

10-11 January 1962

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Meeting Between DS-960 and AECASSOWARY/2 and 17

1. Subject was met by me in the OO safehouse at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, 10 January, and taken in a taxi to the Pick Lee House where the AECASSOWARIES were staying. He was studying his English lesson when I arrived but put his hat and coat on immediately and said he was ready to leave. He appeared to be in a good mood and made favorable comments about the weather during the walk to Wisconsin Avenue where we got a taxi. He actually made an attempt at conversation during the ride to the hotel, inquiring about the taxi fares system in Washington and asked whether it was similar in New York. I inquired about his English lesson the previous day. He said it was obviously not the man's profession but that he had his system well organized and seemed to have the situation well in hand. He also added that he did not feel he was in a position to be choosy and that he was extremely grateful to be getting instructions in the English language. He said he was anxious to perfect the language and said he assumed it would be rather expensive to study the language at some university. He also said he assumed one would need a rather good basic knowledge of the language before a university would accept him.

2. I asked him, while going up to the room in the elevator, whether Mr. CZAJKOWSKY (A/29) had mentioned the names of any of the Prolog members he might be meeting. He replied negatively. I then asked whether he had ever heard about A/2. He repeated the name and thought for awhile and replied that he had not. Since we were at the door to the room, there was nothing more said. [] who, was in the room with the AECASSOWARIES, opened the door when I knocked and as soon as we entered I introduced Subject to A/2, (A/2 used his true name) leaving it to A/2 to introduce A/17. It had not been decided in advance what name A/17 would use. A/17 mumbled some name I did not catch when Subject was introduced to him but he told us the following day that Subject later asked him point blank what his name was. A/17 gave his true name. Subject's only comment was, "Oh yes, I have read your book." (UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIAN POLICY OF MOSCOW)

3. [] and I departed immediately, leaving Subject with the AECASSOWARIES. They talked to him all that afternoon and evening and the following morning.

4. [] and I met with the AECASSOWARIES about 2 p.m. on Thursday. They made the following comments regarding their talk with Subject.

5. Subject was not very cooperative in the beginning. He was rather reluctant to talk at all. He limited himself to saying "yes" or "no", but later on began to elaborate on his comments. The most cooperative period was on Wednesday afternoon. Thursday morning he was in a better mood.

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A/17 said that he even laughed, "if one could call it laughing." They considered his behaviour very strange for a man his age. He revealed very little emotion and appeared to have extreme confidence in himself and his opinions.

6. A/17 stated: Mr. L. informed him about our political group and the emigration in general, stressing that the predominant guiding factor of our activities is the prevailing situation in the Ukraine. Subject said that his first appraisal of emigre activities to date is that what had been done so far, has been mostly for the benefit of the emigration alone. It is not possible technically to reach the people on the inside. He commented that, insofar as radio is concerned, the contents of VOA broadcasts are not interesting. However, VOA is powerful and is a little better in content than Radio Liberation. The only concession he made regarding radio broadcasts was to say that their criticism of the Russification policy was acceptable to the target audience.

7. Subject said that the program of the emigre groups would not be acceptable to people in the Ukraine because it is not up-to-date. It belongs to the past. His opinion is based on official Soviet propaganda and on his lack of knowledge. He said that Prolog was the only political group which might have an audience in the Ukraine. The primary difficulty of the emigre program, as he sees it, is a lack of understanding of the social and economic program in the Soviet Union. First, he considers it not feasible to reject the collective farm program by any means. It has to stay. Even those who dislike the collective farms and try to escape them and the Moscow administrators by moving to the cities, know the collective farms must remain. He is in favor of collective farms which would be free of government control and where taxes would be lower. He considers it impossible to return to the individual farm system. Those who think that it is possible are reactionaries. The emigres' understanding of independence is all wrong because it is not based on the economic interests of the country.

8. Ukrainian National Consciousness

a. Subject said people in the Ukraine cannot be expected to think along the same lines as the emigres. Besides regional economic interests, there is regional patriotism. He feels that not only Ukrainians but other minorities in the Ukraine would subscribe to a slogan of regional patriotism (patriotism as opposed to strict nationalism).

b. He dodged answering the question as to what caused him, a young Ukrainian, to be nationally conscious to such a degree as to declare that the reason for his defection was political suppression of the Ukraine. Asked whether his parents could have been responsible for his national consciousness, he merely said, "no" that it was "the milieu." He was reluctant to give any explanation as to how he reached this level of national consciousness. He also refused to elaborate on the point of milieu. He refused to discuss the types of conversations he had with his friends in the Ukraine. He was rather strong on this point. He repeated, "milieu," shrugged his shoulders, and

would say nothing more. He gave no details about his personal life. He claimed he got to the university because he graduated with high honors. When asked whether he had brothers or sisters, he merely replied, "no," and he showed no reaction when Mr. L. said this was fortunate because he didn't have to feel any responsibility toward members of his family as a result of his defection.

9. Relations Between the Ukrainian and Russian People and Attitude Toward the Regime

a. Relations between the Ukrainian and Russian people are friendly. There is no place for hatred between the nationalities in the "Union." Nevertheless, the Russians are in a better position because they are regarded as the older brothers. Their culture and literature is being fostered by the regime, while it is being oppressed in the other republics.

b. Subject stated that western standards of freedom cannot be applied to the understanding of freedom in the Soviet Union. In this connection, he mentioned the Hungarian revolt. He said it had a detrimental influence on developments in the Soviet Union. The regime feared, and especially in the Ukraine, the revolt might develop into something more.

10. Involvement in Political Activity

a. Subject said that while in Germany he reached the conclusion that it would be futile to appear at a press conference. There are forces in this country opposed to the Ukrainians. Even if he did succeed in an attempt to bring up the Ukrainian question in a press conference, it probably would not get into print and his comments might harm him personally. Mr. L. strongly opposed this view and there was a long discussion to try to persuade him that although there are opposing forces, there are those who sympathize with the Ukrainian struggle for independence and that Ukrainian emigres have the opportunity and an obligation to pursue their work in this regard. He said, "You are an idealist." It was called to his attention that he may not really be familiar with all that is happening here. The subject was dropped at this point because there seemed little use to go on. However, Subject did not seem as strong in his opinions after this discussion.

11. Subject mentioned STASHINSKIY and asked for our opinion of him. We replied that this was a rather complicated problem, and that all we know is what has been published in the German press, based on information produced by the German court. He said he did not feel the Soviets would send STASHINSKIY out to liquidate BANDERA since the latter was already politically ineffective. He did not seem particularly inclined to discuss the subject any further.

12. National Consciousness

We asked Subject what the emigration could do to help support Ukrainian national consciousness and national feeling. Subject recommended the publication of more history books and political pamphlets dealing with existing current events in the free world. He suggested pamphlets containing material by some of the world's great thinkers in the field of philosophy, etc. This type of material, according to him, would have a large audience in the Ukraine.

13. Contacts with Foreign Students

There are, according to Subject, rather extensive contacts with students from the peoples democracies. The Chinese are the most reluctant to fraternize. They are willing only to discuss theoretical matters, just to prove that they are better communists than the Russians or Ukrainians. The most cooperative foreign students, insofar as contacts are concerned, are Poles and Czechs. Very friendly relations also exist between Ukrainians and Caucasians, especially with the Georgians, who are regarded as strongest in their position against Russification.

14. In response to the question whether there is a feeling of community among non-Russians, he replied, "absolutely yes," but said that the extent to which it can be implemented is another question.

15. Jews are regarded as unfriendly to the Ukrainian cause. The majority of Jews consider themselves Russian, although many of them are Ukrainians "according to their passports." There is anti-semitism in the Ukraine and in Moscow.

16. Contacts with Foreign Countries

The present cultural exchanges and contacts have no meaning for the Ukraine, in Subject's opinion. There are very few who care that the Ukraine has representation in the United Nations. Subject's comment in this regard was: "After all, the main thing is to be independent" (in his understanding of the word independence). Subject said there was some interest in American and other foreign films in the USSR and that they usually had a big audience.

17. In discussing the situation of the collective farms and labor, Subject had the following to say. Peasants are aware of their plight on the collective farms but they can do nothing about it. They feel completely helpless. Nevertheless, the collective farm system is good because people are accustomed to this system. There cannot be a return to the private plots. There would be no just way to distribute the machinery to private owners. Each peasant would try to obtain the best. This would weaken not strengthen the Ukrainian revolution. Industrial workers are aware of their plight also

but their situation is not helpless. They are supported by the labor unions. Although the primary purpose of the labor unions is to increase productivity, they also have the duty to take care of the workers and their problems. Much can be gained in factories where there are responsible people. Subject gave a specific example of one or two actual experiences.

18. Questioned about his anti-KGB plan, Subject replied that this was very problematic and that he would prefer to postpone discussing it.

19. Subject criticized Radio Liberation. He said he was interviewed by a member of their staff. He didn't believe they would ever make use of the material which he discussed with them because they did not like what he had to say. He also felt they would not be interested in talking to him again.

20. A/2 and A/17's Impressions of Subject

Subject must have discussed his defection with someone else in the Ukraine. It would seem that he was willing to be more frank when he first came to the West and that some personal experience here changed his attitude. For example, he mentioned that one of the Americans with whom he talked told him that, "We Americans don't care about the Ukraine. Our only concern is the defeat of communism. It is fine if there is some way in which Ukrainians can help in this fight. Otherwise, we have no interest in the Ukraine." He feels Americans do not understand the Ukrainian question and, therefore, are opposed to Ukrainians.

Subject needs to be free and independent. Only then will the AECASSOWARIES really know whether or not he is interested in collaborating with them. He was given their telephone number by A/29 in Germany and their address is on all of their publications, if he wishes to get in touch with them. He was also informed he could request contact with them via Ann or Paul or write to them directly. They will make no further effort to be in contact with him.

Subject bases all his opinions on his own intellectual consciousness. It is believed Subject is a Ukrainian patriot as a result of his own logical interpretations rather than from any emotional reasons or tradition.

Subject wants to learn English as soon as possible and to establish himself in his profession before he gets involved in any political activity.