

16 October 1957

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MEMORANDUM FOR RECORD

SUBJECT: Contact With AECASSOWARY-2

1. Contact was made with AECASSOWARY-2 at the Prolog Offices, 875 West End Avenue, New York, by the undersigned on 14 October 1957. The meeting lasted from 1000 hours until 1730 hours and Ukrainian matters from CE, PP, and FI standpoints were discussed.

2. ~~Death of Lev REBET~~: AECASSOWARY-2 informed the undersigned case officer that he had received a telephone call to the effect that Lev REBET, editor of Ukrainskyy Samostiynik, had died from what appeared to be a heart attack during the weekend of 12-13 October 1957. REBET leaves two children and a wife, who had recently spent several months in a hospital and AECASSOWARY-2 believed that their financial situation was not very good. He also stated the loss of REBET might necessitate discontinuing publication of Ukrainskyy Samostiynik because there was no other man available who could handle the position. He stated that the paper could possibly be continued either in Canada or the United States since qualified men are available here in the emigration.

3. ~~HOLOVACH, fnu, Member of Canadian UN Delegation~~: AECASSOWARY-2 stated that he has contact with a fnu HOLOVACH, a member of the Canadian Social Credit Party, who is on the Canadian Delegation to the UN. HOLOVACH has received invitations to meet with the Ukrainian UN delegate, ~~POLIMARCHUK~~, and GROMYKO.

Follow up

AECASSOWARY-2 is interested in utilizing him as a means of asking various Soviet delegates specific questions regarding nationality and other problems, and obtaining their reaction. He also believes it may be possible to relay some PP material, like the Information Bulletin, to the Ukrainian delegate.

A further possibility would be to have HOLOVACH arrange for a visit to the Soviet Union and the Ukraine and thus collect certain valuable information for us. He could be used to monitor our "New Ukraine" broadcasts from Radio PYREX and possibly glean information on reaction to the Information Bulletin, and the Ukrainian people's reaction to our PP activities.

4. Prolog Magazine: When AECASSOWARY-2 was questioned by the undersigned on the aims of the Prolog Magazine, he stated that he envisioned it primarily as an information magazine dealing primarily with nationality problems and the conduct of the Soviet Union towards the minority groups within its borders. He did not envision it as primarily aimed at the Middle

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East, though he believed this was an important area where the information the Ukrainians had to offer could be profitably disseminated. He agreed that the use of Cairo on the cover was misleading and should be dropped.

AECASSOWARY-2 further outlined the following action that he has taken in regard to this magazine:

a. 1,000 copies have been sent to libraries throughout practically all the countries of the world. At the same time, letters asking for comments and suggestions were included.

b. Copies were sent to CASSOWARY representatives in countries such as Australia, Canada, United States, Sweden, England, West Germany, Italy, France, Spain, and Argentina, with instructions to deliver copies personally to the various embassies located in the countries' capitals.

c. Plans are being made to distribute copies at the UN to various member nations, and to send copies to congressmen, senators, newspapermen in the United States, and leading men in Canada. 2

AECASSOWARY-2 stated that the first positive reactions have already been received. Here are some examples:

a. Lev ~~DOBRIANSKY~~ professor at Georgetown currently lecturing at the War College in Washington, expressed a desire to read one of the articles at one of his lectures.

b. The CASSOWARY representative in Madrid brought the magazine to the attention of [] (our representative in Radio Nacional), who was very interested in it and used his influence to have the article "Asian Renaissance" by Lev Shankowsky published in the Radio Nacional Bulletin in Spanish. This bulletin is distributed to Spanish ministers and members of the General Staff, and other important people.

c. At the same time the Arab Desk at Radio Nacional translated the same article into Arabic and utilized it for their broadcasts to the Arab nations. The editor of the Chinese Desk is also interested and is presently having the article translated into Chinese. Both the Lebanese and Moroccan program directors expressed interest in utilizing the article for their broadcasts.

AECASSOWARY-2 stated that if further favorable reactions to the Prolog Magazine came in, they would like to publish Volume 2 and ask other nationality groups (possibly Polish, Caucasian, Hungarian, Arabic, Tunisian) to write articles for the magazine, stressing the same theme of Soviet imperialistic

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motives and the plight of the minorities. He also asked whether some token pay could be given to these contributing articles. The undersigned stated that the magazine was well written and contained convincing anti-Communist propaganda, but was expanding beyond the original goals of the UHVR which were mainly to help the Ukrainian people achieve an independent status. The case officer also mentioned the possibility that the Prolog Magazine project might have to be greatly reduced or even dropped unless it could definitely be connected with the main AERODYNAMIC goal--that of PP activity against the Ukrainian SSR. However, no definite commitments were made regarding further expansion or reduction, pending reaction from the magazine readers and study by Headquarters on the PP value of such a project.

5. Care Mission to Poland: According to AECASSOWARY-2 CARE organization is sending 500,000 CARE packages to Poland to be distributed among recent Polish returnees from the Soviet Union. Since many Ukrainians from the Soviet Union are posing as Poles in order to emigrate to Poland, the CARE officials have suggested that a Ukrainian-American representative go along on the mission. The request was referred to the UJARC (United Ukrainian American Relief Committee) who got in contact with AECASSOWARY-2 and asked if he had a likely candidate for the job.

AECASSOWARY-2 believes that a man briefed on certain information of an intelligence nature could be very useful in establishing contacts with the Ukrainians in Poland and could be used to question returnees about the feeling of the people inside toward the West, as well as the possibility of checking whether "New Ukraine" broadcasts are being heard and whether anyone has read the Information Bulletin.

6. Ukrainian Defectors in Hungary: AECASSOWARY-2 inquired about the subject of Soviet Ukrainian Army personnel which allegedly defected to the West during Hungarian Revolution. He stated that he received information from his friend, Dr. fnu/HALYNCHUK, in Buenos Aires, Argentina that Soviet Army officers have appeared among Hungarian refugees in that area. The undersigned asked AECASSOWARY-2 to obtain specific details and names of the alleged Soviet Army personnel so that we could check on them.

AECASSOWARY-2 also stated that he had heard that an "important office in Washington" has many important documents on Ukrainian soldiers defecting in Hungary. He appeared very skeptical that we had no such information and even reproached the case officer for not informing him about these defectors. The undersigned assured him that under no circumstances had there been any truth to any of the rumors of large numbers of Soviet Ukrainian defectors.

7. Book Exchange With Universities in Poland: The CASSOWARY group has begun an extensive program of book exchange with Ukrainian scholars in universities in Poland. They have sent books to universities in Kracow,

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Lublin, Warsaw, Vratslaw, and Danzig. They have received acknowledgements from all these universities and requests for further books. In some cases they have received books in exchange.

More details on this book exchange program are included in Attachment 1, entitled "Positions of Ukrainians in Poland", pages 2, 3, and 4. AECASSOWARY-2 inquired whether this program cannot be continued further and whether some additional funds (as well as any English or Russian books we can provide) should not be allocated for this project.

AECASSOWARY-2 stated that the following books were most requested:

a. Historical Books

1. European History
2. Ukrainian History (Hrushevsky)
3. Encyclopedias (Ukrainian, etc.)
4. English books on East European subjects (Wolfe, Schwartz)

b. Literary Books

1. Ukrainian classics
2. Russian classics
3. English classics
4. Ukrainian children's books

c. Other Subjects

1. Ukrainian Bibles, prayer books (these are very popular)
2. Religious books on Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Church
3. English works on political, social, and cultural subjects
4. Books on learning English language (in Ukrainian)

AECASSOWARY-2 stated that more Ukrainian newspapers can be sent into Soviet Ukraine by the method of wrapping food items in parcels sent inside.

8. Funds for Establishing Small Book Collections in Various West European Cities: In line with the book exchange program outlined in the

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above paragraph, AECASSOWARY-2 stated that it is imperative to build small libraries of works (selected from the list given in above paragraph) in cities like Munich, Paris, Brussels, Rome, London, Stockholm, and other places where AECASSOWARY-2 has contacts to have available for distribution to visiting Soviet delegations or delegations from Iron Curtain countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia. An example of this type of distribution is given in Attachment 2, which outlines Vasyl MARKUS's contact with a Polish Ukrainian visiting Paris with a Polish delegation. Similar contacts have been made in Munich and other European cities.

AECASSOWARY-2 also requested some minor funds to use for entertaining and other expenses connected with contacting such individuals. AECASSOWARY-2 outlines those requests in Attachment 2, page 4.

The man mentioned in Attachment 2 is Y. VAL'KO originally from Lvov. His sister is married to a Ukrainian Catholic, and his mother lives in Rotislav, Poland. He finished the Polytechnic Institute in Danzig, and is now assistant professor in architecture there.

9. Ukrainian Student for Study in Poland: AECASSOWARY-2 inquired whether it might be possible to send a Ukrainian student with a knowledge of Poland to some Polish university to serve as our contact man there. He would be useful in obtaining information on possible contacts with people in the Ukraine, and could also be used for other intelligence and PP purposes.

10. Information on Western Areas of Ukrainian SSR: AECASSOWARY-2 submitted a two-page memorandum outlining information he has received from a recent traveler to the Ukrainian SSR. It is included as Attachment 3.

11. Report of West German-Ukrainian Journalist Visiting Moscow Youth Festival: Included as Attachment 4 is an extensive report by Olena HOR-BACH regarding her trip to the Moscow Youth Festival and her contacts with Soviet Ukrainians.

12. AECASSOWARY-2 on Proposed Project AEBIGWIG:

"...In reference to proposed [], which [] discussed with AECASSOWARY-2 on 18 September 1957, AECASSOWARY-2 stated that he felt that the Project had not yet been sufficiently outlined to warrant his expending any of his men. He stated that since he was personally responsible for the life of the man to be sent in, he wanted adequate guarantees that his man would not be sent into an MVD trap.

AECASSOWARY-2 also stated that in planning such an operation it is well to keep in mind the fact that the Ukrainian underground had become heavily infiltrated by the RIS as early as 1952 and 1953. Since it is impossible to check the bona fides of any former underground

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members on the inside, it would be exceedingly difficult to establish contact with a "clean" member of the underground.

AECASSOWARY-2 further stated that we should be very suspicious of any recent exfiltrates from the Soviet Union because of the great possibility that they are RIS-controlled agents and that any plan to use them to contact the Ukrainian underground would be equivalent to telegraphing our plans to the RIS.

13. AECARTHAGE-20 Letter and Two Defectors From Soviet Union Via Turkey: Subject discussed the above-mentioned subjects with AECASSOWARY-2. Separate reports have been prepared and referred to the appropriate case officers.

In reference to the two Ukrainian defectors, AECASSOWARY-2 was given a list of names from the Ukrainian underground to check out. He stated that he has a passport and would be able to travel to Germany for interrogation of the men whenever we felt it was necessary, although he expressed disappointment that we did not allow him access to these people earlier.

14. ABN Broadcasts From Formosa: AECASSOWARY-2 informed the undersigned case officer that he has been in correspondence with one of the members of the ABN (Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations) mission on Formosa in relation to the broadcasts being beamed to the Soviet Union via the Nationalist Radio Network.

The ABN representative asked for aid in obtaining suitable PP materials, and AECASSOWARY-2 obliged with a request that the group send copies of their radio scripts. He was surprised to receive a letter from them in which were enclosed the last two radio scripts in Ukrainian. (AECASSOWARY-2 will have them translated and will relay them to the case officer.)

The ABN representative also asked for further aid to his group, both with PP materials and possibly even with finances.

15. Incidental Information:

a. A Ukrainian of Polish citizenship residing in Poland can now request any member of his family residing in the Soviet Union to return as a Polish citizen.

b. A Ukrainian woman in Buffalo received information from her sister in Poland, stating that the latter was released from a Soviet prison (Karaganda) in 1956 and lived for some time in Lviv. While in Lviv the sister visited her brother in Karaganda three times. Since she emigrated to Poland, she is attempting

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through Polish officials to get her brother from the Soviet prison. The brother has already been classified as a Pole, but whether he will be released or not is not known.

In reference to this, the woman sends her sister some anti-Soviet Ukrainian poems written by her brother which AECASSOWARY-2 plans to publish in one of the Ukrainian newspapers under a different name. The sister also states that the Russians have not been successful in breaking the nationalistic Ukrainian spirit of the Ukrainians in the Siberian prison camps.

c. AECASSOWARY-2 requested that we inform him of any Soviet or Satellite delegations visiting Western countries on the possibility that some of his contacts may be able to talk with them or pass them books and literature.

d. Communist Infiltration of Argentine Government: Dr. fnu HALYNCHUK, the AECASSOWARY representative in Buenos Aires, Argentina, writes AECASSOWARY-2 that the Communists are intensifying their infiltration of the ARAMBURU Government. He goes so far as to state that the Minister of Internal Affairs (a friend of the President) is in some way directly connected with Communist activities. He has recently withheld permission to hold anti-Communist demonstrations in Argentina.

16. Case Officer Recommendations:

a. It is requested that Headquarters policy toward the publication of the Prolog Magazine be clarified in the respect to its PP potential and use (see paragraph 4).

b. It is recommended that some aid be given to the book exchange program as outlined by AECASSOWARY-2 (see paragraph 7 and Attachment 1), by:

(1) Providing either books or funds to purchase books which could be utilized by AECASSOWARY contact men in Western areas, such as Paris, Munich, London, Rome, and South America.

(2) Provide funds for books to be sent directly to Ukrainian scholars both in Poland (where they are often smuggled into the Ukrainian SSR) and in the Ukrainian SSR itself.

c. In view of the fact that monies to subsidize the newspapers in Germany are now being funded through Prolog Associates in New York, it is necessary to allocate some additional monies to Munich for operational expenses, travel and entertainment by

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AECASSOWARY personnel. This is not now included in the budget.

d. Minor financial aid is also necessary for AECASSOWARY contacts in other cities in order to continue utilizing these contacts for mailing out Information Bulletins and continuing other operations. For example, A. ~~K~~KAMINSKY, a law student at the London University had been allocated a token support of \$50 per month in order to carry out PP and other activities there. Since the new budget does not allow for these expenditures, he may be forced to leave England, thereby cutting off all activities conducted from England.

e. Comments are requested on the following AECASSOWARY-2 proposals:

(1) The possibility of increasing the number of visits by AECASSOWARY contacts to Poland, other Satellite countries, as well as to the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR. (See Attachment 4.)

(2) The possibility of creating a fund to aid Ukrainian students enrolled in Polish universities (primarily material aid such as clothes) thereby obtaining further links through them to the Ukrainian SSR.

(3) The possibility of sending a Ukrainian emigre to study in Poland and utilizing him as a contact man with Ukrainian scholars and students visiting Poland.

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Attachment 1
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Position of Ukrainians in Poland

During the past three months the Secretariat-General of Foreign Affairs of UHVS succeeded in widening the scope of activities among Ukrainians in Poland. On the basis of collected information through exchange of correspondence and a trip made by one of our members to several places of Ukrainian concentration in Poland (Warsaw, Cracow), the situation as of the present moment is as follows:

Purge in the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society.

In July 1957 there was a change of leadership in the Executive Board of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society, as a result of which its president, Stepan Makuch, and several members of the Board were removed from office. The purge was carried out under the motto of removal of "ideological strangers" and replacing them with party members. Following the purge, the present Executive Board is headed by Hryhory Boyarsky (former Secretary-General under Makuch) and Miss Olha Vasylykiv the Secretary-General, who seems to be a "gray eminence" on the Board. She has good connections with Edward Ochab (former Secretary of United Polish Workers' Party /Communist/, now Minister of Agriculture of Poland), and although she is a Communist, she favors Ukrainian national development. She saved one of the editors of "Nashe slovo" from discharge when the Stalinist group within the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society (V. Goshovsky, I. Shal, M.T. Shchyrb) accused him of being a Ukrainian nationalist.

In a conversation which took place between our member and Miss Vasylykiv early in September 1957 in a private apartment in Warsaw, she consented to help, within her powers, in activities of aid coming from Ukrainians in the United States. This, even after the last purge, there is still access to the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society and steady contact with some members of its Executive Board.

On the other hand, the vigilance of Communists within the US-CS against "Ukrainian nationalists" has increased since the purge. This fact came to light first through the US-CS newspaper "Nashe Slovo" which stated in an editorial titled "No Deviation from the correct Path" (No. 32 of August 11, 1957): "With the help of the Government and party, the Society tried to develop activities among Ukrainians by creating provincial and county organizational committees...to help the party and Government to defend the rights of the Ukrainian minority against some bureaucratic elements in the governmental apparatus and chauvinist groups among the Polish population, to oppose manifestations of nationalism among the Ukrainian population, to popularize party decisions in the matter of economic aid and returnees. Realization of this correct plan of work of the Society was, however, stymied late in 1956 as a result of siding procedure of petty bourgeois and nationalist elements within the Society which, after October, amid enlivened anti-Soviet and anti-socialist feelings among a part of the Polish population, fencing with pseudo-revolutionary phrases, launched an attack against party members on the "Nashe Slovo" and in the editorial offices of "Nashe Slovo." This became clearly apparent at the Second Plenum of the Executive Board (December 1956) when the nationalist elements, aided by some wavering members of the Board, succeeded in effecting a change in the composition of the Board's presidium. ...In Lublin, Wroclaw and Ryshiv, positions of provincial Board secretaries of US-CS were occupied by people weak in the organizational sense, or even ideological strangers to us. Even today we are finding

doubters here and there among the activists, even party members, who fail to see the threat of Ukrainian nationalism to our work.

The purge of our efforts is a reflection of the general curtailment of liberties noticeable in Poland in recent months, but even under the prevailing situation after the war in US-40, there still exist good opportunities to distribute literature among Ukrainians in Poland and to furnish material aid and moral political enlightenment. This is indicated by facts and data from our investigation of that area.

Action of distribution of books and newspapers

This action was begun by this Secretariat in June 1957 by mailing books to various addresses in Poland and it has already borne results which can be summarized in the following concrete achievements:

1. Information about cultural and political activities of Ukrainians abroad is being disseminated and hundreds of people, mainly students and young scholars, have been given access to impartial information about the West.
2. Correspondence contact has been established with 27 Ukrainians in Poland and we have started a file with accurate addresses to which literature and material aid can be sent. At this moment the file contains 150 names and we have succeeded in collecting fairly accurate biographies of some.
3. The newspaper "Suchasna Ukraina" and "Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta" have increased their distribution to such an extent that more and more requests for copies keep coming in. It appears from letters received that these newspapers make the rounds from hand to hand and, according to a letter from a student in Warsaw, he got hold of a copy of "Literaturna Hazeta" in completely tattered condition.
4. Several among the more important university libraries in Poland have been assured of a supply of Ukrainian books which are used by Ukrainians studying at these universities. A regular exchange of books has been started with the University of Lublin. In exchange for books sent by us and acknowledged by letter, the university sent us their publications.

Reaching the Ukrainian SSR through Poland

As emphasized by us in the previous report, Ukrainians in Poland constitute at present an excellent intermediary in transmitting literature and in making personal contacts with Ukrainians from the Soviet Union. It is precisely from the angle of utilizing contacts with Ukrainians in Poland that the UBVR Secretariat-General instituted the action which has already brought results: 1. Distribution has already been prepared of important Ukrainian books (e.g. the Ukrainian Encyclopedia) to go to the Ukrainian SSR for this purpose, our people in Warsaw have already made contact with people from Lviv and books will be delivered within the next few days. 2. Preparatory conversations took place with people in Poland, prior to their leaving for the Ukrainian SSR to take place early next year. Last summer, a person with whom we are in steady contact, selected six persons registering for courses in literature held in Lviv, with seven such students going. We expect a report on their stay in Lviv within a few weeks. 3. "Nashe Slovo" which is distributed in the USSR, Ukraine and even in Kazakhstan, published an article "New examples of ourselves" (No. 1, Sept. S. 1957) which contained a lengthy quotation from "Ukrainska Hazeta" in which Ukrainian education in Poland was discussed. In this manner, another channel has been opened for our newspaper to become known in the USSR.

According to information collected by a person sent by us to attend the Youth Festival in Moscow, the paper "Nashe Slovo" is read very carefully by Ukrainians in the USSR. This is evident from the fact that for the first time since "Nashe Slovo" began publication, letters from Ukraine have been printed: a report from Sambir, a letter from Tarnopil and impressions of Kiev written by a Ukrainian girl from Poland studying in the Ukrainian SSR. 4. The editorial offices of "Nashe Slovo" is the place of rendez-vous of Ukrainian visitors from the USSR. Lately that office was visited by the Chairman of the Ukrainian Society for Cultural Contacts with Foreign Countries, E.Z. ~~X~~ Lytvyn, and it is visited by young scholars who come to study at Polish libraries. Our people who are either in the editorial office or at universities, have an opportunity to speak to visitors from the Ukrainian SSR and to give them literature. 5. Members of the Ukrainian S-C. Soc. and editors of "Nashe Slovo" are permitted to go to the Ukrainian SSR from time to time and to meet Ukrainian writers. A reporter of "Nashe Slovo" Yaroslav ~~X~~ Hrytskovian, went to the Moscow Festival and talked to our representative there (see our report on the Festival). In his report, published in "Nashe Slovo" No. 36, Sept. 8, 1957, he noted, among others, as a negative phenomenon, that some Ukrainian girls from the Ukrainian SSR talked Russian. From the report of our representative to the Festival we know that ~~X~~ Hrytskovian and other Ukrainians from Poland had talks with Ukrainians from the USSR along lines of promoting the Ukrainian language in schools and government offices.

Project of immediate action

We consider it our duty to call attention to the unique opportunity presented by our development of a network in Poland for the purpose of spreading political information in the Ukrainian SSR. This is probably the first time that we have this kind of channel to send literature through lawful means and to contact people.

Letters received by us from Poland keep repeating requests for Ukrainian book publications published abroad, newspapers etc., even farmers ask for prayer-books and religious publications.

Our preparatory work for action on a wider scale seems to have all chances for success if we can put it into effect immediately. For this purpose we sponsored two trips: to the Moscow Festival and to Poland. At the behest of our man who is at present in Poland, a local student is at present travelling through Czechoslovakia, visiting Ukrainians. Similar trips will have to be organized more than heretofore, as long as conditions permit. We are in the fortunate position, that people who travel under our sponsorship are doing so legally and hence have an opportunity to engage various people and friends in conversation. At the same time, their high intellectual level permits them to appraise each situation critically.

Observing the situation in Poland and particularly developments in the Ukrainian sector, we must be prepared for a deterioration in opportunities. The recent change within the US-C. Soc. should be a warning to us that presently existing opportunities might be cut off. As far as is foreseeable, wider activities should be developed within the next few months. On our part, we have done all the groundwork to put such action into effect.

Enclosures:

1. of Annex

1. To purchase selected books, newspapers, libraries, clubs, organizations, as well as for mass readers (popular and religious literature).
2. To assure main Polish scientific institutions and libraries of a supply of basic works of history, politics and culture. In this manner students in Poland, including Ukrainians, would have an opportunity to become acquainted with foreign publications and to utilize them when meeting Ukrainians from the USSR in Poland and when making trips to the USSR, to hand some such books over to the Ukrainian SSR. It is a known fact that Ukrainians come to Warsaw from the USSR under various pretexts, but actually to study Hrushevsky's history or the Ukrainian Encyclopedia in libraries..
3. Bulk distribution among branches of the Ukrainian Social-Cultural Society and Ukrainian schools of children's literature, in order to influence their education in this manner.
4. Distribution of religious literature, especially prayer-books, for which there is a huge demand in Poland and which Ukrainians in Poland would also send to the Ukrainian SSR and other parts of the USSR, including Siberia.
5. Distribution of appropriate political literature to the Ukrainian SSR through prepared points in Poland.
6. Increase of newspaper distribution to various addresses in Poland.
7. More frequent visits to Poland by our people, also to other satellite countries, as well as to the USSR and Ukrainian SSR.
8. Creation of a fund to aid Ukrainian students enrolled in Polish universities (material aid: clothes, etc.) as well as providing facilities for Ukrainians from Poland to study abroad (in France, Germany and Belgium).
9. Establishment of a business enterprise for trade with Poland, particularly for the importation from Poland of Ukrainian handicrafts and art products. (This matter is in a preparatory stage and will be reported on in detail within the nearest future).

THE POSITION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND

I.

THE UKRAINIANS PRESENTLY LIVING WITHIN THE TERRITORY OF THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC NUMBER ABOUT 350,000 AND ARE NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY, JUST LIKE THE POLKS. UNTIL 1945 THE UKRAINIANS LIVED UPON THEIR OWN ETHNOGRAPHIC TERRITORY WHICH CONSTITUTED THE WESTER BOUNDARY OF THE UKRAINIAN ETHNOGRAPHIC BELT. THIS TERRITORY, SITUATED WEST OF THE CURSON LINE, STRETCHED ALONG THE RIVERS BUK AND SAN CUTTING DEEP INTO CRACOW PROVINCE IN THE SOUTH AND OCCUPYING PARTS OF THE PROVINCES OF SIEZOW AND LUBLIN.

AFTER ADOPTION OF THE CURSON LINE AS THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND POLAND AND RECOGNITION OF THE RIGHT OF OPTION BY THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND AND THE POLISH MINORITY IN UKRAINE TO RESETTLEMENT, ONLY A RELATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT PERCENTAGE OF UKRAINIANS FROM THE MOUNTAIN REGION (LENKOS) TOOK ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO RESETTLE IN UKRAINE WHILE A PREPONDERRANT MAJORITY OF THOSE UKRAINIANS REFUSED TO LEAVE THEIR AGE-OLD PLACES OF RESIDENCE.

AS A RESULT OF PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION BY POLISH COMMUNIST AND CHAUVINISTIC GROUPS WHICH, TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE ARRIVAL OF A COMMUNIST REGIME GAVE VENT TO THEIR CHAUVINIST FEELINGS TOWARD THE UKRAINIANS AND APPLIED PHYSICAL TERROR TO THEM, THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION WAS FORCED TO ACT IN SELF-DEFENSE BY GIVING ACTIVE SUPPORT TO THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) OPERATING IN THAT TERRITORY AS THE ONLY DEFENSE AGAINST PERSECUTION. NOTWITHSTANDING THE TERROR OF UNOFFICIAL POLISH BANDS AND DETACHMENTS OF THE POLISH FORCES, THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION SUCCEEDED, WITH MUCH AID FROM THE UPA, TO HOLD ON TO THEIR TERRITORY THROUGHOUT 1945 AND 1946 AND ONLY THE TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT, CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE USSR, POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN 1947 AND DIRECTED AGAINST THE UPA, SUCCEEDED IN BREAKING THE PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION AND MADE IT POSSIBLE TO RESETTLE THE BULK OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION FROM THEIR OLD ETHNOGRAPHIC TERRITORY TO LANDS RECENTLY ACQUIRED BY POLAND ALONG THE GERMAN BORDER. THIS RESETTLEMENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY RUTHLESS TERROR WITH LOSS OF THOUSANDS OF UKRAINIAN LIVES, BREAKING UP OF FAMILIES AND DISPERSAL OF UKRAINIANS ALL OVER THE TERRITORY OF NORTHERN AND WESTERN POLAND.

AN INSIGHT INTO THIS BLOODY RESETTLEMENT IS PROVIDED IN A SPEECH OF THE PRESENT POLISH COMMUNIST MINISTER JARGOSINSKI DELIVERED AT THE FIRST CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND, HELD IN WARSAW ON JUNE 16, 1956. HE SAID: "DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD THE SOUTH-EASTERN PART OF THE COUNTRY BECAME A BATTLEFIELD WITH THE ARMED UNDERGROUND OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION, THE BANDS OF UPA. PART OF THE TERRORIZED UKRAINIAN POPULATION WAS COMPELLED, UNDER APPREHENSION OF DEATH, TO COLLABORATE WITH THE BANDS AND TO FILL THEIR RANKS. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES IT WAS DECIDED TO RESETTLE THE UKRAINIANS FROM TERRITORIES UNDER MILITARY OPERATIONS TO WESTERN AREAS. THIS, HOWEVER, CANNOT IN ANY DEGREE JUSTIFY THE METHODS AND FORKS APPLIED TO THE ACTION

OF RESETTLEMENT. THERE IS NO MEASURE TO JUSTIFY ALSO THE WRONG INFLICTED UPON THE INNOCENT POPULATION DURING THE RESETTLEMENT. THE ACTION ITSELF LEFT A DEEP RESENTMENT AND FEELING OF UNJUSTIFIED AND HERETOFORE UNWATONED FOR WRONG, STRENGTHENING NATIONALIST FEELINGS BOTH AMONG THE UKRAINIANS AS WELL AS AMONG THE SURROUNDING POLES."

AS A RESULT OF THE RESETTLEMENT THE UKRAINIANS WERE LOCATED IN WESTERN AND NORTHERN POLISH PROVINCES AND ONLY A VERY SMALL PART MANAGED TO STAY ON THEIR OWN LAND. INASMUCH AS STATISTICAL DATA OF THE PRESENT POLISH ADMINISTRATION DO NOT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION NATIONAL MINORITIES AND DO NOT SHOW THEIR NUMBER AND LOCATION, AN EXACT FIGURE OF THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IS NOT AVAILABLE. THE APPROXIMATE FIGURE CAN BE DEDUCED ON THE BASIS OF A HINT IN THE WARSAW PAPER "NASHE SLOVO" (UKRAINIAN), No. 24 WHICH MENTIONS "200 THOUSAND UKRAINIAN ADULTS WHO COULD BECOME MEMBERS OF THE USKT" (UKRAINIAN SOCIAL-CULTURAL SOCIETY). THUS, THE FIGURE OF 350 THOUSAND OF ALL UKRAINIANS REFERRED TO IN THE INTRODUCTION WHICH DOES NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THOSE WHO ARE AFRAID TO ADMIT THAT THEY ARE UKRAINIANS, CAN BE TAKEN AS A CONSERVATIVE ESTIMATE OF THE NUMBER OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND. REGARDING THEIR LOCATION, THIS CAN BE CONSTRUED ON THE BASIS OF THE CRITERION OF NUMERICAL REPRESENTATION BY DELEGATES FROM VARIOUS PROVINCES TAKING PART IN THE FIRST CONGRESS OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND IN JUNE 1956. THIS PROVIDES THE FOLLOWING PICTURE OF LOCATION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND: THE GREATEST CONCENTRATION OF UKRAINIANS IS IN THE PROVINCE OF OLESYIN (FORMERLY ALLENSTEIN, EAST PRUSSIA) SINCE THERE WERE 72 DELEGATES FROM THAT AREA OUT OF TOTAL OF 259; THEN COMES THE PROVINCE OF KOSZALIN (FORMERLY THE GERMAN KOBLEN IN POMERANIA) WITH 41 DELEGATES; LUBLIN PROVINCE WITH 26 DELEGATES (THIS IS AN AREA WHERE THE LOCAL UKRAINIANS HAVE STAYED IN THEIR OLD PLACES OF RESIDENCE), PROVINCE OF WROCLAW (FORMERLY BRESLAU) WITH 23 DELEGATES. THE REMAINDER IS DISPERSED IN NORTHERN AND WESTERN POLAND, IN WARSAW, CRACOW, LODZ AND IN OTHER CITIES.

UNTIL 1955/56 THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY HAD NO LEGAL EXISTENCE, IT DID NOT POSSESS ANY CULTURAL OR LANGUAGE RIGHTS, THE VERY USE OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE WAS PERSECUTED AND KILLINGS OF UKRAINIANS BY POLES WERE TOLERATED. THIS IS INDICATED BY TRIALS HELD ONLY NOW AGAINST POLES WHO COMMITTED MASS KILLINGS OF UKRAINIANS. THESE TRIALS ALSO INDICATE THE EXTENT OF THE TERROR PRACTICED BY POLISH CHAUVINISTS UPON UKRAINIANS. THUS, WE FIND IN THE NEWSPAPER "SETANDAR LUDU" OF APRIL 4, 1957 THAT A POLE KASNIERE KRALA WAS TRIED ON JUNE 29, 1957 FOR KILLING THE UKRAINIAN KONACHA MERELY BECAUSE THE LATTER WAS A UKRAINIAN. THE PAPER "NASHE SLOVO" No. 26 OF JULY 14, 1957 REPORTS THAT A TRIAL IS SCHEDULED TO BE HELD AGAINST KASNIERE TURDEJ WHO, ACCORDING TO THE INDICTMENT, BEING CHIEF OF A BAND MURDERED IN 1945 A TOTAL OF 197 PERSONS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALITY INCLUDING 65 CHILDREN FROM THE AGES OF 2 WEEKS TO 11 YEARS.

CONDITIONS WERE SUCH THAT UKRAINIANS RESETTLED IN THE WEST WERE PROHIBITED TO USE THEIR OWN LANGUAGE EVEN AT HOME, THEY

COULD NOT ADMIT TO BEING UKRAINIANS AND THEIR CHILDREN HAD NO OPPORTUNITY TO LEARN THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE.

FOR ILLUSTRATION OF THE POSITION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND PRIOR TO 1955, IT IS SUFFICIENT TO QUOTE A PASSAGE FROM THE ABOVE CITED SPEECH BY MINISTER JAROSINSKI AT THE UKRAINIAN CONGRESS IN WARSAW: "THE CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION WERE NEGLECTED. THERE WERE INSTANCES OF UKRAINIANS BEING FORCED TO OCCUPY COMPLETELY WRECKED FARMS, UNSUITABLE FOR USE. PEOPLE HAD TO LIVE IN DITCHES, BARNs AND BUNKERS. THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE, TRADITION AND CULTURE WERE INSULTED. CITIZENS OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALITY WERE NOT ADMITTED TO PROFESSIONAL AND COMMUNITY WORK, THEY WERE DISCHARGED FROM JOBS WITHOUT CAUSE, THEY WERE NOT ELECTED TO THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION. SUCH AN ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UKRAINIANS WAS THE CAUSE OF A LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL CONSPIRACY APPEARING IN MANY LOCALITIES." (ADDRESS BY MINISTER JAROSINSKI OF JUNE 16, 1956 AS REPORTED IN THE WARSAW "NASHHE SLOVO" OF JULY 26, 1956, No. 3).

II.

THE LIBERALIZATION OF THE POLITICAL COURSE IN POLAND IN 1955 AND 1956, THE SO-CALLED "THAW" CAST A POSITIVE REFLECTION ALSO UPON THE SECTOR OF POLAND'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MINORITIES, INCLUDING THE UKRAINIANS. THE TERROR AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN GROUP ABATED IN THE FALL OF 1955 AND IN THE SUMMER OF 1956 THERE WAS OFFICIAL RECOGNITION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MINORITY BY THE POLISH GOVERNMENT WITH PERMISSION TO ESTABLISH THE UKRAINIAN SOCIAL-CULTURAL SOCIETY (USKT). SIMILAR PERMISSIONS HAD BEEN GRANTED TO THE GERMANS, JEWS, BYELORUSSIANS, LITHUANIANS AND RUSSIANS EVEN EARLIER.

THE UKRAINIAN SOCIAL-CULTURAL SOCIETY WAS FOUNDED AT THE CONGRESS OF DELEGATES FROM UKRAINIAN COMMUNITIES IN POLAND, HELD IN WARSAW ON JUNE 14 THROUGH 18, 1956 WITH THE CONSENT AND AID OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT. ACCORDING TO SECTION 6 OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THIS SOCIETY, ITS PURPOSES ARE: 1. TO INCLUDE THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION ON A WIDER SCALE THAN HERETOFORE IN THE ALL-POPULAR CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM IN POLAND. 2. TO POPULARIZE AND BROADEN THE TRADITIONS OF THE COMMON STRUGGLE OF POLISH AND UKRAINIAN TOILERS. 3. TO POPULARIZE ALL-ROUND TRUE INFORMATION ABOUT THE USSR AND PARTICULARLY ABOUT THE UKRAINIAN SSR. 4. TO SPREAD UKRAINIAN CULTURE, NATIONAL IN FORM AND SOCIALIST IN CONTENT. 5. TO ORGANIZE AND SUPPORT UKRAINIAN ARTISTIC AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES. 6. TO PRESERVE UKRAINIAN FOLKLORE. 7. TO TAKE CARE OF UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS

THE USKT, PRESENTLY HEADED BY STEPAN KAKUCH, IS THE OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AND CONDUCTS ITS WORK THROUGH LOCAL BRANCHES ESTABLISHED IN MAJOR UKRAINIAN SETTLEMENTS. HEAD-QUARTERS OF USKT IS LOCATED AT UL. WIEJSKA 14 IN WARSAW WITH A LARGE AND WELL-APPOINTED OFFICE AND EDITORIAL OFFICES OF THE UKRAINIAN WEEKLY "NASHHE SLOVO" (OUR WORD) WHICH BEGAN PUBLICATION

ON JUNE 18, 1956 AND HAS COME OUT REGULARLY SINCE. IN 1957 THE FORMAT WAS INCREASED TO INCLUDE SUPPLEMENTS "THE CHILDREN'S WORD" AND "LITERARY PAGE."

ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION COLLECTED ABOUT THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF USKT (BY MEANS OF A VISIT PAID BY OUR MAN TO USKT IN WARSAW AND THROUGH CORRESPONDENCE WITH PEOPLE WHO ARE CLOSE TO USKT HEADQUARTERS AND EDITORS OF THE WEEKLY) IT CAN BE STATED THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF TWO OR THREE EXECUTIVE MEMBERS AND EDITORS, MEMBERS OF THE FORMER COMMUNIST PARTY OF WEST UKRAINE (KPZU) AND WHO ARE EVEN TODAY PROPONENTS OF THE COMMUNIST ORDER AND PROBABLY EVEN OF MOSCOW, A MAJORITY OF THE ACTIVE MEMBERS OF USKT, INCLUDING SOME EDITORS OF "NASHN Slovo" ARE UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS SOME OF WHICH HAD BEEN PERSECUTED FOR "UKRAINIAN BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM" AND HAD SPENT TIME IN POLISH AND SOVIET PRISONS. THERE IS ONE PERSON AMONG THE USKT LEADERSHIP WHO HAD BEEN IMPRISONED IN VOR-KUTA FOR BEING A MEMBER OF OUN (ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS).

REGARDING THE POLITICAL SYMPATHIES OF THE NEWSPAPER "NASHN Slovo" IT IS OFFICIALLY ON THE SIDE OF PZPR (POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY) AND PRINTS ARTICLES FAVORABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION BELIEVING THAT THE AIM OF USKT IS "TO OPPOSE WITHIN ITS RANKS NATIONALIST AND ANTI-SOVIET TRENDS, AND TO UNITE UKRAINIANS ON THE ONLY POSSIBLE PLATFORM, A PLATFORM OF BUILDING SOCIALISM ALONGSIDE THE POLISH PEOPLE" (EDITORIAL IN "NASHN Slovo" No. 24, JUNE 16, 1957). THIS IS THE POLITICAL ROUTE OF THE PRESENT USKT LEADERSHIP AND EDITORS, THERE IS, HOWEVER, AN OPPOSITION ABOUT WHICH WE CAN FIND OUT FROM ANOTHER MESSAGE IN THE QUOTED EDITORIAL: "BACKWARD ELEMENTS IN USKT, UNDER COVER OF LEFTIST PHRASES, ATTEMPT TO PULL THE SOCIETY AND EDITORS OF 'NASHN Slovo' ONTO AN ANTI-SOVIET AND NATIONALIST ROAD, WHICH FOUND EXPRESSION IN A DISCUSSION ON THE DIRECTION OF 'NASHN Slovo' AT THE II PLENUM OF THE USKT EXECUTIVE BOARD." SIMULTANEOUSLY THE NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED SEVERAL ARTICLES AGAINST UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM AND UPA IN WHICH THE AUTHOR EMPLOYS BOLSHEVIK METHODS OF POLEMIC AND DELIBERATE TWISTING OF FACTS FROM THE RECENT PAST. BUT NOTWITHSTANDING SUCH OFFICIAL DECLARATIONS OF THE EDITORS AND THE SERIES OF ARTICLES AGAINST UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM WHICH INDICATE THE PRESENCE OF COMMUNIST ELEMENTS ON THE EDITORIAL BOARD WHO ACT AND WRITE ON ORDERS FROM MOSCOW OR KIEV, THE NEWSPAPER PURSUES A GENERAL COURSE FOR PRESERVATION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE, IT APPEALS TO UKRAINIAN PATRIOTISM AND NURTURES IT IN ITS ARTICLES AND HISTORICAL NOTES, SOME OF WHICH HAVE VERY LITTLE IN COMMON WITH COMMUNISM AND ARE WRITTEN IN A UKRAINIAN NATIONAL SPIRIT. THE NEWSPAPER DEVOTES A GREAT DEAL OF SPACE TO A CAMPAIGN IN FAVOR OF UKRAINIAN SCHOOLS, PUBLISHES CORRESPONDENCE FROM LOCALITIES IN CRITICISM OF THE LOCAL ADMINISTRATION FOR MANIFESTATIONS OF POLISH CHAUVINISM AND NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION. IN SOME INSTANCES THEY INTERVENE IN BEHALF OF THOSE WRONGED WITH HIGH POLISH OFFICIALS. THE NEWS-

PAPER IS PARTICULARLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF THE RETURN OF RESETTLED PEOPLE TO THEIR OLD HOMES. IT IS NOTWORTHY THAT A RETURN HOME IS THE ARDENT WISH OF ALL UKRAINIANS WHO HAD BEEN FORCIBLY RESETTLED IN WESTERN AND NORTHERN PROVINCES. SOME OF THE RESETTLED (THE EXACT FIGURES ARE NOT AVAILABLE, BUT IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN SEVERAL THOUSAND FAMILIES) DID NOT WAIT FOR THEIR CASES TO BE DECIDED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND RETURNED TO THEIR OLD HOMES. SOME CANNOT GO BACK BECAUSE THEIR FARMS HAD IN THE MEANTIME BEEN GIVEN TO POLISH SETTLERS. THE PROBLEM OF RETURN STILL REMAINS ONE OF THE MAIN ISSUES OF THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND.

SUMMARISING THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF USKT DURING THE FIRST YEAR OF ITS EXISTENCE IT CAN BE STATED THAT THEY ARE QUITE IMPOSING AND AS OF JUNE 16, 1957 THE FOLLOWING FACTS COULD BE NOTED: HEADQUARTERS OF USKT IN VARSNA, 8 PROVINCIAL USKT BRANCHES IN THE FOLLOWING CITIES: OLSZTYN, ODRANSK, KOSZALIN, SZCZECIN, ZIELONA GORA, WROCLAW, LUBLIN AND RZESZOW. THERE WERE 68 COUNTY BRANCHES OF USKT AND 195 LOCAL CIRCLES, PLUS 50 CIRCLES FOR ARTISTIC PURSUITS (CHORUSES, DRAMA GROUPS ETC.); THERE WERE 180 SCHOOLS IN WHICH UKRAINIAN WAS TAUGHT AS A SUBJECT AND 2 SCHOOLS WITH UKRAINIAN AS THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION, A UKRAINIAN TEACHERS COLLEGE IN BARTOSZYNIE (OLSZTYN) AND UKRAINIAN LYCEUMS BEING ORGANISED IN PERKUSHEL AND LIGNICA; THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE HAS BEEN INTRODUCED AS A SUBJECT IN THE LYCEUMS AT SLOPCK, KOSZALIN AND GOSZC ILANOWSKI. THE USKT AND "NASHN SLOVO" HAVE RECENTLY CONDUCTED A STRONG CAMPAIGN THAT WITH THE BEGINNING OF THE SCHOOL TERM OF 1957 EVERY UKRAINIAN CHILD SHOULD LEARN THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE. WORK IS BEING DONE TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CHAIR OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE AT VARSNA UNIVERSITY.

THE MATTER OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IS IN A STAGE OF DEVELOPMENT. FOLLOWING THE DISPERSAL OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN WEST UKRAINE, THE POLISH ADMINISTRATION CONDUCTED AN ACTION OF DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES DURING THE PERIOD 1946-1950, DURING THE COURSE OF WHICH SOME HISTORICAL MONUMENTS OF RELIGIOUS ART PERISHED. NEVERTHELESS THE POPULATION STOOD BY ITS FAITH AND RITE AND MANAGED TO HIDE 61 PRIESTS OF THE GREEK-CATHOLIC RITE WHO HAD BEEN FULFILLING THEIR PASTORAL DUTIES IN SECRET THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE PERIOD. THE DEMANDS OF THE UKRAINIAN POPULATION OF CATHOLIC FAITH IN POLAND ARE FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT GREEK-CATHOLIC VICARIATE. A CONFERENCE OF UKRAINIAN PRIESTS PRESENTED A MEMORANDUM IN THIS MATTER TO THE GOVERNMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC ORDER OF SAINT BASIL WITH ITS LARGE PROVINCES IN CANADA AND THE US AND WITH HEADQUARTERS IN ROME HAS PLANS OF SENDING ITS OWN REPRESENTATIVE TO POLAND IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH 6 BASILIAN FATHERS WHO HAVE BEEN RESIDING IN VARSNA SINCE 1889 AND WHO, DURING THE TIMES OF PERSECUTION WERE UNDER THE PROTECTION OF THE POLISH CLERGY.

IT IS A FACT THAT DURING THE COURSE OF THE PAST YEAR, I. E. SINCE JUNE 1957, THE POSITION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND HAS IMPROVED, AND ALTHOUGH THERE ARE STILL INSTANCES OF DISCRIMINATION

OF THE PART OF THE POPULATION AND LOWER ADMINISTRATION, THE GOVERNMENT AND PARTY ARE TRYING TO ASSURE THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY A CULTURAL AUTONOMY AND FULL CITIZENS' RIGHTS.

THE CAUSES OF THIS LIBERALIZATION OF THE POLICY TOWARD THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY ARE TO BE SOUGHT IN THE FOLLOWING:

1. MOSCOW'S CHANGE OF POLICY TOWARD THE UKRAINIANS FOLLOWING THE DEATH OF STALIN AND AN ATTEMPT TO GAIN THE FAVOR OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE BY CONCESSIONS IN THE AREA OF CULTURE IS A FACT WHICH HAD REPERCUSSIONS EVEN BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE USSR. UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THIS MORE LIBERAL UKRAINIAN POLICY OF MOSCOW, THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND WHO WERE BROUGHT TO A STAGE OF DEBPAIR BY THE CHAUVINISM OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, FOUND A PROTECTOR IN MOSCOW.

2. IN ORDER NOT LET MOSCOW HAVE CAUSE FOR INTERFERENCE IN POLAND'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, THE POLISH COMMUNISTS DECIDED TO CHANGE THEIR UKRAINIAN POLICY AND TO SATISFY THE UKRAINIANS' NATIONAL AMBITIONS ON THEIR OWN PART. ALSO THE GENERALLY MORE LIBERAL COURSE OF GOMULKA'S POLICY ON THE DOMESTIC SECTOR EXCLUDES THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUING THE TERROR AGAINST A SEGMENT OF THE POPULATION, IN THIS CASE AGAINST THE UKRAINIANS.

3. THE MOST ESSENTIAL FACT WHICH BROUGHT ABOUT THIS CHANGE OF POLICY TOWARD THE UKRAINIANS BOTH ON THE PART OF MOSCOW AS WELL AS WARSAW IS THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT IN SPIKE OF TWELVE YEARS OF PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND, THE POLISH ADMINISTRATION DID NOT SUCCEED IN DESTROYING THE FEELING OF BELONGING TO THE UKRAINIAN NATION IN THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY AND DID NOT SUCCEED IN ELIMINATING THE GREAT PATRIOTISM OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE. THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND HAS DEMONSTRATED A GREAT TOUGHNESS AND OBSTINACY IN DEFENSE OF ITS NATIONAL EXISTENCE WHICH IS A MINIATURE PICTURE OF THE SAME KIND OF UKRAINIAN TOUGHNESS AND RESILIENCY AS DISPLAYED BY UKRAINIANS IN UKRAINE IN THE FACE OF STALINIST TERROR. IN SPIKE OF 40 YEARS OF SOVIET TERROR THE UKRAINIANS HAVE SURVIVED AS NATION TO SUCH A DEGREE THAT EVEN THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO GRANT THEM CONCESSIONS AND TO EMPHASIZE, AT LEAST FORMALLY, THAT THE UKRAINIAN SSR IS A SOVEREIGN NATION.

IN SUMMARIZING IT CAN BE STATED THAT MOSCOW, CONVINCED OF THE POWER OF THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND, DECIDED TO SUPPORT ITS CULTURAL DEMANDS AND IN THIS AREA THERE MUST HAVE BEEN PROPER INTERVENTIONS MADE BY MOSCOW IN WARSAW. GIVING SUPPORT TO THE CULTURAL AUTONOMY OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND, MOSCOW OBVIOUSLY WISHES TO CREATE A PRETEXT FOR LOOKING INTO POLAND'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS AND THEN POSSIBLY TO UTILIZE THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND AS ITS FIFTH COLUMN IN PURSUIT OF MOSCOW'S PLANS. HOWEVER, AS INDICATED BY A WHOLE SERIES OF FACTS (CONVERSATIONS, LETTERS FROM UKRAINIANS IN POLAND, ARTICLES IN THE PRESS) SUCH PLANS HAVE A POOR PROSPECT OF REALIZATION.

FIRST OF ALL, THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND ARE NOTED FOR THEIR HIGHLY DEVELOPED NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND PATRIOTISM. THEY HAVE BEHIND THEM THE TRADITION OF ORGANIZED UKRAINIAN LIFE IN THE POLISH REPUBLIC (1921-1939), THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE

WAR PERIOD AND LIVING MEMORIES OF THE UPA BATTLES. THE PEOPLE WERE IN ACTIVE SYMPATHY WITH UPA AND SUPPORTED IT BY ALL AVAILABLE MEANS. FINALLY, TWELVE YEARS OF RUTHLESS PERSECUTION BY THE POLISH COMMUNIST AUTHORITIES HAVE HARDENED THEIR SPIRIT AND STEELED THEIR DETERMINATION TO PRESERVE THEIR NATIONAL IDENTITY. ON THE BASIS OF INFORMATION RECEIVED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION BY THE SECRETARIAT-GENERAL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF UNVR FROM POLAND, AND MAINLY ON THE BASIS OF CONVERSATIONS HELD WITH PEOPLE BY OUR MEN, IT CAN BE STATED DEFINITELY THAT WITH THE EXCEPTION OF A VERY INSIGNIFICANT NUMBER OF AGENTS, THE GREAT MAJORITY OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND, INCLUDING PART OF THE LEADERSHIP OF USKT AND EDITORS OF "NASHE SLOVO" ARE AWARE OF THE DANGER OF INFILTRATION ON THE PART OF MOSCOW. THEY ARE TRYING TO BE LOYAL TO THE COUNTRY OF THEIR PRESENT CITIZENSHIP AND ARE UTILISING THE CONCESSIONS GIVEN BY GONULKA'S PARTY FOR THE PURPOSE OF PRESERVING AND DEVELOPING THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND. A LETTER RECEIVED FROM ONE OF THE USKT LEADERS STATES: "OUR ROAD IN POLAND IS NOT TO STICK OUR NOSES OUTSIDE OF OUR OWN YARD, BUT TO TAKE CARE OF HEALING OUR WOUNDS, TO CONCENTRATE ALL FORCES IN ORDER TO SAVE THE PEOPLE'S SOULS FROM DENATIONALIZATION. I AM PERSONALLY A NON-PARTISAN, BUT I AM IN FAVOR OF COLLABORATING WITH THE PARTY (PZPR). TODAY, THERE IS AN INCREASE OF NATIONALISM AND CHAUVINISM HERE WHICH IS CAPABLE OF DEVOURING US IN POLAND. ONLY THE PARTY IS CAPABLE OF FIGHTING NATIONALISM, THEREFORE IT IS OUR ONLY SALVATION." ALSO THE CIRCUMSTANCE THAT THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND IS NOT SETTLED IN A COMPACT MASS, BUT IS DISPERSED IN AN ALIEN SEA, LESSENS MOSCOW'S CHANCES OF UTILIZING THIS MINORITY FOR HER OWN PURPOSES IN THE EVENT OF INSPIRING IT TO ANTI-POLISH ACTION.

III.

THE PRESENCE OF A HIGHLY PATRIOTIC UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POLAND PROVIDES AN EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE EVENTS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND FACILITATES INFORMING THE UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR ABOUT EVENTS IN THE FREE WORLD, ABOUT ACTIVITIES OF UKRAINIAN EMIGRES AND ABOUT THE ATTITUDE OF THE WEST TOWARD THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM. FIRST OF ALL, THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND ARE ALLOWED TO VISIT THEIR KIN IN UKRAINE AND MANY HAVE ALREADY TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THIS. ACCORDING TO "NASHE SLOVO" NINE UKRAINIAN TEACHERS FROM POLAND WENT TO KIEV IN JUNE TO ATTEND COURSES OF UKRAINIAN LITERATURE; NEAR WARSAW COURSES OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE ARE GIVEN WITH TWO INSTRUCTORS BEING TEACHERS FROM THE UKRAINIAN SSR (LEONID KARARENKO AND HRYHORY KUPRIENKO); SIX YOUNG UKRAINIAN STUDENTS FROM POLAND WILL STUDY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE IN KIEV.

SIMULTANEOUSLY EXCURSIONS FROM UKRAINE KEEP ARRIVING IN WARSAW AND OTHER POLISH CITIES. THEIR PARTICIPANTS AVIDLY READ ALL THAT IS AVAILABLE IN THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE PUBLISHED IN THE FREE WORLD.

HAVING THESE OPPORTUNITIES IN MIND, THE SECRETARIAT-GENERAL OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF UNVR BELIEVES THAT THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND WOULD BE GOOD INTERMEDIARIES FOR INFORMATION ACTION IN UKRAINE

AND HAS ALREADY TAKEN STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION. IN ADDITION TO DISTRIBUTION OF MANY COPIES OF THE NEWSPAPERS "SUCHASNA UKRAINA" AND "UKRAINSKY SANOSTIYNYK" TO MANY ADDRESSES IN POLAND, INCLUDING USKT AND LIBRARIES, AN ACTION HAS BEEN UNDERTAKEN OF SENDING BOOKS AND TEXTBOOKS TO POLAND. CORRESPONDENCE WITH PEOPLE IN POLAND IS MAINTAINED, SOME TRIPS HAVE ALREADY BEEN MADE AND MORE ARE PLANNED. THERE IS ALREADY EVIDENCE AVAILABLE THAT THE READING MATTER SENT TO POLAND IS NOT ONLY READ BY UKRAINIANS LOCALLY, BUT THAT IT GETS INTO THE HANDS OF UKRAINIANS FROM THE USSR. THERE IS A KNOWN INSTANCE OF PEOPLE COMING FROM UKRAINE TO WARSAW FOR THE PURPOSE OF STUDYING THE UKRAINIAN HISTORY TEXTBOOK BY HAVSHNEVSKY.

THE ACTION OF CULTURAL AID TO UKRAINIANS IN POLAND INITIATED BY THE SECRETARIAT-GENERAL FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFORMING THE PEOPLE IN UKRAINE IS IN ITS BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT STAGES. DEVELOPMENT OF THIS ACTION IS AN IMPORTANT TASK IN THE STRATEGY OF ANTI-BOLSHEVIK STRUGGLE ALONG THE LINE OF SUPPORTING THE EVOLUTIONARY PROCESSES IN THE USSR, PARTICULARLY AT THIS TIME.

A SIMILAR PROCESS OF LIBERALIZATION HAS BEEN EXPERIENCED BY UKRAINIAN MINORITIES IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND IN ROMANIA. THERE ARE ABOUT 100,000 IN EACH OF THESE COUNTRIES AND THEY ARE NOW DEVELOPING THEIR SCHOOLS AND PRESS.

MEETING BETWEEN OUR REPRESENTATIVE AND A UKRAINIAN FROM POLAND, IN PARIS, ON SEPTEMBER 15-16, 1967.

THIS UKRAINIAN, WHOM WE SHALL DESIGNATE WITH THE LETTERS M.K., IS AN ASSISTANT PROFESSOR AT THE POLYTECHNICAL COLLEGE IN DANZIG AND CAME TO PARIS WITH A GROUP OF PROFESSORS AND STUDENTS TO GET ACQUAINTED WITH WESTERN EUROPEAN ARCHITECTURE. THE FACT THAT M.K. IS A UKRAINIAN IS KNOWN ONLY TO ONE PROFESSOR WHO IS OF CZECH ORIGIN.

WE KNOW THE REAL NAME AND BIOGRAPHY OF M.K. HE IS ABOUT 30, A NATIVE OF WEST UKRAINE, A CONSCIOUS UKRAINIAN PATRIOT AND CIVIC LEADER. IT IS UNLIKELY THAT HE IS A PARTY MEMBER.

ON THE BASIS OF SEVERAL MEETINGS DURING FOUR DAYS, OUR REPRESENTATIVE REPORTED THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION GAINED FROM M.K.:

1. POSITION OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND.

ACCORDING TO M.K., THE POLES HAD TO RECOGNIZE THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY OFFICIALLY, BECAUSE THIS PROBLEM EXISTED SINCE THE VERY BEGINNING. HAVING DISPERSED THE UKRAINIANS ALL OVER POLAND, AND PARTICULARLY ON TERRITORIES WHICH FORMERLY BELONGED TO GERMANY, THEY DID NOT SUCCEED IN LIQUIDATING THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM. THE UKRAINIANS MAINTAINED CLANDESTINE CONTACTS WITH EACH OTHER FOR SOCIAL, RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PURPOSES. STUDENTS KEPT IN TOUCH WITH EACH OTHER, EVEN IF THEY ATTENDED DIFFERENT UNIVERSITIES. THEY GOT TOGETHER TO OBSERVE NATIONAL HOLIDAYS, AS E.G. THE SHEVCHENKO OR IVAN FRANKO ANNIVERSARIES, PARTICULARLY THOSE UKRAINIANS WHO HAD BEEN REMOVED FROM WEST OF THE CURZON LINE. M.K. BELIEVES THAT THE INITIATIVE TO RECOGNIZE THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY CAME FROM THE POLISH AND NOT THE SOVIET SIDE. MOSCOW IS AT PRESENT TRYING TO EXERT ITS INFLUENCE UPON THE UKRAINIAN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL SOCIETY ALONG THE LINE OF THE THREAT AND NECESSITY TO OPPOSE SO-CALLED UKRAINIAN BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM. M.K. DOES NOT BELIEVE THAT PERMISSION TO RENEW UKRAINIAN ACTIVITIES IN POLAND WAS A MANEUVER OF THE POLISH OR SOVIET GOVERNMENT DESIGNED TO UNCOVER UKRAINIANS WHO HAVE BEEN PASSING AS POLES AND THEN TO REMOVE OR LIQUIDATE THEM.

THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UKRAINIAN SOC.-CULT.SOC. WAS STEPAN MAEUCH, A FORMER MEMBER OF KPZU (COMMUNIST PARTY OF WEST UKRAINE, A SOVIET-SPONSORED PARTY WHICH WAS ACTIVE AMONG THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS). HE IS A CONSCIOUS UKRAINIAN. THE PRESENT HEAD OF THE SOCIETY IS HRYKHOR BOYARSKY, A MEMBER OF THE UNITED POLISH WORKERS' PARTY (COMMUNIST). ON THE EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE SOCIETY IS ALSO T.Y. SHCHYRBA, A SOVIET CITIZEN WHO PROMOTES THE MOST ORTHODOX LINE OF MOSCOW'S POLICY. THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE SOCIETY IS OLHA VASYLKYV, ALSO A COMMUNIST. THERE ARE SOME CONSCIOUS UKRAINIAN NON-COMMUNISTS ON THE BOARD, TOO.

THE BOARD OF THE SOCIETY AND THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF "NASHE SLOVO" ARE UNDER CONTINUOUS PRESSURE OF THE UKRAINIAN MASSES. FOR EXAMPLE: AT ONE MEETING YOUNG MEMBERS DEMANDED ESTABLISHMENT OF CULTURAL CONTACTS WITH THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND EXTENDING AID TO UKRAINE BY DISTRIBUTING BOOKS. THEY CAME UP WITH A DECLARATION THAT IF SOVIET UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE IN KIEV WILL NOT TAKE AN INTEREST IN THEM, THEY WILL APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY IN MUNICH. AFTER THAT, THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

IS SAID TO HAVE STATED THAT IF SOME PEOPLE WANT TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH THE UKRAINIAN FREE UNIVERSITY, THEY DON'T HAVE TO TALK ABOUT IT IN PUBLIC. GENERALLY SPEAKING, YOUTH HAS JOINED IN THE SOCIETY'S ACTIVITIES. OLDER PEOPLE, PARTICULARLY INTELLECTUALS, SEEM TO BE AFRAID AND ONLY A FEW ARE WORKING ACTIVELY. FOR EXAMPLE, UKRAINIANS OCCUPYING RESPONSIBLE POSITIONS IN THE POLISH COMMUNIST PARTY, ARE NOT ACTIVE IN THE UKRAINIAN S-C. SOCIETY. AMONG SUCH ARE THE PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARY IN GDANSK (DANZIG), TRUSH, AND THE PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARY IN LUBLIN, HOLON.

THE UKRAINIAN SC SOCIETY DOES NOT RECEIVE ANY SUBSIDIES FROM THE SOVIET EMBASSY, BUT FINANCIAL AID IS GIVEN BY THE EMBASSY TO THE RUSSIAN "BESHCHESTVO" FOUNDED IN 1945. LATELY, SCHOLARLY INSTITUTIONS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR HAVE BEEN TRYING TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH THE UKRAINIAN SC SOCIETY BY SENDING THEIR PUBLICATIONS AND NEWSPAPERS. CHORAL ENSEMBLES COME FROM UKRAINE TO POLAND, TOO. THIS YEAR TWO PROFESSORS FROM KIEV TAUGHT AT COURSES FOR TEACHERS OF UKRAINIAN IN POLAND AND 5 STUDENTS WENT TO KIEV TO STUDY UKRAINIAN LITERATURE AT KIEV UNIVERSITY.

THERE ARE ABOUT 200 UKRAINIANS STUDYING AT VARIOUS UNIVERSITIES IN POLAND: WROCLAW (BRESLAU), CRACOW, WARSAW, LUBLIN AND GDANSK (DANZIG).

CONTACTS BETWEEN UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AND THE UKR. SSR.

ACCORDING TO M.K., SUCH CONTACTS EXIST DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY. DIRECT CONTACTS CONSIST OF VISITS OF RELATIVES IN THE USSR BY UKRAINIANS FROM POLAND AND (FOR THE TIME BEING ONLY IN EXCEPTIONAL CASES) VICE VERSA. SUCH TRIPS ARE OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO UKRAINIANS IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR. IN CONVERSATIONS THEY ARE INTERESTED IN THE ACTIVITIES OF UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AND THEY ASK ABOUT EMIGRES IN THE FREE WORLD, TOO. THERE IS MUCH INTEREST ON THE PART OF SOVIET UKRAINIANS IN THE WEST'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UKRAINIAN PROBLEM. FOR EXAMPLE: NEWS ABOUT OBSERVANCES OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY (JANUARY 22ND) IN THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS AND IN THE SEVERAL STATES GAVE THE UKRAINIANS A GREAT SPIRITUAL UPLIFT.

AN INDIRECT CONTACT IS DISTRIBUTION OF "NASHE SLOVO" IN UKRAINE WHICH IS READ VERY AVIDLY. ACCORDING TO M.K., PEOPLE IN KIEV ASK FOR "NASHE SLOVO" AT NEWSSTANDS. THERE IS A GREAT DEMAND FOR BOOKS FROM THE WEST, INCLUDING THOSE PUBLISHED BY UKRAINIAN EMIGRES. SUCH BOOKS CAN BE SENT TO THE UKRAINIAN SSR FROM POLAND. M.K. REPORTS THAT ALL SUCH BOOKS ARE SOUGHT AFTER IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR, EVEN THOSE THAT WERE PROHIBITED BEFORE THE WAR, AND PEOPLE PASS THEM FROM HAND TO HAND.

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AND EMIGRE UKRAINIANS.

UKRAINIANS IN POLAND KNOW QUITE A LOT ABOUT EMIGRE UKRAINIANS. THEY GATHER INFORMATION FROM LISTENING TO RADIO BROADCASTS AND FROM NEWSPAPERS WHICH THEY GET IRREGULARLY. ALL GOOD NEWS IS

ORALLY AND FINALLY REACHES INTO THE UKRAINIAN SSR. THEIR PRIMARY DEMAND TO THE EMIGRES IS THAT EMIGRES UNITE AND THAT PEACE REIGN AMONG THEM FROM WHICH COOPERATION ON THE EXTERNAL SECTOR WOULD RESULT. THEY BELIEVE THAT UKRAINIAN EMIGRES ARE IN A POSITION TO HELP OR HARM THE UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AS WELL AS IN THE USSR. THIS WOULD DEPEND ON WHAT IS BEING PUBLISHED IN THE EMIGRE PRESS AND HOW VARIOUS POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARE ANALYZED. M.K. BELIEVES THAT IN GENERAL THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRE PRESS SHOULD WRITE ABOUT UKRAINIANS IN POLAND AND IN THE USSR, BUT IT SHOULD NEITHER SCOLD THEM FOR BEING COMMUNISTS NOR MAKE NATIONALISTS OUT OF THEM. IT SHOULD RATHER OFFER IMPARTIAL CRITICISM, PARTICULARLY OF THE AUTHORITIES.

REACTION TO WESTERN RADIO BROADCASTS

M.K. WAS VERY EMPHATIC ABOUT THE NEED FOR EMIGRES TO MAKE ALL POSSIBLE ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF PROGRAMS BROADCAST OVER VOICE OF AMERICA AND RADIO LIBERATION. ACCORDING TO M.K. AND THE LISTENERS FOR WHOM HE WAS SPEAKING, THE BEST RADIO PROGRAMS ARE BROADCAST BY MADRID AND ROME. LISTENERS ARE NOT SATISFIED WITH BROADCASTS EXTOLLING THE HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING IN AMERICA AND IN THE WEST. THE PEOPLE KNOW THAT CONDITIONS IN THE WEST ARE BETTER AND IT DOES NOT MAKE PEOPLE OVER THERE ANY HAPPIER TO HEAR ABOUT THIS WHILE THEY ARE POOR. THEY WOULD MUCH RATHER LISTEN TO WHAT THE WEST IS DOING TO IMPROVE THEIR UNHAPPY LOT.

GENERAL INFORMATION

M.K. REPORTED THAT THE POLISH AUTHORITIES WERE RELEASING SOME MEMBERS OF THE UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND (UPA) FROM PRISON. RECENTLY A FORMER UPA SOLDIER RETURNED TO HIS FAMILY IN POLAND FROM A CONCENTRATION CAMP AT KARAGANDA AND HE CONFIRMED REPORTS WHICH WE HAD RECEIVED EARLIER. THE DEMANDS OF THE STRIKERS WERE IDENTICAL WITH THOSE REPORTED IN THE LETTER OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS TO THE UNITED NATIONS. THIS UPA MEMBER'S FATHER IS LIVING IN ENGLAND (NEAR LONDON) AND IS MAKING ATTEMPTS TO HAVE HIM COME OVER AND JOIN HIM.

M.K. EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO VISIT THE WEST AGAIN, OR BETTER YET, TO STAY FOR ABOUT A YEAR'S STUDIES ABROAD.

BOOKS HANDED OVER BY OUR REPRESENTATIVE

M.K. READILY AGREED TO TAKE BACK 12 UKRAINIAN BOOKS WITH HIM AND PLACED AN ORDER FOR "THE UKRAINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA" WHICH HE WILL TRANSMIT TO UKRAINE. HE ALSO TOOK THREE COPIES OF ISSUES NO. 5, 6 AND 7-8 OF "THE INFORMATION BULLETIN." HE PROMISED TO SEND THE "IB" TO UKRAINE AND TO HELP DISTRIBUTE IT IN POLAND. HE WILL WRITE US A LETTER, ADDRESSING IT TO ONE OF THE MAIL BOXES OF "IB." HE WILL ALSO PROVIDE US WITH ADDRESSES OF INCONSPICUOUS PEOPLE TO WHOM THE "IB" AND BOOKS CAN BE MAILED. HE ALSO PROVIDED US WITH TWO ADDRESSES IN GDANSK TO WHICH WE CAN MAIL "SUCHASNA UKRAINA" AND "UKRAINSKA LITERATURNHA HAZETA."

M.K. THANKED FOR THE HOSPITALITY EXTENDED TO HIM AND ON BIDDING FAREWELL PROMISED TO WRITE FROM POLAND, REPORTING WHAT THINGS CAN BE SENT AND TO WHAT ADDRESSES. HE THOUGHT THAT HE COULD TAKE BOOKS ALONG WITH HIM BECAUSE THE CUSTOMS INSPECTION WAS VERY CURSORY. HE ALSO MENTIONED THAT A GOOD FRIEND OF HIS WAS GOING TO KIEV TO CONTINUE HIS STUDIES THIS YEAR AND THAT HE WOULD SPEAK TO HIM AND MAKE CONTACTS THROUGH HIM.

HE ADDED THAT WHEN PACKAGES WITH FOOD OR CLOTHING ARE SENT TO POLAND, A BOOK CAN ALWAYS BE ADDED AND THINGS CAN BE WRAPPED IN NEW NEWSPAPERS. SUCH PACKAGES PASS INSPECTION, BUT THE METHOD SHOULD NOT BE OVERDONE.

OUR NOTE:

1. IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN AND WIDEN CONTACTS OF THIS KIND IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO SUPPLY OUR REPRESENTATIVES WITH SMALL COLLECTIONS OF BOOKS WHICH ARE APPROPRIATE FOR TRANSMISSION TO THE USSR AND TO SATELLITE COUNTRIES.
2. IT IS ALSO NECESSARY FOR OUR REPRESENTATIVES TO HAVE A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF CASH TO COVER THE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY EXPENSES IN CONNECTION WITH SUCH MEETINGS AND CONVERSATIONS. SOMETIMES IT IS MOST ESSENTIAL TO BUY A SMALL GIFT. (IN THIS INSTANCE, OUR REPRESENTATIVE TOOK M.K. FOR A VISIT TO HEADQUARTERS OF SHEVCHENKO SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY AT SARCELLES NEAR PARIS AND THE SOCIETY'S EMPLOYEES PRESENTED HIM WITH A NECKTIE AND SWEATER AND ALSO THROUGH OUR REPRESENTATIVE 15 AND 5,000 FRANCS IN CASH).
3. IT IS INDISPENSABLE THAT WE MAINTAIN OUR REPRESENTATIONS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, E.G. ITALY, BELGIUM, ETC. WHICH ARE OFTEN VISITED BY TOURISTS AND OTHER VISITORS FROM THE USSR.

Information

Attachment 3

(news from Western areas of the Ukrainian SSk)

Source: Conversation with a Ukrainian woman who came to England from Poland in September 1957 to visit her family. This woman went from Poland to Stanislaw in November 1956 to attend the funeral of her mother. She is a high-school graduate and married to a Pole, a former soldier of the 2nd Corps who returned to Poland from England. We shall refer to her by the letter "M."

M. went from Poland to Ukraine by railraod through Warsaw, Brest, Lviv, Stanislaw and Horodenka and returned via: Stanislaw, Lviv, Peremyshl, Wasraw to Stettin.

She reports the following:

1. On November 30, 1956 M. visited her brother, a university student in Lviv. He told her that on November 23, more than 100 Ukrainian students had been arrested at Lviv University and their leaders had illegal literature and arms.
2. Waiting for a train at Stanislaw on her return trip to Poland, M. heard two workers talk about a funeral. She engaged them in conversation and found out that on that day (Nov. 20th) a funeral was to be held of about 150 officers and soldiers who died in Hungary and that they were Ukrainians. One of the workers expressed his doubt whether any of those killed had been in the fighting in Hungary, but that they were morelikely shot for opposing the action against Hungary.
3. In the filthy waiting-room M. saw several people in rags lying on the floor. When she asked who they were, they said: those are returnees from the East. They had been concentration camp inmates but now they could not get work at home, so they travelled East for seasonal work. Now they have a little grain in sacks which they made while working during the summer in the East.
4. M's brother-in-law, whom she met at her mother's funeral told her that he was a party member and would not let her meet any other people. In reply to M's question whether the NKVD was still as powerful as before, he answered that the NKVD did not exist any more. To this M's sister, who was present added: "but we have the MVD instead." The man then said: "we will soon have no need for MVD troops because since two years we have had no trouble from bands which we have finished. The sister explained that as late as 1954 the underground was still active in the neighborhood and there were instances of liquidation of secret informers and party members. The underground people used to visit the village at night to get food.
5. General conditions: there is a permanent shortage of butter, meat and sugar in the cities, particularly the smaller county seats. They are available in provincial capitals, but they reach no further. Restaurants at railraod stations are only for first-class travellers. Anyone with money and properly dressed can enter and must check his coat. M. stated that many Ukrainians, including herself, believe that the creation of Ukrainian societies in Poland is a kind of provocation designed to uncover those Ukrainians who are passing for Poles. Polish chauvinism is very strong among the masses, particularly against Ukrainians. The Government is exerting pressure to alleviate this, but it is effective only in places where it can be controlled. She related the following interesting fact: in the high school which her daughter was attending, the teacher in the highest grade and the principal gave a series of lectures on the subject of relations between the Ukrainians and Polish people. He stated that noth peoples lived in discord and this fact should not be concealed, but that one should look for its causes. He said: "We Poles must realize that the lion's share of the blame for this discord belongs to us. Since the early

14th century, when Poland overran Ukrainian lands (Galicia) the Polish nobility and soldatesque oppressed the Ukrainian people socially and nationally. This brought about the emergence of the Zaporoshian Sitch (Khmelnysky). Subsequently, forceful conversion to catholicism brought about a new struggle. After World War I, Polish reactionary forces again oppressed the Ukrainians, settled colonists in Ukrainian lands, and the shameful pacification (note: of 1930) was the cause of bloody vengeance during World War II. Many Ukrainian bands appeared, and among others, General Skierszewski died at the hands of one of them." The reaction to this lecture and declaration was negative among the students.

The person giving the enclosed report is known to us. Since her trip was confidential and she did not even tell her parents about it, we are designating her only with the letter "K."

K. made the trip at our behest, with our instructions and partly financed by us. K. lives in West Germany and is a German citizen. She applied for permit to go to the Festival through German university circles. Since there were very many candidates among the Germans, K. was not sure whether she would be picked and whether she would her visa. She got her visa only a week before the scheduled departure.

K. is a Ukrainian and married to a Ukrainian. She was born in Bukovyna (which was part of Romania until 1939 and during part of World War II). Her mother is of German descent. She graduated from a German university and speaks the following languages well: Ukrainian, German, Romanian, Russian and French.

K. was aware of the risk she was running in undertaking this trip.

A supplement to the enclosed report on the trip can be found in the form of a journalistic general report in the latest issue of "Suchasna Ukraina" No. 20 /173/) under the title: "My Encounters at the 6th Festival in Moscow" signed with the initials "A.B."

encl.

Report on a trip to the Moscow Youth Festival

General introduction.

Two special trains exclusively for delegates and tourists to the Moscow Festival were leaving East Berlin. K., however, managed to get a ticket for the "Blue Express" train running from Berlin to Moscow. In the 4-person compartment there were, in addition to K., two newspaper reporters from East Berlin and one sports manager. Documents were controlled by the Germans on the German-Polish border, the Poles on arrival and departure, and the Soviets before Brest Litovsk. There was no baggage control of passengers going to the Festival. After Brest there was no more control. There was a wait of 2 hours at Brest and permission was granted to see the town. When people encountered on the streets were asked what people were living here, the answer was: here are Russians.

After arrival in Moscow, K. and others were assigned to so-called collective farm hotels, about one-half hour's bus ride from Moscow, near the Agricultural Exposition. Guests were taken to the Festival by busses, and in addition tickets were issued entitling to free transportation in any direction desired. The food was very good. About 1,200 persons came to the Festival from West Germany, mostly pro-Communists. All Germans, both from West and East Germany, lived in the same hotels. Nearby were Poles and Chechs. Americans and Canadians were located somewhat further away. The official Ukrainian delegation (from the Ukrainian SSR) resided quite far from K's hotel and the Ukrainian artistic groups lived in a village. They were brought to their appearances^a and immediately taken back.

Living alongside the tourists in hotels were also: a/ interpreters, mostly Russian students or graduates of language institutes. There was one interpreter for each group of 20-30 tourists; b/ so-called organizers, whose duty was to provide tickets, transportation and take general care of tourists. The organizers were picked exclusively from among Komsomol members in good standing and they avoided conversation on ideological, political and religious subjects. It was easier to enter into conversation with the interpreters.

It was practically impossible to meet the Ukrainians during affairs staged by them. Those appearing on the stage did not come into the hall and after their appearance they were taken back by bus to the village where they lived, one hour's ride from Moscow. Before appearance, according to the Ukrainian student girls, they were all checked and if anyone did not have the necessary order or left it behind in the village, they would not be permitted to enter the hall where the production was held.

K. went to a show of Ukrainian songs and dances. The show was attended by a large group of young Muscovites. A few newsgirls were waiting for the troupe outside. The group to appear was late. The reporters represented Ukrainian Soviet newspapers. One of the reporters asked the organizer (a girl from Kiev, a student wearing an embroidered blouse) why only Muscovites came to the show. "We have a lot of respect for their love of Ukrainian songs, but we should have been taken to have foreigners attend, too." The organizer replied that this was accidental. The reporters answered: "I know those accidents, you show the foreigners Tatars and Kazaks as something exotic, and you hide the Ukrainians best God forbid, they come closer to foreigners. This is not good."

K. approached that reporter and introduced herself as a German from West Germany who speaks Ukrainian. In a talk on the subject of fascism the reporter reproached K. that the Germans were permitting old fascist generals to come back to power and they would march East again when they become stronger. He mentioned that he knew the Germans because he had been a partisan soldier in Kovpak's group. (Kovpak's group operated behind German lines in Ukraine and was more successful in fighting Ukrainians (UP) than Germans - reporter's note).

Then K. had a brief talk with another girl, also an organizer, a student from Kiev. They spoke Ukrainian. When K. asked if she was a Ukrainian, she answered yes, and added that before World War II she was not in this position. "This came only after World War II, that people started asking 'What nationality are you?' Because of this, there has been much arguing in the past few years." The organizer had

her daughter with her and they never saw her again.

At the meeting of Germans and USSR youth, there was also a Ukrainian group present. During the official part, a young man from Kiev spoke in the name of the Ukrainian Delegation in the Ukrainian language (this was probably V.I. Drozdenko, secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee in Kiev). After the concert, K. engaged him in conversation. He seemed very happy to meet a German girl who spoke Ukrainian. When K. remarked that she was surprised to hear him make his speech in Ukrainian, he answered that Russian was used whenever there was a majority from among Soviet peoples who knew only Russian, for example Uzbeks or Kazaks. He advised K. to attend the German-Ukrainian meeting. She went, but unfortunately a majority at that meeting were people from Moscow.

Chance conversations

There were many young people from the Ukrainian SSR who came to the Festival individually, travelling on so-called "poltovki" (free tickets). During chance encounters, mainly at the Agricultural Exposition, for example a group of Ukrainian collective farmers from Vinnytsia region was pleasantly surprised to hear K., a German, speak Ukrainian. One of the farm girls brought K. a small gift and said: "this is for learning to speak our language so well."

A group of farm girls who were speaking Ukrainian, were found to be from Lviv region after they were engaged in conversation. Their faces showed that they were very tired from overwork and they looked much older than their years. K. gave ~~them~~ some trifles, like hair ribbons and thread and they were extremely thankful. There were also groups of Komsomol boys, or more accurately, district secretaries of the Komsomol. They spoke Ukrainian among themselves, but intertwined with Russian words. K. thought that their intellectual level was rather low.

K. had most talks and encounters with educated youths and older students, as well as with several journalists and writers.

There were about a dozen interpreters from West Ukraine who worked among the Polish delegates. There were some specialists and lecturers who came at their

own expense. They were all very conscious of their nationality and stressed that they were Ukrainians at every opportunity. They were well conversant, with good manners and for Soviet conditions, dressed well and with taste.

Among the Polish group there were several Ukrainians, though not in closer acquaintance with them. In their talks with Russians, with Ukrainians from the USSR and with foreigners they were very bold in their questions. They went through a lot in Poland and for this reason they would rather go to the Ukrainian SSR after finishing their studies because there, according to them "nationally aware people are needed." (For example, one of them, when he was 11 years old, was forced by the Poles to bury alive wounded soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, now he is 25 years old and completely gray. He knows about "Suchasna Ukraina" and "Ukrainska Literaturna Hazeta" only from a very poor copy which was distributed from hand to hand).

K. was introduced by interpreters to 6 Canadian Ukrainians. There were supposed to be several of them but Ukrainians were reluctant to meet them and some said openly ridiculing them that they like Moscow better than Ukraine.

Confidential conversations in private

(In these conversations K. admitted that she was a Ukrainian.). Two Ukrainian girl students from Poland contacted K. with a Ukrainian who gave her to understand that he had come at his own expense in the hope of meeting some Ukrainian emigres from the West. This Ukrainian was very intelligent, a lecturer of economics and a typical Western intellectual. The conversation took place in a room occupied by students from Poland, accompanied by a radio tuned to the USSR. This Ukrainian showed himself to be an adherent, and in certain respects a member of the Ukrainian liberation movement. His basic points were the following: 1/ Re-education is going on in a very unpleasant manner, not only in Eastern Ukraine and even in Carpatho-Ukraine and western territories; 2/ It is now necessary to join the Komsomol and the party, takes advantage of educational opportunities and tries to squeeze into universities and into the administration, into responsible positions and to replace the alien elements sent from Moscow; 3/ during the

Hungarian revolt, very many persons who had been... were requested and departed; h/ he tried to convince K... were hopefully waiting for war and wondering why the West was delaying... blood to spill all at once than..."

When K. realized that war was at the present impossible and that war would hardly bring the Ukrainian people full liberation... "that we shall fight alone." Here he mentioned Bardine as the cause of ineffective American policy regarding Eastern Europe. K. gave him a full description of the actual situation and of the condition of... those who were living in the past... reaction to this was that... cited what he was always brought... would have been better if he had never met K... Finally he asked to tell Ukrainian emigrants that they should not argue, but work together "it is a grave fault to quarrel... and they are quarrelling at night." K. finished by saying that... Bardine's..."

When churches were mentioned, he said... that believed it was necessary to establish... of Greek-Catholic against Orthodoxy... spreading, particularly the... of this gentleman, only the fact that...

... also being... consider... pieces of his at the beginning... section seemed necessary. There...

another Ukrainian... (Lazar... The place of birth... people were... but progress was... position in the party... important task was... to them and little to know... is that on contact... to which they are... Ukrainian subjects... to strengthen their... the Ukrainian... to call us... hurt us bitterly"

All three attended a ball at the Kremlin... marks within the Kremlin... we are still alive and walking... that last hammer would turn to his grave"

During the ball one lady obtained their view... and the writer started to hear... see" (he said that in Jerusalem)... and the writer thought... "Langreg" and... Then the writer... native language is Russian"

The writer remarked during... is the... it was that we... Ivan Prank (Ramyzsky is a...)

...ing the... Russian authors
have... the...
...ing...
power...
rainians. The educated classes of Eastern Ukraine...
extent of using the Russian language."

Ko... the Ukrainian...
several Ukrainian books for...
When she...
added: "Even this would pass if...
be used for...
questions that he had in the..."

The...
of chemistry. He said that earlier he had sympathized with the nationalist movement,
but conditions...
understands...
is no other way out." He related that...
to cooperate with the government and...
in and now it is hard...
What is needed is...
ment...
Industrial...
to be...
enough. The...
to the Soviet...
the University of...
If a war and victory of the West were to... (pre-1939) then
it is better for things to remain as they are...
believed that a Ukrainian...

... (pre-1939) then
it is better for things to remain as they are...
believed that a Ukrainian...

hibited the use of alcohol in bars and restaurants from 7 PM until late into the night. There was a lot of singing. Some people started a "proposed" song, like e.g. the Ukrainian National Anthem (Bogohorod) or "It's no time to serve Moscow" which from the Festival organizers went to their organizers with questioning looks. The latter were received as "not to sing so loud". One of the young Ukrainians from Poland said that they had plans to publish a magazine of literature and art and asked other writers to send contributions. Some promised to send their works. In addition to people present at this party were high school teachers, college lecturers, journalists, writers and older students. According to K., this was an assembly of young people up to the age of 35 from all corners of Ukraine and from beyond Ukraine.

General summary

Church. Regarding the church, nearly all persons with whom this matter was discussed agreed on the following: a/ the Orthodox Church is not taken seriously by anyone. It's called "persons with party cards." b/ the Greek-Catholic Church is active in the underground, illegally. Many monks and priests had left for the Donbas and other industrial regions in order to avoid arrest, and some hid among the local population. Now some of them are coming back and offering resistance to orthodoxy; a majority of youth is atheistic, but they go to church for the sake of singing. City folk and educated classes do not frequent churches much. Country folk are staunch believers. Young people now openly speak about secret informers and point them out. During the Festival they were called "sad boys" a name brought by the Poles. There is a feeling that after having had so much experience with informers there is no more cause to fear them.

Countryside. The peasants speculate a lot on the free market. The women work in the fields and the men go to work in cities. There is a lot of drunkenness. They hope that things will improve after the peasants get control of the collective farms. The women looked very much overworked and at least 10 years older than their real age.

General impressions. Differences between Ukrainians from the west and east are disappearing. Many young people to east are going to study in universities. All pointed out that writers are playing a great part in the attempts to regain lost positions. One of the speakers remarked that what the party agreed 18 years ago is to make institutions of higher education Ukrainian, especially where "a need was felt for them". Russian professors were opposed to this and Korneichuk went to Moscow for help (Korneichuk is the famous Ukrainian playwright, a protégé of Khrushchev, who wrote the play "Winged" which was banned).

Khrushchev speech denouncing Stalin by about 18 months but which contained some phrases literally repeated by Khrushchev at the 20th Congress). People in Ukraine are very poorly informed about activities of emigres and about the policy of the West toward the East.

Attitude toward Poles, Hungarians and Germans.

Poles are not liked too well by Ukrainians and the Russians don't like them either. The attitude toward the suffering Hungarians was: "They deserve it, now they will know better what Moscow is like. Let others learn from this experience." The Germans are not trusted, nor believed that they have changed.

One can also observe that Moscow's propoganda has its effect. People are convinced that the Americans will come East with the Germans and that the latter will again want to be masters. There is much dissatisfaction with the appointment of General Speidel to Commander of NATO forces.

In relation to the Russians, the Ukrainians feel as equals.

With the exception of Ukrainians from Galicia, all others believed K's story that she was a German.

On the intellectual level, the finest group attending the Festival were Poles. They were a selected group of young journalists, professors, writers, as well as youths in uniform: boy scouts and catholic youth. They brought a lot of magazines with them and distributed them widely. The Poles invited all to see their theatre of political satire "Bim-Som" whose program ridiculed all Festival visitors and particularly the Russians.

In bidding farewell to K. the people who talked with her confidentially asked her to deliver a message to Ukrainian emigres. "Tell them over there, that we are learning, gaining positions of influence, so they should also do good works. They must act in unison and inform the world about us." According to them: "Our paths differ, but we are aiming for the same goal."
