

SENDER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
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Remarks: ADDP has been seen. Suggest you file with attached brochure and ADDP note.			
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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE
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FORM NO. 237 Use previous editions
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TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	ADDP []	20 Dec	AS
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3	1-6 Thank you - Report with great interest. The part with C/SB/POS []		
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Remarks: Despite its length, I believe this unusually comprehensive report on the attitudes of intellectuals in the Ukraine will be of special interest to you. The report, a by-product of our Ukraine CA project, has been shown to OCI, and is now being processed by SB Reports Staff.			
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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE
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FORM NO. 237 Use previous editions
1-67

GPO : 1968 O - 297-542

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DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
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 SOURCE METHODS EXEMPTION 3028
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2007

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Remarks:			
<p>Very good report. MR RIC, 13, 15, 16, 17, 22, SOS aspect with mention in renewal request. <i>Fascinating.</i> June</p>			
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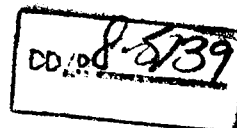
RECEIVER WILL CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM			
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6	SB/PO/M [] 4D38		
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Remarks:			
<p>The more interesting part of the attached report begins with para. 15 on page 6. The source met & spoke with a number of the dissident Ukrainians, who were quite open in their talks with her. It has since been reported that they were very impressed with her, stating that she was one of the more intelligent women of her age they had every met. As you will read in the report, she was very determined to enroll as a student in a Ukrainian university, even at the cost of giving up her German citizenship. Fortunately for her, she was not able to arrange this and returned to Germany.</p> <p>To 5: Please index as marked on pages 6, and 9, and classify into 74-124-29/3.</p>			
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FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.			DATE
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GPO : 1968 O - 297-542

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2 December 1968

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

- o SUBJECT: The situation in the Ukraine through September 1968 as reported by a Western traveller.

1. The following information was received from AECASSOWARY/29, as reported to him by a 19 year old female German citizen of Ukrainian parentage (hereafter the source), who visited in the Ukrainian SSR from 24 July to 24 September 1968. The source's parents are collaborators of the AECASSOWARIES. Her father, a former member of the SS Division "Galicia", is a professor of Slavistics at a West German university. Her mother is an ethnic German from Bukovina. They have both attended various international Slavistics congresses, the last one in Prague in August of this year, and both contribute to Ukrainian emigre publications and actively participate in West German and emigre intellectual activities. The purpose of the source's visit to the Ukraine was to visit relatives. She spent most of her time in Lvov and Kiev, and made side trips to Uzhgorod, Odessa, Chernovtsi, Kamyanets-Podolsk and Khotyn. She lived with relatives in Romaniv, and in Lvov and Kiev in the homes of Ukrainian intellectuals. The source writes poetry in Ukrainian and is proud of her Ukrainian heritage. At the same time she is a member of and very actively participates in SDS activities. Wolffe (sic) and Dutschke are good friends of hers and she is acquainted with Con Benditt. She is a first year university student of Slavistics and Germanistics in Munich. Strangely enough she has reconciled her Ukrainian sentiments with strong communist convictions of the Mao-Che Guevara brand and modern anarchism. A moderate beatnik by appearance, source is intelligent, well read (particularly in sociology, Marxism, Leninism, Debrey, etc.), fully absorbed by SDS politics and Ukrainian poetry, emotionally still rather immature and unsettled, and an enfant terrible in the eyes of her parents, who are highly respected in

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both Ukrainian and German intellectual circles. The source has a strong tendency to publicly demonstrate her feelings of whatever she happens to be against. She is against any kind of establishment, or at least claims to be, but does not criticize the Maoist or Fidelist regimes, which she excludes from the establishment category. During leftist student demonstrations in Frankfurt/Main in 1967/1968, the source frequently was seen on television in the avantgarde of the SDS. She formally registered with the SDS 10 days before her departure to the Ukraine. She was refused a Soviet visitor's visa when she first applied for one. It was suggested to her by P.G. WOLOKHIN (WOLOCHIN), Third Secretary of the Soviet Consulate, that she go as a tourist. She received her visitor's visa several days after registering with the SDS. She is inclined to infer that her formal membership in the SDS was instrumental in her being granted a visitor's visa.

2. The source left Frankfurt for Prague by train on 23 July, and from there proceeded via Chop. At the Chop RR station the customs officers carefully examined the pamphlets of poetry the source had with her and asked for and were given a copy. Source had taken with her ten copies of the pamphlet, which was a reprint of her poems from the No. 7 issue of Suchasnist (Ukrainian-language journal published by the AECASSOWARIES). A female Intourist agent asked the source why she was speaking Ukrainian, but when she learned that the source was a Ukrainian "poet", she left her in peace. Besides, the source attacked the agent, "supposedly a Ukrainian official" for speaking Russian instead of Ukrainian in the Ukraine.

3. After a 4 hour stop at Chop, source left by train for Lvov on 24 July. A well dressed female of about 35, who was heavily made up, sidled up to the source on the train and offered to buy anything the source had with her, chewing gum, nylons, underwear and dollars. The source told her she had nothing to sell and indicated quite clearly that she was not interested in her company. Instead, she talked with a Persian student who was studying in Moscow. When the train arrived in Lvov about 8 p.m., the source was met by an uncle who took her directly to Romaniv in a taxi.

4. The source found the older people with whom she talked generally unhappy with present conditions in the Ukraine, at least in the villages. They said their situation was better under Polish and German occupations, particularly under the Poles, even though most people were enjoying better living standards and working conditions. Source observed that no one was in a

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hurry to get to work on the collective farm. Many stayed at home and idled away their time or went to the market in Lvov. She saw no one in need of clothes or hungry. Most houses, however, were in need of repair, and when asked why they didn't do something about them, her relatives said they couldn't see any sense in bothering since "we work for the Soviets; they are no longer ours." In source's opinion it was just this "it is not ours" attitude which was at the root of the villagers' discontent. There is a deep gulf between the collective farmers and the kolhoz administrators. The latter are a new aristocracy. As a rule, an administrator will have a villa, 2 cows, a car, a piano and "other possessions of the new Soviet bourgeoisie". One of source's uncles belongs to this aristocracy. He is a forester, a Party member, who receives a monthly salary of 100 rubles, plus whatever wood he needs and other fringe benefits. His wife, an agronom on the collective farm im. Shchorsa, earns 200 rubles monthly. In discussing with her relatives the "acute" problems she encountered during her observations, she was told she was still very naive and did not understand about life in the Soviet Union. Social differences between collective farmers and the "nachalstvo" were to be expected. One would always expect to find a gap between the working class and the intelligentsia. These are facts of life which even the Soviet system cannot change. When the source raised the question as to whether the peasants would prefer to have their own land back, some said they would while others said they would be satisfied with the kolhoz system if the pay for working days was better.

5. The black market is flourishing. Activity in Lvov starts at 5 or 6 in the morning, and the packing and loading of fruits and vegetables in Romanov gets started the previous evening as the villagers are anxious to be in Lvov before the collective farm market opens at 7.

6. The source felt the youth is not deeply interested in politics. Most of young people are in the Komsomol, but they know little or nothing about Marx, Engels or Lenin. Source observed in the local library in Romanov that the Marxist classicists rested under a heavy layer of dust, while the small number of people present were reading novels. The youth seemed mainly concerned with getting to the city, to a higher school, to a university, with getting a good job, with sports, and with "horilka" (an alcoholic drink), the latter in which the older generation was equally interested. Drunkenness is on a scale not seen in the West. Ivan DZYUBA, with whom the source later discussed this problem, said this was a "plague" which came from Russia where the consequences of heavy drinking were catastrophic.

<secondary source, through
AECASSAWAY/29, of information about
problems in the USSR.>

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He said there was a high percentage of retarded children being born, and that many people were suffering from liver diseases and other illnesses, ^{but} a stupefaction of a whole generation was on the march, and that if this drunkenness didn't moderate itself it could have very serious sociological consequences for Soviet society in the future.

Q mentioned in report on dissidence in the Ukraine

7. The majority of the older generation does not approve of Party membership, but the younger people consider membership in the Party as useful toward their careers.

USSR

USSR, Ukraine

8. The source was told about the village seksots, Slavko SHEKH (ca. 35), fnu GURASH (ca. 37), and Halyna CHELK (ca. 37), who allegedly work for the KGB and the local militia. No one seemed to take them seriously. During an evening of entertainment, the band played "Shche no vmerla Ukrayina" (The Ukraine Has Not Died), and "U luzi chervona kalyna" (In the Meadow Stands a Red Cranberry), both nationalist songs. All three of the above-named "seksots" were present, but no one seemed to care.

9. Everyone in the village (Romaniv) spoke Ukrainian. The administration is local. The desiatelytka (ten years school) is Ukrainian and the teachers are local people or from the Eastern oblasts of the Ukraine.

10. There was a war panic in Romaniv when the source arrived. Everyone was talking about war. The people were buying and storing flour, soap, fats, etc. They expressed surprise that the source's parents allowed her to travel to the Soviet Union during such an uncertain period. The war, according to the people in Romaniv, was to be between the Soviet Union on one side and the United States and West Germany on the other. Many truck drivers were recalled to the army for training back in March, and since then there had been several mobilizations of young men under 30. There were many troops all over West Ukraine, and no one believed they were there just for maneuvers. When the Soviet Army marched into Czechoslovakia it was generally believed in the Ukraine that the West would help defend the Czechoslovakians.

Peremyshl

11. The nearby Peremyshlany rayon center is quite russified. There are Russians in the administration, in the militia and in the Party leadership. The source was told that the commander of the Peremyshlany garrison shot himself on 17 August 1968 when it was discovered that some important documents had disappeared from his desk or safe. The rumor was that he had been issuing false military identification papers and was caught.

12. On 5 August 1968, the source went to Lvov where she stayed with Ihor KALYNYTS and his wife Irena (Ira). Both Ihor

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and his wife are active dissidents. He works in the oblast archives. Irena works in a school library in Lvov. She has a PhD in philology. Ihor was under pressure to write articles criticizing "bourgeois nationalists". He refused, and as a result a collection of his poetry was withdrawn from the publisher. The source was introduced to the KALYNYTSES by Roman IVANCHUK, a poet who works for Zhovten (October - a journal); Roman KUDLYK, who as a result of having participated with others in a protest against the arrest of Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL and other Ukrainian intellectuals is now working with a railroad newspaper instead of Zhovten; and Mykola ILNYTSKY, who is still unofficially connected with Zhovten. Through Ihor and Irena the source met many of the other dissident writers in Lvov and was formally introduced to DZYUBA, SVITLYCHNYI and others in Kiev.

13. Ihor and Irena have a 6 year old daughter who lives with her grandmother in Khodoriv and whom they visit every weekend. On return from one of their visits they brought back the news that on 24 August Mykhaylo and Bohdan HORYN' were released and had returned from Mordovia. (Note: The HORYN' brothers were sentenced in 1966 for anti-regime, nationalist activities, Bohdan to 4 years and Mykhaylo to 6.) Ihor went to visit the HORYN' brothers, but thought it would be better for all concerned if the source did not visit them. The HORYN' brothers must report to the local militia every day and are not allowed to move from Khodoriv. A special permit would be required if they wanted to travel outside Khodoriv. Ihor had been involved in "nationalist" activities with the HORYN' brothers, and the latter's mother was reportedly complaining that he was let free while her sons were sent to prison. Others from the Mordovian corrective labor camps who had sentences up to 3 years, HEL' and HEVRYCH for instance, also were released. Valentin MOROZ was brought to Kiev where he reportedly was to be tried again, this time for his "Report from the Beria Reserve". Lev LUKYANENKO was brought to Kiev where he was given a grand tour of the operas, local libraries, factories a trip on the Dnieper, and promised a trip to his native Chernigov area and full rehabilitation if only he would reveal the channels through which documents were smuggled from his prison camp. LUKYANENKO told the authorities to forget about the trip to Chernigov and asked to be returned to Mordovia. Fnu VIRUN, on the other hand, reportedly agreed to collaborate with the KGB. As soon as he was released word got around to be careful in his presence.

14. Mykhaylo OSADCHY, who was released from prison in the summer of 1967, was still unemployed when the source was in the Ukraine. His wife is employed in a clerical capacity and earns about 70 rubles per month. OSADCHY was recently befriended by an individual who his colleagues feel was sent by the KGB.

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15. From her discussions with various dissident intellectuals in Lvov the source came to the conclusion that dissidence was widespread. She felt that was the reason why the authorities did not initiate all-out action against the intellectuals. Dissidence among Ukrainian youth was growing stronger, and what particularly pleased the source was that it had explicit political and not merely literary undertones. Following her conversations with Ivan DZYUBA, Ivan SVITLYCHNY and others in Kiev, the source observed that this new literary and political movement was intertwined and could not be separated. As to the political features of this movement, in her opinion, they were by no means homogeneous. She distinguished two main trends. One which she would identify with DZYUBA and those like him, who put emphasis on their communist convictions and a necessity to rebuild the Party and through the Party and administration to "liberate" the Ukraine. Accordingly, they also put emphasis on contacts with leftist circles abroad and are against any "underground" activities which would give the authorities a pretext to liquidate the Ukrainian youth movement as a conspiracy. The other she identified with Ivan SVITLYCHNY and Ihor KALYNETS and others who are less concerned with Communist ideology and exclusively evolutionary forms or struggle. They rather gravitate to a purely "national" program and are not against some sort of "organization" if necessary. Both trends, however, stress that only through a further strengthening of national consciousness in the masses will it be possible to achieve their goal, and that despite recent setbacks they appraise present developments in the long run quite optimistically. As their main achievement at present, they point out the fact that more and more "technical intelligentsia" is joining their ranks.

16. Knowledge about Soviet documents published abroad is widespread in intellectual circles, but the people are not too well informed about emigre activities in general. They know very little about groups other than the Melnick group and its publication, Ukrainske Slovo in Paris, and the ZP/UHVR, its journal Suchasnist, and Prolog in New York.

17. a. The source was so impressed with the people she met in Lvov that she decided she would like to study in the Ukraine. On 10 August she visited the Society for Cultural Contacts with Ukrainians Abroad to discuss her plans. She was received by a Fnu YAREMKO, ca. 38 years of age, who said he was chief of the Lvov branch of the Society. He told her he was not in a position to discuss such matters and sent her to the Oblvykonkom. When the source presented her request to enroll in a Ukrainian university, adding that she would be willing to remain in the Ukraine permanently if that was a prerequisite, she was surrounded by 12 individuals, including the chief and his deputies, who evidently couldn't believe what they were hearing. She was asked to return the following day and told that her request would be handled by one of the deputies of the Oblvykonkom. The following day when she returned, she was directed to a Comrade HELIKHOVSKY, *fnu* ca. 39 years of age, about 168 cm. tall, of stocky build, pale "square"

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KGB suspect
with whom NECESSARY source had contact in the Ukraine

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face, greenish eyes, black wavy hair combed back, well dressed, polite and tactful, in the words of the source, "very elegant, not like a Soviet". The source presented her case to ZHELIKHOVSKY and asked him whether it would be possible for her to study in the Ukraine without giving up her German citizenship. He said it was not, that if she wanted to stay she would have to relinquish her German citizenship and apply for Soviet citizenship. When she pointed out that she knew of individuals who lived and studied in the Ukraine, ZHELIKHOVSKY replied that it was possible to study only in Moscow or Leningrad and only under a student exchange agreement. Moreover, there had been bad experiences with foreign students in the Ukraine. For instance, "one KOLASKA from Canada, of whom you certainly heard, who after we fed and educated him, repaid us with treason and slander. No, we cannot afford another such experience." The source agreed to renounce her German citizenship and was asked to execute an application for Soviet citizenship. ZHELIKHOVSKY said that because of her age (19), she would have to obtain permission from her parents. In the meantime, she was asked to supply him with complete biographical information and a written statement as to the reason for her decision. ZHELIKHOVSKY appeared to be aware of her membership in the SDS before she told him about it, and knew that she was on friendly terms with WOLFFE and DUTSCHKE. He knew that the SDS has approximately 2,000 registered members, and he told her that since her departure from Germany there was a split in the Frankfurt branch. He asked the source to tell him about the French SDS, how many in France were Maoist, Che Guevarists, anarchists, etc. She could tell him very little about the French organization, and her impression was that he knew more about it than she did.

b. During one of source's interviews with ZHELIKHOVSKY he told her that her case was being handled as that of a "political resettler, Category Two." This was based on her statement that she wanted to live and study among Ukrainians and that the capitalist environment in Germany was not conducive to her poetic talents. During another interview ZHELIKHOVSKY asked whether she would agree to write articles concerning emigre nationalists. She replied that it would depend on what was wanted, that she would be willing to write "about" emigre nationalists but not "against" them. She was asked this question following a long discussion concerning emigre activities. He asked her who was at the head of the Bandera group now. When she said she was not sure, he told her it was STETSKO. When asked what she thought of the Banderaites she said she considered them to be Ukrainian fascists. ZHELIKHOVSKY was very pleased with her response. When he later said that her father was a nationalist, she said that was her father's business, but she did not consider him a nationalist, at least he wasn't a Banderaites. Asked what she had against the Banderaites, she said nothing, except that they are reactionaries and idiots.

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ZHELIKHOVSKY was even more pleased. ZHELIKHOVSKY: "But they are strong." Source: "Yes, in numbers." ZHELIKHOVSKY: "What about the youth? It is becoming assimilated." The source agreed with him. ZHELIKHOVSKY then added, "but one has to admit that the SUM (Ukrainian youth organization) keeps the Bandera youth attached to its Ukrainian nationality", and the source agreed that this was very true and to a greater extent than in the case of the PLAST (Ukrainian boyscout organization). ZHELIKHOVSKY pretended to be genuinely concerned about the fate of Ukrainian youth in the emigration.

c. At one point during a conversation ZHELIKHOVSKY mentioned that Suchasnist had published some of the source's poetry and that he knew she brought some reprints with her, and he asked why she brought them. "Why not", she replied, "Suchasnist is the only liberal emigre journal which will publish anything an author wants to write. Suchasnist will even give space to Marxists." ZHELIKHOVSKY did not comment but made a wry expression.

d. Asked what she thought about Shlakh Peremohy (a Bandera publication) the source replied that it was a stupid paper" just like your Pravda and Izvestia. By the way, why don't you do something to improve your newspapers?" ZHELIKHOVSKY did not answer but made another face.

e. At another meeting with ZHELIKHOVSKY he accused the source's parents of being anti-Soviet, and said that if they were not, they should return to the Ukraine. The source said she could speak only for herself and not for her parents. Several times ZHELIKHOVSKY got on the subject of Marxism-Leninism and ideology in general, but it would soon become apparent that they were not his strong points and the matter would be dropped.

f. The source submitted her application for Soviet citizenship on 20 August. It was addressed to the Government of the USSR. In it, the source explained that she wanted to live and study in the Ukraine but not in any other part of the Soviet Union, that she wanted to live among Ukrainians, that she was enchanted by the ideals of socialism, was a Marxist herself, and that the spirit of capitalism was not conducive to her creativity. At this time she told ZHELIKHOVSKY that she would like to join the CPSU. He smiled and told her that she would have to wait much longer for that. As far as her Soviet citizenship was concerned, everything now would depend on her parents. If they agree, he saw no obstacles from the Soviet side. A reply from the source's parents arrived soon thereafter forbidding her to renounce her German citizenship and demanding her immediate return home. Everyone was disappointed, particularly the source. ZHELIKHOVSKY said that he could do nothing about it. If her parents were anybody else, the Soviets would permit her to stay in the Soviet Union even without their consent. Under the circumstances, however, "we have already had enough problems because of your parents. They will not give up easily. Embassies and governmental institutions

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would become involved. We don't want such problems on our shoulders. Sorry, but I really cannot help you." Without further ado, ZHELIKHOVSKY suggested the source visit YAREMKO and inform him about the outcome of her case. YAREMKO told the source he was sorry but there was nothing he could do to help her either. He suggested that the source pay a visit to Mykhaylo LEVISHCHENKO in Kiev, a friend of his, and also said she could call on Fnu PETRIV, chief of the Lvov Radio Committee. It turned out that PETRIV (ca. 50 years old) remembered the source's mother from the Moscow Youth Festival and even showed her a photo of her mother taken with him in Moscow. PETRIV said he was a friend of IVANYCHUK. He said he was sorry but he could not help her concerning her wishes to study in the Ukraine. When source later asked IVANYCHUK about PETRIV, he said that the latter indeed had been a friend of his at one time but that the friendship died when PETRIV went over to the KGB where he specialized in attacks against emigres.

18. When the source told Ihor KALYNETS and other acquaintances in the Ukraine about her plans to renounce her German citizenship they were astounded and warned her that she would regret it. They also warned her that she would be used against her parents and against Ukrainian emigres in general by compelling her to write against them. Pavlo MURASHKO of Presov was in Lvov at that time and he also urged her to drop her "adventurous, irresponsible" plan. He suggested that if she was bored in Germany she should join the Ukrainian youth in Paris. She was needed abroad much more than she was in the Ukraine. Other acquaintances in Lvov told her that ZHELIKHOVSKY was not a deputy chairman of the Oblvykonkom but a KGB officer. Source said that she was under no illusion about ZHELIKHOVSKY and that she knew who he really was from the very beginning.

19. From Lvov the source took a train to Kiev on 2 or 3 September. She lived with the LOHVYN family. They have a nice apartment, 2 large rooms, a kitchen and bath. Mrs. LOHVYN is a Latvian. Two of their four children, Yurko and Ira, are at home. The other two are married and live away from home. Through her friends in Lvov, the source was given access to Nadia SVITLYCHNA, sister of Ivan, and through Nadia she met many of the other dissident intellectuals in Kiev.

20. The source visited the SVITLYCHNYYS on 6 September. Lola, Ivan's wife, took her to visit Mykhaylyna KOTSYUBINSKA. The latter remains unemployed. She was working on some new translations but did not expect they would get published. Lola SVITLYCHNA said her husband also was unemployed, although the KGB chief continues to make promises to find him a job. Lola said Ivan was constantly under surveillance, even during his vacation in the Carpathian Mountains last summer. While in Lvov in July, she and Ivan were taken to KGB headquarters where they were held for 3 hours, searched, and then released. Their home is under surveillance at all times. Lola said "we have a home in which we can sleep and talk about the weather but do nothing else."

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no 206
diablen 1918. Suspect KGB with whom ALEXANDER had contact in the Ukraine.

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21. On 10 September the source met Ivan SVITLYCHNYI and Hryhori KOCHUR in the Siayvo book store. She later saw SVITLYCHNYI on three more occasions. He and KOCHUR were shocked when the source told them she would like to remain in the Ukraine. SVITLYCHNYI laughed at her, saying she did not realize what was in store for her and that she would be crying for her mother within six months. KOCHUR mentioned that he had spent 10 years in Siberia. He was one of the signers of a protest document signed by 139 others and is now being closely watched. He said he expected his home to be searched any day, and that his manuscripts are not being published since the appearance of the above-mentioned document. KOCHUR and SVITLYCHNYI took the source to meet Lina KOSTENKO. According to them, she permits only these two individuals into her home. KOCHUR said he submitted Lina's Berestechko to the DNIPRO publishing house recently but doubted it would get in print.

22. a. Lina KOSTENKO, SVITLYCHNYI, DZYUBA and Mykhaylyna KOTSYUBINSKA had refused to recall the letter they sent to Literaturna Ukraina protesting against an article by Oleksander POLTORATSKIY in the 16 July 1968 issue, in which he attacked Vyacheslav CHORNOVIL and Sviatoslav KARAVANSKY for participating in political crimes, and Ukrainian nationalists abroad for slanders against the Soviet regime. In late August, KOSTENKO and DZYUBA were summoned by telegram from the Secretariat of the Union of Writers of the Ukraine to appear on 30 August, DZYUBA to come an hour earlier than KOSTENKO. Lina said that DZYUBA probably didn't even bother going, or if he did go, he probably was about 2 hours late as is his custom. Lina went. Present were Oles HONCHAR, Vitali KOROTYCH, Dmytro PAVLYCHKO, Pavlo ZAHREBELNY, Vasyl' KOZACHENKO, and 1 or 2 others. HONCHAR was very formal. He informed Lina that refusal to withdraw her signature from the "blackmail letter" to Literaturna Ukraina could result in some very unpleasant consequences, including expulsion from membership in the Union. The Union had in the past defended her but this time she went too far, the Union is responsible for its members and will not condone such acts by them. Lina interrupted HONCHAR to state that she preferred the Union not to be responsible for her, that she is fully capable of shouldering her own responsibilities. HONCHAR replied that it was very sad she refused the Union's protection because the only choice left was to withdraw her signature and remain in the Union or be expelled from the Union and become personally accountable for her acts. When Lina inquired whether expulsion from the Union would automatically mean her arrest, HONCHAR nodded his head and said that unfortunately it was so and that Lina knew quite well that to date no member of the Union was arrested.

b. Dmytro PAVLYCHKO was among those who attacked Lina, and he appealed to her "responsibility, duty and conscience." Someone else started a speech about brotherly assistance to the

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people of Czechoslovakia to whom "we are related by blood". Lina interrupted to remark that she knew of no blood relationship. KOZACHENKO became very excited and began to shout that if events such as those in Hungary in 1956 or in the CSSR today would take place in the Soviet Union, Soviet citizens would be hanged on trees, and Lina has the audacity to joke about it. Lina said she was very serious, and wanted on this occasion to register her formal protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. HONCHAR became very upset and stated that he nor anyone else present could take it into consideration, and that "officially, we heard nothing of the sort." He again appealed to Lina to be prudent. She repeated her demand that her protest be formally recorded into the minutes of the session. Vitaliy KOROTYCH shouted at her, "Lina, come to your senses. For God's sake, do you not realize what you are doing?" She suggested that he go home and write his so-called poems. HONCHAR nodded his head and added, "Yes, Vitaliy, yes, you better go home." Lina began to summarize the proceedings and repeated that she would not withdraw her signature from the letter to Literaturna Ukraina, and she insisted that her protest against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia be made a matter of record. HONCHAR expressed regret about her refusal to withdraw her signature from the letter, and said that so far as her protest against the invasion was concerned, he had already stated his opinion, and that moreover, the session was not convoked to deal with such matters. In view of Lina's attitude, he sees no other course but to have her expelled from membership in the Union, but the decision can be made only by the Presidium of the Union which would be meeting on 9 September and to which she would be invited. Lina replied that she was not going to come to any more sessions, and that in the event Ivan DZYUBA is expelled from membership, she would consider herself automatically expelled as well, even if the Presidium decided not to expell her.

c. There was no session of the Presidium on 9 September. Lina, however, felt sure she would in the near future be expelled from membership in the Union and then arrested. DZYUBA, SVITLYCHNYY and others did not agree. DZYUBA said "they would not dare." He explained that by arresting Lina, DZYUBA, or SVITLYCHNYY, "they would only make heroes of us" and thus hasten the spreading dissention among the youth in the Ukraine. DZYUBA and SVITLYCHNYY felt that they would not even be expelled from membership in the Union and that HONCHAR would somehow smooth over the situation. He in particular is interested in keeping Lina and DZYUBA in the Union.

23. Stanislav ^HTELNYUK was sending gifts to Lina and making all efforts to gain her confidence. She was under the impression that he was set up by the KGB, and she said she would soon "get rid of him."

SECRET

SECRET

24. a. On 16 September the source met Ivan DZYUBA in the Siayvo bookshop in Kiev. They went for a walk and talked. DZYUBA knew all about her and about her decision to remain in the Ukraine. At first he expressed disapproval of this "adventure", but after listening to her arguments he said perhaps she was right, and that with her personality she might do a lot of good in the Ukraine. DZYUBA expressed the following thoughts and opinions on various topics.

b. The Soviet invasion of the CSSR is a serious setback to the Ukrainian cause in the Soviet Union. He and his colleagues hoped that the liberalization process in Czechoslovakia would survive and sooner or later spread to the Soviet Union. Of course, liberalization in the Ukraine would be quite different by virtue of its different historical and other factors. Nevertheless there are good chances and enough fertile ground for its development in the Ukraine. The Soviet invasion dimmed those hopes for some time to come. This did not mean, however, that the process of Ukrainian emancipation will stop, not by any means. Neither did it mean that the evolutionary struggle would be abandoned. On the contrary, only through the Party and the administration will it be possible to achieve the necessary goals. A new and more propitious situation will arise with the arrival of young generations in all echelons of the Party and the administration. This did not mean that the young generation is completely free of Stalinist inclinations, but rather that the percentage of liberal forces in it are greater than in the present Soviet establishment. The main prerequisite for success lies, however, in the backing of the Ukrainian masses. Therefore, their national enlightenment, and their national consciousness is task number one, and that is precisely on what all efforts are being concentrated. A further "tightening of screws" can be expected in the near future, but again, this will be caught up by an accelerated development during the next "loosening" which will come sooner or later. DZYUBA spoke about a "revived Ukrainian impulse" which would not be quelled. Sooner or later it will come to a direct confrontation between Ukraine and Russia. At present, a struggle within the "legalistic framework" is the only one which can be applied. It was necessary not to do anything which would give false pretext for the present establishment to strike a deep blow to evolving young Ukrainian forces. Again, this did not mean the present establishment would not strike at all under present circumstances. It might do so, particularly on the fringes, and this is unavoidable.

c. DZYUBA impressed the source as a convinced, genuine communist (or at least a Marxist) and Leninist. He even told her that, for example, he would propound communism versus capitalism in a nationalist Ukrainian independent state.

d. According to DZYUBA, there are two main trends in Ukrainian poetry written by the younger poets today, one, "purely modern", and the other, "politically engaged." The first trend is represented

SECRET

SECRET

mainly by WOROBYOV, SACHENKO, KORDUN. The second, by KHOLODNY. The latter to a great extent performs the same role as Vasyl' SYMONENKO did, although he is not as talented as his late predecessor. The "politically engaged" poetry has an explicitly political character and is very popular among the masses. This particularly applies to KHOLODNY, who is widely read among students and workers. His satirical poems especially find a strong response among the people. Both trends are necessary and are normal within the framework of the current revival of the Ukrainian national impulse, and DZYUBA approves of both - abstract and "engaged". Both prove also how strong the growth of Ukrainian poetry in general is.

e. DZYUBA emphasized that he was more interested in having what he writes read by his own people at home rather than published abroad, but that he appreciated what has been published abroad and will be grateful for all future efforts. However, he criticized very strongly the irresponsible attempts on the part of the emigres who try to make a nationalist out of him and compare him to Ukrainian nationalist politicians. He mentioned as an example a poem in which he was compared with Petlura and Bandera. People abroad could not imagine how he and his colleagues had to suffer for this kind of nonsense for which the KGB and their servants in the Union of Writers wait. He asked Source to convey to all concerned to stop creating problems for him and his friends in the Ukraine by irresponsible, idiotic statements in the press and in public in the West, which only supply the regime with the weapons they seek and use against them. He appraised the emigration as follows:

(1) At least half of all emigres wasting their time in Canada, the United States and other Western countries could and should return to the Ukraine and thus strengthen the Ukrainian national potential. Their return would help the present Ukrainian cause and would be a strong factor against forced russification.

(2) Much too frequently the emigres write and do things which are skillfully being used by the KGB against him and his colleagues ~~also~~ in the Ukraine. This is not a good reflection on the emigration. It is necessary almost constantly to strike back against all kinds of accusations by the authorities based on the idiotic moves by the emigres.

(3) By nature the emigres are rightist. It is bad that there are no leftist, explicitly communist factions. It would be much easier to maintain contacts with the latter. The

SECRET

"Progressives" are merely tools of the regime and all attempts to engage them along proper lines have failed. Nevertheless, it would be worthwhile to talk to the young progressives and try to involve them in contacts with people in the Ukraine. DZYUBA asked the source to eventually give this problem proper consideration, and should she happen to be in Canada, to talk with young progressives.

(4) The emigration should develop contacts not only with rightist but also with leftist circles abroad. This would countervail at least to some extent KGB efforts to identify the young Ukrainian movement with the emigration and with rightist Western circles.

f. DZYUBA was quite interested in the SDS and thought it would be a good idea to have a Ukrainian SDS abroad with which they (in the Ukraine) could maintain contact. He asked the source to encourage young emigres like herself to visit the Ukraine. The more such people come the better, even if some of them decide to remain in the Ukraine. "Any accretion to the national potential today is welcome, particularly if it would be wasted abroad."

g. Russians as a nation are also in a miserable state. They have to pay a high price for Russian imperialism and for the russification of other peoples. It might sound strange to the source, but russification is conducive also to a national disintegration of the Russian people, who are losing more and more of their traditional national features. Also their socio-economic status is unenviable. Unfortunately, however, Russians do not understand those facts of life and follow their chauvinistic leadership. Only a small group of Russian intellectuals sees these problems in their proper perspective, but they have little influence in Russian society.

h. In the summer of 1968, DZYUBA was instructed by the KGB to submit a declaration concerning the publication in the West of "Internationalism or Russification". He wrote that the thoughts expressed in the book were his, and that he continued to subscribe to them. As a communist he deemed it mandatory to present these thoughts to the highest party organs and so he did. He did not, however, send his treatise abroad, nor did he authorize anyone to do so in his behalf. Therefore, he cannot be responsible for the fact that it was published abroad. He was informed that his declaration was "absolutely not fit to print" that he did not write even "as much as Solzhenitsyn" had written.

25. Source last saw DZYUBA on 23 September 1968. He told her that he was still a member of the Union of Writers, the

SECRET

Presidium did not meet on 9 September, and his case was still in abeyance. Anyway, whatever they do with him he was not going to go to any of their sessions again.

26. According to people in Kiev and Lvov, political discrimination against Ukrainians was quite often identified with socio-economics. For example, in Kiev, Ukrainian kindergartens usually are located in basements. They have less qualified personnel, and the children get only 100 grams of milk per day, whereas in the Russian kindergarten 150grams of milk are distributed. Also, Russian schools are usually better equipped. This fact is conducive to accentuating Ukrainian national consciousness, in this case based on resentment against the Russians.

27. At Lina Kostenko's house Source met Nadiyka KIRYAN aged 22, single, Ukrainian, expelled from Kiev University (Ukrainian philology) when a copy of "Woe from the Wit" by Chornovil was found in her room. She also had a conflict with the dean of the faculty. At a meeting at the university an official referred to her as a terrorist. Everyone later joked about it, since she is very tiny and hardly resembles a terrorist. When she came to the deans office as head of a student group to protest against the expulsion of students in the spring of 1968, he called her a nationalist. Nadiyka writes poetry. Her father lives in the Poltava area.

28. Mykhaylo SACHENKO is now at a cinematographers school. He wants to be a producer. Two years ago he had some trouble with the KGB in connection with a celebration of Symonenko's anniversary in Kiev. After it was learned that Vira Vovk had some of his poetry, he again was in trouble for a while. He is a gay character, always smiling, energetic, somewhat eccentric.

29. Viktor KORDUN, a promising young poet, expelled from the university of Kiev and was planning to continue his studies via correspondence. Together with WOROBYOV, he guarded orchards in the Kolhoz "Pashkivka," Makarovsky r n, Kiev obl. He is rather resigned and diffident. He was living with WOROBYOV when some dissident literature was found in their room. They both were expelled from the university in 1966.

30. Mykola WOROBYOV, poet, expelled from University of Kiev in 1966. He later worked on construction projects, and now is employed as a guard of orchards. (He and KORDUNI were growing heavy beards when the Source saw them.)

31. Mariya OVDIYENKO, aged 20, of peasant parents from Kiev oblast. She was involved in the case of Oleksander NAZARENKO and Viktor KARPENKO, who were arrested on 26 June 1968 as suspects for producing and distributing anti-Soviet leaflets at the Shevchenko

SECRET

demonstration on 22 May 1968 in Kiev. NAZARENKO is 38 years old, KARPENKO is 26. The KGB wanted OVDIYENKO to admit that she typed the leaflets and to bear witness against NAZARENKO and KARPENKO. She denied everything and suggested that the KGB arrest her also or leave her in peace. The KGB summoned her father and asked him to "talk his daughter into her senses". Her father wept, and she upbraided him in front of the KGB for his cowardice. They also tried to convince her that she was denounced by others, including CHORNOVIL. She was unmoved. They then tried to make her admit at least who had initiated the leaflets and who helped to type them, but she refused to cooperate.

32. According to LOHVYN, Irena ^{sex F} STESHENKO was not to be trusted. He suspected her of collaboration with the KGB. Last year when Titus HEVRYK visited Kiev, STESHENKO visited LOHVYN's wife at 1 a.m. and asked her to return some document which allegedly was shown to Titus. It looked like an outright provocation. Source asked Ivan SVITLYCHNY about STESHENKO. He said something to the effect that he had nothing to fear because "they" were after him all the time anyway, and it was better to always be cautious and careful in STESHENKO's house and in her presence. Nevertheless, when the source accompanied him and KOCHUR to STESHENKO's home to pick up some books brought by friends of Vira VOVK, SVITLYCHNY talked quite openly in her presence. Les' HERASYMCHUK, about whom STESHENKO warned the source, until recently was her lover for several years. STESHENKO liked young men and was known in Kiev for having the most beautiful legs in the city. (In Source's opinion they are not that beautiful). She was at one time courted by LOHVYN. Allegedly, HERASYMCHUK had contacts with the KGB in the past. He is a Jew. HERASYMCHUK is not his true name.

33. In LOHVYN's opinion, Ivan HONCHAR might also be a collaborator of the KGB. The introductory pamphlet he distributes to visitors of his private museum which is quite nationalistic in tone, seems to be a means of provocation. Some visitors are asked to comment about it and HONCHAR allegedly has the comments recorded on a concealed tape recorder.

34. In March 1968 anti-Russian leaflets were distributed at Kiev University. Among other things, the leaflets stated that Soviet Russians, like their Tsarist predecessors were forbidding Ukrainians to commemorate SHEVCHENKO's anniversaries. In the wake of the distribution of the leaflets, special meetings, held of faculty members with Party and KGB officers, which led to a new regulation requiring student identification cards for admittance to the premisses of the University. This regulation was still valid when the source was in Kiev.

SECRET

SECRET

35. There is an experimental Ukrainian desyatylitka (10 years school) in Kiev to which Ukrainian dissidents, among them KOTSYUBINSKA, SEVRUK and others send their children. Students are taught foreign languages, algebra and geometry beginning with their first year.

36. In Kiev, the source visited Myhkylo LEVISHCHENKO, an official with the Committee for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries. She told him that she had decided to return to Germany. He knew all about her case, but asked a few questions about herself and her parents. The source thought he seemed very depressed about something.

37. The source had an incident with the militia in Kiev on 15 September. She ended up at the militia precinct after defending an old peasant woman at the Pecherska Lavra when a militia officer was shouting in Russian at the woman to leave. The source didn't admit to being a German citizen until she was at the precinct. The incident turned out to be embarrassing to the militia, as she reminded them that a true communist would respect the feelings and convictions of others, including religious convictions, and that officials in the Ukraine should be speaking Ukrainian and not Russian. She had a similar experience on 23 September, on Pyrogova Street in Kiev, while waiting for DZYUBA at a bus stop. DZYUBA was about an hour late. The source, who was wearing slacks, was sitting on the curb and smoking a cigarette. She was approached by a militia officer, who asked why she was sitting there. Implying that she was a prostitute, he threatened to arrest the source. She informed him that she was a foreign citizen and that she was going to register a complaint against him at her consulate, and berated him for speaking Russian in a Ukrainian city. The officer soon changed his tone and apologized for his conduct. DZYUBA, who watched from a short distance away, later commended the source for the lesson she taught the "khakhol."

38. In Lvov, the source met Pavlo MURASHKO of Presov. He arrived from the CSSR by car, along with a teacher from Presov, having first visited in Kiev. Source thought MURASHKO left the CSSR about 16 August 1968. On 22 August he was still in Lvov, but left shortly afterwards for the CSSR. He was involved with a group in Lvov which was planning a demonstration against the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. The plans involved driving several Czech-made cars along the streets of Lvov with displays of anti-invasion slogans. For some reason unknown to the source, the plans never materialized. MURASHKO seemed to enjoy the full confidence of the people in Kiev and Lvov. He is on friendly terms with KALYNETS, KYNDZIO,

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SWITLYCHNY and others. Some of them are not taking his "game of conspiratsia" seriously. The point is that MURASZKO likes to be very "mysterious." After his arrival in Presov, MURASZKO was supposed to write to Lvov and Kiev. As mail was not being sent from CSSR at that time, people in Kiev and Lvov thought he was arrested. Later on, it turned out that the car in which MURASZKO travelled was stopped by the militia at Stryy and it was thoroughly searched. The car was stopped under the pretext that it hit someone in Lvov or near Lvov.

39. In early August 1968, without ^{obtaining} special permission, the source went to Odessa for a day with her niece, a RR conductor, and on 13 August again to Uzhgorod. Similarly, 18 September she made a trip with Aleksander CHYLAK of Warsaw to Kamyanets-Podolsky, then to Khotyn and by plane to Chernovtsi. From Khotyn to Chernovtsi they flew in a "Kukurudzianyk" (carries 6 passengers). She paid 4 Rubels one way. From Chernovtsi she went to Lvov, and on 22 September flew from Lvov to Kiev. For the trip from Lvov to Kiev, she paid 10 Rubels. On 24 September the source left by plane for Warsaw at 9 a.m. and arrived there at 10:30 a.m. In Warsaw she stayed with Chylak's parents. She went to the offices of Nasze Slovo, met some Ukrainians in Warsaw, including Bogdan BOBERSKI, fnu DZWINKA and others, and on 28 September left by train at 11 a.m. for Frankfurt/Main. She was in Frankfurt/Main about 8 p.m. the next day. Source was interviewed on 29 and 30 September 1968.

40. In Kiev source met Evhen SVERSTYUK who had just returned from Volhynia. He works for a botanical magazine. She met him at STESHENKO's house.

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as reported by AECASSOWARY/29

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