DRACH is talented and very sensitive, and it is not easy to stand up under the pressure being put on him. If DRACH succeeds and "they" fail, there is still KOROTYCH (Vitaliy KOROTYCH). Even today one is played against the other. TYCHYNA developed a pathological fear during the period when others fell. He was ruined for life. SOSYURA (Volodymir N. SOSYURO) was different. He succeeded in resisting. He was not mentally ill, although he was confined in a mental institution on several occasions. Emotionally SOSYURA was healthy; physically, he suffered from high blood pressure.

7. Please address any questions you may have regarding this memorandum to [redacted] on extension 6508 in room 5B4804.

[ SB/CAO ]

SB/CA [ ]:pk (18 June 68)

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