

CRYPTONYM  
**AEDYNAMIC**

**PROJECT ACTION**

TYPE OF ACTION	F I / C	XX	CA
NEW PROJECT APPROVAL	DIVISION <b>Soviet Bloc</b>		
AMENDMENT NO.	FIELD STATION		
RENEWAL FY 19 <b>75</b>	BRANCH <b>SA</b>	DESK	
EXTENSION	<input type="checkbox"/>	DATE <b>17 Apr 74</b>	
TERMINATION	ROOM NO. <b>3D0119</b>	BUILDING <b>HQS</b>	TEL. EXT. <b>1073</b> <b>6118</b>

**CONCURRENCES OF DIVISIONS**

ORGANIZATIONAL ELEMENT	TYPED NAME (and signature)	DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
D/SB/COPS/SA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>4/22</b>	<b>4/23</b>		
C/SB/BF	<input type="checkbox"/>				
C/SB/SS	<input type="checkbox"/>		<b>26 Apr '74</b>		
SB/P&T	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>26/4</b>	<b>29/4/74</b>		<b>X</b>
SB/COPS	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>21 May 74</b>			<b>X</b>
DC/SB	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>28 May 74</b>			
C/SB	<input type="checkbox"/>				

**CONCURRENCES OF OTHER COMPONENTS**

(Type in Organizational Element and Name Below Only When Concurrence Obtained by Originating Element.)		DATES		MEMO ATTACHED	
		IN	OUT	YES	NO
C/PS/EG/A	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>28 May 74</b>	<b>11 July 74</b>	<b>X</b>	
C/CCS/PRG	(Signed) <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>30 May 74</b>	<b>4 June 74</b>		<b>X</b>
<b>c/ps/eg</b>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>6 Aug 74</b>	<b>6 Aug 74</b>		
<b>DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY SOURCE METHOD EXEMPTION 3B2B NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT DATE 2007</b>					
C/PS/EG/S	<input type="checkbox"/>	<b>6 Aug 74</b>	<b>6 Aug 74</b>		

**APPROVAL**

PERIOD	AMT THIS ACTION	FY	TOTAL FUNDS AUTHORIZATION
FROM <b>1 July 1974</b> TO <b>30 June 1975</b>	<b>\$</b> <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>19 75</b>	<b>\$</b> <input type="checkbox"/>
APPROVING AUTHORITY <b>ADDO</b>	SIGNATURE 	DATE <b>7 Aug 1974</b>	

28 MAY 1974

S E C R E T

MEMORANDUM FOR: Associate Deputy Director for Operations  
SUBJECT: Project AEDYNAMIC

1. This project supports the ZP/UHVR (Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) and its publishing and research element, Prolog Research Corporation. Prolog publishes periodicals and selected books for infiltration into the Soviet Union and distribution to travelers and Soviets residing outside the USSR. AEDYNAMIC is the sole Agency project targeted against a non-Russian nationality of the Soviet Union.

2. We made notable progress during the past year in moving this operation into line with SB Division overall objectives. The project's principal agent, Anatol Kaminsky, proved to be most responsive to our initiatives and provided a detailed source list of the assets that he utilizes in contact operations inside and outside the Ukraine (Annex 6). We have identified a promising young Prolog officer, Roman Kupchinsky. He is currently receiving covert training with a view to assigning him to Western Europe where he can handle directly the more productive Prolog sources and spot and assess new operational assets. He will report directly to a station officer.

3. This project is also a source of operational leads on Soviet targets acquired through debriefing selected "third wave" emigres and direct contact with Soviet officials. For example, Kupchinsky has now developed a close personal relationship with a Soviet Ukrainian official at the UN Secretariat. This lead is being pursued in coordination with FR Division.

S E C R E T

E2 IMPDET  
CL BY

1

S E C R E T

4. During FY 1974, Prolog has produced ten Ukrainian-language books, and infiltrated about 10,000 pieces of literature into the target area. Methods used include person-to-person delivery and mailing from less sensitive areas, including trans-mailing from East European countries. This literature has, as in the past, engendered numerous regime attacks directed especially at the monthly political-literary Suchasnist (Contemporary), published in Munich, and individual authors by name.

5. Project contacts have produced eleven disseminated reports during the past twelve months. SB/RR evaluates these reports as "of some concern to analysts as indications of local stability" but of lower quality than previous years (Annex 7). This is largely explained by the fact that many of the best sources are serving prison terms as a result of the intensified KGB repression of dissidents.

6. During FY 1975, we plan to continue the established program of contacting travelers and dissident sources, the publication of books and periodicals and the development of operational leads. Budgetary restrictions combined with mounting inflation will force some reduction in the publications program. A total of \$[ ] is requested for Project AEDYNAMIC for FY 1975. This represents no increase from the previous fiscal year.

[ ]  
[ ]  
[ ]  
(Chief  
Soviet Bloc Division

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

AEDYNAMIC - New York, N.Y. and Munich, Germany - Support of ZP/UHVR (Zakordonne Predstavnytstvo Ukrains'koyi Holovnoyi Vyzvol'noyi Rady - Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) FY 1975 Cost  
 \$L            3

	<u>Approved</u>	<u>Obligated</u>
FY 1970	\$L            3	\$L            3
FY 1971	L            3 *	L            3
FY 1972	L            3	L            3
FY 1973	L            3	L            3
FY 1974	L            3	L            3 (estimated)

\*Originally approved for \$L            3. Additional \$L            3 funded to employee pension fund. ✓

Purpose

Project AEDYNAMIC is targeted against the Ukraine, the largest non-Russian republic in the Soviet Union, and a major problem area for the Soviet regime because of repeated manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism. This is the only substantial operation directed against a non-Russian Soviet nationality. The project supports Operations Directorate Objective A2a (increase the impact of moderate and liberalizing elements of Soviet society) by contacting dissidents in the Ukraine, exfiltrating dissident manuscripts, publishing them in the West, and infiltrating the product into the Soviet Union for wider distribution.

Description

The ZP/UHVR is a small, 26-member political advisory council of senior Ukrainian emigre intellectuals, many of whom would be political leaders in an independent, non-Communist

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

Ukraine. The Council has earned the respect of prominent Ukrainian dissidents, most of whom have been imprisoned by the KGB within the past three years. The dissidents regard the Council as a serious group of political activists engaged in supporting the spirit of Ukrainian nationalism through its publications, and in otherwise publicizing the plight of the dissidents. During World War II, the ZP/UHVR directed the activities of the Ukrainian Partisan Army against the Nazis, and later against the Soviets, in an effort to achieve Ukrainian independence. The Council's current objective is to obtain for the Ukraine the rights theoretically provided by the Soviet constitution. This would permit the Ukraine to resume its rightful role as a major Slavic nation possessing a rich language, literature and independent historical tradition. The Council also advocates reversing the present Soviet policy of Russification being applied to the other non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union.

Prolog Research Corporation of New York is the publication arm of the ZP/UHVR, and the point of contact for CIA. Dr. Myroslav Prokop, President, is in charge of the procurement of material, research and editing of all Prolog publications. Anatol Kaminsky, Vice-President for Operations, directs the collection of intelligence information and the procurement of clandestine "self-published" dissident literature (Russian: samizdat; Ukrainian: samvydav). Kaminsky personally contacts his major sources in West Europe three or four times yearly. These sources, whom we have documented in Headquarters files, meet regularly with sub-sources who travel into, or have come from the Soviet Union. (see annex 6 for a list of these sources) Both the sources and sub-sources are aware that their information reaches the ZP/UHVR. Samvydav materials are exfiltrated and Prolog publications are infiltrated into the USSR through these channels. Books and periodicals produced by the project are distributed to the target area in several ways. Western visitors to the USSR as tourists or participants in congresses and conferences take material with them. Travelers from the Soviet Union are given the publications to read, and in many cases take them back home when they return. Publications are mailed into the USSR from less sensitive areas, or are trans-mailed by collaborators in Poland, Hungary or Yugoslavia. See the Media Effectiveness Annex (Annex 4) for a description of these publications.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

The Headquarters case officer meets monthly with the five cleared and witting Prolog officers to discuss sensitive operational and administrative matters, and is in frequent telephone and secure mail contact on less sensitive matters. There is no case officer contact with overseas assets.

Changes

On 1 October 1973 Dr. Myroslav Prokop became president of Prolog Corporation, replacing Mykola Lebed, now approaching 64, who remains for the time being as a vice president. Lebed, who is a legendary figure to Ukrainian dissidents, retains his position as Secretary General of the ZP/UHVR. He will gradually reduce his activities with Prolog with a view to retirement at age 65.

Accomplishments

Repressive measures by Soviet security organs against the Ukrainian nationalist dissidents and their families continue in force, rendering the collection of manuscripts and information increasingly hazardous. Nevertheless, Ukrainian underground literature still reaches the outside world, in reduced quantity, and is published and circulated inside the Soviet Union by assets of this project. This year twelve such documents were obtained, including an appeal from Ukrainian female prisoners in Mordovia, and some political poetry, all of which was published in the monthly magazine. Prolog collaborators have still been able to visit or telephone key sources inside the Soviet Union, to maintain guarded correspondence with a certain few, and to provide some material aid to the arrested dissidents and their families. This aid is chiefly in the form of food, medicine and gifts which are frequently sold to obtain cash for necessities and to carry on dissident activity. Almost all food parcels sent directly by Prolog collaborators to arrested dissidents were returned, whereas parcels to friends and sympathizers arrived and were acknowledged by them.

A younger associate of Prolog, Roman Kupchinsky, is a 30-year old veteran of the Vietnam War. He was met by the project case officer in April 1973 and made officially

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

witting of CIA support of ZP/UHVR. Kupchinsky has become an effective and valuable assistant of operations officer Anatol Kaminsky; he has conducted numerous debriefings of legal travelers and new wave emigres and has reported the results in a professional manner. Kupchinsky has also developed a close personal relationship with an interesting operational lead, a Soviet Ukrainian official of the United Nations Secretariat. This official has been introduced to Prolog literature, to Solzhenitsyn's "Arkhipelag Gulag" and other Russian and Ukrainian proscribed works. Kupchinsky has also met an official of the Hsinhua (CPR) News Agency at the UN, which may prove to be operationally interesting. Kupchinsky, who appears to have a natural talent and affinity for both positive intelligence and propaganda operations, has been polygraphed and will shortly be covertly trained in basic tradecraft and operational reporting to prepare him for an eventual overseas assignment (see Future Plans).

During FY 1974 to date a total of seven AEDYNAMIC intelligence reports has been disseminated. During the final months of FY 1973, four reports were disseminated which were not included in the renewal request for FY 1974. Eleven reports, therefore, have been disseminated since the writing of the FY 1974 project renewal in March 1973.

Prolog Research Corporation and its Munich affiliate "Suchasnist" have published eleven books since February 1973; nine more are in progress, of which probably four will appear by the end of FY 1974. For FY 1975 an additional seven books are planned. Significant books published this year include Anatol Kaminsky's "Dynamika Vyzvolnoyu Borotby" (Dynamics of the Liberation Struggle); a Russian-language edition of the successful "Internationalism or Russification" by the prominent Ukrainian dissident Ivan Dzyuba; and "Chetvertyy Vymir" (The Fourth Dimension) by Avraam Shifrin. For a complete list of these books, see Annex 3.

Between 1 March 1973 and 28 February 1974 10,800 pieces of project literature were infiltrated into the Soviet Union or distributed to Soviets traveling in the West. This includes about 3,000 copies of the monthly magazine Suchasnist

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

(Contemporary), 1,300 copies of Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), 1,500 books, and over 5,000 copies of the Information Bulletin. This Bulletin is letter-sized, and mailed in hand-addressed envelopes, making postal censorship detection more difficult. These totals are about 25% lower than those of the previous year, due both to stricter censorship and more severe repressive steps taken by the KGB. Greatly increased production and distribution costs in Western Europe have also served to limit this activity. The press run of Suchasnist is 1,800, Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk 1,700, and Prolog books are printed in 2,000 to 2,500 copies.

Receipt of Prolog materials in the Soviet Union is usually acknowledged verbally, since recipients are reluctant to risk using mail channels. On occasion, acknowledgment letters from the Ukraine are received through circuitous channels, or Ukrainian visitors to the West write from the city they are visiting, commenting on those articles which have particularly interested them. These letters, as well as photographs of social gatherings of Prolog sources with Ukrainian nationalist sympathizers, are on file in the Prolog office, and are periodically reviewed by the project case officer. As described in the Media Effectiveness Annex, the effectiveness of project mailings is also demonstrated by the continuing Soviet attacks on these publications.

Prolog officers, particularly Dr. Prokop, have been heavily involved in the preparation and distribution of SB Division's Russian-language, letter-sized bulletin Vestnik Narodov (Herald of the Peoples). This publication treats the entire spectrum of nationalist dissent in the USSR and is mailed into the USSR from points in Western Europe. Since the Ukrainian nationalists are the largest, best organized and most vocal of the dissident groups, the Prolog contribution is a valuable one. Prolog principals have established a direct working relationship with Washington-based SB Career Associate [redacted], who is the editor of the Vestnik. Prolog contributes a large percentage of the material in each pamphlet which appears about five times yearly. Prolog also distributes over 200 copies of each issue of the pamphlet through its assets.

S E C R E T



S E C R E T

Problems

The more repressive atmosphere in the USSR, which has existed for approximately the past three years, has not measurably improved, and internal controls are rigid. Operationally, this requires a more secure and inventive approach to the target. From a management standpoint, holding the budget at the same figure as FY 1974 actually effects a reduction in operating funds in the light of U.S. and Western European inflationary pressures. Prolog officers accept these realities realistically, and are tightening their belts.

Coordination

Project AEDYNAMIC was approved by the 40 Committee in June 1973 and will be included in the June 1974 submission.

Future Plans

The ZP/UHVR will continue material and moral support to the dissident elements in the Ukraine and other parts of the Soviet Union. Prolog will publish excerpts from all volumes of Aleksander Solzhenitsyn's "Arkhipelag Gulag" in Suchasnist magazine as part of its effort to support the rights of non-Russian nationalities. In order to refine and improve the monthly Suchasnist, additional commentary and critiques on the content of the magazine will be solicited from U.S. and Canadian academicians who read the magazine. A major effort will be made to increase the number of articles written by "third wave" emigres. We also plan to explore actively the AEDYNAMIC distribution mechanism in the Ukraine as a means of infiltrating Russian-language literature, supplementing existing channels.

As discussed in Accomplishments, Roman Kupchinsky has developed a potential operational lead in the United Nations, which will be pursued in coordination with FR Division and the FBI, as required. Kaminsky and Kupchinsky will continue to debrief legal travelers and new wave emigres; this debriefing will be under Headquarters direction when the emigre is of potential operational interest to the Agency. We plan to place Kupchinsky in Europe during FY 75 as a Prolog representative in order to take full advantage of Kaminsky's well-established sources in Europe; to develop additional sources and operational leads; and to devise new methods of infiltrating the operational product into the

S E C R E T

Soviet Union. He will be placed in contact with a field station case officer to assure effective control and communications.

Costs

(1) General

It is requested that Project AEDYNAMIC be renewed for FY 1975 in the amount of \$£ 1

(2) Source of Funds

Funds for AEDYNAMIC were included in the SB Division Operational Program for FY 1975 in the amount of \$£ 1. The FY-1976 Program will include \$£ 1 for this activity.

(3) Foreign Funds

Approximately 45% of all AEDYNAMIC funds are expended in German and other West European currencies. Conversion from U.S. dollars is handled by Prolog Corporation.

(4) Commitments

No special commitments have been made to Prolog Corporation or to any agent of this project.

(5) Funding

Funds, attributed to notional facilities provided by Central Cover Staff, are deposited in the New York City bank account of Prolog Corporation and the Munich bank of Prolog's German affiliate, the Ukrainian Society for Foreign Studies, and represent ostensible research contracts. Checks drawn on the bank accounts of the notional facilities are mailed to the Prolog account. Funds for the Munich affiliate are sent by bank transfers originating from a United States bank and attributed to a notional facility.

(6) Accountability

All funds are accounted for in accordance with Agency regulations and the AEDYNAMIC Administrative Plan.

S E C R E T

S E C R E T

(7) Annexes

1. Fixed Expenses and Payroll
2. Breakdown of Affiliated Groups and Research
3. Prolog Publications February 1973 to February 1974
4. Media Effectiveness Annex
5. Critique of Suchasnist
6. List of Operational Sources
7. SB/RR Evaluation of Reports

S E C R E T

# SECRET

## BUDGET BREAKDOWN

<u>Cash Resources</u>	FY-1973	FY-1974	FY-1975	FY-1976
Beginning Cash Balance	\$			
Subsidy				
Income from Sales of Books and Subscriptions				
Total Cash Resources Available				
Less Contingency Fund				
Total Cash Available				
Less Expenditures				
Ending Cash Balance				
<u>Expenditures</u>				
<u>Fixed Expenses *</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits				
New York Office	120,287	125,450	130,391	136,096
Fixed Expenses (Office Administration)	18,035	18,800	18,300	19,000
Sub-Total Fixed Expenses	138,322	144,250	148,691	155,096
<u>Operating Expenses</u>				
Operational Travel				
Purchase of Books & Publications				
Entertainment				
Cost of Publishing				
Distribution Costs				
Affiliated Group (Munich)**				
Research & Contact Operations**				
Sub-Total Operating Expenses				
Total Expenditures				

\*See Annex 1

\*\*See Annex 2

# SECRET

SECRET

ANNEX 1

	FY-1973	FY-1974	FY-1975	FY-1976
<u>Payroll and Fringe Benefits</u>				
Salaries	\$ 110,622	\$ 115,160	\$ 119,591	\$ 124,846
Contributions to Employee Pension Plan	6,550	6,940	7,370	7,600
Insurance	3,015	3,250	3,330	3,550
Dues and Registration	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>
Total Payroll and Fringe Benefits	120,287	125,450	130,391	136,096

Fixed Expenses

Rent				
Electricity				
Telephone				
Stationery, Postage, Office Equipment				
Taxes and Licenses				
Maintenance and Repair				
Miscellaneous Small Expenses				
Total Fixed Expenses	\$ [	\$ [	\$ [	\$ [

SECRET

# SECRET

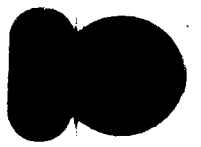
## ANNEX 1 CONTINUED

	FY-1973	FY-1974	FY-1975	FY-1976
<u>New York Office Payroll</u>				
<u>Per Annum Rates</u>				
AEDYNAMIC/17	\$ 17,880	\$ 18,774	\$ 21,015	\$ 21,965
/2	19,152	20,110	19,619	20,419
/29	17,880	18,774	19,619	20,419
/27	17,016	17,867	18,671	19,421
/63	7,644	8,026	8,387	8,737
/64	10,752	11,290	11,798	12,275
/57	<u>10,080</u>	<u>10,584</u>	<u>11,060</u>	<u>11,510</u>
 Sub-Total New York Regular Payroll	 \$ 100,404	 \$ 105,425	 \$ 110,169	 \$ 114,746
 <u>Part-Time</u>				
AEDYNAMIC/69	3,918	4,116	4,322	4,600
Students	<u>6,300</u>	<u>5,619</u>	<u>5,100</u>	<u>5,500</u>
 Total New York Office	 \$ 110,622	 \$ 115,160	 \$ 119,591	 \$ 124,846
 <u>Munich Office</u>				
AEDYNAMIC/60	3,621	1,242	-0-(*1)	-0-(*1)
/30	5,068	-0-(*2)	-0-(*2)	-0-(*2)
/6	4,647	6,145	7,310	7,615
/62	5,816	5,958	6,646	6,921
/40	<u>5,538</u>	<u>6,955</u>	<u>7,754</u>	<u>8,064</u>
 Total Munich Office	 \$ 24,690	 \$ 20,300	 \$ 21,710	 \$ 22,600

\*1-AEDYNAMIC/60 retired June 1974

\*2-AEDYNAMIC/30 retired January 1973

# SECRET



	FY-1973	FY-1974	FY-1975	FY-1976
<u>Breakdown of Affiliated Group (Munich)</u>				
Payroll & Fringe Benefits	\$ 24,690	\$ 20,300	\$ 21,710	\$ 22,600
Office Expenses	7,110	7,900	8,500 -	9,100
Publishing Expenses:				
<u>Suchasnist</u>	19,270	22,100	29,250	31,500
<u>Ukraïnskyj Samostijnyk</u>	<u>5,950</u>	<u>8,700</u>	<u>11,400</u>	<u>12,300</u>
TOTAL	\$ 57,020	\$ 59,000	\$ 70,860	\$ 75,500

Breakdown of Research & Contact Operations (Munich)

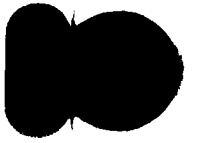
Research	\$ 11,250	\$ 15,000	\$ 16,000	\$ 16,000
Reverend Ivan Hryniokh (Stipend)	6,000	6,000	6,000 -	6,000
Contact Operations	<u>23,660</u>	<u>26,500</u>	<u>24,300</u>	<u>26,000</u>
TOTAL	\$ 40,910	\$ 47,500	\$ 46,300	\$ 48,000

SECRET

ANNEX 2

SECRET





ANNEX 3

SUCHASNIIST PUBLICATIONS for the Period from February 1, 1973  
to February 28, 1974

BOOKS PRINTED:

1. Ivan Lysiak-Rudnytskyy: Miz Istoriyeyu i Politykoyu,  
(Between History and Politics) Essays
2. A. Kaminsky, Dynamika Vyzvolnoyi Borot'by, (Dynamics of  
Liberation Struggle)
3. F. Garcia Lorca, Dramy, (3 Plays), Translated by Wira Wowk
4. Za Shcho Usunuly Shelesta? (Why Shelest was removed?) Pamphlet
5. I. Dzyuba, Internationalism or Russification?, - in Russian
6. A. Shifrin, Chetwertyy Vymir, (The Fourth Dimension) Memoirs  
from Soviet Concentration Camp
7. Vasyl Symonenko, Poetry and Essays, Bereh Chekan, Revised  
Third Edition
8. O. Isarsky, Kiev, (Novel)
9. E. Andiyevska, Roman pro Dobru Ludynu, (Novel About a Good  
Human Being)
10. A. Achmatova, Requiem
11. I. Kalynets, Collection of Poetry, (Samvydav)

BOOKS IN PRINTING:

1. M. Skrypnyk, Essays, Vol. ii. Edited by I. Koshelivets
2. A. Kaminsky, Vid Selanskoyi Revolusiyi Mynuloho do Robitnychoyi  
Revolutsiyi Majbutnioho. (From the Peasant Revolution of the

Past to the Workers Revolution of the Future)

3. I. Koshelivets, Anthology of Ukrainian Soviet Literature,  
New Revised Edition

4. O. Veretenchenko, Zamorski Vyna, (Poetry Collection)

5. B. Kravtsiv, Glossary, (Poemes)

6. Cocteau, Human Voice, translated by Oksana Soloviy

7. F. Duerrenmatt, Stara Dama, (Old Lady) translated by Wira Wowk

8. M. Bakalo, Natsionalna Polityka Lenina, (Nationalities  
Policy of Lenin)

9. A. Kleiner, Anekdotychna Tragediya



**SECRET**

ANNEX 4

MEDIA EFFECTIVENESS ANNEX

Prolog Research Corporation is the publishing and research arm of ZP/UHVR. The considerable literary talents of Ukrainian emigre intellectuals and internal dissident writers are used by Prolog to produce literature encouraging Ukrainian nationalism and self-determination. Nationalism, which is characteristic of all non-Russian peoples of the USSR, is strong in the Ukraine, particularly among the youth.

ZP/UHVR Publications

Suchasnist ("The Present" or "Contemporary"), published monthly in Munich in 1,800 copies, is a political-literary journal. In addition to articles of literary, historical and political significance, it features works of dissident authors which have been ex-filtrated by Prolog contacts. Although postal and customs controls are stringent, there is evidence that the magazine reaches its targets, is clandestinely circulated and serves the interests of dissident Ukrainians rather than those of an emigre political group based in the West.

Ukrains'ky Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), is the organ or a small splinter emigre political party, OUNz (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists Abroad), which is allied with ZP/UHVR. The OUNz provides the infrastructure for ZP/UHR activities from various countries targeted at the Ukraine. OUNz members aid in the dis-

**SECRET**

SECRET

-2-

tribution of both publications. Funding of this magazine is therefore an investment in the support structure of the ZP/UHVR.

Informatsiynyi Byulletin (Information Bulletin) is a newsletter published about six times yearly and mailed into the Soviet Union as a hand-addressed personal letter. It contains material not carried in the Soviet press, excerpts and condensations of Suchasnist articles, and news on the dissident movement in the Ukraine.

Correspondence received from internal readers indicates a continuing faith in Suchasnist as a spokesman for the dissident movement, and stresses the urgent need to sustain a vigorous campaign designed to embarrass the Kremlin and support nationalist movements in the Ukraine and other non-Russian Soviet republics. Correspondents appreciate the fact that Suchasnist does not blindly advocate overthrow of the Soviet Union or outright secession of the Ukraine, but takes a realistic and pragmatic approach to the problem of Ukrainian national self-determination as well as cultural and linguistic independence.

Suchasnist often carries a large proportion of literary articles, including poetry, to strike a balance with the political content of the magazine. Prolog officers have found in their debriefings of travelers and new-wave emigres that this literature has a significant impact because of the unique fact that it represents Western thought and journalistic techniques, avoids the stereotyped Soviet format and ultra-conservative philosophy, and thus represents an effective form of nationalist protest. Literaturna Ukraina, the Ukrainian equivalent of the Literaturnaya Gazeta, carries several articles yearly criticizing "modernistic experimentation" and other avant-garde

SECRET

SECRET

-3-

literary trends. An article in the 7 December 1973 issue of Literaturna Ukraina cites "the pernicious influence of modernistic poetry, which along with the propaganda of political indifference... our ideological enemies strive to propagate, using any means at their command..."

Prolog officers have recently debriefed an emigre who had first hand knowledge of KGB control and influence on Inturist, the criminological and Judicial systems, and the Soviet postal service. The source reported that postal censorship of foreign printed matter is normally conducted by low-paid civil servants who do not always follow postal censorship regulations. Frequently, because of laziness, disinterest, or to avoid filling out bureaucratic forms, Western periodicals are allowed to pass. In other cases one or two such periodicals are confiscated and the censorship clerk keeps other copies which bring a good price on the black market, known to exist in larger Soviet cities. The source stated she had personally seen copies of Suchasnist "confiscated" in this manner.

The Soviet press has again been active this year in attacking the ZP/UHVR and its publications. A few examples from attacks on file follow:

In the book Bezbatchenky (The Bastards) by Klym Dmytruk, published in mid 1973, a considerable amount of space was given to attacks upon ZP/UHVR officials Mykola Lebed, George Lopatznsky, and Reverend Ivan Hrynioch for their activities in the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

M. M. Tarasyuk published a book "Against Nationalist Falsifications of the Flowering of the Ukrainian Language." (Naukova Dumka

SECRET

# SECRET

-4-

publishers, Kiev 1973) A considerable section of the book is devoted to attacks against Suchasnist and Ukrainsky Samostiynyk.

The journal Zhovten, No. 5, 1973 published an article by Ivan Petriv entitled "The Waywardness of Lackeys" in which he attacks Bohdan Kordyuk, editor of Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk, for organizing Ukrainian-Jewish cooperation.

Literaturna Ukraina on 14 August 1973 published an article by Mykola Dubyna "Shevchenko's Kobzar Exposé<sup>s</sup>" where the author mentions Suchasnist magazine, Bohdan Krawciw in particular and the predecessor of Suchasnist, the newspaper Suchasna Ukraina.

The monthly journal Vsesvit, No. 9, 1973 printed an extensive attack upon Ukrainian nationalism entitled "This Sick and Crazy Nationalism" by Borys Minchuk. In it, he mentions the anthology of Ukrainian literature published by Suchasnist, "Coordinates" and attacks Ivan Fizer's introduction to the book.

Zhovten, No. 10, 1973 published an article by Vyacheslav Zasvansky in which he attacks Anatol Kaminsky for allegedly falsifying economic statistics on the USSR.

Zhovten, No. 11, 1973 had an article by Klym Dmytruk entitled "Uniate Camp-followers" in which ZP/UHVR President Reverend Ivan Hrynioch is mentioned often in the context of having been instrumental in sending couriers into the Ukraine "for the purpose of carrying out espionage missions."

The specter of nationalism, the existence of which is often challenged by the Soviet regime, still haunts the Soviet Ukrainian press to the extent that they devote considerable space to its con-

SECRET



SECRET

- 5 -

demnation. These attacks openly link nationalism sentiments and religious interest with the "ideological diversion" of Soviet youth. Examples of press commentary follow:

In early 1974 the Soviet book agency Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga distributed a catalog "New Ukrainian Books" for 1974. Included in the plan for 1974 were 15 titles dealing with different aspects of Ukrainian nationalism: Ukrainian-Zionist cooperation, Ukrainian-Maoist ties, "falsifications of history and economic relations," and critiques of Ukrainian nationalist propaganda.

Ideological instability among Soviet youth was the major theme of an article in the May-June issue of the journal Narodna Tvorchist Ta Etnohrafiya entitled: "The Leninist Approach to the Study of Contemporary Problems of Youth." The author A. V. Orlov writes: "We know that some young people are not stable enough ideologically and tend to accept various opinions and influences, including those that are contradictory. . ."

A Republican conference of newspaper editors took place in Kiev in July and was reported in the 11 July issue of Radyanska Ukraina "To Improve Political Work and Raise the Militancy of the Press." The keynote address was delivered by V. Shcherbyts'kyy who continued to emphasize ideological vigilance, warning that detente will be used to "extend subversive ideological activity."

Substantial shortcomings in work with youth in Zhdanov city party committees and Komsomol organizations prompted a separate decision by the CC CP, Ukraine. It was published in Radyanska Ukraina on 29 August 1973 under the heading: "On the Work of Zhdanov

SECRET

**SECRET**

-6-

City Party Organizations in Donets'k Oblast in the Field of Youth Education in the Spirit of Communist Morality." Among other criticisms raised was the charge that the Komsomol organizations had to devote more time to the fight against "national narrow-mindedness."

The Ukrainian Komsomol held a Plenum on Patriotic education of youth which was reported in Molod Ukrainy on 9 September 1973. The plenum was addressed by V. Malanchuk who talked about vigilance in the ideological struggle and by A. M. Hireenko, the first secretary of the Ukrainian Komsomol who reminded his audience that despite a relaxation in the world, the ideological struggle is not slackening that that "the methods used by bourgeois propaganda are growing increasingly ingenious and cunning."

The September 1973 issue of the journal Ukrainsky Istorychny Zhurnal published a report about an inter-disciplinary conference held in Kiev on 5-6 June 1973 at Uzhorod University on the topic of "The International Education of Student Youth." Emphasis was put upon countering nationalism by having scholarly articles published on this topic. It was decided to hold another conference of this type in the latter part of 1975.

Molod' Ukrainy on 6 October 1973 published an article "For Future Professionals - Unassailable Knowledge - Ideological Tempering" which was a report of a meeting held at Kiev State University devoted to combatting nationalism among students. The meeting was addressed by V. Shcherbytsky who decried the fact that among youth there were some who were incapable of a correct appraisal of domestic and inter-

**SECRET**

SECRET

-7-

national events.

Yu. Rymarenko, one of the experts of Ukrainian nationalism, published an article in the November issue of Radyanske Pravo entitled "The Impotence and historical doom of Ukrainian Bourgeois Nationalism." In it, he warns of the dangers of the concept of "polycentrism" which is being used against the USSR, that contemporary nationalism "just about takes on the form of 'Marxism' or 'communism' in their so-called 'national variants.'" He gives the following characterization of Ukrainian emigre political activity: "Ukrainian organizations abroad are used by imperialism to conduct espionage and other subversive activities against the USSR. They carry out the vilest plans of ideological diversion against Soviet Ukraine. They fan anti-Soviet hysteria, publish anti-communist literature. . ."

Sil's'ki Visti on February 1974 had an article: "The Judgment of History, the Judgment of the People," which was directed at advertising a new documentary film on Ukrainian nationalism, including a part dealing with the arrest and subsequent press-conference of Yaroslav Dobosh.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the nationalism phenomenon in its many facets represents a source of deep concern for the Soviet leadership. Attacks against Prolog publications are particularly vitriolic, since it is realized that these publications represent the philosophy of the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

Dr. Prokop has requested independent evaluations and critiques of Suchasnist magazine from academicians who subscribe to the magazine.

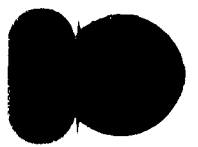
SECRET

**SECRET**

-8-

Unfortunately, only one response has been received, that of Dr. Bilinsky of the University of Delaware. A translation of this objective analysis is attached as Annex 5. The letter has been discussed by the project officer with Dr. Prokop, who is effecting certain changes based on suggestions contained in the critique. Additional critiques are still outstanding, and it is hoped that they will be received shortly.

**SECRET**





of fundamental bibliographic essays such as "The Nature and Organization of Sociological Research in Ukraine" by I. Vytanovych, which impressed me a great deal. One or two scholarly reviews per year would probably be enough, just as in 1972-73. When I write "less frequent", I do not mean that you should eliminate such studies altogether. By the way, it might be a good idea to publish a study of genuinely scholarly Soviet sociological and ethnographic literature on nationalities.

In general, your subject matter is well balanced. Perhaps the December 1972 issue contained too much literary material, but in the same issue you published the excellent essay by Lobodowski, which will have a much greater effect than if it had been written by any involved Ukrainian. Continue publishing documentation of samizdat and press releases; the latter get lost in Ukrainian dailies.

On the negative side, I noticed what, for the most part, can be considered very minor and technical shortcomings. Beginning in 1973, your print has become less attractive than before, and it seems that the quality of the paper has grown worse. Is it a question of finances? You very definitely need a more careful proofreader, one who is fluent in several languages. For there have occurred some scandalous curiosities, such as, for example, in the reprint of the article by Dontsov in the May 1973 issue, in footnote 3 on page 77. The French writer Guy de Maupassant is quoted in the original as Qui de Maupassan. Is it possible that the late Dontsov was himself responsible for this blunder? One poem contained an error in a Latin expression: the text reads panemet circenses, whereas it should read panem et circenses. These are details, but they spoil what is generally a very positive impression. Also, Suchasnist occasionally contains some rather questionable Ukrainian terms, such as for example, "zastrelyvsya".\* Why not "zastrilyvsya"?

Finally, because you publish many authors, both known and unknown, I would strongly urge you to include short biographical data, either on the first page on which each article, poem, and so forth begins, or in a separate section at the front or at the back of the publication. Some American magazines feature a short introduction from the

\*past tense of *zastrelytytsya* (to kill oneself, to blow out one's brains). My dictionary gives two forms - so it's a question of choice. PLS.

editor at the front, in which they introduce the authors whose materials are being published in the given issue.

Respectfully yours,

Y. Bilinsky



