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2. There was no refutation, at least none of which we are aware, to the delegation's report until an article, "On the Delegation to the Ukraine," by John Weir, appeared in the November 1968 issue of Viewpoint. Mr. Weir, a Canadian of Ukrainian parentage, made assurances that there was no nationalities problem in the Ukraine, that the delegation's report had confused honest Progressive Canadians and supplied poisonous innuendo to make reactionaries applaud with delight. Mr. Weir even made reference to the "CIA declared plans to disrupt the socialist camp from within with nationalism as the main weapon."

3. The 22 September 1969 issue of Zhyttya i Slovo, a Toronto Ukrainian-language Communist weekly, published a letter signed by 28 prominent Soviet Ukrainians, in which dissatisfaction is expressed with the 1968 report of the Canadian delegation. The letter deals mostly with the effect the delegation's report had internationally, rather than with the contents of the report. A translation of the Zhyttya i Slovo article is attached.

4. A sensitive AERODYNAMIC source reported that another delegation from the CPC was scheduled to visit the Soviet Union in October 1969. The Ukrainian section of the delegation was to include the same individuals as were in the 1967 delegation; ic., Tim Buck (AKA Bak), Petro Kravchuk, Anton Bilecki, and others. As an expression of the delegation's unchanged critical attitude of Canadian Ukrainian Communists toward the Soviet nationalities policy in the Ukraine, Petro Kravchuk left for the Ukraine in September 1969 to participate in celebrations of the anniversary of the Meunion of West Ukraine with the Ukrainian SSR. According to the source, Kravchuk is adamant in his position against Russification and will act accordingly in the forthcoming talks in Klev. The source was of the opinion that Klev will not be able to silence him or change his opinion. According to the source, Canadian Ukrainian Communists fully agree with the position of Ivan Dzyuba, as expressed in his Internationalism or Russification?, that the CPSU "retreated" from Lenin's policy on the nationalities question and that this erroneous course must be corrected.

5. The source discounted the letter mentioned in paragraph 3 above as insignificant. He stated that it is known that the majority of signatories were forced to sign the letter, that Yuri Lychuk, one of those who signed, personally informed friends in Canada that he was pressured inte signing. The source also was of the opinion that, in general, "Russifiers" in the Ukraine now are being forced to retreat from their policies. He cited as an example the celebration in Moscow in early September 1969 of the anniversary of the birth of Ivan Kotlyarevsky, famous Ukrainian writer and national hero (1769-1883), when Ukrainians used the opportunity to arrange for a massive campaign of Ukrainian national identity. It was significant of the Kremlin's concern with the revival of Ukrainian national consciousness when Soviet dignitaries, headed by Leonid Brezhnev, took part in the Kotlyarevsky anniversary celebrations in Moscow. The source was not able to explain Petro Shelest's absence from the celebrations in Kiev, Poltava and Moscow.

6. In the source's opinion, Brezhnev and Kosygin are Party robots, capable of reintroducing partial Stalinism, but he stated that things will change for the better in 3-4 years, when the present leadership is replaced, most likely by younger individuals.

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the CPC at this late date does little to lessen the negative impact of the report on Ukrainian communists in Canada and on other national groups in the CPC. Prior to departure for the Soviet Union, members of the 1969 delegation from the Ukrainian section of the CPC were sworn to uphold the position of the 1967 delegation and to add further pressure on matters concerning Moscow's nationality policy in the Ukraine. John Weir (AKA Wir), who recently returned from Kiev, reportedly was sent back by Soviet authorities to strengthen the position of the hard-liners within the CPC. He replaced Mitch Seyge as editor of the English-language Ukrainian Canadian, a CPC publication.

8. John Boyd, who recently returned from Prague, has been expelled from the CPC for his stand on the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. While in Prague, he worked for Problems of Peace and Socialism, and reportedly belonged to the magazine's "anti-Soviet faction."

9. The above information, with the deletion of the AERODYNAMIC meryptonymy, may be passed to SMABOVE, which may have obtained the same information from its own sources. We would appreciate as to whether reports such as this one have more than marginal utility to SMABOVE.

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## LETTER TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA AND TO MEMBERS OF A DELEGATION OF THE CP OF CANADA WHICH VISITED THE UKRAINE IN MARCH-APRIL KXXX 1967

Source: Zhyttya i Slovo, Toronto, Ukrainian, 22 September 1969, pp 10-12.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CANADA Central Committee

To the Editor of

Zhyttya i Slovo,

1164 Dundas Street West,

Toronto 145, KANANA Ontario.

11 August 1969

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Dear Comrade!

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In the envelope you will find a letter recently received by us, signed by a number of outstanding persons in Soviet Ukraine, in which they express their views on the report by the delegation of the Communist Party which visited Soviet Ukraine in 1967.

It is our intention to publish it in the September issue of "Communist Viewpoint."

We believe that the readers of your newspaper who had occasion to read the report of the Party delegation in <u>Zhyttya i Slovo</u> will also be interested in reading this letter. Thus, we are suggesting to you that you might think about publishing it.

US COPY

We have to say that our Executive Committee has agreed in its time to look over the aforementioned Report at the regular meeting of the Central Committee in the beginning of October. Then we shall examine all relevant materials associated with the matter, including the aforementioned letter.

> With a comradely greeting, William Kashtan, Secretary General.

## Dear comrades!

Evidently this letter should have appeared with the rest. After all, XMAXMAXXXXX a fraternal and well-wishing attitude among those mutually related, especially those who maintain the same fundamental positions on basic questions, and who strive for democracy in its correct sense, cannot serve as a cause of concealment of divergencies of opinion when such appear.

Moreover, the appearance of this letter is brought about not by someone's subjective wishes, but by such a fact as the publication of the "Report by the Delegation to the Ukraine" -- a document which is in our view rather sensational and  $\frac{MA2}{MA2}$  -- in the bulletin of the CC of the Communist Party of Canada "Viewpoint" and in the organ of the TOUK "Zhittya i Slovo.

We, the participants in meetings with the delegation members, enjoyed sincere, frank and confidentially friendly conversations with understood the Canadian guests. We wereximpressed by the curiosity of the delegates, their interest in clearing up of the problems being resolved by our republic, waxwellxaxxbyxthem inasmuch as such interest is natural for everyone who strives sincerely to learn the details of the life of our country, and even more so since the interested side was composed of representatives of the Communist Party, people who naturally could not remain indifferent to the practice and experience strived of the building of socialism. We **trins** to present to our guests the broadest opportunities to comprehensively acquaint themselves with the life of our people, their economic, cultural and scientific achievements, and for discussions and meetings with workers and responsible Party and government officials of the republic. And naturally it was pleasant fpr us to hear the words of thanks from the delegation members and their statement that the report of the delegation to the Canadians "will help to change the incorrect notions still held today by millions of them about the living conditions in the Ukraine and its economic and cultural development," and also "promote the intensification of the struggle for further improvement of relations between Canada and the Soviet Union."

And so, the report has been published. It concludes with the following words: "The experiences of our delegation and the lessons conveyed by it must be **published** disseminated as broadly as possible at meetings, through the press, interviews and all forms of communications and information."

However, it became immediately clear that no special efforts of any kind would be necessary for this purpose. From the moment of publication of the report, all organs of the press which occupy an overtly anti-Soviet position began a clamor in unison and without exception. These were not voices of indignation, as is usually the case when communists take the floor. No! These were voices of pressest approval! This was the voice of those -- and this should be emphasized, whose aim is to poison the class conscientiousness of the workers with bourgeois-nationalist opiate, and who would above all undermine their international unity in the struggle for a better fate for **kumanity**x

It even happened that the <u>Ukrain'skiy Samostiynik</u> /Ukrainian Independent/ -- a bourgeois-nationalist journal whose political positions and inclinations seem to require no commentary of any kind, declared in an editorial on the publication of the report: "When we speak of communists in Canada, and in particular of our progressivists, it must be said that their overwhelming majority are people of good will, although one-sidedly and erroneously oriented and informed. It would be unjust to treat them as enemies... We are also ready to honor and respect Ukrainian-born communists in countries on this side of the Iron Curtain, since they will openly and persistently fight for the rights of our people to full freedom and political independence. They are members of our national community and one must carry on a dialogue with them, not abusing and condemning them, but persuading..."

Another magazine of bourgeois-nationalistic bent -- <u>Novy dni</u> /New Days/ -- evaluated the publication of the aforementioned report as a "fact of great historic significance, especially since other communist parties of the free (i.e., capitalist, as usual -- Author) world will follow the example of Canada."

Could we fail to wonder at such irrepressible praises of the report on the part of the most rabid enemies of communism? And in the light of this, did we not possess the grounds for stating in the first few lines of this letter that the report by the Canadian delegation turned out to be an AMAZING and sensational document? What had happened indeed? Why is the outspokenly **Exti** counterrevolutionary <u>Ukrain'skiy Samostiynik</u> suddenly inclined to embrace any kind of communists? Do not this sort of incidents suggest certain thoughts, the necessity of a genuinely serious dialogue among those occupying communist positions, who consider themselves fighters for the cause of the workers?

Naturally, this letter does not claim to be exhaustive in the thoughts on the questions touched upon by the report. Nevertheless, we consider it an obligation to speak about certain fundamental things, although they may appear elementary to a communist.

Two months following the publication of the report, the Central <u>Executive</u>/ Committee of the Communist Party of Canada issued a statement on the matter of the anti-Soviet campaign initiated by the capitalist press in connection with the publication of the report and the attempts to distort it and use it for "cold war anti-Soviet purposes."

"This distortion," declared the CEC of the Communist Party of Canada, "is especially manifested in the false assertion that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has deviated from the fundamental Leninist position on the nationalistic question and pursues a policy of Russification." The statement emphasizes that "Those who are now attempting to launch an anti-Soviet campaign are not successful in this in the face of the great achievements attained by the Ukrainian people in the material, artistic, cultural and scientific fields; in the face of the untiring struggle of the Soviet Union for world peace and friendship among all peoples." Understandably, such a statement is taken by us with satisfaction. It corroborates once more the incompatibility of the positions of the Communist Party of Canada and the anti-communist line of the businessmen from politics, those enemies of the cause of the working class who make use of any pretext for their dirty anti-socialist speculations.

All this is so, comrades. But let us be frank until the very end and ask ourselves: did not the published text of the report by the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada provide a basis for falsification of facts and an expansion of the anti-Soviet campaign? Are all the assertions of the report correct and we are dealing only with the distortions of statements made by communists which are usual in the bourgeois world?

In our view, it is not accidental that our enemies take advantage of some evaluations, arguments and statements we find in the report for their own purposes. They, these evaluations and statements contradict state of affairs/ the objective **situation**/and provide a basis for the adherents of bourgeois views in the national question to clamor about the coincidence of their viewpoints on the situation in Soviet Ukraine with **these set** the views of the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada.

Indisputably, the report of the delegation is in many ways attractive through its frankness. It presents a great deal of factual information, enabling a reader unfamiliar (or little acquainted) with the life of the Ukrainian people to quite vividly imagine the reality of today's Soviet Ukraine. Numerous figures and facts presented in the report (some of these are not completely correct, which is possibly explained by the method of "live recording" which was used by the delegates to take down information) make it possible for every Canadian who is objective and unprejudiced -- and even for a prejudiced one! -to form a correct impression about the socialist reality of the Ukraine and to agree with the justified **Assertises** conclusion reached by the Canadian delegation: "The Ukrainian people, its Government and its great Communist Party are strongly and enthusiastically united in their extensive economic and cultural progress."

Unfortunately the report suffers a great deal from logical inconwhich is/ sistency,/occasionally simply bizzarre, from contradictions between the presentation of factual material and the fundamental conclusions reached on its basis, from excessively ardent, at times nearly morbid concern about questions of the national life of our people, and first of all in regard to the language, and from incompetent recommendations the/ in regard to the resolution of problems, for/most part falsely constructed or redundant. Indeed, after convincing examples of the flourishing of Ukrainian culture, art, science and technology have been presented, one cannot really take such a didactic assertion by the delegation seriously: "People must be stimulated to speak the Ukrainian language, this must be encouraged, and it must be developed in all sectors of life in the Ukraine. It should not be thrust upon people by force, be they Ukrainians, Russians or of other origin, but a climate must be created for its freest flourishing and its mutual development together with other languages and cultures. (Emphasis ours. -- Auth.). Only then will, a spirit of genuine internationalism exist. Life itself will decide the future of the Ukrainian language, as well as that of all other languages."

How is all this to be understood? Do the authors of the lines cited imagine the rapid development of culture in the Ukraine, with which they are enraptured in the report, without "creation of the climate" for the free development of the Ukrainian language? Do they assume the idea about the possibility of "enthusiastic unification" of the Ukrainian people, its Party and its Government in extensive economic and cultural progress" without the existence of the appropriate "national climate?" All the more so since that same report by the Canadian delegation asserts that after the October Revolution in our country "never before had any official government policy promoted such **shk** all-round development of national culture."

After a careful reading of the report, in which, in our opinion, the smallest details of the language aspect are **EXERSTIVELY** placed in the center of attention with excessive tendentiousness and cavil (although these details naturally deserve attention, -- but not in artificially dramatized form!), and true and imaginary shortcomings of national construction are also brought out, which belittles the great products of the Ukrainian people, -- the thought occurs that some of the authors of the report nearly loses organic ideological contact with certain basic tenets of Leninism.

Perhaps it would not be superfluous to recall here that V. I. Lenin, in directing the proletarian parties toward organization of the struggle against the pre-eminence of capital, repeatedly emphasized the necessity of always placing national questions on a **matri** class basis. Attaching enormous importance to the correct resolution of the national problem in all its complex aspects, V. I. Lenin at the same time never exaggerated the importance of this problem, indicating its actually subordinate place in relation to the primary task facing the working class: liberation of the workers from capitalist oppression and the building of a socialist society.

From Lenin's teachings follows the necessity of a concrete-historical approach to the solution of national problems. One should always keep in mind the specific features of the national question in each country, in this, the conditions of one period or another -- without **this** any of these "recommendations" about "national problems" are merely illusory, impractical and for the most part harmful because of their very ephemerality, their dissociation from the real basis of the class struggle of the proletariat.

It seems to us that the authors of the report failed to pay attention to many of **EMER** these truths, which after all are elementary to a Marxist-Leninist. Otherwise, questions not reflecting today's life of the people of Soviet Ukraine would not be so easily **pixers** given a prominent place it, the situation of Ukrainian culture would not be dramatized to the liking of slanderers of the type of John Kol'yaska, and recommendations would not be presented which indicate first of all the lack of basic knowledge of the matter on the part of the authors of the "propositions."

Does this mean that we are rejecting the very notion of the possibility of shortcomings in Soviet life, including in national matters? In no way! Every communist understands well that shortcomings must not be hidden. Any attempts in this directions are harmful and would hamper our positive activity. The delegation writes in its report: "When Comrade Petro Shelest said to us: 'We still have problems, but we shall overcome them...', these simple words of his reflected the living reality of rapid, all-round progress of the Ukrainian people."

Just so! As none other, we are interested in the uncovering of shortcomings, in sensible advice from true friends, -- otherwise we would be opposing progress itself. Only may these problems not seem the overly simplified on our difficult road; may may interlocutor consider all the complexities, inter domestic and international, with which the peoples of socialist countries are dealing; may the adviser make use of scientific agrumentation, of the entire total of facts describing our life. And even more so, may our opponents not reduce the entire range of all the problems of building socialism (which, incidentally, is what Comrade P. Yu. Shelest had in mind in the lines quoted by the delegation) to merely the "national feature"...

Only with a thoughtful approach to serious problems, serious weighing of all the arguments, and formation of corresponding conclusions can a friendly and constructive dialogue take place between comrades in struggle and practical action. It does not seem to us, for example, that it is serious and friendly to declare that "the Party and communists working in the midst **factor** of Ukrainian national groups in Canada <u>must take the initiative in revealing the processes at work</u> <u>in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and confirm themselves more</u> <u>decisively as the defenders of the genuine national rights of the</u> <u>Ukrainian people</u> and socialist internationalism." (Emphasis ours. --Auth.). This is amazing! What is said here, what is this -- stylistic confusion or an appeal to the Canadian communists to fall into the arms of Wkrain's Ukrain'skiy Samostiynik? It is important to us to answer such questions, although, we would certainly like to view this merely as some glaring misunderstanding.

Apparently some of the delegation members also viewed from a negative angle the explanations presented them in regard to court cases concerning those guilty of anti-Soviet activities before the state and the people. The anti-Soviet campaign raised in connection with the so-called "convicts' letters" did not pass unnoticed; it apparently produced a certain impression even on individual communists. At the same time, it is not difficult to comprehend the essence of this propagandistic commotion. The bourgeois press is attempting to prove something in any way, that allegedly there is persecution for **themsexts** ideas in the Soviet Ukraine, and of the intelligentsia itself, "the thinking elite of the people" at that. Proceeding from such a falsely constructed scheme, and speculating on the myths about "concealment of court trials," the official bourgeois press of the West, accompanied by the "Ukrainian" nationalistic organs, clamors about disregard of individual rights in the Soviet Union.

In truth, this deals with the crimes by people who ignored Soviet laws, attempted to undermine the foundations of the socialist system by unlawful acts, inflicted damage to the interests of the state and the people -- and were punished for precisely this. Their true face was briefly described by the newspaper <u>Visti z Ukrainy</u> (No. 16, April 1968, interview "Who is Who"). But even without such explanations, it was not difficult to guess a priori who was so actively taken under its defense by the hostile anticommunist propaganda. Obviously not the defenders of Soviet Ukraine, not the champions of the interests of the Ukrainian people.

These are some of the thoughts suggested by the report by the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada. We considered it our duty to express them and trust that our uneasiness in connection with some aspects of the report will find understanding and support on the part of its authors as well as on the part of the Communist Party of Canada.

We would like to hope that this letter will promote better understanding of the life and activity of the Ukrainian people and the Communist Party of the Ukraine, including the area of international relations. We hope for a deepening of mutual understanding between us on important fundamental questions, which are common for all fighters for the cause of communism.

With sincere comradely respect.

DMITRUK, V. M. -- Chairman of the Ukrainian Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries.

NAZARENKO, I. D. -- Director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, Lenin Prize Laureate.

SMOLICH, Yu. K. -- Writer, Chairman of the Society of Cultural Relations With Ukrainians Abroad.

PONOMARENKO, Ye. P. -- People's Artist of the USSR.

PATON, B. Ye. -- President of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

YAMPOL'SKIY, S. M. -- Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Economics Institute, Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

SKACHKO, M. A. -- Chairman of the Committee on Radio and Television Matters, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

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BILODID, I. K. -- Vice-President of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences, Director of the Ukrainian SSR Institute of Linguistics.

DADENKOV, Yu. N. -- Minister of Higher and Specialized Secondary Education of the Ukrainian SSR.

GURZHIY, I. A. -- Corresponding Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

BABIY, B. M. -- Corresponding Member of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences.

IVANOV, S. P. -- Chairman of the Committee on Cinema Matters, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

BILOGUROV, M. K. -- Chairman of the Committee on Press Matters, Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers.

YEFREMENKO, V. N. -- Deputy Minister of Culture of the Ukrainian SSR.

UDOVICHENKO, P. P. -- Minister of Education of the Ukrainian SSR.

POLTORATSKIY, O. I. -- Writer, Chief Editor of the magazine Vsesvit.

VIRS'KIY, P. P. -- People's Artist of the USSR, Artistic Director of the State Honored Folk Dance Ensemble of the Ukrainian SSR.

LIST of scientific and cultural workers, and public officials of L'vivskaya and Ivano-Frankivskaya oblasts, who have signed the letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada and members of the CP of Canada delegation who visited the Ukraine in March-April 1967.

PETROVS'KIY, Stepan Ostapovich -- Director of the L'viv Television Plant.

TELISHEVS'KIY, Timofiy Dmitrovich -- Deputy Chairman, Executive Committee of the L'viv Oblast Soviet of Workers' Deputies.

DENISENKO, Grigoriy Ivanovich -- Rector of the L'viv Polytechnical Institute.

KIKH, Mariya Semenivna -- Director of the L'viv Literary Memorial Museum of Ivan Frank.

BERYAK, Roman Oleksiyovich -- Deputy Chairmen, Executive Committee of the Workers' Deputies.

KUS'KO, Dmitro Danilovich -- Secretary of the L'viv City Committee of the CP of the Ukrain**e**.

LICHUK, Yustin Todorovich -- Chairman of the kolkhoz imeni 1 May, Snyatins'kiy Rayon, Ivano-Frankivs'kaya Oblast, Deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

LAZORIV, Ivan Petrovich -- Director of the Delyatin 8-year School No. 2, Nadvornyans'kiy Rayon, Ivano-Frankivs'kaya Oblast.

SOLOMCHENKO, Oleksiy Grigorovich -- Instructor at the School of Applied Art, city of Kosiv, Ivano-Frankivs'kaya Oblast.

PETRIK, Mikhaylo Dmitrovich -- First Secretary of the Kosivs'kiy Rayon Committee of the CP of the Ukraine, Ivano-Frankivs'kaya Oblast.

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