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15 April 1966

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director for Plans

SUBJECT: Soviet Charges of Activities of Foreign Agents Among Ukrainian Nationalists

1. This memorandum is for your information.
2. On 15 April the Soviet Foreign Office issued an unprecedented invitation to foreign journalists to travel to Kiev to hear revelations concerning the activities of foreign agents among Ukrainian nationalists. A press conference will be held in Kiev under the direction of the Foreign Office of the UkSSR on Tuesday, 19 April. (Attached is further information on the Soviet statement as reported by Reuters and AFP.)
3. The disclosures promised by the Soviets next Tuesday might well be connected with and involve activities aimed at the Soviet Ukrainian intelligentsia by the ZP/UHVR (Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council). The ZP is overtly organized as Prolog Research and Publishing Association, Inc. in New York and is subsidized by SR Division as part of its covert action program.
4. Following and immediately after World War II, it appeared that the Soviets had been able to establish fairly complete control over their minority nationalities. However, it has become evident during the past several years that nationalist feeling, particularly in the Ukraine, has begun to be expressed more and more in cultural terms. As early as 1958 at the Brussels International Exposition, we began to acquire evidence that a cultural and particularly literary reawakening with strong nationalist coloration was occurring in the Ukraine. By early 1964 evidence was mounting that a new group of young Soviet Ukrainian writers, particularly poets, had emerged. These poets sought their roots in traditional, patriotic Ukrainian literature and, if not outspokenly anti-Soviet, were implicitly so. It should be noted that this phenomenon was occurring simultaneously with a somewhat similar development in Russia itself which has culminated in the Sinyavskiy-Daniel affair of recent weeks.

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5. In the summer of 1964 we obtained through Prolog several tapes on which there had been recorded poetry of a nationalist and deviationist nature written by several Ukrainian poets. Also received was the manuscript of a diary written by one of the poets, Vasyl Symonenko, who had died the previous year. Prolog obtained this literature from Roxanne Kuzmak, nee Symshkevych, a young American citizen of Ukrainian birth who had been in the Soviet Union for several months as a guide with an American Technical Books Exhibit sponsored by USIA. She had been given the tapes and other literature by a Soviet Ukrainian writer, Ivan Svitlychny. Mrs. Kuzmak mailed the literature home via the State Department pouch, and her parents in turn gave it to Prolog. Mrs. Kuzmak was also in touch with Ivan Dzyuba, a critic and poet who, together with Svitlychny, was recently arrested by the Soviets. Dzyuba was subsequently released and is thought to be dying of tuberculosis, but Svitlychny was sent to prison. It was later learned from information supplied to the Canadian Embassy in Moscow by Yuriy Litvin, a Soviet Ukrainian who forced his way into the embassy and was arrested on his way out, that Svitlychny was in a prison in the Mordva ASSR. Litvin and others reported that 20-40 Soviet Ukrainians had been arrested in August 1965 primarily in Kiev and Lvov and that an undetermined of those arrested had been shot. Whether the latter allegation is true we do not know.

6. Since that time there has been a steady flow of accusations by the Soviet regime against the nationalist writers as a whole and Svitlychny in particular. It is quite possible that the Soviet disclosures promised for Tuesday will involve the Soviet Ukrainian writers and their Western contacts, including Prolog and Mrs. Kuzmak. If this occurs it is likely that the Soviets will charge CIA with complicity. The Soviets might also mention another Prolog contact, Dr. Maria Klachko of Columbia University, who has been instrumental in arranging a series of meetings between American Ukrainians of anti-communist political orientation and Soviet Ukrainians UN officials. Dr. Klachko has taken advice and guidance from Prolog, but is in fact an entirely free agent. She is unwitting of Prolog involvement with CIA. Mrs. Kuzmak, on the other hand, has been interviewed by SR officers for information on internal conditions in the Ukraine.

7. There is one other development in Ukrainian affairs which might conceivably be raised at the Kiev press conference,

but it is difficult to see how it could be linked with Western intelligence agencies. Evidence has been received that within the past year or so Red China has been carrying on propaganda and perhaps political action operations aimed at creating dissension between the Moscow regime and the Soviet Ukraine. Emigre contacts by the Red Chinese have allegedly been attempted in London and Vienna. There have also been reports of Ukrainian language broadcasts and literature distribution by the Chinese to Soviet Ukrainians.

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