

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION

TO Chief of

ATTENTION:
INFO Chief of

FROM Chief, SB via Chief, EUR

XX MARKED FOR INDEXING

NO INDEXING REQUIRED

ONLY QUALIFIED DESK
CAN JUDGE INDEXING

MICROFILM

SUBJECT ~~REDTOP~~ ~~AERODYNAMIC~~
 Surfacing of Soviet Dissident Documents through DEPLUVIOUS and DEPRINTER

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REFS: A. 4146, 31 January 1969
 B. 8219, 28 January 1969

1. On the basis of the references, AECASSOWARY/29 was told that we have no objections to AECASSOWARY/1 approaching DEPLUVIOUS through a collaborator for the purpose of determining his willingness and his ability to publish material written by Soviet dissident intellectuals. At this writing specific details of the planned approach have not been determined, but A/29 said the approach probably will be made by a young scholar, a collaborator in Germany.

2. As stated above, the material in question is literature written by Soviet dissidents and brought to the West by A/1 collaborators, who may either be Western tourists or visitors from one of the satellite countries. Under separate cover, we are forwarding English translations of two recently obtained documents, which are representative of other dissident material available. If desired, copies in the original Ukrainian text will be made available. These two documents will not be used in the approach to DEPLUVIOUS. We leave it up to to judge whether DEPRINTER would be interested in these and similar documents. Can the documents be passed to DEPRINTER by either , or would you prefer the AECASSOWARIES to approach him? Headquarters would appreciate your passing the documents to DEPRINTER, if you think it appropriate and have no objections. If there is any question about the source, DEPRINTER can be told that the documents were obtained from a Western tourist. Headquarters would appreciate being informed as to the action taken concerning the two documents in question.

3. The contents of the two documents forwarded speak for themselves. They are particularly significant because of the individuals who signed them. Attached are some pertinent comments about the signatories.

Attachments:

- 1 Sov documents (in translation) u/s/
- 2 3 books h/w
- 3 List of Soviet dissidents h/w

/continued/

Distribution: 2 w/aats
 3atts USC 1 w/att #2

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
 CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
 SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B
 NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
 DATE 2007

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	OIRW 27818	6 February 1969
	CLASSIFICATION S E C R E T	HQS FILE NUMBER 14-124-29/3
ORIGINATING		
OFFICE	OFFICER	TYPIST
SB/PO/M <input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	dv
EXT. 6638		
COORDINATING		
OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	OFFICER'S NAME
CSB/PO/M	6 Febr	<input type="checkbox"/>
SB/X/EU	6 Feb	<input type="checkbox"/>
CSB/POS		<input type="checkbox"/>
E/I		<input type="checkbox"/>
RELEASING		
OFFICE SYMBOL	DATE	
C/E/I	15 Feb	<input type="checkbox"/>

AN	HW
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 1-SB/PO/M
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DISPATCH

4. The AECASSOWARIES have no collaborators in Milan, but A/29 said he has a man in Turin, whom he plans to visit when he is in Europe this spring (probably mid-March). Evidently, he has not utilized the man's services in A/1 contact operations but said the man is in a position through which he comes in contact with citizens of FJSTEAL. This matter was discussed with A/29 only very generally over the telephone, so headquarters is not in a position to give you details at this writing. They will be available after meets with A/29, sometime within the next two weeks.

5. Two copies of Ivan DZYUBA's Internationalism or Russification in English and two copies in Ukrainian are being forwarded if you should want to pass copies to DEPRINTER, or to a Soviet citizen with whom may be in contact. Also forwarded are two copies of The Chornovil Papers.

74-124-29/3

*U/S/c attn to
OIRW
27818*

To the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
from poet-translator Karavanskyy, who has been
imprisoned without trial or investigation for
his loyalty to the principles of Leninist
nationalities policies.

A PETITION

It is requested that you please investigate the instances of anti-socialist subversion in the world communist movement, which were recently committed by anti-Marxist elements which have infiltrated the leading organs of the USSR, and hold these elements criminally responsible. I base my petition on the following facts:

1. On August 21, 1968 the armed forces of the Soviet Union were given a provocative order to cross the borders of the USSR and to occupy the territory of socialist Czechoslovakia. This was to incite the citizens of the CSSR to armed opposition against the Soviet forces. In a number of Czechoslovakian cities civilian objectives (a church and the National Assembly in Bratislava, and a whole series of objectives in Prague) were fired at. The originators of this unsubtle maneuver had hoped to instigate armed clashes in order to justify further steps towards total terrorization and intimidation of the population of the CSSR so as to reduce it to a state of moral dehumanization and degradation, characteristic of the population of the Soviet Union under Stalin's personality cult regime.

2. For the purpose of conducting repressions against the Communist Party of the CSSR and against the Czech and Slovak intelligentsia, elite units of the interior forces were selected:

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army contingents of the KGB, MOOP /Ministry for the Preservation of Public Order/, and cadets from officers' training schools - all of whom prepare prison administrations and so forth.

3. Provoked by anti-Marxist elements, the press of the Soviet Union has taken up a stand which is utterly inadmissible in relations between socialist countries, and vilified the Czechoslovak communists. It has insulted one of the foremost European Communist Parties, called the Communist Party Congress a "mob", and communists, "counter-revolutionaries" and "class enemies".

4. With a view to evoking hostility against the Czechoslovak people, the press deliberately wrote that assassination by Czechoslovak "counter-revolutionaries" was the cause of death of two Soviet journalists. In reality, they died in an airplane catastrophe. The same aim is served by stories about "secret weapons caches", which supposedly were found on Czechoslovak territory. In fact, this "secret cache", about which the newspapers wrote, consisted of weapons confiscated from the offices of the national militia. Here one should also add that Party documents and materials were renamed counter-revolutionary pamphlets.

5. In addition to slander, the press of the Soviet Union systematically misinforms its readers about essential questions with regard to the situation in Czechoslovakia. Such misinformation is necessary to the Anti-Marxist forces in order to conceal from the people the negative consequences which their irresponsible actions had on the world communist movement, as well as the harm they did to the international prestige of the Soviet Union.

6. As a result of the above-mentioned provocative acts, the normal existence of a fraternal socialist country was disturbed, the Communist Party of the CSSR was driven into the underground, hostility towards the Soviet Union and its armed forces was evoked among the masses of the Czechoslovak nation, anti-Soviet views were instilled among the youth, the Soviet army was discredited as an army of occupation, and a sweeping opposition movement was created in a socialist country, a mighty movement of public dissent. The mere fact that a socialist country was occupied demonstrates that the anti-Marxist forces which have infiltrated the leading Party and state organs lost their heads under the pressure of a series of external and internal political failures and began to trample one of the basic principles of Marxism - proletarian internationalism. The occupation of territory belonging to a socialist state, arrests of legally elected leaders of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the CSSR, vile slander of a fraternal Communist Party and its leaders - all these actions do irreparable damage to the international communist movement and international communist solidarity, discredit the very idea of proletarian internationalism among the widest masses of the world, and convey the impression among communists that fraternal Communist Parties are nothing more than "fellow-travellers" of Soviet external policies, who are exploited at a certain stage and then, should the need arise, liquidated.

The methods used to provoke the population to armed opposition discredit the policies of the Soviet Union, undermine the international prestige of the USSR, corrupt the world communist movement, and drive a wedge into the socialist commonwealth.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO THE EDITORS OF "LITERATURNA UKRAINA"

In the July 16, 1968 issue of Literaturna Ukraina we read an article by O. Poltorats'kyi entitled "Whom Are Certain Humanists Defending?"

This author has been notorious for his political and moral turpitude ever since the time when he publicly denounced Ostap Vyshnya, proclaiming the nation's most popular writer to be a kulak survival and a fascist agent and demanding that physical punishment be meted out to him. We were astonished by everything we read in Literaturna Ukraina, because we found it difficult to believe that even today a man of letters can return to the foul trade of provocateur.

Allegedly, this article was inspired by the well-known collective letter, which deals with violations of socialist legality at political trials. The letter was signed by more than a hundred scholars, artists, workers, and writers, including ourselves. Therefore, we cannot remain silent about O. Poltorats'kyi's article.

From the very beginning O. Poltorats'kyi flagrantly misinterprets the contents of the letter which had dealt with concrete facts of violations of the court's procedural norms and which had expressed concern that [these violations] undermine socialist democracy and the public life of our society.

Meanwhile, O. Poltorats'kyi unfoundedly asserts that the authors of the letter are defending "enemies and ideological saboteurs" (the same terminology which he used 35 years ago!) - V. Chornovil and S. Karavanskyi.

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First, let us say something about S. Karavanskyy. We are not attempting to gauge here the guilt for which he was sent without trial to complete a 25-year sentence, which no longer exists according to the laws of our land. No reference was made to him in the letter--even his name was not mentioned. However, this did not prevent O. Poltorats'kyi from stating in black and white that the letter defends S. Karavanskyy, and half of his article is devoted to variously presenting that same S. Karavanskyy's "biography". Why was this deliberate and gross trumping-up necessary?! Obviously, in order to frighten those readers who are unfamiliar with the crux of the case.

Now in reference to V. Chornovil. What right did O. Poltorats'kyi have to misrepresent to the readers of Literaturna Ukraina the charges made by the court against V. Chornovil, the court's appraisal of his actions, and the decisions passed by the court? One can agree or disagree with the verdict passed over V. Chornovil (those of us who were present at the trial are convinced that the charges made against V. Chornovil were not substantiated, and at one time we addressed ourselves to the appropriate institutions with specific argumentations), but one may not use backdoor methods to arbitrarily alter and "supplement" the court's official qualifications. This is precisely what O. Poltorats'kyi does when he maliciously asserts that V. Chornovil was allegedly tried for "propaganda of nationalistic views and illegal transmission of anti-Soviet materials abroad". In fact, there was nothing of this nature at the trial.

O. Poltorats'kyi shamelessly distorts V. Chornovil's biography. He assures us that V. Chornovil is two words are illegible in the

manuscript - Tr.] and a suspicious person, that he is in no way connected with literature and journalism: "a former inspector of advertising for "Knyhtorh" [Kiev Book Trade Association], and subsequently inspector of the Lvov section of the Association for the Conservation of Nature." O. Poltorats'kyi remains silent, however, about the fact that V. Chornovil managed to obtain these positions only after a long series of persecutions and hardships. Moreover, V. Chornovil spent several years in a variety of jobs - secretary of the Komsomol committee on the construction project of Kiev's HES [Hydro-Electric Station], member of the editorial staff of the Komsomol newspaper Molodaya Gvardiya, member of the editorial staff of the newspaper Druh Chytacha, and author of several scores of articles about literature in Republican magazines and newspapers, including Literaturna Ukraina.

The aim of such falsification of V. Chornovil's biography and creative profile, and particularly the omission of the fact that only recently he was a Komsomol activist, becomes evident when one reaches O. Poltorats'kyi's most shameless and vile fabrication. He attributes to V. Chornovil wild and nonsensical statements which no sane young person brought up in a Soviet family and educated in a Soviet school could ever make, statements about Komsomol youth to the effect that: "this is an entirely useless organization, which should be liquidated, even in the physical sense. In their day, the kulaks cut open the bellies of activists and filled them with wheat, and what we should do today is cut open the same bellies and fill them with the activists' own programs and insane slogans."

This "statement" which O. Poltorats'kyi puts into quotation marks as a direct quote from V. Chornovil, reeks of the spirit and phraseology used by those troglodytes-murderers who composed "admissions" and "confessions" for various "terrorists" and "enemies of the people" at the notorious trials of the 30's.

WE DEMAND THAT O. POLTORATS'KYI GIVE DOCUMENTED PROOF THAT THESE STATEMENTS WERE INDEED MADE BY V. CHORNOVIL OR THAT HE PUBLICLY APOLOGIZES FOR THE SLANDER.

Because such public statements as O. Poltorats'kyi's article can only kindle suspicion and hatred of mankind, because they intensify the chauvinistic bloodthirstiness of the Philistine who envisages each Ukrainian as a "nationalist" and a "banderovets", because they poison the atmosphere of coexistence and friendship among nations - we consider it our highest public duty not to ignore [such statements] to make a moral appraisal of them, and to refute them in accordance with the essential facts.

We ask the editors of Literaturna Ukraina to publish this letter. Otherwise, we will be forced to convey its contents to the readers of Literaturna Ukraina by all the means at our disposal. If need be, we will not grudge the effort and time required to recopy [this letter] by hand forty thousand times and to send it to each subscriber of Literaturna Ukraina in order that the fumes of cannibalism and the atmosphere of lies and lawlessness are at least partially dispelled.

Ivan Dzyuba

Mykhaylyna Kotsyubyns'ka

Yevhen Sverstyuk

Lina Kostenko

Viktor Nekrasov

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Ivan DZYUBA is a literary critic, author and journalist. He was born 1931 in a Donbas village. He worked as editor for the State Literary Publishers of the Ukraine, was responsible for literary criticism in the leading journal of the Ukrainian Writers Union, Dnipro (formerly Vitchyzna), and literary adviser for Molod', published by the Young Communist League. Dzyuba protested, when in late summer 1965, shortly before the trials of Sinyavsky and Daniel, without any official charges having been made, a number of young Ukrainian intellectuals were arrested in the Ukraine. During this period of tension and persecution, he wrote to Soviet authorities protesting against the arrests, and along with his letter he enclosed a treatise entitled Internationalism or Russification? In the treatise he charged that the policy of the Soviet Communist Party, where the nationalities were concerned, was contradictory to the foundations of Leninism and that persecution was not the solution. He was dismissed from his post at Dnipro and assigned to work for a Ukrainian biochemistry journal. Six months later, he was accused by the Secretary of the CPU, Kiev Commission, of "communicating information which was ideologically dangerous", and of other equally vague things. Voices were raised in his defence, and in January 1968 he was reappointed to his old post with Dnipro. Copies of Internationalism or Russification? were circulated in the Ukraine and a copy was brought to the West, along with Dzyuba's permission to have it published in the West. Recently Dzyuba conveyed his gratitude via a traveller for the publicity given his document in the West. Asked by the authorities to explain in writing his reasons for writing the document and its appearance in the West, Dzyuba stated that he felt it necessary to call to the attention of the authorities the injustices in the Ukraine and the infraction of Leninist policies in the Soviet Union and that he has not changed his mind about any statement he made in the document, but he stated that he was not responsible for its publication in the West. Dzyuba remains free in Kiev, although his every move is closely watched. He is still with Dnipro, and continues to be involved with Soviet dissidents.

Yevhen SVERSTYUK, Kiev writer and critic, about 37 years of age. He has been involved with Kiev dissidents.

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Mykhaylyna KOTSYUBINSKA, Kiev writer, granddaughter of the famous Ukrainian writer Mykhaylo Kotsyubinskyy, whose classic The Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors was made into a prize-winning movie several years ago and drew criticism from Soviet authorities. Mykhaylyna was interrogated by the KGB concerning her involvement with intellectuals arrested in 1965, and expelled from the CPU. She was dismissed from her job at the Institute of Literature, Academy of Sciences, UkSSR as a result of KGB interrogations.

Lina KOSTENKO is a Ukrainian writer, about 39 years of age. She is probably one of the most belligerent of the dissidents. KOSTENKO was accused of offending the militia in Lvov during a trial of Ukrainian intellectuals in April 1966, and arrested for disorderly conduct during the trial when she tossed a bouquet of flowers to the defendants. She was interrogated and harrassed by the KGB, and removed from the editorial board of Dnipro in October 1966. FYI ONLY: In late August 1968, after signing the open letter to the editors of Literaturna Ukraina, KOSTENKO and DZYUBA were summoned by telegram from the Secretariat of the Union of Writers to appear on 30 August. Present at the Union, when KOSTENKO arrived, were Oles' HONCHAR, Vitaliy KOROTYCH, Dmytro PAVLYCHKO, and several other writers. HONCHAR informed KOSTENKO that if she continued to refuse to withdraw her signature from the "blackmail letter" there could be some very unpleasant consequences, including expulsion from membership in the Union. He said the Union had in the past defended her, but this time she had gone too far; the Union is responsible for its members and would not condone such conduct by them. KOSTENKO told HONCHAR she preferred the Union not to be responsible for her, that she was fully capable of shouldering her own responsibilities. HONCHAR replied that it was sad she refused the Union's protection because the only choice she had left was to withdraw her signature from the letter and remain in the Union, or be expelled from the Union and become personally accountable for her acts. PAVLYCHKO attacked KOSTENKO. He appealed to her "responsibility and duty." Someone else interrupted and began something about the need to lend brotherly assistance to the people of Czechoslovakia. KOSTENKO then said that she wanted to register her formal protest against the Soviet invasion of the CSSR.. HONCHAR became very upset and said no one present was in a position to consider her protest, and that "officially" no one even heard her protest. He appealed to KOSTENKO to be prudent, but she repeated her demand and asked that it be formally recorded in the minutes of the session. HONCHAR said that in view of her attitude, there was no other recourse but to expell KOSTENKO from the Union, and that the matter would be taken up at a meeting of the Presidium on 9 September, to which she would be invited. The 9 September meeting was not called. To date, so far as we know, none of the signatories of the letter has been expelled. No official action has been taken against them, although Dmytro PAVLYCHKO has visited KOSTENKO and DZYUBA in an effort to reach some sort of compromise.

Viktor NEKRASOV, Soviet Russian liberal writer, veteran of WWII, author of Travel Diary, an account of his visit in the United States and Western Europe, which displeased Soviet authorities because it was not critical of the West.

Vyachaslav CHORNOVIL, Ukrainian journalist, formerly a secretary of the Komsomol. He petitioned Soviet authorities on behalf of Ukrainian intellectuals arrested in 1965. At a secret trial in Lvov on 15 November 1967, he was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in a labor camp. This sentence was later reduced in a general amnesty to 1 1/2 years. His eyewitness recordings of the 1965-66 secret trials of some 20 leading Ukrainian intellectuals were published in the West by McGraw-Hill, under the heading, The Chornovil Papers. CHORNOVIL was subsequently transferred to a prison for criminals in Vinnytsia and recently to a prison in Lvov, where it is rumored he is to be tried again.

Svyatoslav KARAVANSKYI, who wrote the petition to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, is a poet, translator and journalist. He was convicted of anti-regime activities in 1944, and sentenced to 25 years in a concentration camp. He was freed in 1957, after having served half his term, but arrested again in 1965, and without having been tried, sent to Mordovska ASSR to serve the 2nd-half of his old sentence. He wrote this latest petition sometime between the date of the invasion of the CSSR and December 1968.'

Oleksiy POLTORATSKIY, well known literary Party hack and editor of the Soviet Ukrainian monthly literary journal Vsesvit (The World).